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Concordia Triglotta

Die ſymboliſchen Bücher der evangeliſch-lutheriſchen Kirche,

deutſch-lateiniſch-engliſch,

als Denkmal der vierhundertjährigen Jubelfeier der Reformation, anno Domini 1917, herausgegeben auf Beſchluß der evangeliſch-lutheriſchen Synode von Miſſouri, Ohio und andern Staaten.

CONCORDIA TRIGLOTTA

Libri symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae

Germanice-Latine-Anglice,

monumenti instar in memoriam Anni Iubilaei MCMXVII quadringentesimi post inchoatam Ecclesiae reformationem communi consilio et mandato Synodi Missouriensis Lutheranae typis vulgata.

TRIGLOT CONCORDIA

The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church,

German-Latin-English,

Published as a Memorial of the Quadricentenary Jubilee of the Reformation anno Domini 1917 by resolution of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.

St. Louis, Mo.
CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE.
1921.

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PREFACE.

Memorialized by the Faculty of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo., the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, assembled as Fifteenth Delegate Synod from June 20 to 29, 1917, at Milwaukee, Wis., unanimously passed the very appropriate resolution to publish as a Memorial of the Quadricentennial of the Glorious Reformation a German-Latin-English edition of the *Book of Concord* containing the Symbols of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

The work on CONCORDIA TRIGLOTTA was begun immediately. Chiefly owing to the economic conditions created by the World War, however, the completion of the large undertaking was delayed much longer than anticipated. And the fact that we are now in a position to write the Preface to the finished book, together with its detailed Indexes and extensive Historical Introductions, we regard and gratefully acknowledge as a special favor of God, whom alone also we credit with whatever merit any one may anywhere justly ascribe to this work, or any part of it.

As for the German and Latin texts embodied in CONCORDIA TRIGLOTTA, the former was compared with the original German edition, published 1580 at Dresden. Obsolete forms as "Gezeugnis," "Oberkeit," "gebeutet," and, as a rule, also such forms as "nimmet," "gehet," "stehet," etc., were replaced with: "Zeugnis," "Obrigkeit," "gebietet," "nimmt," "geht," "steht," etc. The Latin text was revised according to the first authentic Latin edition, published 1584 in Leipzig, and quite a number of misprints still found in Mueller's eleventh edition of 1912 were corrected.

While I, the undersigned, alone am responsible for the Latin and German texts, the English translation of the TRIGLOT is throughout the joint effort of Prof. W. H. T. Dau and myself. It is based on the original German and Latin texts, respectively, and on the existing English translations, chiefly those incorporated in Jacobs's *Book of Concord.*

The Preface to the *Christian Book of Concord,* the *Augsburg Confession,* the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession,* and the treatise *Of the Power and Primacy of the Pope* are translated from the Latin; the *Smalcald Articles,* the two *Catechisms* of Luther, the *Formula of Concord,* and the *Visitation Articles,* from the German. In the *Catalog of Testimonies* the translation of the introduction, the ten theses, and the conclusion are based on the German text, while the passages quoted from "Orthodox Antiquity" are translated from the original Greek and Latin, respectively.

In the running titles of the TRIGLOT the small numbers indicate the pages in the editions of the Symbolical Books of J. T. Mueller and J. G. Walch. The pages of A. Rechenberg's edition are given in brackets in the Latin columns; *e. g.,* on page 100 of the TRIGLOT, "M. 74. 75" indicates the corresponding pages in Mueller; "W. 67—69," the pages in Walch; "R. 49," the page in Rechenberg.

Whatever in the three texts of the TRIGLOT is included in brackets does not belong to the text proper. When reading the longer passages, it may perhaps, in some instances, be advisable simply to skip the brackets in order not to disturb the natural flow of a period.

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In the Latin and German texts brackets with a star contain different textual readings, while all other brackets contain explanations, quotations from authors referred to in the texts, etc. Unless otherwise indicated, citations from Church Fathers, etc., are taken from Mueller's edition of the Symbolical Books, p. 840 ff.

In keeping with the principle otherwise observed in the TRIGLOT, the superscriptions of the first 21 articles of the Latin and German *Augsburg Confession* (with the exception only of Article XX in the German text), furthermore Articles I, II, and IX of the *Apology,* and a number of Bible references should have been put in brackets, because they are additions not found in the original German and Latin editions of 1580 and 1584.

Brackets in the English text contain words, phrases, sentences, or shorter or longer passages from the respective German or Latin text which is not the basis of the translation.

The "Index of Scripture Texts" and the German "Sach- und Namenregister" have been appropriated from Mueller's edition of the Lutheran symbols, while the English "Index of Subjects" is the one found in Jacobs's *Book of Concord,* which, however, is also based on Mueller. The tedious work of changing the page-numbers of these indexes to those of the TRIGLOT was done by Prof. Dau. All three indexes have also been revised and substantially augmented.

The Lutheran Church differs from all other churches in being essentially the Church of the pure Word and unadulterated Sacraments. Not the great number of her adherents, not her organizations, not her charitable and other institutions, not her beautiful customs and liturgical forms, etc., but the precious truths confessed by her symbols in perfect agreement with the Holy Scriptures constitute the true beauty and rich treasures of our Church, as well as the never-failing source of her vitality and power.

Wherever the Lutheran Church ignored her symbols or rejected all or some of them, there she always fell an easy prey to her enemies. But wherever she held fast to her God-given crown, esteemed and studied her confessions, and actually made them a norm and standard of her entire life and practise, there the Lutheran Church flourished and confounded all her enemies.

Accordingly, if Lutherans truly love their Church, and desire and seek her welfare, they must be faithful to her confessions and constantly be on their guard lest any one rob her of her treasure. To strengthen this loyalty and to further and facilitate the study of our "Golden Concordia," — such is the object also of this Jubilee Edition — the TRIGLOT CONCORDIA.

May God be pleased, as in the past, so also in the future, to bless our Church, and graciously keep her in the true and only saving Christian faith as set forth and confessed in the Lutheran symbols, whose paramount object is to maintain the gem of Luther's Reformation, the blessed doctrine of salvation by grace only, which most wonderfully magnifies the great glory of our God, and alone is able to impart solid comfort to poor sinners.

F. BENTE,

July 4, 1921. Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Mo.

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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS

to the

Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church.

By F. BENTE.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTIONS TO THE SYMBOLICAL BOOKS OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

I. The Book of Concord, or The Concordia.

1. General and Particular Symbols.

Book of Concord, or Concordia, is the title of the Lutheran *corpus doctrinae, i. e.*, of the symbols recognized and published under that name by the Lutheran Church. The word symbol, *σύμβολον*, is derived from the verb *συμβάλλειν*, to compare two things for the purpose of perceiving their relation and association. *Σύμβολον* thus developed the meaning of *tessara*, or sign, token, badge, banner, watchword, parole, countersign, confession, creed. A Christian symbol, therefore, is a mark by which Christians are known. And since Christianity is essentially the belief in the truths of the Gospel, its symbol is of necessity a confession of Christian doctrine. The Church, accordingly, has from the beginning defined and regarded its symbols as a rule of faith or a rule of truth. Says Augustine: "Symbolum est regula fidei brevis et grandis: brevis numero verborum, grandis pondere sententiarum. A symbol is a rule of faith, both brief and grand: brief, as to the number of words; grand, as to the weight of its thoughts."

Cyprian was the first who applied the term symbol to the baptismal confession, because, he said, it distinguished the Christians from non-Christians. Already at the beginning of the fourth century the Apostles' Creed was universally called symbol; and in the Middle Ages this name was applied also to the Nicene and the Athanasian Creeds. In the Introduction to the Book of Concord the Lutheran confessors designate the Augsburg Confession as the "symbol of our faith," and in the Epitome of the Formula of Concord, as "our symbol of this time."

Symbols may be divided into the following classes: 1. Ecumenical symbols, which, at least in the past, have been accepted by all Christendom, and are still formally acknowledged by most of the evangelical Churches; 2. particular symbols, adopted by the various denominations of divided Christendom; 3. private symbols, such as have been formulated and published by individuals, for example, Luther's Confession of the Lord's Supper of 1528. The publication of private confessions does not necessarily involve an impropriety; for according to Matt. 10, 32. 33 and 1 Pet. 3, 15 not only the Church as a whole, but individual Christians as well are privileged and in duty bound to confess the Christian truth over against its public assailants. Self-evidently, only such are symbols of particular churches as have been approved and adopted by them. The symbols of the Church, says the Formula of Concord, "should not be based on private writings, but on such books as have been composed, approved, and received in the name of the churches which pledge themselves to one doctrine and religion." (Conc. Trigl., 851, 2.)

Not being formally and explicitly adopted by all Christians, the specifically Lutheran confessions also are generally regarded as particular symbols. Inasmuch, however, as they are in complete agreement with Holy Scripture, and in this respect differ from all other particular symbols, the Lutheran confessions are truly ecumenical and catholic in character. They contain the truths believed universally by true Christians everywhere, explicitly by all consistent Christians, implicitly even by inconsistent and erring Christians. Christian truth, being one and the same the world over, is none other than that which is found in the Lutheran confessions.

2. The German Book of Concord.

The printing of the official German edition of the Book of Concord was begun in 1578, under the editorship of Jacob Andreae. The 25th of June, 1580, however, the fiftieth anniversary of the presentation of the Augsburg Confession to Emperor Charles V, was chosen as the date for its official publication at Dresden and its promulgation to the general public. Following are the contents of one of the five Dresden folio copies which we have compared: 1. The title-page, concluding with the words, "Mit Churf. G. zu Sachsen Befreiung. Dresden MDLXXX." 2. The preface, as adopted and signed by the estates at Jueterbock in 1579, which supplanted the explanation, originally planned, of the theologians against the various attacks made upon the Formula of Concord. 3. The three Ecumenical Symbols. 4. The Augsburg Confession of 1530. 5. The Apology of 1530. 6. The Smalcald Articles of 1537, with the appendix, "Concerning the Power and Supremacy of the Pope." 7. Luther's Small Catechism, omitting the "Booklets of Marriage and Baptism," found in some copies. 8. Luther's Large Catechism. 9. The Formula of Concord, with separate title-pages for the Epitome and the Solida Declaratio, both dated 1580. 10. The signatures of the theologians, etc., amounting to about 8,000.

11. The Catalogus Testimoniorum, with the superscription "Appendix" (found in some copies only). The Preface is followed by a *Privilegium* signed by Elector August and guaranteeing to Matthes Stoeckel and Gimel Bergen the sole right of publication, a document not found in the other copies we compared. The Formula of Concord is followed by a twelve-page index of the doctrines treated in the Book of Concord; and the list of signatures, by a page containing the trade-mark of the printer. The center of this page features a cut inscribed, "Matthes Stoeckel Gimel Bergen 1579." The cut is headed by Ps. 9, 1. 2: "Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen und erzaehle all deine Wunder. Ich freue mich und bin froehlich in dir und lobe deinen Namen, du Allerhoechster. I thank the Lord with all my heart and proclaim all Thy wonders. I am glad and rejoice in Thee, and praise Thy name, Thou Most High." Under the cut are the words: "Gedruckt zu Dresden durch Matthes Stoeckel. Anno 1580. Printed by Matthes Stoeckel, Dresden, 1580."

In a letter dated November 7, 1580, Martin Chemnitz speaks of two Dresden folio editions of the German Book of Concord, while Feuerlinus, in 1752, counts seven Dresden editions. As a matter of fact, the Dresden folio copies differ from one another, both as to typography and contents. Following are the chief differences of the latter kind: 1. Only some copies have the liturgical Forms of Baptism and of Marriage appended to the Small Catechism. 2. The Catalogus is not entitled "Appendix" in all copies, because it was not regarded as a part of the confession proper. 3. In some copies the passage from the Augsburg Confession, quoted in Art. 2, 29 of the Solida Declaratio, is taken, not from the Mainz Manuscript, but from the quarto edition of 1531, which already contained some alterations. 4. Some copies are dated 1580, while others bear the date 1579 or 1581. Dr. Kolde gives it as his opinion that in spite of all these and other (chiefly typographical) differences they are nevertheless all copies of one and the same edition, with changes only in individual sheets. (*Historische Einleitung in die Symbolischen Buecher der ev.-luth. Kirche*, p. 70.) Dr. Tschackert inclines to the same view, saying: "Such copies of this edition as have been preserved exhibit, in places, typographical differences. This, according to Polycarp Leyser's *Kurzer und gegruendeter Bericht*, Dresden, 1597 (Kolde, 70), is due to the fact that the manuscript was rushed through the press and sent in separate sheets to the interested estates, and that, while the forms were in press, changes were made on the basis of the criticisms sent in from time to time, yet not equally, so that some copies differ in certain sheets and insertions." (*Die Entstehung der luth. und der ref. Kirchenlehre*, 1910, p. 621.)

However, while this hypothesis explains a number of the variations in the Dresden folio copies, it does not account for all of them, especially not for those of a typographical nature. In one of the five copies which we compared, the title-page, radically differing from the others, reads as follows: "Formula Concordiae. Das ist: Christliche, Heilsame, Reine Vergleichunge, in welcher die Goettliche Leer von den vornembsten Artikeln vnserer wahrhafftigen Religion, aus heiliger Schrifft in kurtze bekanntnues oder Symbola vnd Leerhafte Schrifften,: welche allbereit vor dieser zeit von den Kirchen Gottes Augspurgischer Confession, angenommen vnd approbiert:, verfasset. Sampt bestendiger, in Gottes wort wolgegruendeter, richtiger, endlicher widerholung, erklerung und entscheidung deren Streit, welche vnter etlichen Theologen, so sich zu ermelter Confession bekant, fuergefallen. Alles nach inhalt der heiligen Schrifft, als der einigen Richtschnur der Goettlichen wahrheit, vnd nach anleitung obgemeldter in der Kirchen Gottes, approbierten Schrifften. Auff gnedigsten, gnedigen, auch guetigsten beuehl, verordnung und einwilligung nach beschriebener Christlichen Churfuersten, Fuersten vnd Stende des heiligen Roemischen Reichs Deutscher Nation, Augspurgischer Confession, derselben Landen, Kirchen, Schulen vnd Nachkommen zum trost vnd besten in Druck vorfertiget. M. D. LXXIX." ("Formula of Concord, that is, Christian, wholesome, pure agreement, in which the divine doctrine of the chief articles of our true religion have been drawn up from the Holy Scripture in short confessions or symbols and doctrinal writings, which have already before this time been accepted and approved by the Churches of God of the Augsburg Confession, together with a firm, Scripturally well-founded, correct, final repetition, explanation and decision of those controversies which have arisen among some theologians who have subscribed to said Confession, all of which has been drawn up according to the contents of Holy Scripture, the sole norm of divine Truth, and according to the analogy of the above-named writings which have the approval of the Churches of God. Published by the most gracious, kind, and benevolent command, order, and assent of the subscribed Christian Electors, princes, and estates of the Holy Roman Empire, of the German nation, of the Augsburg Confession, for the comfort and benefit of said lands, churches, schools, and posterity. 1579.")

Apart from the above title this copy differs from the others we examined in various ways. Everywhere (at four different places) it bears the date 1579, which, on the chief title-page, however, seems to have been entered in ink at a later date. Also the place of publication, evidently Dresden, is not indicated. Two variations are found in the Preface to the Book of Concord, one an omission, the other an addition. The signatures of the princes and estates to the Preface are omitted. Material and formal differences are found also on the pages containing the subscriptions of the theologians to the Formula of Concord; and the Catalogus is lacking entirely. The typography everywhere, especially in the portions printed in Roman type, exhibits many variations and divergences from our other four copies, which, in turn, are also character-

ized by numerous typographical and other variations. The copy of which, above, we have given the contents is dated throughout 1580. Our third copy bears the same date, 1580, excepting on the title-page of the Solida Declaratio, which has 1579. In both of these copies the typography of the signatures to the Book of Concord is practically alike. In our fourth copy the date 1580 is found on the title-page of the Concordia, the Catalogus, and the appended Saxon Church Order, which covers 433 pages, while the title-pages of the Epitome and the Declaratio and the page carrying the printer's imprint are all dated 1579. In this copy the typography of the signatures closely resembles that of the copy dated everywhere 1579. In our fifth Dresden folio copy, the title-page of the Book of Concord and the Catalogus are dated 1580, while the title-pages of the Epitome and Solida Declaratio are dated 1579. This is also the only copy in which the Catalogus is printed under the special heading "Appendix."

In view of these facts, especially the variation of the Roman type in all copies, Kolde's hypothesis will hardly be regarded as firmly established. Even if we eliminate the copy which is everywhere dated 1579, the variations in our four remaining Dresden folio copies cannot be explained satisfactorily without assuming either several editions or at least several different compositions for the same edition, or perhaps for the two editions mentioned by Chemnitz. Feuerlinus distinguishes seven Dresden editions of the Book of Concord — one, printed for the greater part in 1578, the second, third, and fourth in 1580, the fifth in 1581, the sixth also in 1581, but in quarto, and the seventh in 1598, in folio. (*Bibliotheca Symbolica*, 1752, p. 9.) A copy like the one referred to above, which is everywhere dated 1579, does not seem to have come to the notice of Feuerlinus.

In the copy of the Tuebingen folio edition which is before us, the Index follows the Preface. The appendices of the Small Catechism are omitted, likewise the superscription Appendix of the Catalogus. Our copy of the Heidelberg folio edition of 1582 omits the Catalogus and adds the Apology of the Book of Concord of 1583, as also the Refutation of the Bremen Pastors of the same year. A copy of the Magdeburg quarto edition lying before us has the year 1580 on the title-pages of the Book of Concord, the Epitome, the Declaratio, and the Catalogus. The Preface is followed by three pages, on which Joachim Frederick guarantees to "Thomas Frantzen Buchvorlegern" (Thomas Frantzen, publishers) the sole right of publication for a period of five years, and prohibits the introduction of other copies, excepting only those of the Dresden folio edition of 1580. Luther's Booklets of Marriage and of Baptism are appended to the Small Catechism, and to the Large Catechism is added "Eine kurze Vermahnung zu der Beicht, A Brief Exhortation to Confession." (None of the Dresden folio copies we compared contain these appendices, nor are they found in the Latin editions of 1580 and 1584.) The index is followed by a page of corrected misprints. The last page has the following imprint: "Gedruckt zu Magdeburg durch Johann Meiszner und Joachim Walden Erben, Anno 1580, Printed at Magdeburg by John Meissner's and Joachim Walden's heirs. In the year 1580."

3. The Latin Concordia.

Even before the close of 1580, Selneccer published a Latin Concordia containing a translation of the Formula of Concord begun by Lucas Osiander in 1578 and completed by Jacob Heerbrand. It was a private undertaking and, owing to its numerous and partly offensive mistakes, found no recognition. Thus, for instance, the passage of the Tractatus, "De Potestate et Primatu Papae," in § 24: "Christ gives the highest and final judgment to the church," was rendered as follows: "Et Christus summum et ultimum ferculum apponit ecclesiae." (p. 317.) Besides, Selneccer had embodied in his Concordia the objectionable text of the Augsburg Confession found in the octavo edition of 1531, which Melanchthon had altered extensively.

The necessary revision of the Latin text was made at the convention in Quedlinburg during December, 1582, and January, 1583, Chemnitz giving material assistance. The revised edition, which constitutes the Latin *textus receptus* of the Formula of Concord, was published at Leipzig in 1584. Aside from many corrections, this edition contains the translation of the Formula of Concord as already corrected by Selneccer in 1582 for his special Latin-German edition, and afterwards thoroughly revised by Chemnitz. The texts of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology follow the *editio princeps* of 1531. The 8,000 signatures, embodied also in the Latin edition of 1580, were omitted, lest any one might complain that his name was appended to a book which he had neither seen nor approved. In keeping herewith, the words in the title of the Book of Concord: *"et nomina sua huic libro subscripserunt* — and have subscribed their names to this book," which Mueller retained in his edition, were eliminated. The title-page concludes as in the edition of 1580, the word "denuo" only being added and the date correspondingly changed. On the last two pages of this edition of 1584 Selneccer refers to the edition of 1580 as follows: "Antea publicatus est liber Christianae Concordiae, Latine, sed privato et festinato instituto, Before this the Book of Concord has been published in Latin, but as a private and hasty undertaking." In the edition of 1584, the text of the Small Catechism is adorned with 23 Biblical illustrations.

Among the later noteworthy editions of the Book of Concord are the following: Tuebingen, 1599; Leipzig, 1603, 1622; Stuttgart, 1660, 1681. Editions furnished with introductions or annotations or both: H. Pipping, 1703; S. J. Baumgarten, 1747; J. W. Schoepff, Part I, 1826, Part II, 1827; F. A. Koethe, 1830; J. A. Detzer, 1830; F. W. Bodemann, 1843. In America the entire Book

of Concord was printed in German by H. Ludwig, of New York, in 1848, and by the Concordia Publishing House of St. Louis, Mo., in 1880. In Leipzig, Latin editions appeared in the years 1602, 1606, 1612, 1618, 1626, 1654, 1669, 1677. Adam Rechenberg's edition "with an appendix in three parts and new indices" (*cum appendice tripartita et novis indicibus*) saw five editions — 1678, 1698, 1712, 1725, 1742. We mention also the edition of Pfaffius, 1730; Tittmann, 1817; H. A. G. Meyer, 1830, containing a good preface; Karl Hase, in his editions of 1827, 1837, and 1845, was the first to number the paragraphs. Reineccius prepared a German-Latin edition in 1708. This was followed in 1750 by the German-Latin edition of Johann Georg Walch. Mueller's well-known German-Latin Concordia saw eleven editions between 1847 and 1912. Since 1907 it appears with historical introductions by Th. Kolde.

4. English Translations.

All of the Lutheran symbols have been translated into the English language repeatedly. In 1536 Richard Tavener prepared the first translation of the Augsburg Confession. Cranmer published, in 1548, "A Short Instruction into the Christian Religion," essentially a translation of the Ansbach-Nuernberg Sermons on the Catechism. In 1834 a translation of the German text of the Augsburg Confession with "Preliminary Observations" was published at Newmarket, Va., by Charles Henkel, Prof. Schmidt of the Seminary at Columbus, O., assisting in this work. The Introduction to the Newmarket Book of Concord assigns Henkel's translation of the Augsburg Confession to the year 1831. Our copy, however, which does not claim to be a second edition, is dated 1834. In his *Popular Theology* of 1834, S. S. Schmucker offered a translation of the Latin text, mutilated in the interest of his *American Lutheranism*. Hazelius followed him with a translation in 1841. In 1848, Ludwig, of New York, issued a translation of the German text of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, as well as of the Introduction, prepared by C. H. Schott, together with the Ecumenical Symbols, also with introductions. The title-page of our copy lists the price of the book at 12½ cents. C. P. Krauth's translation of the Augsburg Confession appeared in 1868. The first complete translation of the German text of the entire Book of Concord was published in 1851 by the publishing house of Solomon D. Henkel & Bros., at Newmarket, Va. In this translation, however, greater stress was laid on literary style than upon an exact reproduction of the original. Ambrose and Socrates Henkel prepared the translation of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, the Appendix, and the Articles of Visitation. The Small Catechism was offered in the translation prepared by David Henkel in 1827. The Large Catechism was translated by J. Stirewalt; the Epitome, by H. Wetzel; the Declaratio, by J. R. Moser. The second, improved edition of 1854 contained a translation of the Augsburg Confession by C. Philip Krauth, the Apology was translated by W. F. Lehmann, the Smalcald Articles by W. M. Reynolds, the two Catechisms by J. G. Morris, and the Formula of Concord together with the Catalogus by C. F. Schaeffer. In both editions the historical introductions present a reproduction of the material in J. T. Mueller's *Book of Concord.*

In 1882 a new English translation of the entire Book of Concord, together with introductions and other confessional material, appeared in two volumes, edited by Dr. H. E. Jacobs. The first volume of this edition embraces the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church. It contains C. P. Krauth's translation of the Augsburg Confession as revised for Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom.* Jacobs translated the Apology (from the Latin, with insertions, in brackets, of translations from the German text), the Smalcald Articles (from the German), the Tractatus (from the Latin), and the Formula of Concord. The translation of the Small Catechism was prepared by a committee of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. The Large Catechism was done into English by A. Martin. A reprint of this edition appeared in 1911, entitled "People's Edition," in which the Augsburg Confession is presented in a translation prepared by a committee of the General Council, the General Synod, the United Synod in the South, and the Ohio Synod. The second volume of Jacobs's edition of the Book of Concord embodies historical introductions to the Lutheran symbols, translations of the Marburg Articles, the Schwabach Articles, the Torgau Articles, the Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540 and 1542, Zwingli's Ratio Fidei, the Tetrapolitana, the Romish Confutatio, Melanchthon's Opinion of 1530, Luther's Sermon on the Descent into Hell of 1533, the Wittenberg Concordia, the Leipzig Interim, the Catalogus Testimoniorum, the Articles of Visitation, and the Decretum Upsaliense of 1593. The Principles of Faith and Church Polity of the General Council and an index complete this volume. A Norwegian and a Swedish translation of the Book of Concord have also been published in America.

5. Corpora Doctrinae Supplanted by Book of Concord.

More than twenty different Lutheran collections of symbols or *corpora doctrinae* (a term first employed by Melanchthon), most of them bulky, had appeared after the death of Luther and before the adoption of the Formula of Concord, by which quite a number of them were supplanted. From the signatures to its Preface it appears that the entire Book of Concord was adopted by 3 electors, 20 princes, 24 counts, 4 barons, and 35 imperial cities. And the list of signatures appended to the Formula of Concord contains about 8,000 names of theologians, preachers, and schoolteachers. About two-thirds of the German territories which professed adherence to the Augsburg Confession adopted and introduced the Book of Concord as their *corpus*

doctrinae. (Compare Historical Introduction to the Formula of Concord.)

Among the *corpora doctrinae* which were gradually superseded by the Book of Concord are the following: 1. Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum, or Misnicum, or Wittenbergense of 1560, containing, besides the three Ecumenical Symbols, the following works of Melanchthon: Variata, Apologia, Repetitio Augustanae Confessionis, Loci, Examen Ordinandorum of 1552, Responsio ad Articulos Bavaricae Inquisitionis, Refutatio Serveti. Melanchthon, shortly before his death, wrote the preface for the Latin as well as the German edition of this Corpus. 2. Corpus Doctrinae Pomeranicum of 1564, which adds Luther's Catechisms, the Smalcald Articles, and three other works of Luther to the Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum, which had been adopted 1561. 3. Corpus Doctrinae Prutenicum, or Borussicum, of Prussia, 1567, containing the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and Repetition of the Sum and Content of the True, Universal Christian Doctrine of the Church, written by Moerlin and Chemnitz. 4. Corpus Doctrinae Thuringicum in Ducal Saxony, of 1570, containing the three Ecumenical Symbols, Luther's Catechisms, the Smalcald Articles, the Confession of the Landed Estates in Thuringia (drawn up by Justus Menius in 1549), and the Prince of Saxony's Book of Confutation (*Konfutationsbuch*) of 1558. 5. Corpus Doctrinae Brandenburgicum of 1572, containing the Augsburg Confession according to the Mainz Manuscript, Luther's Small Catechism, Explanation of the Augsburg Confession drawn from the postils and doctrinal writings "of the faithful man of God Dr. Luther" by Andreas Musculus, and a Church Agenda. 6. Corpus Doctrinae Wilhelminum of Lueneburg, 1576, containing the three Ecumenical Symbols, the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Catechisms, Formulae Caute Loquendi (Forms of Speaking Cautiously) by Dr. Urbanus Regius, and Formulae Recte Sentiendi de Praecipuis Horum Temporum Controversiis (Forms of Thinking Correctly concerning the Chief Controversies of These Times) by Martin Chemnitz. 7. Corpus Doctrinae Iulium of Duke Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbuettel, 1576, containing the documents of the Wilhelminum, with the sole addition of the Short Report of Some Prominent Articles of Doctrine, from the Church Order of Duke Julius, of 1569. 8. The Hamburg Book of Confession of 1560, which was also adopted by Luebeck and Lueneburg, and contained a confession against the Interim, drawn up by Aepinus in 1548, and also four declarations concerning Adiaphorism, Osiandrism, Majorism, and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, drawn up since 1549. 9. The Confessional Book of Braunschweig, adopted in 1563 and reaffirmed in 1570, containing, The Braunschweig Church Order of 1528, the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Apology thereof, the Smalcald Articles, Explanation, etc., drawn up at Lueneburg in 1561 against the Crypto-Calvinists. 10. The Church Order of the city of Goettingen, 1568, containing the Church Order of Goettingen of 1531, Luther's Small Catechism, the Smalcald Articles, the Augsburg Confession, and the Apology. (Tschackert, *l. c.*, 613 f.; Feuerlinus, *l. c.*, 1 f.)

6. Subscription to Confessions.

The position accorded the symbols in the Lutheran Church is clearly defined by the Book of Concord itself. According to it Holy Scripture alone is to be regarded as the sole rule and norm by which absolutely all doctrines and teachers are to be judged. The object of the Augustana, as stated in its Preface, was to show "what manner of doctrine has been set forth, in our lands and churches, from the Holy Scripture and the pure Word of God." And in its Conclusion the Lutheran confessors declare: "Nothing has been received on our part against Scripture or the Church Catholic," and "we are ready, God willing, to present ampler information according to the Scriptures." "Iuxta Scripturam" — such are the closing words of the Augsburg Confession. The Lutheran Church knows of no other principle.

In the Formula of Concord we read: "Other writings, however, of ancient or modern teachers, whatever name they bear, must not be regarded as equal to the Holy Scriptures, but all of them together be subjected to them, and should not be received otherwise or further than as witnesses, [which are to show] in what manner after the time of the apostles, and at what places, this doctrine of the prophets and apostles was preserved." (777, 2.) In the Conclusion of the Catalog of Testimonies we read: "The true saving faith is to be founded upon no church-teachers, old or new, but only and alone upon God's Word, which is comprised in the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, as unquestionable witnesses of divine truth." (1149.)

The Lutheran symbols, therefore, are not intended to supplant the Scriptures, nor do they do so. They do, however, set forth what has been at all times the unanimous understanding of the pure Christian doctrine adhered to by sincere and loyal Lutherans everywhere; and, at the same time, they show convincingly from the Scriptures that our forefathers did indeed manfully confess nothing but God's eternal truth, which every Christian is in duty bound to, and consistently always will, believe, teach, and confess.

The manner also in which Lutherans pledge themselves confessionally appears from these symbols. The Augsburg Confession was endorsed by the princes and estates as follows: "The above articles we desire to present in accordance with the edict of Your Imperial Majesty, in order to exhibit our Confession and let men see a summary of the doctrine of our teachers." (95, 6.) In the preamble to the signatures of 1537 the Lutheran preachers unanimously confess: "We have reread the articles of the Confession presented to the Emperor in the Assembly at Augsburg, and by the favor of God all the preachers who

have been present in this Assembly at Smalcald harmoniously declare that they believe and teach in their churches according to the articles of the Confession and Apology." (529.) John Brenz declares that he had read and reread, time and again, the Confession, the Apology, etc., and judged "that all these agree with Holy Scripture, and with the belief of the true and genuine catholic Church (*haec omnia convenire cum Sacra Scriptura et cum sententia verae καὶ γνησίης catholicae ecclesiae*)." (529.) Another subscription — to the Smalcald Articles — reads: "I, Conrad Figenbotz, for the glory of God subscribe that I have thus believed and am still preaching and firmly believing as above." (503, 13.) Brixius writes in a similar vein: "I . . . subscribe to the Articles of the reverend Father Martin Luther, and confess that hitherto I have thus believed and taught, and by the Spirit of Christ I shall continue thus to believe and teach." (503, 27.)

In the Preface to the Thorough Declaration of the Formula of Concord the Lutheran confessors declare: "To this Christian Augsburg Confession, so thoroughly grounded in God's Word, we herewith pledge ourselves again from our inmost hearts. We abide by its simple, clear, and unadulterated meaning as the words convey it, and regard the said Confession as a pure Christian symbol, with which at the present time true Christians ought to be found next to God's Word. . . . We intend also, by the grace of the Almighty, faithfully to abide until our end by this Christian Confession, mentioned several times, as it was delivered in the year 1530 to the Emperor Charles V; and it is our purpose, neither in this nor in any other writing, to recede in the least from that oft-cited Confession, nor to propose another or new confession." (847, 4. 5.) Again: "We confess also the First, Unaltered Augsburg Confession as our symbol for this time (not because it was composed by our theologians, but because it has been taken from God's Word and is founded firmly and well therein), precisely in the form in which it was committed to writing in the year 1530, and presented to the Emperor Charles V at Augsburg." (851, 5.)

In like manner the remaining Lutheran symbols were adopted. (852. 777.) Other books, the Formula of Concord declares, are accounted useful, "as far as (*wofern, quatenus*) they are consistent with" the Scriptures and the symbols. (855, 10.) The symbols, however, are accepted "that we may have a unanimously received, definite, common form of doctrine, which all our Evangelical churches together and in common confess, from and according to which, because (*cum, weil*) it has been derived from God's Word, all other writings should be judged and adjusted, as to how far (*wiefern, quatenus*) they are to be approved and accepted." (855, 10.)

After its adoption by the Lutheran electors, princes, and estates, the Formula of Concord, and with it the entire Book of Concord, was, as stated, solemnly subscribed by about 8,000 theologians, pastors, and teachers, the pledge reading as follows: "Since now, in the sight of God and of all Christendom, we wish to testify to those now living and those who shall come after us that this declaration herewith presented concerning all the controverted articles aforementioned and explained, and no other, is our faith, doctrine, and confession, in which we are also willing, by God's grace, to appear with intrepid hearts before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, and give an account of it; and that we will neither privately nor publicly speak or write anything contrary to it, but, by the help of God's grace, intend to abide thereby: therefore, after mature deliberation, we have, in God's fear and with the invocation of His name, attached our signatures with our own hands." (1103, 40.)

Furthermore, in the Preface to the Book of Concord the princes and estates declare that many churches and schools had received the Augsburg Confession "as a symbol of the present time in regard to the chief articles of faith, especially those involved in controversy with the Romanists and various corruptions of the heavenly doctrine." (7.) They solemnly protest that it never entered their minds "either to introduce, furnish a cover for, and establish any false doctrine, or in the least even to recede from the Confession presented in the year 1530 at Augsburg." (15.) They declare: "This Confession also, by the help of God, we will retain to our last breath, when we shall go forth from this life to the heavenly fatherland, to appear with joyful and undaunted mind and with a pure conscience before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ." (15.) "Therefore we also have determined not to depart even a finger's breadth either from the subjects themselves or from the phrases which are found in them (*vel a rebus ipsis vel a phrasibus, quae in illa habentur, discedere*), but, the Spirit of the Lord aiding us, to persevere constantly, with the greatest harmony, in this godly agreement, and we intend to examine all controversies according to this true norm and declaration of the pure doctrine." (23.)

7. Pledging of Ministers to the Confessions.

Such being the attitude of the Lutherans towards their symbols, and such their evaluation of pure doctrine, it was self-evident that the public teachers of their churches should be pledged to the confessions. In December, 1529, H. Winckel, of Goettingen, drew up a form in which the candidate for ordination declares: "I believe and hold also of the most sacred Sacrament . . . as one ought to believe concerning it according to the contents of the Bible, and as Doctor Martin Luther writes and confesses concerning it especially in his Confession" (of the Lord's Supper, 1528). The Goettingen Church Order of 1530, however, did not as yet embody a vow of ordination. The first pledges to the symbols were demanded by the University of Wittenberg in 1533 from candidates for the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1535 this pledge was required

also of the candidates for ordination. The oath provided that the candidate must faithfully teach the Gospel without corruption, steadfastly defend the Ecumenical Symbols, remain in agreement with the Augsburg Confession, and before deciding difficult controversies consult older teachers of the Church of the Augsburg Confession. Even before 1549 the candidates for philosophical degrees were also pledged by oath to the Augsburg Confession.

In 1535, at the Diet of Smalcald, it was agreed that new members entering the Smalcald League should promise "to provide for such teaching and preaching as was in harmony with the Word of God and the pure teaching of our [Augsburg] Confession." According to the Pomeranian Church Order, which Bugenhagen drew up in 1535, pastors were pledged to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology thereof. Capito, Bucer, and all others who took part in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, promised, over their signatures, "to believe and to teach in all articles according to the Confession and the Apology." (*Corpus Reformatorum*, opp. Melanthonis, 3, 76.) In 1540, at Goettingen, John Wigand promised to accept the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, and to abide by them all his life. "And," he continued, "if I should be found to do otherwise or be convicted of teaching and confessing contrary to such Confession and Apology, then let me, by this signature, be condemned and deposed from this divine ministry. This do I swear; so help me God." Also at Goettingen, Veit Pflugmacher vowed, in 1541, that he would preach the Gospel in its truth and purity according to the Augsburg Confession and the contents of the postils of Anton Corvinus. He added: "Should I be found to do otherwise and not living up to what has been set forth above, then shall I by such act have deposed myself from office. This do I swear; so help me God."

In 1550 and 1552, Andrew Osiander attacked the oath of confession which was in vogue at Wittenberg, claiming it to be "an entanglement in oath-bound duties after the manner of the Papists." "What else," said he, "does this oath accomplish than to sever those who swear it from the Holy Scriptures and bind them to Philip's doctrine? Parents may therefore well consider what they do by sending their sons to Wittenberg to become Masters and Doctors. Money is there taken from them, and they are made Masters and Doctors. But while the parents think that their son is an excellent man, well versed in the Scriptures and able to silence enthusiasts and heretics, he is, in reality, a poor captive, entangled and embarrassed by oath-bound duties. For he has abjured the Word of God and has taken an oath on Philip's doctrine." Replying to this fanatical charge in 1553, Melanchthon emphasized the fact that the doctrinal pledges demanded at Wittenberg had been introduced, chiefly by Luther, for the purpose of "maintaining the true doctrine." "For," said Melanchthon, "many enthusiasts were roaming about at that time, each, in turn, spreading new silly nonsense, *e. g.*, the Anabaptists, Servetus, Campanus, Schwenckfeld, and others. And such tormenting spirits are not lacking at any time (*Et non desunt tales furiae ullo tempore*)." A doctrinal pledge, Melanchthon furthermore explained, was necessary "in order correctly to acknowledge God and call upon Him to preserve harmony in the Church, and to bridle the audacity of such as invent new doctrines." (*C. R.* 12, 5.)

II. The Three Ecumenical or Universal Symbols.

8. Ecumenical Symbols.

The Ecumenical (general, universal) Symbols were embodied in the Book of Concord primarily for apologetic reasons. Carpzov writes: "The sole reason why our Church appealed to these symbols was to declare her agreement with the ancient Church in so far as the faith of the latter was laid down in these symbols, to refute also the calumniations and the accusations of the opponents, and to evince the fact that she preaches no new doctrine and in no wise deviates from the Church Catholic." (*Isagoge*, 37.) For like reasons Article I of the Augsburg Confession declares its adherence to the Nicene Creed, and the first part of the Smalcald Articles, to the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds. The oath introduced by Luther in 1535, and required of the candidates for the degree of Doctor of Divinity, also contained a pledge on the Ecumenical Symbols. In 1538 Luther published a tract entitled, "The Three Symbols or Confessions of the Faith of Christ Unanimously Used in the Church," containing the Apostles' Creed, the Athanasian Creed, and the Te Deum of Ambrose and Augustine. To these was appended the Nicene Creed.

In the opening sentences of this tract, Luther remarks: "Whereas I have previously taught and written quite a bit concerning faith, showing both what faith is and what faith does, and have also published my Confession [1528], setting forth both what I believe and what position I intend to maintain; and whereas the devil continues to seek new intrigues against me, I have decided, by way of supererogation, to publish conjointly, in the German tongue, the three so-called Symbols, or Confessions, which have hitherto been received, read, and chanted throughout the Church. I would thereby reaffirm the fact that I side with the true Christian Church, which has adhered to these Symbols, or Confessions, to the present day, and not with the false, vainglorious church, which in reality is the worst enemy of the true Church, having introduced much idolatry beside these beautiful confessions." (St. L. 10, 993; Erl. 23, 252.) Luther's translation of the Ecumenical Symbols, together with the captions which ap-

peared in his tract, were embodied in the Book of Concord. The superscription, "Tria Symbola Catholica seu Oecumenica," occurs for the first time in Selneccer's edition of the Book of Concord of 1580. Before this, 1575, he had written: "Quot sunt Symbola fidei Christianae in Ecclesia? Tria sunt praecipua, quae nominantur oecumenica, sive universalia et authentica, id est, habentia auctoritatem et non indigentia demonstratione aut probatione, videlicet Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicaenum et Athanasianum." (Schmauk, *Confessional Principle*, 834.)

9. The Apostles' Creed.

The foundation of the Apostles' Creed was, in a way, laid by Christ Himself when He commissioned His disciples, saying, Matt. 28, 19. 20: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." The formula of Baptism here prescribed, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," briefly indicates what Christ wants Christians to be taught, to believe, and to confess. And the Apostles' Creed, both as to its form and contents, is evidently but an amplification of the trinitarian formula of Baptism. Theo. Zahn remarks: "It has been said, and not without a good basis either, that Christ Himself has ordained the baptismal confession. For the profession of the Triune God made by the candidates for Baptism is indeed the echo of His missionary and baptismal command reechoing through all lands and times in many thousand voices." (*Skizzen aus dem Leben der Kirche*, 252.)

But when and by whom was the formula of Baptism thus amplified? — During the Medieval Ages the Apostles' Creed was commonly known as "The Twelve Articles," because it was generally believed that the twelve apostles, assembled in joint session before they were separated, soon after Pentecost, drafted this Creed, each contributing a clause. But, though retained in the Catechismus Romanus, this is a legend which originated in Italy or Gaul in the sixth or seventh (according to Zahn, toward the end of the fourth) century and was unknown before this date. Yet, though it may seem more probable that the Apostles' Creed was the result of a silent growth and very gradual formation corresponding to the ever-changing environments and needs of the Christian congregations, especially over against the heretics, there is no sufficient reason why the apostles themselves should not have been instrumental in its formulation, nor why, with the exception of a number of minor later additions, its original form should not have been essentially what it is to-day.

Nathanael confessed: "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God; Thou art the King of Israel," John 1, 49; the apostles confessed: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God," Matt. 16, 16; Peter confessed: "We believe and are sure that Thou art that Christ, the Son of the living God," John 6, 69; Thomas confessed: "My Lord and my God," John 20, 28. These and similar confessions of the truth concerning Himself were not merely approved of, but solicited and demanded by, Christ. For He declares most solemnly: "Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven," Matt. 10, 32. 33. The same duty of confessing their faith, *i. e.*, the truths concerning Christ, is enjoined upon all Christians by the Apostle Paul when he writes: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved," Rom. 10, 9.

In the light of these and similar passages, the trinitarian baptismal formula prescribed by Christ evidently required from the candidate for Baptism a definite statement of what he believed concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, especially concerning Jesus Christ the Savior. And that such a confession of faith was in vogue even in the days of the apostles appears from the Bible itself. Of Timothy it is said that he had "professed a good profession before many witnesses," 1 Tim. 6, 12. Heb. 4, 14 we read: "Let us hold fast our profession." Heb. 10, 23: "Let us hold fast the profession of our faith without wavering." Jude urges the Christians that they "should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," and build up themselves on their "most holy faith," vv. 3. 20. Compare also 1 Cor. 15, 3. 4; 1 Tim. 3, 16; Titus 1, 13; 3, 4—7.

10. Apostles' Creed and Early Christian Writers.

The Christian writers of the first three centuries, furthermore, furnish ample proof for the following facts: that from the very beginning of the Christian Church the candidates for Baptism everywhere were required to make a confession of their faith; that from the beginning there was existing in all the Christian congregations a formulated confession, which they called the rule of faith, the rule of truth, etc.; that this rule was identical with the confession required of the candidates for Baptism; that it was declared to be of apostolic origin; that the summaries and explanations of this rule of truth, given by these writers, tally with the contents and, in part, also with the phraseology of the Apostles' Creed; that the scattered Christian congregations, then still autonomous, regarded the adoption of this rule of faith as the only necessary condition of Christian unity and fellowship.

The manner in which Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Justin, Aristides, and other early Christian writers present the Christian truth frequently reminds us of the Apostles' Creed and suggests its existence. Thus Justin Martyr, who died 165, says in his first Apology,

which was written about 140: "Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who also was born for this purpose and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea, that we reasonably worship Him, having learned that He is the Son of the true God Himself, and holding Him in the second place, and the prophetic Spirit in the third." "Eternal praise to the Father of all, through the name of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." Similar strains, sounding like echoes of the Second Article, may be found in the Epistles to the Trallians and to the Christians at Smyrna, written by Ignatius, the famous martyr and bishop of Antioch, who died 107.

Irenaeus, who died 189, remarks: Every Christian "who retains immovable in himself the rule of the truth which he received through Baptism (*ὁ τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἀληθείας ἀκλινῆ ἐν ἑαυτῷ κατέχων, ὃν διὰ τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἴληφε*)" is able to see through the deceit of all heresies. Irenaeus here identifies the baptismal confession with what he calls the "rule of truth, *κανών τῆς ἀληθείας*," *i. e.*, the truth which is the rule for everything claiming to be Christian. Apparently, this "rule of truth" was the sum of doctrines which every Christian received and confessed at his baptism. The very phrase "rule of truth" implies that it was a concise and definite formulation of the chief Christian truths. For "canon, rule," was the term employed by the ancient Church to designate such brief sentences as were adopted by synods for the practise of the Church. And this "rule of truth" is declared by Irenaeus to be "the old tradition," "the old tradition of the apostles": *ἥ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις*. (Zahn, *l. c.*, 379 f.) Irenaeus was the pupil of Polycarp the Martyr; and what he had learned from him, Polycarp had received from the Apostle John. Polycarp, says Irenaeus, "taught the things which he had learned from the apostles, and which the Church has handed down, and which alone are true." According to Irenaeus, then, the "rule of truth" received and confessed by every Christian at his baptism was transmitted by the apostles.

The contents of this rule of truth received from the apostles are repeatedly set forth by Irenaeus. In his *Contra Haereses* (I, 10, 1) one of these summaries reads as follows: "The Church dispersed through the whole world, to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples the faith in one God, the Father Almighty, who has made heaven and earth and the sea and all things that are in them; and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, who became incarnate for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who has proclaimed through the prophets the dispensations, and the advents, and the birth from a virgin, and the passion, and the resurrection from the dead, and the bodily assumption into heaven of the beloved Christ Jesus, our Lord, and His manifestation from heaven in the glory of the Father." It thus appears that the "rule of truth" as Irenaeus knew it, the formulated sum of doctrines mediated by Baptism, which he, in accordance with the testimony of his teacher Polycarp, believed to have been received from the apostles, at least approaches our present Apostolic Creed.

11. Tertullian and Cyprian on Apostles' Creed.

A similar result is obtained from the writings of Tertullian, Cyprian, Novatian, Origen, and others. "When we step into the water of Baptism," says Tertullian, who died about 220, "we confess the Christian faith according to the words of its law," *i. e.*, according to the law of faith or the rule of faith. Tertullian, therefore, identifies the confession to which the candidates for Baptism were pledged with the brief formulation of the chief Christian doctrines which he variously designates as "the law of faith," "the rule of faith," frequently also as *tessara*, watchword, and *sacramentum*, a term then signifying the military oath of allegiance. This Law or Rule of Faith was, according to Tertullian, the confession adopted by Christians everywhere, which distinguished them from unbelievers and heretics. The unity of the congregations, the granting of the greeting of peace, of the name brother, and of mutual hospitality, — these and similar Christian rights and privileges, says Tertullian, "depend on no other condition than the similar tradition of the same oath of allegiance," *i. e.*, the adoption of the same baptismal rule of faith. (Zahn, 250.)

At the same time Tertullian most emphatically claims, "that this rule of faith was established by the apostles, aye, by Christ Himself," inasmuch as He had commanded to baptize "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." (Zahn, 252.) In his book *Adversus Praxeam*, Tertullian concludes an epitome which he gives of "the rule of faith" as follows: "That this rule has come down from the beginning of the Gospel, even before the earlier heretics, and so, of course, before the Praxeas of yesterday, is proved both by the lateness of all heretics and by the novelty of this Praxeas of yesterday." (Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 2, 18.) The following form is taken from Tertullian's *De Virginibus Velandis:* "For the rule of faith is altogether one, alone (*sola*), immovable, and irreformable, namely, believing in one God omnipotent, the Maker of the world, and in His Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate, raised from the dead the third day, received into the heavens, sitting now at the right hand of the Father, who shall come to judge the living and the dead, also through the resurrection of the flesh." Cyprian the Martyr, bishop of Carthage, who died 257, and who was the first one to apply the term *symbolum* to the baptismal creed, in his Epistle to Magnus and to Januarius, as well as to other Numidian bishops, gives the following as the answer of the candidate for Baptism to the question,

"Do you believe?": "I believe in God the Father, in His Son Christ, in the Holy Spirit. I believe the remission of sins, and the life eternal through the holy Church."

12. Variations of the Apostles' Creed.

While there can be no reasonable doubt either that the Christian churches from the very beginning were in possession of a definite and formulated symbol, or that this symbol was an amplification of the trinitarian formula of Baptism, yet we are unable to ascertain with any degree of certainty what its exact original wording was. There has not been found in the early Christian writers a single passage recording the precise form of the baptismal confession or the rule of truth and faith as used in the earliest churches. This lack of contemporal written records is accounted for by the fact that the early Christians and Christian churches refused on principle to impart and transmit their confession in any other manner than by word of mouth. Such was their attitude, not because they believed in keeping their creed secret, but because they viewed the exclusively oral method of impartation as the most appropriate in a matter which they regarded as an affair of deepest concern of their hearts.

It is universally admitted, even by those who believe that the apostles were instrumental in formulating the early Christian Creed, that the wording of it was not absolutely identical in all Christian congregations, and that in the course of time various changes and additions were made. "Tradition," says Tertullian with respect to the baptismal confession, received from the apostles, "has enlarged it, custom has confirmed it, faith observes and preserves it." (Zahn, 252. 381.) When, therefore, Tertullian and other ancient writers declare that the rule of faith received from the apostles is "altogether one, immovable, and irreformable," they do not at all mean to say that the phraseology of this symbol was alike everywhere, and that in this respect no changes whatever had been made, nor that any clauses had been added. Such variations, additions, and alterations, however, involved a doctrinal change of the confession no more than the Apology of the Augsburg Confession implies a doctrinal departure from this symbol. It remained the same Apostolic Creed, the changes and additions merely bringing out more fully and clearly its true, original meaning. And this is the sense in which Tertullian and others emphasize that the rule of faith is "one, immovable, and irreformable."

The oldest known form of the Apostles' Creed, according to A. Harnack, is the one used in the church at Rome, even prior to 150 A. D. It was, however, as late as 337 or 338, when this Creed, which, as the church at Rome claimed, was brought thither by Peter himself, was for the first time quoted as a whole by Bishop Marcellus of Ancyra in a letter to Bishop Julius of Rome, for the purpose of vindicating his orthodoxy. During the long period intervening, some changes, however, may have been, and probably were, made also in this Old Roman Symbol, which reads as follows: —

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα· καὶ εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν [τὸν] υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν γεννηθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, τὸν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου σταυρωθέντα καὶ ταφέντα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἐκ [τῶν] νεκρῶν, ἀναβάντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθήμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ τοῦ πατρός, ὅθεν ἔρχεται κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· καὶ εἰς πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν. (Herzog, *R. E.* 1, 744.)

13. Present Form of Creed and Its Contents.

The complete form of the present *textus receptus* of the Apostles' Creed, evidently the result of a comparison and combination of the various preexisting forms of this symbol, may be traced to the end of the fifth century and is first found in a sermon by Caesarius of Arles in France, about 500. — In his translation, Luther substituted "Christian" for "catholic" in the Third Article. He regarded the two expressions as equivalent in substance, as appears from the Smalcald Articles, where he identifies these terms, saying: "Sic enim orant pueri: Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam sive Christianam." (472, 5; 498, 3.) The form, "I believe a holy Christian Church," however, is met with even before Luther's time. (Carpzov, *Isagoge*, 46.) — In the Greek version the received form of the Apostles' Creed reads as follows: —

Πιστεύω εἰς θεὸν πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς. Καὶ εἰς Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, τὸν συλληφθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, γεννηθέντα ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, παθόντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, σταυρωθέντα, θανόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, κατελθόντα εἰς τὰ κατώτατα, τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστάντα ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καθεζόμενον ἐν δεξιᾷ θεοῦ πατρὸς παντοδυνάμου, ἐκεῖθεν ἐρχόμενον κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Πιστεύω εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἁγίαν καθολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἁγίων κοινωνίαν, ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν, σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, ζωὴν αἰώνιον. Ἀμήν.

As to its contents, the Apostles' Creed is a positive statement of the essential facts of Christianity. The Second Article, says Zahn, is "a compend of the Evangelical history, including even external details." (264.) Yet some of the clauses of this Creed were probably inserted in opposition to prevailing, notably Gnostic, heresies of the first centuries. It was the first Christian symbol and, as Tertullian and others declare, the bond of unity and fellowship of the early Christian congregations everywhere. It must not, however, be regarded as inspired, much less as superior even to the Holy Scriptures; for, as stated above, it cannot even, in any of its existing forms, be traced to the apostles. Hence it must be subjected to, and tested and judged by, the Holy Scriptures, the inspired Word of God and the only infallible rule and norm of all doctrines, teachers, and symbols. In accordance herewith the Lutheran Church re-

ceives the Apostles' Creed, as also the two other ecumenical confessions, not as *per se* divine and authoritative, but because its doctrine is taken from, and well grounded in, the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments. (Conc. Trigl., 851, 4.)

14. The Nicene Creed.

In the year 325 Emperor Constantine the Great convened the First Ecumenical Council at Nicaea, in Bithynia, for the purpose of settling the controversy precipitated by the teaching of Arius, who denied the true divinity of Christ. The council was attended by 318 bishops and their assistants, among whom the young deacon Athanasius of Alexandria gained special prominence as a theologian of great eloquence, acumen, and learning. "The most valiant champion against the Arians," as he was called, Athanasius turned the tide of victory in favor of the Homoousians, who believed that the essence of the Father and of the Son is identical. The discussions were based upon the symbol of Eusebius of Caesarea, which by changes and the insertion of Homoousian phrases (such as *ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός; γεννηθείς, οὐ ποιηθείς; ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρί*) was amended into an unequivocal, clean-cut, anti-Arian confession. Two Egyptian bishops who refused to sign the symbol were banished, together with Arius, to Illyria. The text of the original Nicene Creed reads as follows: —

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεόν, πατέρα παντοκράτορα, πάντων ὁρατῶν τε καὶ ἀοράτων ποιητήν. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, γεννηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μονογενῆ, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρός, θεὸν ἐκ θεοῦ, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τά τε ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, παθόντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ ἐρχόμενον πάλιν κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς. Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. Τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ὅτι ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν, καὶ πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι, ἢ κτιστόν, ἢ ἀλλοιωτόν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ ἐκκλησία. (Mansi, *Amplissima Collectio*, 2, 665 sq.)

15. Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

In order to suppress Arianism, which still continued to flourish, Emperor Theodosius convened the Second Ecumenical Council, in 381, at Constantinople. The bishops here assembled, 150 in number, resolved that the faith of the Nicene Fathers must ever remain firm and unchanged, and that its opponents, the Eunomians, Anomoeans, Arians, Eudoxians, Semi-Arians, Sabellians, Marcellians, Photinians, and Apollinarians, must be rejected. At this council also Macedonius was condemned, who taught that the Holy Spirit is not God: *ἔλεγε γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλότριον.* (Mansi, 3, 558. 566. 573. 577. 600.) By omissions, alterations, and additions (in particular concerning the Holy Spirit) this council gave to the Nicene Creed its present form. Hence it is also known as the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed. The Third Ecumenical Council, which assembled at Toledo, Spain, in 589, inserted the word "Filioque," an addition which the Greek Church has never sanctioned, and which later contributed towards bringing about the great Eastern Schism. A. Harnack considers the Constantinopolitanum (CPanum), the creed adopted at Constantinople, to be the baptismal confession of the Church of Jerusalem, which, he says, was revised between 362 and 373 and amplified by the Nicene formulas and a rule of faith concerning the Holy Ghost. (Herzog, *R. E.*, 11, 19 f.) Following is the text of the CPanum according to Mansi: —

Πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα θεὸν πατέρα, παντοκράτορα, ποιητὴν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, ὁρατῶν τε πάντων καὶ ἀοράτων. Καὶ εἰς ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς γεννηθέντα πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων, φῶς ἐκ φωτός, θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀληθινοῦ, γεννηθέντα, οὐ ποιηθέντα, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρί, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν κατελθόντα ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ σαρκωθέντα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου, καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, σταυρωθέντα τε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, καὶ παθόντα, καὶ ταφέντα, καὶ ἀναστάντα τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, καὶ ἀνελθόντα εἰς τοὺς οὐρανούς, καὶ καθεζόμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ πατρός, καὶ πάλιν ἐρχόμενον μετὰ δόξης κρῖναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκρούς· οὗ τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ ἔσται τέλος. Καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον, τὸ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον καὶ συνδοξαζόμενον, τὸ λαλῆσαν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν, εἰς μίαν ἁγίαν καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ὁμολογοῦμεν ἓν βάπτισμα εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν· προσδοκῶμεν ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, καὶ ζωὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος. Ἀμήν. (3, 565.)

16. The Athanasian Creed.

From its opening word this Creed is also called Symbolum Quicunque. Roman tradition has it that Athanasius, who died 373, made this confession before Pope Julius when the latter summoned him "to submit himself to him [the Pope], as to the ecumenical bishop and supreme arbiter of matters ecclesiastical (*ut ei, seu episcopo oecumenico et supremo rerum ecclesiasticarum arbitro, sese submitteret*)." However, Athanasius is not even the author of this confession, as appears from the following facts: 1. The Creed was originally written in Latin. 2. It is mentioned neither by Athanasius himself nor by his Greek eulogists. 3. It was unknown to the Greek Church till about 1200, and has never been accorded official recognition by this Church nor its "orthodox" sister churches. 4. It presupposes the post-Athanasian Trinitarian and Christological controversies. — Up to the present day it has been impossible to reach a final verdict concerning the author of the Quicunque and the time and place of its origin. Koellner's *Symbolik* allocates it to Gaul. Loofs inclines

to the same opinion and ventures the conjecture that the source of this symbol must be sought in Southern Gaul between 450 and 600. (Herzog, *R. E.*, 2, 177.) Gieseler and others look to Spain for its origin.

Paragraphs 1, 2, and 40 of the Athanasian Creed have given offense not only to theologians who advocate an undogmatic Christianity, but to many thoughtless Christians as well. Loofs declares: The Quicunque is unevangelical and cannot be received, because its very first sentence confounds *fides* with *expositio fidei*. (H., *R. E.*, 2, 194.) However, the charge is gratuitous, since the Athanasian Creed deals with the most fundamental Christian truths: concerning the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, and His work of redemption, without the knowledge of which saving faith is impossible. The paragraphs in question merely express the clear doctrine of such passages of the Scriptures as Acts 4, 12: "Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved"; John 8, 21: "If ye believe not that I am He, ye shall die in your sins"; John 14, 6: "Jesus saith unto him, I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life; no man cometh unto the Father but by Me." In complete agreement with the impugned statements of the Athanasian Creed, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession closes its article "Of God" as follows: "Therefore we do freely conclude that they are all idolatrous, blasphemers, and outside of the Church of Christ who hold or teach otherwise." (102.)

In the early part of the Middle Ages the Quicunque had already received a place in the order of public worship. The Council of Vavre resolved, 1368: "Proinde Symbolum Apostolorum silenter et secrete dicitur quotidie in Completorio et in Prima, quia fuit editum tempore, quo nondum erat fides catholica propalata. Alia autem duo publice in diebus Dominicis et festivis, quando maior ad ecclesiam congregatur populus, decantantur, quia fuere edita tempore fidei propalatae. Symbolum quidem Nicaenum post evangelium cantatur in Missa quasi evangelicae fidei expositio. Symbolum Athanasii de mane solum cantatur in Prima, quia fuit editum tempore, quo maxime fuerunt depulsa et detecta nox atra et tenebrae haeresium et errorum." (Mansi, 26, 487.) Luther says: "The first symbol, that of the apostles, is indeed the best of all, because it contains a concise, correct, and splendid presentation of the articles of faith and is easily learned by children and the common people. The second, the Athanasian Creed, is longer . . . and practically amounts to an apology of the first symbol." "I do not know of any more important document of the New Testament Church since the days of the apostles" [than the Athanasian Creed]. (St. L. 10, 994; 6, 1576; E. 23, 253.)

17. Luther on Ecumenical Creeds.

The central theme of the three Ecumenical Symbols is Christ's person and work, the paramount importance of which Luther extols as follows in his tract of 1538: "In all the histories of the entire Christendom I have found and experienced that all who had and held the chief article concerning Jesus Christ correctly remained safe and sound in the true Christian faith. And even though they erred and sinned in other points, they nevertheless were finally preserved." "For it has been decreed, says Paul, Col. 2, 9, that in Christ should dwell all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, or personally, so that he who does not find or receive God in Christ shall never have nor find Him anywhere outside of Christ, even though he ascend above heaven, descend below hell, or go beyond the world." "On the other hand, I have also observed that all errors, heresies, idolatries, offenses, abuses, and ungodliness within the Church originally resulted from the fact that this article of faith concerning Jesus Christ was despised or lost. And viewed clearly and rightly, all heresies militate against the precious article of Jesus Christ, as Simeon says concerning Him, Luke 2, 34, that He is set for the falling and the rising of many in Israel and for a sign which is spoken against; and long before this, Isaiah, chapter 8, 14, spoke of Him as 'a stone of stumbling and a rock of offense.'" "And we, in the Papacy, the last and greatest of saints, what have we done? We have confessed that He [Christ] is God and man; but that He is our Savior, who died and rose *for us*, etc., this we have denied and persecuted with might and main" (those who taught this). "And even now those who claim to be the best Christians and boast that they are the Holy Church, who burn the others and wade in innocent blood, regard as the best doctrine [that which teaches] that we obtain grace and salvation through our own works. Christ is to be accorded no other honor with regard to our salvation than that He made the beginning, while we are the heroes who complete it with our merit."

Luther continues: "This is the way the devil goes to work. He attacks Christ with three storm-columns. One will not suffer Him to be God; the other will not suffer Him to be man; the third denies that He has merited salvation for us. Each of the three endeavors to destroy Christ. For what does it avail that you confess Him to be God if you do not also believe that He is man? For then you have not the entire and the true Christ, but a phantom of the devil. What does it avail you to confess that He is true man if you do not also believe that He is true God? What does it avail you to confess that He is God and man if you do not also believe that whatever He became and whatever He did was done for you?" "Surely, all three parts must be believed, namely, that He is God, also, that He is man, and that He became such a man for us, that is, as the first symbol says: conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, was crucified, died, and rose again, etc. If one small part is lacking, then all parts are lacking. For faith shall and must be complete in every particular. While it may indeed be weak and subject to afflictions, yet it must be entire and not false.

Weakness [of faith] does not work the harm, but false faith — that is eternal death." (St. L. 10, 998; E. 23, 258.)

Concerning the mystery involved in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, the chief topic of the Ecumenical Creeds, Luther remarks in the same tract: "Now, to be sure, we Christians are not so utterly devoid of all reason and sense as the Jews consider us, who take us to be nothing but crazy geese and ducks, unable to perceive or notice what folly it is to believe that God is man, and that in one Godhead there are three distinct persons. No, praise God, we perceive indeed that this doctrine cannot and will not be received by reason. Nor are we in need of any sublime Jewish reasoning to demonstrate this to us. We believe it knowingly and willingly. We confess and also experience that, where the Holy Spirit does not, surpassing reason, shine into the heart, it is impossible to grasp, or to believe, and abide by, such article; moreover, there must remain in it [the heart] a Jewish, proud, and supercilious reason deriding and ridiculing such article, and thus setting up itself as judge and master of the Divine Being, whom it has never seen nor is able to see, and hence does not know what it is passing judgment on, nor whereof it thinks or speaks. For God dwells in a 'light which no man can approach unto,' 1 Tim. 6, 16. He must come to us, yet hidden in the lantern, and as it is written, John 1, 18: 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, He hath declared Him,' and as Moses said before this, Ex. 33: 'There shall no man see Me [God] and live.'" (St. L. 10, 1007; E. 23, 568.)

III. The Augsburg Confession.

18. Diet Proclaimed by Emperor.

January 21, 1530, Emperor Charles V proclaimed a diet to convene at Augsburg on the 8th of April. The manifesto proceeded from Bologna, where, three days later, the Emperor was crowned by Pope Clement VII. The proclamation, after referring to the Turkish invasion and the action to be taken with reference to this great peril, continues as follows: "The diet is to consider furthermore what might and ought to be done and resolved upon regarding the division and separation in the holy faith and the Christian religion; and that this may proceed the better and more salubriously, [the Emperor urged] to allay divisions, to cease hostility, to surrender past errors to our Savior, and to display diligence in hearing, understanding, and considering with love and kindness the opinions and views of everybody, in order to reduce them to one single Christian truth and agreement, to put aside whatever has not been properly explained or done by either party, so that we all may adopt and hold one single and true religion; and may all live in one communion, church, and unity, even as we all live and do battle under one Christ."

In his invitation to attend the diet, the Emperor at the same time urged the Elector of Saxony by all means to appear early enough (the Elector reached Augsburg on May 2, while the Emperor did not arrive before June 16), "lest the others who arrived in time be compelled to wait with disgust, heavy expenses, and detrimental delay such as had frequently occurred in the past." The Emperor added the warning: In case the Elector should not appear, the diet would proceed as if he had been present and assented to its resolutions. (Foerstemann, *Urkundenbuch*, 1, 7 f.)

March 11 the proclamation reached Elector John at Torgau. On the 14th Chancellor Brueck advised the Elector to have "the opinion on which our party has hitherto stood and to which they have adhered," in the controverted points, "properly drawn up in writing, with a thorough confirmation thereof from the divine Scriptures." On the same day the Elector commissioned Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen, and Melanchthon to prepare a document treating especially of "those articles on account of which said division, both in faith and in other outward church customs and ceremonies, continues." (43.) At Wittenberg the theologians at once set to work, and the result was presented at Torgau March 27 by Melanchthon. On April 4 the Elector and his theologians set out from Torgau, arriving at Coburg on the 15th, where they rested for eight days. On the 23d of April the Elector left for Augsburg, while Luther, who was still under the ban of both the Pope and the Emperor, remained at the fortress Ebernburg. Nevertheless he continued in close touch with the confessors, as appears from his numerous letters written to Augsburg, seventy all told, about twenty of which were addressed to Melanchthon.

19. Apology Original Plan of Lutherans.

The documents which the Wittenberg theologians delivered at Torgau treated the following subjects: Human Doctrines and Ordinances, Marriage of Priests, Both Kinds, Mass, Confession, Power of Bishops, Ordination, Monastic Vows, Invocation of the Saints, German Singing, Faith and Works, Office of the Keys (Papacy), Ban, Marriage, and Private Mass. Accordingly, the original intention of the Lutherans was not to enter upon, and present for discussion at Augsburg, such doctrines as were not in controversy (Of God, etc.), but merely to treat of the abuses and immediately related doctrines, especially of Faith and Good Works. (66 ff.) They evidently regarded it as their chief object and duty to justify before the Emperor and the estates both Luther and his protectors, the electors of Saxony. This is borne out also by the original Introduction to the contemplated Apology, concerning which we read in the

prefatory remarks to the so-called Torgau Articles mentioned above: "To this end [of justifying the Elector's peaceable frame of mind] it will be advantageous to begin [the projected Apology] with a lengthy rhetorical introduction." (68; *C. R.*, 26, 171.) This introduction, later on replaced by another, was composed by Melanchthon at Coburg and polished by him during the first days at Augsburg. May 4 he remarks in a letter to Luther: "I have shaped the Exordium of our Apology somewhat more rhetorical (*ὑητορικώτερον*) than I had written it at Coburg." (*C. R.*, 2, 40; Luther, St. L. 16, 652.) In this introduction Melanchthon explains: Next to God the Elector builds his hope on the Emperor, who had always striven for peace, and was even now prepared to adjust the religious controversy in mildness. As to the Elector and his brother Frederick, they had ever been attached to the Christian religion, had proved faithful to the Emperor, and had constantly cultivated peace. Their present position was due to the fact that commandments of men had been preached instead of faith in Christ. Not Luther, but Luther's opponents, had begun the strife. It was for conscience' sake that the Elector had not proceeded against Luther. Besides, such action would only have made matters worse, since Luther had resisted the Sacramentarians and the Anabaptists. Equally unfounded were also the accusations that the Evangelicals had abolished all order as well as all ceremonies, and had undermined the authority of the bishops. If only the bishops would tolerate the Gospel and do away with the gross abuses, they would suffer no loss of power, honor, and prestige. In concluding Melanchthon emphatically protests: "Never has a reformation been undertaken so utterly without any violence as this [in Saxony]; for it is a public fact that our men have prevailed with such as were already in arms to make peace." (Kolde, *l. c.*, 13.) The document, accordingly, as originally planned for presentation at Augsburg, was to be a defense of Luther and his Elector. In keeping herewith it was in the beginning consistently designated "Apology."

20. Transformation of Apology into Confession Due to Eck's Slanders.

This plan, however, was modified when the Lutherans, after reaching Augsburg, heard of and read the 404 Propositions published by Dr. John Eck, in which Luther was classified with Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Carlstadt, Pirkheimer, Hubmaier, and Denk, and was charged with every conceivable heresy. In a letter of March 14, accompanying the copy of his Propositions which Eck sent to the Emperor, he refers to Luther as the domestic enemy of the Church (*hostis ecclesiae domesticus*), who has fallen into every Scylla and Charybdis of iniquity; who speaks of the Pope as the Antichrist and of the Church as the harlot; who has praise for none but heretics and schismatics; whom the Church has to thank for the Iconoclasts, Sacramentarians, New Hussites, Anabaptists, New Epicureans, who teach that the soul is mortal, and the Cerinthians; who rehashes all the old heresies condemned more than a thousand years ago, etc. (Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augustana*, 1, 527 ff.) Such and similar slanders had been disseminated by the Papists before this, and they continued to do so even after the Lutherans, at Augsburg, had made a public confession of their faith and had most emphatically disavowed all ancient and modern heresies. Thus Cochlaeus asserted in his attack on the Apology, published 1534, that Lutheranism was a concoction of all the old condemned heresies; that Luther taught fifteen errors against the article of God, and Melanchthon nine against the Nicene Creed, etc. Luther, he declared, had attacked the doctrine of the Trinity in a coarser fashion than Arius. (Salig, *Historie d. Augsb. Konf.*, 1, 377.)

These calumniations caused the Lutherans to remodel and expand the defense originally planned into a document which should not merely justify the changes made by them with regard to customs and ceremonies, but also present as fully as possible the doctrinal articles which they held over against ancient and modern heresies, falsely imputed to them. Thus to some extent it is due to the scurrility of Eck that the contemplated Apology was transformed into an all-embracing Confession, a term employed by Melanchthon himself. In a letter to Luther, dated May 11, 1530, he wrote: "Our Apology is being sent to you, — though it is rather a Confession. *Mittitur tibi apologia nostra, quamquam verius confessio est.* I included [in the Confession] almost all articles of faith, because Eck published most diabolical lies against us, *quia Eckius edidit διαβολικώτατας διαβολάς contra nos.* Against these it was my purpose to provide an antidote." (*C. R.* 2, 45; Luther, St. L. 16, 654.)

This is in accord also with Melanchthon's account in his Preface of September 29, 1559, to the German *Corpus Doctrinae* (Philippicum), stating: "Some papal scribblers had disseminated pasquinades at the diet [at Augsburg, 1530], which reviled our churches with horrible lies, charging that they taught many condemned errors, and were like the Anabaptists, erring and rebellious. Answer had to be made to His Imperial Majesty, and in order to refute the pasquinades, it was decided to include all articles of Christian doctrine in proper succession, that every one might see how unjustly our churches were slandered in the lying papal writings. . . . Finally, this Confession was, as God directed and guided, drawn up by me in the manner indicated, and the venerable Doctor Martin Luther was pleased with it." (*C. R.* 9, 929.)

The original plan, however, was not entirely abandoned, but merely extended by adding a defense also against the various heresies with which the Lutherans were publicly charged. This was done in an objective presentation of the principal doctrines held by the Lutherans, for which the Marburg and Schwabach Articles served as models and guides.

21. Marburg, Schwabach, and Torgau Articles.

The material from which Melanchthon constructed the Augsburg Confession is, in the last analysis, none other than the Reformation truths which Luther had proclaimed since 1517 with ever-increasing clarity and force. In particular, he was guided by, and based his labor on, the Marburg Articles, the Schwabach Articles, and the so-called Torgau Articles. The Marburg Articles, fifteen in number, had been drawn up by Luther, in 1529, at the Colloquy of Marburg, whence he departed October 5, about six months before the Diet at Augsburg. (Luther, St. L., 17, 1138 f.) The seventeen Schwabach Articles were composed by Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Brenz, and Agricola, and presented to the Convention at Smalcald about the middle of October, 1529. According to recent researches the Schwabach Articles antedated the Marburg Articles and formed the basis for them. (Luther, Weimar Ed., 30, 3, 97. 107.) In 1530 Luther published these Articles, remarking: "It is true that I helped to draw up such articles; for they were not composed by me alone." This public statement discredits the opinion of v. Schubert published in 1908, according to which Melanchthon is the sole author of the Schwabach Articles, Luther's contribution and participation being negligible. The Schwabach Articles constitute the seventeen basic articles of the first part of the Augsburg Confession. (St. L. 16, 638. 648. 564; *C. R.* 26, 146 f.)

The so-called Torgau Articles are the documents referred to above, touching chiefly upon the abuses. Pursuant to the order of the Elector, they were prepared by Luther and his assistants, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and possibly also Jonas. They are called Torgau Articles because the order for drafting them came from Torgau (March 14), and because they were presented to the Elector at Torgau. (Foerstemann, 1, 66; *C. R.* 26, 171; St. L. 16, 638.) With reference to these articles Luther wrote (March 14) to Jonas, who was then still conducting the visitation: "The Prince has written to us, that is, to you, Pomeranus, Philip, and myself, in a letter addressed to us in common, that we should come together, set aside all other business, and finish before next Sunday whatever is necessary for the next diet on April 8. For Emperor Charles himself will be present at Augsburg to settle all things in a friendly way, as he writes in his bull. Therefore, although you are absent, we three shall do what we can to-day and to-morrow; still, in order to comply with the will of the Prince, it will be incumbent upon you to turn your work over to your companions and be present with us here on the morrow. For things are in a hurry. *Festinata enim sunt omnia.*" (St. L. 16, 638.)

Melanchthon also wrote to Jonas on the 15th of March: "Luther is summoning you by order of the Prince; you will therefore come as soon as it is at all possible. The Diet, according to the proclamation, will convene at Augsburg. And the Emperor graciously promises that he will investigate the matter, and correct the errors on both sides. May Christ stand by us!" (*C. R.* 2, 28; Foerstemann, 1, 45.) It was to these articles (Torgau Articles) that the Elector referred when he wrote to Luther from Augsburg on the 11th of May: "After you and others of our learned men at Wittenberg, at our gracious desire and demand, have drafted the articles which are in religious controversy, we do not wish to conceal from you that Master Philip Melanchthon has now at this place perused them further and drawn them up in one form." (*C. R.* 2, 47.)

22. Luther's Spokesman at Augsburg.

The material, therefore, out of which Melanchthon, who in 1530 was still in full accord with Luther doctrinally, framed the fundamental symbol of the Lutheran Church were the thoughts and, in a large measure, the very words of Luther. Melanchthon gave to the Augsburg Confession its form and its irenic note; its entire doctrinal content, however, must be conceded to be "*iuxta sententiam Lutheri*, according to the teaching of Luther," as Melanchthon himself declared particularly with respect to the article of the Lord's Supper. (*C. R.* 2, 142.) On the 27th of June, two days after the presentation of the Confession, Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "We have hitherto followed your authority, *tuam secuti hactenus auctoritatem*," and now, says Melanchthon, Luther should also let him know how much could be yielded to the opponents. (2, 146.) Accordingly, in the opinion of Melanchthon, Luther, though absent, was the head of the Evangelicals also at Augsburg.

In his answer Luther does not deny this, but only demands of Melanchthon to consider the cause of the Gospel as his own. "For," says he, "it is indeed my affair, and, to tell the truth, my affair more so than that of all of you." Yet they should not speak of "authority." "In this matter," he continues, "I will not be or be called your author [authority]; and though this might be correctly explained, I do not want this word. If it is not your affair at the same time and in the same measure, I do not desire that it be called mine and be imposed upon you. If it is mine alone, I shall direct it myself." (St. L. 16, 906. 903. Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel*, 8, 43.)

Luther, then, was the prime mover also at Augsburg. Without him there would have been no Evangelical cause, no Diet of Augsburg, no Evangelical confessors, no Augsburg Confession. And this is what Luther really meant when he said: "*Confessio Augustana mea;* the Augsburg Confession is mine." (Walch 22, 1532.) He did not in the least thereby intend to deprive Melanchthon of any credit properly due him with reference to the Confession. Moreover, in a letter written to Nicolaus Hausmann on July 6, 1530, Luther refers to the Augustana as "our confession, which our Philip prepared; *quam Philippus noster paravit.*" (St. L. 16, 882; Enders 8, 80.) As a matter of fact, however, the day of Augsburg, even as the day of Worms, was the day

of Luther and of the Evangelical truth once more restored to light by Luther. At Augsburg, too, Melanchthon was not the real author and moving spirit, but the instrument and mouthpiece of Luther, out of whose spirit the doctrine there confessed had proceeded. (See Formula of Concord 983, 32—34.)

Only blindness born of false religious interests (indifferentism, unionism, etc.) can speak of Melanchthon's theological independence at Augsburg or of any doctrinal disagreement between the Augsburg Confession and the teaching of Luther. That, at the Diet, he was led, and wished to be led, by Luther is admitted by Melanchthon himself. In the letter of June 27, referred to above, he said: "The matters, as you [Luther] know, have been considered before, though in the combat it always turns out otherwise than expected." (St. L. 16, 899; *C. R.* 2, 146.) On the 31st of August he wrote to his friend Camerarius: "Hitherto we have yielded nothing to our opponents, except what Luther judged should be done, since the matter was considered well and carefully before the Diet; *re bene ac diligenter deliberata ante conventum.*" (2, 334.)

Very pertinently E. T. Nitzsch said of Melanchthon (1855): "With the son of the miner, who was destined to bring good ore out of the deep shaft, there was associated the son of an armorer, who was well qualified to follow his leader and to forge shields, helmets, armor, and swords for this great work." This applies also to the Augsburg Confession, in which Melanchthon merely shaped the material long before produced by Luther from the divine shafts of God's Word. Replying to Koeller, Rueckert, and Heppe, who contend that the authorship of the Augsburg Confession must in every way be ascribed to Melanchthon, Philip Schaff writes as follows: "This is true as far as the spirit [which Luther called 'pussyfooting,' *Leisetreten*] and the literary composition are concerned; but as to the doctrines Luther had a right to say, 'The Catechism, the Exposition of the Ten Commandments, and the Augsburg Confession are *mine*.'" (*Creeds* 1, 229.)

23. Drafting the Confession.

May 11 the Confession was so far completed that the Elector was able to submit it to Luther for the purpose of getting his opinion on it. According to Melanchthon's letter of the same date, the document contained "almost all articles of faith, *omnes fere articulos fidei.*" (*C. R.* 2, 45.) This agrees with the account written by Melanchthon shortly before his death, in which he states that in the Augsburg Confession he had presented "the sum of our Church's doctrine," and that in so doing he had arrogated nothing to himself; for in the presence of the princes, etc., each individual sentence had been discussed. "Thereupon," says Melanchthon, "the entire Confession was sent also to Luther, who informed the princes that he had read it and approved it. The princes and other honest and learned men still living will remember that such was the case. *Missa est denique et Luthero tota forma Confessionis, qui Principibus scripsit, se hanc Confessionem et legisse et probare. Haec ita acta esse, Principes et alii honesti et docti viri adhuc superstites meminerint.*" (9, 1052.) As early as May 15 Luther returned the Confession with the remark: "I have read Master Philip's Apology. I am well pleased with it, and know nothing to improve or to change in it; neither would this be proper, since I cannot step so gently and softly. Christ, our Lord, grant that it may produce much and great fruit, which, indeed, we hope and pray for. Amen." (St. L. 16, 657.) Luther is said to have added these words to the Tenth Article: "And they condemn those who teach otherwise; *et improbant secus docentes.*" (Enders, 7, 336.)

Up to the time of its presentation the Augsburg Confession was diligently improved, polished, perfected, and partly recast. Additions were inserted and several articles added. Nor was this done secretly and without Luther's knowledge. May 22 Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "Daily we change much in the Apology. I have eliminated the article On Vows, since it was too brief, and substituted a fuller explanation. Now I am also treating of the Power of the Keys. I would like to have you read the articles of faith. If you find no shortcoming in them, we shall manage to treat the remainder. For one must always make some changes in them and adapt oneself to conditions. *Subinde enim mutandi sunt, atque ad occasiones accommodandi.*" (*C. R.* 2, 60; Luther, 16, 689.) Improvements suggested by Regius and Brenz were also adopted. (Zoeckler, *Die A. K.*, 18.)

Even Brueck is said to have made some improvements. May 24 the Nuernberg delegates wrote to their Council: "The Saxon Plan [Apology] has been returned by Doctor Luther. But Doctor Brueck, the old chancellor, still has some changes to make at the beginning and the end." (*C. R.* 2, 62.) The expression "beginning and end (*hinten und vorne*)," according to Tschackert, is tantamount to "all over (*ueberall*)." However, even before 1867 Plitt wrote it had long ago been recognized that this expression refers to the Introduction and the Conclusion of the Confession, which were written by Brueck. (Aug. 2, 11.) Bretschneider is of the same opinion. (*C. R.* 2, 62.) June 3 the Nuernberg delegates wrote: "Herewith we transmit to Your Excellencies a copy of the Saxon Plan [Confession] in Latin, together with the Introduction or Preamble. At the end, however, there are lacking one or two articles [20 and 21] and the Conclusion, in which the Saxon theologians are still engaged. When that is completed, it shall be sent to Your Excellencies. Meanwhile Your Excellencies may cause your learned men and preachers to study it and deliberate upon it. When this Plan [Confession] is drawn up in German, it shall not be withheld from Your Excellencies. The Saxons, however, distinctly desire that, for the present, Your Excellencies keep this Plan or document secret, and that you permit no copy to be given to any one until it has been delivered to His Imperial

Majesty. They have reasons of their own for making this request. . . . And if Your Excellencies' pastors and learned men should decide to make changes or improvements in this Plan or in the one previously submitted, these, too, Your Excellencies are asked to transmit to us." (2, 83.) June 26 Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius: "Daily I changed and recast much; and I would have changed still more if our advisers (*συμφοράδμονες*) had permitted us to do so." (2, 140.)

24. Public Reading of the Confession.

June 15, after long negotiations, a number of other estates were permitted to join the adherents of the Saxon Confession. (*C. R.* 2, 105.) As a result, Melanchthon's Introduction, containing a defense of the Saxon Electors, without mentioning the other Lutheran estates, no longer fitted in with the changed conditions. Accordingly, it was supplanted by the Preface composed by Brueck, and translated into Latin by Justus Jonas, whose acknowledged elegant Latin and German style qualified him for such services. At the last deliberation, on June 23, the Confession was signed. And on June 25, at 3 P. M., the ever-memorable meeting of the Diet took place at which the Augustana was read by Chancellor Beyer in German, and both manuscripts were handed over. The Emperor kept the Latin copy for himself, and gave the German copy to the Imperial Chancellor, the Elector and Archbishop Albrecht, to be preserved in the Imperial Archives at Mainz. Both texts, therefore, the Latin as well as the German, have equal authority, although the German text has the additional distinction and prestige of having been publicly read at the Diet.

As to where and how the Lutheran heroes confessed their faith, Kolde writes as follows: "The place where they assembled on Saturday, June 25, at 3 P. M., was not the court-room, where the meetings of the Diet were ordinarily conducted, but, as the Imperial Herald, Caspar Sturm, reports, the 'Pfalz,' the large front room, *i. e.*, the Chapter-room of the bishop's palace, where the Emperor lived. The two Saxon chancellors, Dr. Greg. Brueck and Dr. Chr. Beyer, the one with the Latin and the other with the German copy of the Confession, stepped into the middle of the hall, while as many of the Evangelically minded estates as had the courage publicly to espouse the Evangelical cause arose from their seats. Caspar Sturm reports: 'Als aber die gemeldeten Commissarii und Botschaften der oesterreichischen Lande ihre Werbung und Botschaft vollendet und abgetreten, sind darauf von Stund' an Kurfuerst von Sachsen, naemlich Herzog Johannes, Markgraf Joerg von Brandenburg, Herzog Ernst samt seinem Bruder Franzisko, beide Herzoege zu Braunschweig und Lueneburg, Landgraf Philipp von Hessen, Graf Wolf von Anhalt usw. von ihrer Session auf- und gegen Kaiserliche Majestaet gestanden.' The Emperor desired to hear the Latin text. But when Elector John had called attention to the fact that the meeting was held on German soil, and expressed the hope that the Emperor would permit the reading to proceed in German, it was granted. Hereupon Dr. Beyer read the Confession. The reading lasted about two hours; but he read with a voice so clear and plain that the multitude, which could not gain access to the hall, understood every word in the courtyard." (19 f.)

The public reading of the Confession exercised a tremendous influence in every direction. Even before the Diet adjourned, Heilbronn, Kempten, Windsheim, Weissenburg, and Frankfurt on the Main professed their adherence to it. Others had received the first impulse which subsequently induced them to side with the Evangelicals. Brenz has it that the Emperor fell asleep during the reading. However, this can have been only temporarily or apparently, since Spalatin and Jonas assure us that the Emperor, like the other princes and King Ferdinand, listened attentively. Their report reads: "*Satis attentus erat Caesar*, The Emperor was attentive enough." Duke William of Bavaria declared: "Never before has this matter and doctrine been presented to me in this manner." And when Eck assured him that he would undertake to refute the Lutheran doctrine with the Fathers, but not with the Scriptures, the Duke responded, "Then the Lutherans, I understand, sit in the Scriptures and we of the Pope's Church beside the Scriptures! *So hoer' ich wohl, die Lutherischen sitzen in der Schrift und wir Pontificii daneben!*" The Archbishop of Salzburg declared that he, too, desired a reformation, but the unbearable thing about it was that one lone monk wanted to reform them all. In private conversation, Bishop Stadion of Augsburg exclaimed, "What has been read to us is the truth, the pure truth, and we cannot deny it." (St. L. 16, 882; Plitt, *Apologie*, 18.) Father Aegidius, the Emperor's confessor, said to Melanchthon, "You have a theology which a person can understand only if he prays much." Campegius is reported to have said that for his part he might well permit such teaching; but it would be a precedent of no little consequence, as the same permission would then have to be given other nations and kingdoms, which could not be tolerated. (Zoeckler, *A. K.*, 24.)

25. Luther's Mild Criticism.

June 26 Melanchthon sent a copy of the Confession, as publicly read, to Luther, who, adhering to his opinion of May 15, praised it, yet not without adding a grain of gentle criticism. June 29 he wrote to Melanchthon: "I have received your Apology and cannot understand what you may mean when you ask what and how much should be yielded to the Papists. . . . As far as I am concerned, too much has already been yielded (*plus satis cessum est*) in this Apology; and if they reject it, I see nothing that might be yielded beyond what has been done, unless I see the proofs they proffer, and clearer Bible-passages than I have hitherto seen. . . . As I have always written — I am prepared to yield everything to them if we are but given the liberty to teach the Gospel. I cannot yield anything that militates against the Gospel."

(St. L. 16, 902; Enders, 8, 42. 45.) The clearest expression of Luther's criticism is found in a letter to Jonas, dated July 21, 1530. Here we read: "Now I see the purpose of those questions [on the part of the Papists] whether you had any further articles to present. The devil still lives, and he has noticed very well that your Apology steps softly, and that it has veiled the articles of Purgatory, the Adoration of the Saints, and especially that of the Antichrist, the Pope." Another reading of this passage of Luther: "*Apologiam vestram, die Leisetreterin, dissimulasse*," is severer even than the one quoted: "*Apologiam vestram leise treten et dissimulasse.*" (St. L. 16, 2323; Enders, 8, 133.)

Brenz regarded the Confession as written "very courteously and modestly, *valde civiliter et modeste.*" (*C. R.* 2, 125.) The Nuernberg delegates had also received the impression that the Confession, while saying what was necessary, was very reserved and discreet. They reported to their Council: "Said instruction [Confession], as far as the articles of faith are concerned, is substantially like that which we have previously sent to Your Excellencies, only that it has been improved in some parts, and throughout made as mild as possible (*allenthalben aufs glimpflichste gemacht*), yet, according to our view, without omitting anything necessary." (2, 129.) At Smalcald, in 1537, the theologians were ordered by the Princes and Estates "to look over the Confession, to make no changes pertaining to its contents or substance, nor those of the Concord [of 1536], but merely to enlarge upon matters regarding the Papacy, which, for certain reasons, was previously omitted at the Diet of Augsburg in submissive deference to His Imperial Majesty." (Kolde, *Analecta*, 297.)

Indirectly Melanchthon himself admits the correctness of Luther's criticism. True, when after the presentation of the Confession he thought of the angry Papists, he trembled, fearing that he had written too severely. June 26 he wrote to his most intimate friend, Camerarius: "Far from thinking that I have written milder than was proper, I rather strongly fear (*mirum in modum*) that some have taken offense at our freedom. For Valdes, the Emperor's secretary, saw it before its presentation and gave it as his opinion that from beginning to end it was sharper than the opponents would be able to endure." (*C. R.* 2, 140.) On the same day he wrote to Luther: "According to my judgment, the Confession is severe enough. For you will see that I have depicted the monks sufficiently." (141.)

In two letters to Camerarius, however, written on May 21 and June 19, respectively, hence before the efforts at toning down the Confession were completed, Melanchthon expressed the opinion that the Confession could not have been written "in terms more gentle and mild, *mitior et lenior.*" (2, 57.) No doubt, Melanchthon also had in mind his far-reaching irenics at Augsburg, when he wrote in the Preface to the Apology of the Augsburg Confession: "It has always been my custom in these controversies to retain, so far as I was at all able, the form of the customarily received doctrine, in order that at some time concord might the more readily be effected. Nor, indeed, am I now departing far from this custom, although I could justly lead away the men of this age still farther from the opinions of the adversaries." (101, 11.) Evidently, Melanchthon means to emphasize that in the Augustana he had been conservative, criticizing only when compelled to do so for conscience' sake.

26. Luther Praising Confession and Confessors.

Luther's criticism did not in the least dampen his joy over the glorious victory at Augsburg nor lessen his praise of the splendid confession there made. In the abovementioned letter of June 27 he identifies himself fully and entirely with the Augustana, and demands that Melanchthon, too, consider it an expression of his own faith, and not merely of Luther's faith. July 3 he wrote to Melanchthon: "Yesterday I reread carefully your entire Apology, and it pleases me extremely (*vehementer*)." (St. L. 16, 913; Enders, 8, 79.) July 6 he wrote a letter to Cordatus in which he speaks of the Augustana as "altogether a most beautiful confession, *plane pulcherrima confessio.*" At the same time he expresses his great delight over the victory won at Augsburg, applying to the Confession Ps. 119, 46: "I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed," — a text which ever since has remained the motto, appearing on all of its subsequent manuscripts and printed copies.

Luther said: "I rejoice beyond measure that I lived to see the hour in which Christ was publicly glorified by such great confessors of His, in so great an assembly, through this in every respect most beautiful Confession. And the word has been fulfilled [Ps. 119, 46]: 'I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings'; and the other word will also be fulfilled: 'I was not confounded.' For, 'Whosoever confesses Me before men' (so speaks He who lies not), 'him will I also confess before My Father which is in heaven.'" (16, 915; E. 8, 83.) July 9 Luther wrote to Jonas: "Christ was loudly proclaimed by means of the public and glorious Confession (*publica et gloriosa confessione*) and confessed in the open (*am Lichte*) and in their [the Papists'] faces, so that they cannot boast that we fled, had been afraid, or had concealed our faith. I only regret that I was not able to be present when this splendid Confession was made (*in hac pulchra confessione*)." (St. L. 16, 928; E. 8, 94.)

On the same day, July 9, Luther wrote to the Elector: "I know and consider well that our Lord Christ Himself comforts the heart of Your Electoral Grace better than I or any one else is able to do. This is shown, too, and proved before our eyes by the facts; for the opponents think that they made a shrewd move by having His Imperial Majesty prohibit preaching. But the poor deluded people do not see that, through the written Confes-

sion presented to them, more has been preached than otherwise perhaps ten preachers could have done. Is it not keen wisdom and great wit that Magister Eisleben and others must keep silence? But in lieu thereof the Elector of Saxony, together with other princes and lords, arises with the written Confession and preaches freely before His Imperial Majesty and the entire realm, under their noses, so that they must hear and cannot gainsay. I think that thus the order prohibiting preaching was a success indeed. They will not permit their servants to hear the ministers, but must themselves hear something far worse (as they regard it) from such great lords, and keep their peace. Indeed, Christ is not silent at the Diet; and though they be furious, still they must hear more by listening to the Confession than they would have heard in a year from the preachers. Thus is fulfilled what Paul says: God's Word will nevertheless have free course. If it is prohibited in the pulpit, it must be heard in the palaces. If poor preachers dare not speak it, then mighty princes and lords proclaim it. In brief, if everything keeps silence, the very stones will cry out, says Christ Himself." (16, 815.) September 15, at the close of the Diet, Luther wrote to Melanchthon: "You have confessed Christ, offered peace, obeyed the Emperor, endured reproach, been sated with slander, and have not recompensed evil for evil; in sum, you have performed the holy work of God, as becomes saints, in a worthy manner. . . . I shall canonize you (*canonizabo vos*) as faithful members of Christ." (16, 2319; E. 8, 259.)

27. Manuscripts and Editions of Augustana.

As far as the text of the Augsburg Confession is concerned, both of the original manuscripts are lost to us. Evidently they have become a prey to Romish rage and enmity. Eck was given permission to examine the German copy in 1540, and possibly at that time already it was not returned to Mainz. It may have been taken to Trent for the discussions at the Council, and thence carried to Rome. The Latin original was deposited in the Imperial Archives at Brussels, where it was seen and perused by Lindanus in 1562. February 18, 1569, however, Philip II instructed Duke Alva to bring the manuscript to Spain, lest the Protestants "regard it as a Koran," and in order that "such a damned work might forever be destroyed; *porque se hunda para siempre tan malvada obra.*" The keeper of the Brussels archives himself testifies that the manuscript was delivered to Alva. There is, however, no lack of other manuscripts of the Augsburg Confession. Up to the present time no less than 39 have been found. Of these, five German and four Latin copies contain also the signatures. The five German copies are in verbal agreement almost throughout, and therefore probably offer the text as read and presented at Augsburg.

The printing of the Confession had been expressly prohibited by the Emperor. June 26 Melanchthon wrote to Veit Dietrich: "Our Confession has been presented to the Emperor. He ordered that it be not printed. You will therefore see that it is not made public." (*C. R.* 2, 142.) However, even during the sessions of the Diet a number of printed editions, six in German and one in Latin, were issued by irresponsible parties. But since these were full of errors, and since, furthermore, the Romanists asserted with increasing boldness and challenge that the Confession of the Lutherans had been refuted, by the Roman Confutation, from the Scriptures and the Fathers, Melanchthon, in 1530, had a correct edition printed, which was issued, together with the Apology, in May, 1531. This quarto edition ("Beide, Deutsch Und Lateinisch Ps. 119") is regarded as the *editio princeps*.

For years this edition was also considered the authentic edition of the Augsburg Confession. Its Latin text was embodied 1584 in the Book of Concord as the *textus receptus*. But when attention was drawn to the changes in the German text of this edition (also the Latin text had been subjected to minor alterations), the Mainz Manuscript was substituted in the German Book of Concord, as its Preface explains. (14.) This manuscript, however, contains no original signatures and was erroneously considered the identical document presented to the Emperor, of which it was probably but a copy. In his Introduction to the Symbolical Books, J. T. Mueller expresses the following opinion concerning the Mainz Manuscript: "To say the least, one cannot deny that its text, as a rule, agrees with that of the best manuscripts, and that its mistakes can easily be corrected according to them and the *editio princeps*, so that we have no reason to surrender the text received by the Church and to accept another in place thereof, of which we cannot prove either that it is any closer to the original." (78.) Tschackert, who devoted much study to the manuscripts of the Augsburg Confession, writes: "The Saxon theologians acted in good faith, and the Mainz copy is still certainly better than Melanchthon's original imprint [the *editio princeps*]; yet, when compared with the complete and — because synchronous with the originally presented copy — reliable manuscripts of the signers of the Confession, the Mainz Manuscript proves to be defective in quite a number of places." (*L. c.* 621 f.)

However, even Tschackert's minute comparison shows that the Mainz Manuscript deviates from the original presented to the Emperor only in unimportant and purely formal points. For example, in § 20 of the Preface the words: "Papst das Generalkonzilium zu halten nicht geweigert, so waere E. K. M. gnaediges Erbieten, zu fordern und zu handeln, dass der" are omitted. Art. 27, § 48 we are to read: "dass die erdichteten geistlichen Orden Staende sind christlicher Vollkommenheit" instead of: "dass die erdichteten geistlichen Ordensstaende sind christliche Vollkommenheit." Art. 27, § 61 reads, "die Uebermass der Werke," instead of, "die Uebermasswerke," by the way, an excellent expression, which should again be given

currency in the German. The conclusion of § 2 has "Leichpredigten" instead of "Beipredigten." According to the manuscripts, also the Mainz Manuscript, the correct reading of § 12 of the Preface is as follows: "Wo aber bei unsern Herrn, Freunden und besonders den Kurfuersten, Fuersten und Staenden des andern Teils die Handlung dermassen, wie E. K. M. Ausschreiben vermag ('bequeme Handlung unter uns selbst in Lieb' und Guetigkeit') nicht verfangen noch erspriesslich sein wollte" etc. The words, "bequeme Handlung unter uns selbst in Lieb' und Guetigkeit," are quoted from the imperial proclamation. (Foerstemann, 7, 378; Plitt, 2, 12.)

Originally only the last seven articles concerning the abuses had separate titles, the doctrinal articles being merely numbered, as in the Marburg and Schwabach Articles, which Melanchthon had before him at Augsburg. (Luther, Weimar 30, 3, 86. 160.) Nor are the present captions of the doctrinal articles found in the original German and Latin editions of the Book of Concord, Article XX forming a solitary exception; for in the German (in the Latin Concordia, too, it bears no title) it is superscribed: "Vom Glauben und guten Werken, Of Faith and Good Works." This is probably due to the fact that Article XX was taken from the so-called Torgau Articles and, with its superscription there, placed among the doctrinal articles. In the German edition of 1580 the word "Schluss" is omitted where the Latin has "Epilogus."

As to the translations, even before the Confession was presented to the Emperor, it had been rendered into French. (This translation was published by Foerstemann, 1, 357.) The Emperor had it translated for his own use into both Italian and French. (*C. R.* 2, 155; Luther, St. L., 16, 884.) Since then the Augustana has been done into Hebrew, Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgian, Slavic, Danish, Swedish, English, and many other languages. As to the English translations, see page 6.

28. Signatures of Augsburg Confession.

Concerning the signatures of the Augustana, Tschackert writes as follows: "The names of the signers are most reliably determined from the best manuscript copies of the original of the Confession, which have been preserved to us. There we find the signatures of eight princes and two free cities, to wit, Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke Ernest of Braunschweig-Lueneburg, Landgrave Philip of Hesse, then John Frederick, the Electoral Prince of Saxony, Ernest's brother Francis of Braunschweig-Lueneburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, and the cities Nuernberg and Reutlingen." (*L. c.* 285; see also Luther's letter of July 6, 1530, St. L. 16, 882.) Camerarius, in his Life of Melanchthon, relates that Melanchthon desired to have the Confession drawn up in the name of the theologians only, but that his plan did not prevail because it was believed that the signatures of the princes would lend prestige and splendor to the act of presenting this confession of faith. Besides, this plan of Melanchthon's was excluded by the Emperor's proclamation.

Although Philip of Hesse, in the interest of a union with the Swiss, had zealously, but in vain, endeavored to secure for the article concerning the Lord's Supper a milder form, still, in the end, he did not refuse to sign. Regius wrote to Luther, May 21, that he had discussed the entire cause of the Gospel with the Landgrave, who had invited him to dinner, and talked with him for two hours on the Lord's Supper. The Prince had presented all the arguments of the Sacramentarians and desired to hear Regius refute them. But while the Landgrave did not side with Zwingli (*non sentit cum Zwinglio*), yet he desired with all his heart an agreement of the theologians, as far as piety would permit (*exoptat doctorum hominum concordiam, quantum sinit pietas*). He was far less inclined to dissension than rumor had it before his arrival. He would hardly despise the wise counsel of Melanchthon and others. (Kolde, *Analecta*, 125; see also *C. R.* 2, 59, where the text reads, "*nam sentit cum Zwinglio*" instead of, "*non sentit cum Zwinglio.*") Accordingly, the mind of the Landgrave was not outright Zwinglian, but unionistic. He regarded the followers of Zwingli as weak brethren, who must be borne with, and to whom Christian fellowship should not be refused. This also explains how the Landgrave could sign the Augustana, and yet continue his endeavors to bring about a union.

May 22 Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "The Macedonian [Philip of Hesse] now contemplates signing our formula of speech, and it appears as if he can be drawn back to our side; still, a letter from you will be necessary. Therefore I beg you most urgently that you write him, admonishing him not to burden his conscience with a godless doctrine." Still the Landgrave did not change his position in the next few weeks. June 25, however, Melanchthon reported to Luther: "The Landgrave approves our Confession and has signed it. You will, I hope, accomplish much if you seek to strengthen him by writing him a letter." (*C. R.* 2, 60. 92. 96. 101. 103. 126; Luther, St. L., 16, 689; 21a, 1499.)

At Augsburg, whither also Zwingli had sent his *Fidei Ratio*, the South-German imperial cities (Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, Lindau) presented the so-called *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, prepared by Bucer and Capito, which declares that the Sacraments are "holy types," and that in the Lord's Supper the "true body" and the "true blood" of Christ "are truly eaten and drunk as meat and drink for the souls, which are thereby nourished unto eternal life." However, in 1532 these cities, too, signed the Augsburg Confession.

Thus the seed which Luther sowed had grown wonderfully. June 25, 1530, is properly regarded as the real birthday of the Lutheran Church. From this day on she stands before all the world as a body united by a public confession and separate from the Roman Church. The lone, but courageous confessor of Worms saw himself surrounded with a stately host of true Christian heroes, who

were not afraid to place their names under his Confession, although they knew that it might cost them goods and blood, life and limb. When the Emperor, after entering Augsburg, stubbornly demanded that the Lutherans cease preaching, Margrave George of Brandenburg finally declared: "Rather than deny my God and suffer the Word of God to be taken from me, I will kneel down and have my head struck off." (*C. R.* 2, 115.) That characterizes the pious and heroic frame of mind of all who signed the Augustana in 1530. In a letter, of June 18, to Luther, Jonas relates how the Catholic princes and estates knelt down to receive the blessing of Campegius when the latter entered the city, but that the Elector remained standing and declared: "To God alone shall knees be bowed; *In Deo flectenda sunt genua.*" (Kolde, *Analecta*, 135.) When Melanchthon called the Elector's attention to the possible consequences of his signing the Augsburg Confession, the latter answered that he would do what was right, without concerning himself about his electoral dignity; he would confess his Lord, whose cross he prized higher than all the power of the world.

Brenz wrote: "Our princes are most steadfast in confessing the Gospel, and surely, when I consider their great steadfastness, there comes over me no small feeling of shame because we poor beggars [theologians] are filled with fear of the Imperial Majesty." (*C. R.* 2, 125.) Luther praises Elector John for having suffered a bitter death at the Diet of Augsburg. There, says Luther, he had to swallow all kinds of nasty soups and poison with which the devil served him; at Augsburg he publicly, before all the world, confessed Christ's death and resurrection, and hazarded property and people, yea, his own body and life; and because of the confession which he made, we shall honor him as a Christian. (St. L. 12, 2078 f.) And not only the Lutheran Church, but all Protestant Christendom, aye, the entire world has every reason to revere and hold sacred the memory of the heroes who boldly affixed their names to the Confession of 1530.

29. Tributes to Confession of Augsburg.

From the moment of its presentation to the present day, men have not tired of praising the Augsburg Confession, which has been called *Confessio augusta, Confessio augustissima,* the *"Evangelischer Augapfel,"* etc. They have admired its systematic plan, its completeness, comprehensiveness, and arrangement; its balance of mildness and firmness; its racy vigor, freshness, and directness; its beauty of composition, "the like of which cannot be found in the entire literature of the Reformation period." Spalatin exclaims: "A Confession, the like of which was never made, not only in a thousand years, but as long as the world has been standing!" Sartorius: "A confession of the eternal truth, of true ecumenical Christianity, and of all fundamental articles of the Christian faith!" "From the Diet of Augsburg, which is the birthday of the Evangelical Church Federation, down to the great Peace Congress of Muenster and Osnabrueck, this Confession stands as the towering standard in the entire history of those profoundly troublous times, gathering the Protestants about itself in ever closer ranks, and, when assaulted by the enemies of Evangelical truth with increasing fury, is defended by its friends in severe fighting, with loss of goods and blood, and always finally victoriously holds the field. Under the protection of this banner the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Germany has been built up on firm and unassailable foundations; under the same protection the Reformed Church in Germany has found shelter. But the banner was carried still farther; for all Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and Prussians have sworn allegiance to it, and the Esthonians, Letts, Finns, as well as all Lutherans of Russia, France, and other lands recognize therein the palladium of their faith and rights. No other Protestant confession has ever been so honored." (Guericke, *Kg.*, 3, 116 f.)

Vilmar says in praise of the Confession: "Whoever has once felt a gentle breath of the bracing mountain air which is wafted from this mighty mountain of faith [the Augsburg Confession] no longer seeks to pit against its firm and quiet dignity his own uncertain, immature, and wavering thoughts, nor to direct the vain and childish puff of his mouth against that breath of God in order to give it a different direction." (*Theol. d. Tatsachen*, 76.) In his Introduction to the Symbolical Books, J. T. Mueller says: "Luther called the Diet of Augsburg 'the last trumpet before Judgment Day'; hence we may well call the confession there made the *blast* of that trumpet, which, indeed, has gone forth into all lands, even as the Gospel of God, which it proclaims in its purity." (78.) The highest praise, however, is given the Augsburg Confession by the Church which was born with it, when, *e. g.*, in the Formula of Concord, the Lutherans designate it as "the symbol of our time," and glory in it as the Confession, which, though frowned upon and assailed by its opponents, "down to this day has remained unrefuted and unoverthrown (bis auf diesen Tag unwiderlegt und unumgestossen geblieben)." (777, 4; 847, 3.)

IV. Melanchthon's Alterations of the Augsburg Confession.

30. Changes Unwarranted.

Melanchthon continued uninterruptedly to polish and correct the Augsburg Confession till immediately before its presentation on June 25, 1530. While, indeed, he cannot be censured for doing this, it was, though originally not so intended by Melanchthon, an act of presumption to continue to alter the document after it had been adopted, signed, and publicly presented. Even the *editio princeps* of 1531 is no longer in literal agreement with the original manuscripts. For this reason the

German text embodied in the Book of Concord is not the one contained in the *editio princeps*, but that of the Mainz Manuscript, which, as stated, was erroneously believed to be the identical German copy presented to the Emperor. The Latin text of the *editio princeps*, embodied in the Book of Concord, had likewise undergone some, though unessential, changes. These alterations became much more extensive in the Latin octavo edition of 1531 and in the German revision of 1533. The Variata of 1540 and 1542, however, capped the climax as far as changes are concerned, some of them being very questionable also doctrinally. In their "Approbation" of the Concordia Germanico-Latina, edited by Reineccius, 1708, the Leipzig theologians remark pertinently: Melanchthon found it "impossible to leave a book as it once was." Witness his *Loci* of 1521, which he remodeled three times — 1535, 1542, and 1548. However, the *Loci* were his own private work, while the Augustana was the property and confession of the Church.

Tschackert is right when he comments as follows: "To-day it is regarded as an almost incomprehensible trait of Melanchthon's character, that immediately after the Diet and all his lifetime he regarded the Confession as a private production of his pen, and made changes in it as often as he had it printed, while he, more so than others, could but evaluate it as a state-paper of the Evangelical estates, which, having been read and delivered in solemn session, represented an important document of German history, both secular and ecclesiastical. In extenuation it is said that Melanchthon made these changes in pedagogical interests, namely, in order to clarify terms or to explain them more definitely; furthermore, that for decades the Evangelical estates and theologians did not take offense at Melanchthon's changes. Both may be true. But this does not change the fact that the chief editor of the Confession did not appreciate the world-historical significance of this state-paper of the Evangelical estates." (*L. c.* 288.) Nor can it be denied that Melanchthon made these changes, not merely in pedagogical interests, but, at least a number of them, also in the interest of his deviating dogmatic views and in deference to Philip of Hesse, who favored a union with the Swiss. Nor can Melanchthon be fully cleared of dissimulation in this matter. The revised Apology of 1540, for example, he openly designated on the title-page as "diligently revised, *diligenter recognita*"; but in the case of the Augsburg Confession of 1540 and 1542 he in no way indicated that it was a changed and augmented edition.

As yet it has not been definitely ascertained when and where the terms "Variata" and "Invariata" originated. At the princes' diet of Naumburg, in 1561, the Variata was designated as the "amended" edition. The Reuss Confession of 1567 contains the term "unaltered Augsburg Confession." In its Epitome as well as in its Thorough Declaration the Formula of Concord speaks of "the First Unaltered Augsburg Confession — *Augustana illa prima et non mutata Confessio*." (777, 4; 851, 5.) The Preface to the Formula of Concord repeatedly speaks of the Variata of 1540 as "the other edition of the Augsburg Confession — *altera Augustanae Confessionis editio*." (13 f.)

31. Detrimental Consequences of Alterations.

The changes made in the Augsburg Confession brought great distress, heavy cares, and bitter struggles upon the Lutheran Church, both from within and without. Church history records the manifold and sinister ways in which they were exploited by the Reformed as well as the Papists; especially by the latter (the Jesuits) at the religious colloquies, beginning 1540, until far into the time of the Thirty Years' War, in order to deprive the Lutherans of the blessings guaranteed by the religious Peace of Augsburg, 1555. (Salig, *Gesch. d. A. K.*, 1, 770 ff.; *Lehre und Wehre* 1919, 218 ff.)

On Melanchthon's alterations of the Augsburg Confession the Romanists, as the Preface to the Book of Concord explains, based the reproach and slander that the Lutherans themselves did not know "which is the true and genuine Augsburg Confession." (15.) Decrying the Lutherans, they boldly declared "that not two preachers are found who agree in each and every article of the Augsburg Confession, but that they are rent asunder and separated from one another to such an extent that they themselves no longer know what is the Augsburg Confession and its proper sense." (1095.) In spite of the express declaration of the Lutherans at Naumburg, 1561, that they were minded to abide by the original Augsburg Confession as presented to Emperor Charles V at Augsburg, 1530, the Papists and the Reformed did not cease their calumniations, but continued to interpret their declarations to mean, "as though we [the Lutherans] were so uncertain concerning our religion, and so often had transfused it from one formula to another, that it was no longer clear to us or our theologians what is the Confession once offered to the Emperor at Augsburg." (11.)

As a result of the numerous and, in part, radical changes made by Melanchthon in the Augsburg Confession, the Reformed also, in the course of time more and more, laid claim to the Variata and appealed to it over against the loyal Lutherans. In particular, they regarded and interpreted the alteration which Melanchthon had made in Article X, Of the Lord's Supper, as a correction of the original Augustana in deference to the views of Calvinism. Calvin declared that he (1539 at Strassburg) had signed the Augustana "in the sense in which its author [Melanchthon] explains it (*sicut eam auctor ipse interpretatur*)." And whenever the Reformed, who were regarded as confessionally related to the Augsburg Confession (*Confessioni Augustanae addicti*), and as such shared in the blessings of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the

Peace of Westphalia (1648), adopted, and appealed to, the Augustana, they interpreted it according to the Variata.

Referring to this abuse on the part of the Reformed and Crypto-Calvinists, the Preface to the Book of Concord remarks: "To these disadvantages [the slanders of the Romanists] there is also added that, under the pretext of the Augsburg Confession [Variata of 1540], the teaching conflicting with the institution of the Holy Supper of the body and blood of Christ and also other corruptions were introduced here and there into the churches and schools." (11. 17.) — Thus the changes made in the Augsburg Confession did much harm to the Lutheran cause. Melanchthon belongs to the class of men that have greatly benefited our Church, but have also seriously harmed it. "These fictions" of the adversaries, says the Preface to the Book of Concord concerning the slanders based on Melanchthon's changes, "have deterred and alienated many good men from our churches, schools, doctrine, faith, and confession." (11.)

32. Attitude toward Variata.

John Eck was the first who, in 1541, at the religious colloquy of Worms, publicly protested against the Variata. But since it was apparent that most of the changes were intended merely as reenforcements of the Lutheran position against the Papists, and Melanchthon also declared that he had made no changes in "the matter and substance or in the sense," *i. e.*, in the doctrine itself, the Lutherans at that time, as the Preface to the Book of Concord shows, attached no further importance to the matter. The freedom with which in those days formal alterations were made even in public documents, and the guilelessness with which such changes were received, appears, for example, from the translation of the Apology by Justus Jonas. However, not all Lutherans even at that time were able to view Melanchthon's changes without apprehension and indifference. Among these was Elector John Frederick, who declared that he considered the Augustana to be the confession of those who had signed it, and not the private property of Melanchthon.

In his admonition to Brueck of May 5, 1537, he says: "Thus Master Philip also is said to have arrogated to himself the privilege of changing in some points the Confession of Your Electoral Grace and the other princes and estates, made before His Imperial Majesty at Augsburg, to soften it and to print it elsewhere [a reprint of the changed Latin octavo edition of 1531 had been published 1535 at Augsburg and another at Hagenau] without the previous knowledge and approval of Your Electoral Grace and of the other estates, which, in the opinion of Your Electoral Grace, he should justly have refrained from, since the Confession belongs primarily to Your Electoral Grace and the other estates; and from it [the alterations made] Your Electoral Grace and the other related estates might be charged that they are not certain of their doctrine and are also unstable. Besides, it is giving an offense to the people." (*C. R.* 3, 365.) Luther, too, is said to have remonstrated with Melanchthon for having altered the Confession. In his Introduction to the Augsburg Confession (Koenigsberg, 1577) Wigand reports: "I heard from Mr. George Rorarius that Dr. Luther said to Philip, 'Philip, Philip, you are not doing right in changing Augustanam Confessionem so often; for it is not your, but the Church's book.'" Yet it is improbable that this should have occurred between 1537 and 1542, for in 1540 the Variata followed, which was changed still more in 1542, without arousing any public protest whatever.

After Luther's death, however, when Melanchthon's doctrinal deviations became apparent, and the Melanchthonians and the loyal Lutherans became more and more opposed to one another, the Variata was rejected with increasing determination by the latter as the party-symbol of the Philippists. In 1560 Flacius asserted at Weimar that the Variata differed essentially from the Augustana. In the Reuss-Schoenburg Confession of 1567 the Variata was unqualifiedly condemned; for here we read: We confess "the old, true, unaltered Augsburg Confession, which later was changed, mutilated, misinterpreted, and falsified . . . by the Adiaphorists in many places both as regards the words and the substance (*nach den Worten und sonst in den Haendeln*), which thus became a buskin, *Bundschuh*, pantoffle, and a Polish boot, fitting both legs equally well [suiting Lutherans as well as Reformed], or a cloak and a changeling (*Wechselbalg*), by means of which Adiaphorists, Sacramentarians, Antinomians, new teachers of works, and the like hide, adorn, defend, and establish their errors and falsifications under the cover and name of the Augsburg Confession, pretending to be likewise confessors of the Augsburg Confession, for the sole purpose of enjoying with us under its shadow, against rain and hail, the common peace of the Empire, and selling, furthering, and spreading their errors under the semblance of friends so much the more easily and safely." (Kolde, *Einleitung*, 30.) In a sermon delivered at Wittenberg, Jacob Andreae also opposed the Variata very zealously.

Thus the conditions without as well as within the Lutheran Church were such that a public declaration on the part of the genuine Lutherans as to their attitude toward the alterations of Melanchthon, notably in the Variata of 1540, became increasingly imperative. Especially the continued slanders, intrigues, and threats of the Papists necessitated such a declaration. As early as 1555, when the Peace of Augsburg was concluded, the Romanists attempted to limit its provisions to the adherents of the Augustana of 1530. At the religious colloquy of Worms, in 1557, the Jesuit Canisius, distinguishing between a pure and a falsified Augustana, demanded that the adherents of the latter be condemned, and excluded from the discussions.

33. Alterations in Editions of 1531, 1533, 1540.

As to the alterations themselves, the Latin text of the *editio princeps* of the Augsburg Confession of 1531 received the following additions: § 3 in Article 13, § 8 in Article 18, and § 26 in Article 26. Accordingly, these passages do not occur in the German text of the Book of Concord. Originally § 2 in the conclusion of Article 21 read: "*Tota* dissensio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus," and § 3 in Article 24: "Nam ad hoc *praecipue* opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant imperitos." The additions made to Articles 13 and 18 are also found in the German text of the *editio princeps*. (*C. R.* 26, 279. 564.)

In the "Approbation" of the Leipzig theologians mentioned above we read: The octavo edition of the Augustana and the Apology, printed 1531 by George Rauh, according to the unanimous testimony of our theologians, cannot be tolerated, "owing to the many additions and other changes originating from Philip Melanchthon. For if one compares the 20th Article of the Augsburg Confession as well as the last articles on the Abuses: 'Of Monastic Vows' and 'Of Ecclesiastical Authority,' it will readily be seen what great additions (*laciniae*) have been patched onto this Wittenberg octavo edition of 1531. The same thing has also been done with the Apology, especially in the article 'Of Justification and Good Works,' where often entire successive pages may be found which do not occur in the genuine copies. Furthermore, in the declaration regarding the article 'Of the Lord's Supper,' where Paul's words, that the bread is a communion of the body of Christ, etc., as well as the testimony of Theophylact concerning the presence of the body of Christ in the Supper have been omitted. Likewise in the defense of the articles 'Of Repentance,' 'Of Confession and Satisfaction,' 'Of Human Traditions,' 'Of the Marriage of Priests,' and 'Of Ecclesiastical Power,' where, again, entire pages have been added." (*L. c.* 8, 13; *C. R.* 27, 437.) In the German edition of the Augsburg Confession of 1533 it was especially Articles 4, 5, 6, 12, 13, 15, and 20 that were remodeled. These alterations, however, involve no doctrinal changes, with the possible exception of Article 5, where the words "where and when He will" are expunged. (*C. R.* 26, 728.)

As to the Variata of 1540, however, the extent of the 21 doctrinal articles was here almost doubled, and quite a number of material alterations were made. Chief among the latter are the following: In Article 5 the words, "ubi et quando visum est Deo," are omitted. In the 10th Article the rejection of the Reformed doctrine is deleted, and the following is substituted for the article proper: "De coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Coena Domini." (*C. R.* 26, 357.) The following sentences have also given offense: "Et cum hoc modo consolamur nos promissione seu Evangelio et erigimus nos fide, certo consequimur remissionem peccatorum, et *simul* datur nobis Spiritus Sanctus." "Cum Evangelium audimus aut cogitamus aut sacramenta tractamus et fide nos consolamur, *simul* est efficax Spiritus Sanctus." (354.) For the words of the 18th Article: "sed haec fit in cordibus, cum per Verbum Spiritus Sanctus concipitur," the Variata substitutes: "Et Christus dicit: Sine me nihil potestis facere. Efficitur autem spiritualis iustitia in nobis, cum *adiuvamur* a Spiritu Sancto. Porro Spiritum Sanctum concipimus, cum Verbo Dei assentimur, ut nos fide in terroribus consolemur." (362.) Toward the end of the same article we read: "Quamquam enim externa opera aliquo modo potest efficere humana natura per sese, . . . verum timorem, veram fiduciam, patientiam, castitatem non potest efficere, nisi Spiritus Sanctus gubernet et *adiuvet* corda nostra." (363.) In the 19th Article the phrase "non adiuvante Deo" is erased, which, by the way, indicates that Melanchthon regarded these words as equivalent to those of the German text: "so Gott die Hand abgetan," for else he would have weakened the text against his own interests. (363.) To the 20th Article Melanchthon added the sentence: "Debet autem ad haec dona [Dei] accedere exercitatio nostra, quae et *conservat* ea et meretur incrementum, iuxta illud: Habenti dabitur. Et Augustinus praeclare dixit: Dilectio meretur incrementum dilectionis, cum videlicet exercetur." (371.)

34. Alterations Render Confession Ambiguous.

True, in making all these changes, Melanchthon did not introduce any direct heresy into the Variata. He did, however, in the interest of his irenic and unionistic policy and dogmatic vacillations, render ambiguous and weaken the clear sense of the Augustana. By his changes he opened the door and cleared the way, as it were, for his deviations in the direction of Synergism, Calvinism (Lord's Supper), and Romanism (good works are necessary to salvation). Nor was Melanchthon a man who did not know what he was doing when he made alterations. Whenever he weakened and trimmed the doctrines he had once confessed, whether in his *Loci* or in the Augustana, he did so in order to satisfy definite interests of his own, interests self-evidently not subservient to, but conflicting with, the clear expression and bold confession of the old Lutheran truth.

Kolde, referring in particular to the changes made in the 10th Article, says: "It should never have been denied that these alterations involved real changes. The motives which actuated Melanchthon cannot be definitely ascertained, neither from his own expressions nor from contemporary remarks of his circle of acquaintances" [As late as 1575 Selneccer reports that Philip of Hesse had asked Melanchthon to erase the *improbatio* of the 10th Article, because then also the Swiss would accept the Augustana as their confession]. "A comparison with the Wittenberg Concord of May, 1536 (*cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse* — that the body

and blood [of Christ] are really and substantially present with the bread and wine, *C. R.* 3, 75) justifies the assumption that by using the form: *cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur*, he endeavored to take into account the existing agreement with the South Germans (*Oberlaender*). However, when, at the same time, he omits the words: *vere et substantialiter adesse*, and the *improbatio*, it cannot, in view of his gradually changed conception of the Lord's Supper, be doubted that he sought to leave open for himself and others the possibility of associating also with the Swiss." (25.)

An adequate answer to the question what prompted Melanchthon to make his alterations will embrace also the following points: 1. Melanchthon's mania for changing and remodeling in general. 2. His desire, especially after the breach between the Lutherans and the Papists seemed incurable, to meet and satisfy the criticism that the Augustana was too mild, and to reenforce the Lutheran position over against the Papists. 3. Melanchthon's doctrinal deviations, especially in Reformed and synergistic directions.

35. Variata Disowned by Lutheran Church.

It cannot be denied that during Luther's life and for quite a time after his death the Variata was used by Lutherans without any public opposition and recognized as the Augsburg Confession. Martin Chemnitz, in his "Iudicium de Controversiis quibusdam circa quosdam Augustanae Confessionis Articulos — Decision concerning Certain Controversies about Some Articles of the Augsburg Confession," printed 1597, says that the edition of 1540 was employed at the religious colloquies with the previous knowledge and approval of Luther; in fact, that it was drawn up especially for the Colloquy at Hagenau, which the opponents (Cochlaeus at Worms, Pighius at Regensburg) had taken amiss. "Graviter tulerant," says Chemnitz, "multis articulis pleniori declaratione plusculum lucis accessisse, unde videbant veras sententias magis illustrari et Thaidis Babyloniae turpitudinem manifestius denudare — They took it amiss that more light had been shed on many articles by a fuller explanation, whence they perceived the true statements to be more fully illustrated and the shame of the Babylonian Thais to be more fully disclosed." (Mueller, *Einleitung*, 72.)

Furthermore, it is equally certain that, on the part of the Lutheran princes, the Variata was employed without any sinister intentions whatever, and without the slightest thought of deviating even in the least from the doctrine of the original Augustana, as has been falsely asserted by Heppe, Weber, and others. Wherever the Variata was adopted by Lutheran princes and theologians, it was never for the purpose of weakening the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession in any point. Moreover, the sole reason always was to accentuate and present more clearly the contrast between themselves and the Papists; and, generally speaking, the Variata did serve this purpose. True, Melanchthon at the same time, no doubt, planned to prepare the way for his doctrinal innovations; but wherever such was the case, he kept it strictly to himself.

The complete guilelessness and good faith in which the Lutheran princes and theologians employed the Variata, and permitted its use, appears from the Preface to the Book of Concord. For here they state: "Therefore we have decided in this writing to testify publicly, and to inform all, that we wished neither then nor now in any way to defend, or excuse, or to approve, as agreeing with the Gospel-doctrine, false and godless doctrines and opinions which may lie concealed under certain coverings of words [in the Variata]. We, indeed, never received the latter edition [of 1540] in a sense differing in any part from the former which was presented [at Augsburg]. Neither do we judge that other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melanchthon, or of Brenz, Urban Regius, Pomeranus, etc., should be rejected and condemned, as far as, in all things, they agree with the norm which has been set forth in the Book of Concord." (17.)

Accordingly, when the Variata was boldly exploited by the Romanists to circulate all manner of slanders about the Lutherans; when it also became increasingly evident that the Reformed and Crypto-Calvinists employed the Variata as a cover for their false doctrine of the Lord's Supper; when, furthermore, within the Lutheran Church the suspicion gradually grew into conviction that Melanchthon, by his alterations, had indeed intended to foist doctrinal deviations upon the Lutheran Church; and when, finally, a close scrutiny of the Variata had unmistakably revealed the fact that it actually did deviate from the original document not only in extent, but also with regard to intent, not merely formally, but materially as well, — all loyal Lutheran princes and theologians regarded it as self-evident that they unanimously and solemnly declare their exclusive adherence to the Augsburg Confession as presented to Emperor Charles at Augsburg, and abandon the Variata without delay. At Naumburg, in 1561, the Lutheran princes, therefore, after some vacillation, declared that they would adhere to the original Augsburg Confession and its "genuine Christian declaration and norm," the Smalcald Articles. Frederick III of the Palatinate alone withdrew, and before long joined the Calvinists by introducing the Heidelberg Catechism, thus revealing the spuriousness of his own Lutheranism.

It was due especially to the Crypto-Calvinists in Electoral Saxony and to the *Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum* that the Variata retained a temporary and local authority, until it was finally and generally disowned by the Lutheran Church and excluded from its symbols by the adoption of the Formula of Concord. For here our Church pledges adherence to "the First, Unaltered Augsburg Confession, delivered to the Emperor Charles V at Augs-

burg in the year 1530, in the great Diet." (777, 4; 847, 5; 851, 5.) And in the Preface to the Book of Concord the princes and estates declare: "Accordingly, in order that no persons may permit themselves to be disturbed by the charges of our adversaries spun out of their own minds, by which they boast that not even we are certain which is the true and genuine Augsburg Confession, but that both those who are now among the living and posterity may be clearly and firmly taught and informed what that godly Confession is which we and the churches and schools of our realms at all times professed and embraced, we emphatically testify that next to the pure and immutable truth of God's Word we wish to embrace the first Augsburg Confession alone which was presented to the Emperor Charles V, in the year 1530, at the famous Diet of Augsburg, this alone (we say), and no other." (15.) At the same time the princes furthermore protest that also the adoption of the Formula of Concord did not make any change in this respect. For doctrinally the Formula of Concord was not, nor was it intended to be, a "new or different confession," *i. e.*, different from the one presented to Emperor Charles V. (20.)

V. The Pontifical Confutation of the Augsburg Confession.

36. Papal Party Refusing Conciliation.

At the Diet of Augsburg, convened in order to restore the disturbed religious peace, the Lutherans were the first to take a step towards reconciliation by delivering their Confession, June 25, 1530. In accordance with the manifesto of Emperor Charles, they now expected that the papal party would also present its "view and opinion," in order that the discussions might thereupon proceed "in love and kindness," as the Emperor put it. In the Preface to their Confession the Lutherans declared: "In obedience to Your Imperial Majesty's wishes, we offer, in this matter of religion, the Confession of our preachers and of ourselves, showing what manner of doctrine from the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God has been up to this time set forth in our lands, dukedoms, dominions, and cities, and taught in our churches. And if the other Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire will, according to the said imperial proposition, present similar writings, to wit, in Latin and German, giving their opinions in this matter of religion, we, with the Princes and friends aforesaid, here before Your Imperial Majesty, our most clement Lord, are prepared to confer amicably concerning all possible ways and means, in order that we may come together, as far as this may be honorably done, and, the matter between us on both sides being peacefully discussed without offensive strife, the dissension, by God's help, may be done away and brought back to one true accordant religion; for as we all are under one Christ and do battle under Him, we ought to confess the one Christ, after the tenor of Your Imperial Majesty's edict, and everything ought to be conducted according to the truth of God; and this is what, with most fervent prayers, we entreat of God." (39, 8.)

The Lutherans did not believe that the manifesto of the Emperor could be construed in any other way than that both parties would be treated as equals at the Diet. Not merely as a matter of good policy, but *bona fide*, as honest Germans and true Christians, they clung tenaciously to the words of the Emperor, according to which the Romanists, too, were to be regarded as a party summoned for the trial, the Emperor being the judge. The Lutherans simply refused to take the word of the Emperor at anything less than par, or to doubt his good will and the sincerity of his promise. The fact that from the very beginning his actions were in apparent contravention of the manifesto was attributed by the Lutherans to the sinister influence of such bitter, baiting, and unscrupulous theologians as Eck, Cochlaeus, and Faber, who, they claimed, endeavored to poison and incite the guileless heart of the Emperor. Thus the Lutherans would not and could not believe that Charles had deceived them, — a simple trust, which, however, stubborn facts finally compelled them to abandon.

The Romanists, on the other hand, boasting before the Emperor that they had remained with the true Christian faith, the holy Gospel, the Catholic Church, the bull of the Pope, and the Edict of Worms, refused with equal tenacity to be treated as a party summoned for trial. June 25, 1530, Elector John wrote to Luther: "Thus we and the other princes and estates who are related to us in this matter had to consent to submit our opinion and confession of faith. Our opponents, however, as we are told, declined to present theirs and decided to show to the Emperor that they adhered to the Edict [of Worms] and to the faith which their fathers had bequeathed to and bestowed upon them, and which they intended to adhere to even now; if, however, the Pope or, in his place, the Legate, together with His Imperial Majesty, would point out, and expect them to adopt, a different and new faith, they would humbly hear the Emperor's opinion." (Luther, St. L. 16, 758.)

Thus presupposing what they were summoned to prove at Augsburg, namely, that the doctrine of the Pope was identical with the old Christian faith, the Romanists declared a presentation of their views unnecessary. The Lutherans, they maintained, were convicted apostates and rebels against Pope and Church, against Emperor and realm; sentence was not first to be pronounced upon them, but had been pronounced long ago, the Diet's duty merely being to confirm and execute it; hence, there was nothing else to be done by the Emperor than to attend to his office as warden and protector of the Church, and, together with the princes and estates, to proceed

against the heretics with drastic measures. Also in the later discussions, conducted with a view of effecting a reconciliation, the Romanists refused to relinquish this position. From beginning to end they acted as the accusers, judges, and henchmen of the Lutherans. Nor was anything else to be expected, since, unlike the Lutherans, they considered not God's Word, but the Pope the supreme arbiter in religious matters. Thus, from the very outset, the gulf between the two parties was such that it could not be bridged. Common ground was lacking. On the one side conscience, bound by the Word of God! On the other, blind subjection to human, papal authority! Also Romanists realized that this fundamental and irreconcilable difference was bound to render futile all discussions. It was not merely his own disgust which the papal historian expressed when he concluded his report on the prolonged discussions at Augsburg: "Thus the time was wasted with vain discussions." (Plitt, *Apologie*, 43.)

37. Further Success Not Hoped for by Luther.

Luther regarded the public reading of the Confession as an unparalleled triumph of his cause. Further results, such as a union with the Romanists, he did not expect. On July 9, 1530, he wrote to Jonas: "*Quid sperem de Caesare, quantumvis optimo, sed obsesso?* What can I hope of the Emperor, even the best, when he is obsessed" [by the papal theologians]? The most Luther hoped for was mutual political toleration. In the letter quoted he continues: "But they [the Papists] must expect a sad, and we a happy issue. Not, indeed, that there ever will be unity of doctrine; for who can hope that Belial will be united with Christ? Excepting that perhaps marriage [of priests] and the two kinds [of the Sacrament] be permitted (here too, however, this adverb 'perhaps' is required, and perhaps too much 'perhaps'). But this I wish and earnestly hope for, that, the difference in doctrine being set aside, a political union may be made. If by the blessing of Christ this takes place, enough and more than enough has been done and accomplished at this Diet. . . . Now, if we obtain also the third thing, that we adjourn with worldly peace secured, then we shall have clearly defeated Satan in this year." (Enders, 8, 95; St. L. 16, 927. 1666.)

July 21, 1530, Luther wrote in a similar vein to Jonas: "The fact that these frogs [the papal theologians who wrote the Confutation] with their croakings [*coaxitatibus* = pasquinades against Luther, instead of answers to the Augustana] have free access [to the Emperor] chagrins me very much in this great work in the most important matters. . . . But this happens to prove that I am a true prophet; for I have always said that we work and hope in vain for a union in doctrine; it would be enough if we could obtain worldly peace." (16, 927. 2324.) August 25, when the prolonged discussions of reconciliation were nearing their end, he wrote to Melanchthon: "In sum, it does not please me at all that unity of doctrine is to be discussed, since this is utterly impossible, unless the Pope would abolish his entire popery. It would have sufficed if we had presented to them the reasons for our faith and desired peace. But how can we hope that we shall win them over to accept the truth? We have come to hear whether they approve our doctrine or not, permitting them to remain what they are, only inquiring whether they acknowledge our doctrine to be correct or condemn it. If they condemn it, what does it avail to discuss the question of unity any longer with avowed enemies? If they acknowledge it to be right, what necessity is there of retaining the old abuses?" (16, 1404.)

Though willing to yield to the Catholic party in all other matters, Luther refused to compromise the divine truth in any point or in any way. For this reason he also insisted that the Emperor should not be recognized as judge and arbiter without qualification, but only with the proviso that his decision would not conflict with the clear Word of God. According to Luther, everybody, Pope and Emperor included, must submit to the authority of the Scriptures. In a letter of July 9, 1530, he wrote to the Elector: "In the first place: Should His Imperial Majesty desire that the Imperial Majesty be permitted to decide these matters, since it was not His Majesty's purpose to enter into lengthy discussions, I think Your Electoral Grace might answer that His Imperial Majesty's manifesto promises that he would graciously listen to these matters. If such was not intended, the manifesto would have been needless, for His Imperial Majesty might have rendered his decision just as well in Spain without summoning Your Electoral Grace to Augsburg at such great labor and expense. . . . In the second place: Should His Imperial Majesty insist that the Imperial Majesty be permitted to decide these matters, Your Electoral Grace may cheerfully answer: Yes, the Imperial Majesty shall decide these matters, and Your Electoral Grace would accept and suffer everything, provided only that His Imperial Majesty make no decision against the clear Scriptures, or God's Word. For Your Electoral Grace cannot put the Emperor above God, nor accept his verdict in opposition to God's Word." (16, 815.)

38. Papal Peace Sought by Emperor.

By their obstinate refusal to regard themselves as a party summoned, the Romanists, from the outset, made it impossible for the Emperor to maintain the rôle of an impartial judge, which, probably, he had never really intended to be. At any rate, though earnestly desirous of religious peace, his actions throughout the Diet do not reveal a single serious effort at redeeming his promise and putting his beautiful words into practise. Being bound to the Pope and the papal party both religiously and politically, Charles did not require of the Romanists a fulfilment of the obligations imposed upon them by his manifesto. All the concessions were to be

made by the Lutherans. *Revoca!* — that was the first and only word which Rome had hitherto spoken to Luther. "Revoke and submit yourselves!" — that, in the last analysis, was also the demand of the Emperor at Augsburg with respect to the Lutheran princes, both when he spoke in tones friendly and gentle and when he uttered severe and threatening words. Charles, it is true, desired peace, but a Roman peace, a peace effected by universal blind submission to the Pope; not a peace by mutual understanding and concessions; least of all a peace by political religious tolerance, such as Luther desired, and which in our days is generally regarded as the outstanding feature of modern civilization, notably of Americanism. To force the Lutherans into submission and obedience to the Pope, that was the real object of the Emperor. And the political situation demanded that this be accomplished by peaceable and gentle means — if possible.

Self-evidently, in his endeavors to establish a Papal Peace, the Emperor, who was haunted and tormented by the fear that all efforts might prove futile, was zealously seconded, encouraged, and prodded on by the papal theologians. To bring about a religious peace, such as the Emperor contemplated, this, they flattered Charles, would be an ever-memorable achievement, truly worthy of the Emperor; for the eyes of all Christendom were upon him, and he had staked his honor upon the success of this glorious undertaking. June 3 the Father Confessor of the Emperor, Garsia, then at Rome, wrote to Charles: "At present there is nothing so important in this life as that Your Majesty emerge victorious in the German affair. In Italy you will be accounted the best prince on earth if God should vouchsafe this grace unto us that the heresies which have arisen in that nation be cured by your hand." (Plitt, 4.) June 6 Garsia wrote: "Gracious Lord! After the letters from the legate [Campegius, concerning the return of Christian II to the Roman Church, the disagreement between Philip of Hesse and the Elector, etc.] had been read at to-day's Consistorial Meeting, almost all the cardinals said that Your Majesty was the angel sent from heaven to restore Christendom. God knows how much I rejoiced, and although the sun burned fiercely when I returned to my home, how patiently I bore it! I was not sensitive to it from sheer joy at hearing such sweet words about my master from those who a year ago had maligned him. My chief comfort, however, was to behold that they were right; for it seems as if God were performing miracles by Your Majesty, and to judge by the beginning you have made in curing this ailment, it is evident that we may expect the issue to prove far more favorable than our sins merit." (11. 67.)

39. Compulsion Advocated by Theologians.

All Romanists, the Emperor included, were of the opinion that the Protestants must be brought back to the papal fold. But they differed somewhat as to the means of accomplishing this purpose. Some demanded that force be resorted to forthwith, while others counseled that leniency be tried first. Campegius advised kindness at the beginning, and greater severity only in dealing with certain individuals, but that sharper measures and, finally, force of arms ought to follow. At Rome force was viewed as the "true rhubarb" for healing the breach, especially among the common people. July 18 Garsia wrote to the Emperor: "If you are determined to bring Germany back to the fold, I know of no other or better means than by presents and flattery to persuade those who are most eminent in science or in the empire to return to our faith. Once that is done, you must, in dealing with the remaining common people, first of all publish your imperial edicts and Christian admonitions. If they will not obey these, then the true rhubarb to cure them is force. This alone cured Spain's rebellion against its king. And force is what will also cure Germany's unfaithfulness to God, unless, indeed, divine grace should not attend Your Majesty in the usual measure. God would learn in this matter whether you are a faithful son of His, and should He so find, then I promise you that among all creatures you will find no power sufficiently strong to resist you. All will but serve the purpose of enabling you to obtain the crown of this world." (42.)

Among the open advocates of force were Cochlaeus, Eck, Faber, and the theologians and monks who flocked to Augsburg in large numbers about the time the Augsburg Confession was read. They all considered it their prime duty to rouse the passions of the Emperor, as well as of the Catholic princes and estates, and to incite them against the Lutherans. Their enmity was primarily directed against the Augustana, whose objective and moderate tone had gained many friends even among the Catholics, and which had indirectly branded Eck and his compeers as detractors and calumniators. For had not Duke William of Bavaria, after the reading of the Confession, rebuked Eck, in the presence of the Elector of Saxony, for having misrepresented the Lutheran doctrine to him? The moderation of the Augustana, said these Romanists, was nothing but the cunning of serpents, deception and misrepresentation, especially on the part of the wily Melanchthon; for the true Luther was portrayed in the 404 theses of Eck. Cochlaeus wrote that the Lutherans were slyly hiding their ungodly doctrines in order to deceive the Emperor: "astute occultari in illorum Confessione prava eorum dogmata, de quibus ibi tacendo dissimulabant, ut in hypocrisi loquentes Maiestati Tuae aliisque principibus imponerent." (Laemmer, *Vortridentinische Theologie*, 39.) Thus the malice and fanaticism of the papal theologians and the monks rose in proportion as friendliness was shown the Lutherans by Catholic princes and the Emperor. They feared that every approach toward the Lutherans would jeopardize the *pax Pontificia*.

The fanaticism of the papal theologians is

frequently referred to by the Lutherans. June 26 Melanchthon wrote to Luther: "Sophists and monks are daily streaming into the city, in order to inflame the hatred of the Emperor against us." (*C. R.* 2, 141.) June 27: "Our Confession was presented last Saturday. The opponents are now deliberating upon how to answer; they flock together, take great pains, and incite the princes, who already have been sufficiently aroused. Eck vehemently demands of the Archbishop of Mainz that the matter be not debated, since it has already been condemned." (144.) June 29 Jonas wrote to Luther: "Faber is goaded on by furies, and Eck is not a whit more sensible. Both insist in every manner imaginable that the affair ought to be managed by force and must not be heard." (154.) Melanchthon, July 8: "By chance Eck and Cochlaeus came to the legate [Campegius, with whom Melanchthon was deliberating]. I heard them say, distinctly enough, I believe, that the opponents are merely deliberating upon how to suppress us by force." (175.) July 15: "Repeatedly have I been with certain enemies who belong to that herd of Eck. Words fail me to describe the bitter, Pharisaical hatred I noticed there. They do nothing, they plan nothing else than how they may incite the princes against us, and supply the Emperor with impious weapons." (197.) The implacable theologians also succeeded in fanaticizing some of the princes and bishops, who gradually became more and more opposed to any kind of settlement by mutual understanding. (175.)

The chief exponent of force was Cochlaeus. In his *Expostulatio*, which appeared at Augsburg in May, 1530, he argued that not only according to papal, but according to imperial law as well, which the Evangelicals also acknowledged, and according to the Scriptures, heretics might, aye, must be punished with death. The treatise concludes as follows: "Thus it is established that obdurate heretics may be executed by every form of law. We, however, much prefer to have them return to the Church, be converted, healed, and live, and we beseech them to do so. *Constat igitur, haereticos pertinaces omni iure interimi posse. Nos tamen longe magis optamus et precamur, ut redeuntes ad ecclesiam convertantur, sanentur et vivant.*" (Plitt, 1, 5.)

Naturally Eck, too, was prominent among those who counseled the employment of compulsory measures; indeed, he could not await the hour when the order would be given to proceed against the heretics with fire and sword. He lamented, in bitter terms, the fact that the Emperor had not made use of stern measures as soon as he arrived in Germany. For now, said he, procrastination and the conciliatory demeanor of the Evangelicals, especially of Melanchthon and Brueck, had made it impossible to rouse the Emperor to such a degree as the exigency of the case demanded. (Plitt, 63.) Luther wrote: "For that shameless gab and bloodthirsty sophist, Doctor Eck, one of their chief advisers, publicly declared in the presence of our people that if the Emperor had followed the resolution made at Bononia, and, immediately on entering Germany, had courageously attacked the Lutherans with the sword, and beheaded one after another, the matter would have been easily settled. But all this was prevented when he permitted the Elector of Saxony to speak and be heard through his chancellor." (St. L. 16, 1636.)

40. Emperor Employs Mildness.

While a number of the Catholic estates, incited by the theologians, were also in favor of immediately resorting to brutal force, the Emperor, for political reasons, considered it more advisable to employ kindness. Lauding the extreme affability and leniency of Charles, Melanchthon wrote to Luther, January 25: "The Emperor greets our Prince very kindly; and I would that our people, in turn, were more complaisant towards him. I would ask you to admonish our Junior Prince by letter in this matter. The Emperor's court has no one milder than himself. All others harbor a most cruel hatred against us. *Caesar satis benigne salutat nostrum principem; ac velim vicissim nostros erga ipsum officiosiores esse. Ea de re utinam iuniorem principem nostrum litteris admonueris. Nihil ipso Caesare mitius habet ipsius aula. Reliqui omnes crudelissime nos oderunt.*" (*C. R.* 2, 125.)

The reading of the Augustana strengthened this friendly attitude of Charles. Both its content and its conciliatory tone, which was not at all in harmony with the picture of the Lutherans as sketched by Eck, caused him to be more kindly disposed toward Protestantism, and nourished his hope that religious peace might be attained by peaceable means. Other Catholic dignitaries and princes had been impressed in the same manner. July 6 Luther wrote to Hausmann: "Many bishops are inclined to peace and despise the sophists, Eck and Faber. One bishop [Stadion of Augsburg] is said to have declared in a private conversation, 'This [the Confession of the Lutherans] is the pure truth, we cannot deny it.' The Bishop of Mainz is being praised very much for his endeavors in the interest of peace. Likewise Duke Henry of Brunswick, who extended a friendly invitation to Philip to dine with him, and admitted that he was not able to disprove the articles treating of both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the distinction of meats. Our men boast that, of the entire Diet, no one is milder than the Emperor himself. Such is the beginning. The Emperor treats our Elector not only graciously, but most respectfully. So Philip writes. It is remarkable how all are aglow with love and good will toward the Emperor. It may happen, if God so wills, that, as the first Emperor [Charles at Worms] was very hostile, so this last Emperor [Charles at Augsburg] will be very friendly. Only let us pray; for the power of prayer is clearly perceived." (St. L. 16, 882.) The Emperor's optimism was, no doubt, due to the fact that, unlike his theologians, he did not perceive and realize the

impassable gulf fixed between Lutheranism and the Papacy, as appeared also from the Augustana, in which, however, the Emperor mistook moderation of tone for surrender of substance.

41. Augustana Submitted to Catholic Party.

Full of hope the Emperor, on June 26, immediately after its public presentation, submitted the Lutheran Confession to the Catholic estates for deliberation. These, too, though not in the least inclined to abandon their arrogant attitude, seem to have given themselves over to the delusion that the Lutherans could now be brought to recede from their position. Accordingly, their answer (Responsum) of June 27, couched in conciliatory language, recommended as "the humble opinion of the electors and estates that the Imperial Roman Majesty would submit this great and important matter to a number of highly learned, sensible, honest, conciliating, and not spiteful persons, to deliberate on, and to consider, the writing [the Augustana], as far as necessary, enumerating, on the one hand, whatsoever therein was found to be in conformity and harmony with the Gospel, God's Word, and the holy Christian Church, but, on the other hand, refuting with the true foundation of the Gospel and the Holy Scripture and its doctrine, and bringing into true Christian understanding, such matters as were found to be against, and out of harmony with, the Gospel, the Word of God, and the Christian Church." (Laemmer, 32.) They recommended, however, that in this entire matter Campegius be consulted, and for that purpose be furnished with a copy of the Lutheran Confession.

The Romanists furthermore resolved that the Lutherans be asked whether they had any additional points to present, and, if so, to do this immediately. The Lutherans, considering this a snare, declared, on July 10, that in their Confession they had made it a special point to present the chief articles which it is necessary to believe in order to be saved, but had not enumerated all abuses, desiring to emphasize such only as burdened the consciences, lest the paramount questions be obscured; that they would let this [all that was enumerated in their Confession] suffice, and have included other points of doctrine and abuses which were not mentioned; that they would not fail to give an answer from the Word of God in case their opponents should attack the Confession or present anything new. (Foerstemann, 2, 16. *C. R.* 2, 181.) No doubt, the Papists felt that the Lutherans really should have testified directly also against the Papacy, etc. This, too, was the interpretation which Luther put on the inquiry of the Romanists. July 21, 1530, he wrote to Jonas: "But now I see what the questions aimed at whether you had other articles to present. For Satan still lives and has noticed very well that your Apology [Augustana] steps softly and has passed by the articles concerning purgatory, the adoration of the saints, and especially Antichrist, the Pope." (St. L. 16, 2323; Enders, 8, 133.)

July 5 the Emperor accepted the opinion of the estates and appointed the confutators. At the same time he declared with reference to the Lutherans that he "was the judge of the content of their writing" (Augustana); that, in case they should not be satisfied with his verdict, the final decision must remain with the Council; but that meanwhile the Edict of Worms would be enforced everywhere. (Laemmer, 34; *C. R.* 2, 175.) Thus the Emperor, in unmistakable terms, indicated that the Roman Confutation would bring his own final verdict, which no further discussions could modify, and that he would compel the Lutherans by force to observe the Edict of Worms if they refused to submit willingly. The Catholic estates endorsed the Emperor's declaration, but added the petition that, after the Confutation had been read, the Lutherans be asked in all kindness to return, and that, in case this remained fruitless, an attempt be made to bring about an agreement to be reached by a committee appointed by both parties. Evidently, the estates as well as the Emperor expected the Lutherans to yield and surrender. Still, for the present, they were willing and preferred to attain this end by mild and gentle means.

42. Rabid Theologians Appointed as Confutators.

Campegius, to whom the entire matter was entrusted, manipulated things in such a manner that the result was the very opposite of what the Emperor and estates had resolved upon. To be sure, he made it appear as though he were entirely neutral, leaving everything to the discretion of the German princes. He knew also how to hide his real sentiments from the Lutherans. Jonas, for example, reports that in his address of June 24 Campegius had said "nothing harsh, or hateful (*nihil acerbe, nihil odiose*) against the Lutherans." Spalatin reports: "Some one besought the Legate and Cardinal Campegius to assist in obtaining peace for the cause of the Gospel. To this he responded: Since the papal power was suspicious to us, the matter rested with the Emperor and the German princes. Whatever they did would stand." (Koellner, *Symbolik*, 403.) Thus Campegius created the impression of absolute neutrality, while in reality he was at the same time busy with secret intrigues against the Lutherans.

Among the Confutators (Brueck mentions 19, Spalatin 20, others 22, still others 24), selected by Campegius and appointed by the Emperor, were such rabid, abusive, and inveterate enemies of Luther as Eck, Faber, Cochlaeus, Wimpina, Colli (author of a slanderous tract against Luther's marriage), Dietenberger, etc. The first three are repeatedly designated as the true authors of the Confutation. In his *Replica ad Bucerum*, Eck boasts: "Of all the theologians at Augsburg I was chosen unanimously to prepare the answer to the Saxon Confession, and I obeyed.

Augustae ab omnibus theologis fui delectus unanimiter, qui responsum pararem contra confessionem Saxonicam, et parui." (Koellner, 407.) July 10 Brenz wrote to Myconius: "Their leader (*antesignanus*) is that good man Eck. The rest are 23 in number. One might call them an Iliad [Homer's Iliad consists of 24 books] of sophists." (*C. R.* 2, 180.) Melanchthon, too, repeatedly designates Eck and Faber as the authors of the Confutation. July 14 he wrote to Luther: "With his legerdemain (*commanipulatione*) Eck presented to the Emperor the Confutation of our Confession." (193.) August 6: "This Confutation is the most nonsensical of all the nonsensical books of Faber." (253.) August 8, to Myconius: "Eck and Faber have worked for six entire weeks in producing the Confutation of our Confession." (260.) Hence also such allusions in Melanchthon's letters as "confutatio Fabrilis," "Fabriliter scripta," and in the Apology: "Nullus Faber Fabrilius cogitare quidquam posset, quam hae ineptiae excogitatae sunt ad eludendum ius naturae." (366, 10.) Brueck was right when he said that some of the Confutators were "purely partial, and altogether suspicious characters." (Koellner, 411.)

43. Confutation Prepared.

The resolution which the Catholic estates passed June 27 was to the effect that the imperial answer to the Lutheran Confession be made "by sober and not spiteful men of learning." The Emperor's Prolog to the Confutation, accordingly, designated the confutators as "certain learned, valiant, sensible, sober, and honorable men of many nations." (*C. R.* 27, 189.) At the same time they were told to couch their answer in winning, convincing, moderate, and earnest terms. The imperial instruction read: "To this end it is indeed good and needful that said document [the Augustana] be carefully considered and diligently studied by learned, wise, and sober persons, in order that they [the Lutherans] be shown in all kindness (*durch gute Wege*) where they err, and be admonished to return to the good way; likewise, to grant them whatsoever may be serviceable and adapted to our holy Christian faith; and to set forth the errors, moderately and politely, with such good and holy arguments as the matter calls for; to defend and prove everything with suitable evangelical declarations and admonitions, proceeding from Christian and neighborly love; and at the same time to mingle therewith earnestness and severity with such moderation as may be likely to win the five electors and princes, and not to destroy their hope or to harden them still more." (Koellner, 403.)

However, inspired by Campegius and goaded on by blind hatred, the Confutators employed their commission for the purpose of casting suspicion on the Lutherans and inciting the Emperor against them. They disregarded the imperial admonition for moderation, and instead of an objective answer to the Augustana, they produced a long-winded pasquinade against Luther and the Evangelical preachers, a fit companion piece to the 404 theses of Eck, — a general accusation against the Protestants, a slanderous anthology of garbled quotations from Luther, Melanchthon, and other Evangelical preachers. The insinuation lurking in the document everywhere was that the Confession of the Lutheran princes was in glaring contradiction to the real doctrine of their pastors. The sinister scheme of the Romanists, as the Elector in 1536 reminded the Lutheran theologians, was to bring the princes in opposition to their preachers. (*C. R.* 3, 148.) The mildness and moderation of the Augustana, they openly declared, was nothing but subtle cunning of the smooth and wily Melanchthon, who sought to hide the true state of affairs. In a book which Cochlaeus published against the Apology in 1534, he said that the open attacks of Luther were far more tolerable than the serpentine cunning and hypocrisy of Melanchthon (*instar draconis insidiantis fraudes intendens*), as manifested in particular by his demeanor toward Campegius at Augsburg in 1530. (Laemmer, 56; Salig, 1, 376.) Thus the Roman Confutators disregarded their commission to refute the Augustana, and substituted a caricature of Luther and his doctrines, designed to irritate the Emperor.

44. A Bulky, Scurrilous Document.

The Confutation, compiled by Eck and Faber from various contributions of the Confutators, was ready by the 8th of July, and was presented to the Emperor on the 12th or 13th. The German translation was prepared by the Bavarian Chancellor, Leonhard von Eck. July 10 Brenz had written: "It is reported that they are preparing wagonloads of commentaries against our Confession." (*C. R.* 2, 180.) Spalatin reports that the Confutators delivered to the Emperor "a pile of books against Doctor Martin with most scurrilous titles." The chief document was entitled: "Catholic and, as it were, Extemporaneous Response concerning Certain Articles Presented in These Days at the Diet to the Imperial Majesty by the Illustrious Elector of Saxony and Certain Other Princes as well as Two Cities. *Catholica et quasi extemporanea Responsio super nonnullis articulis Caesareae Maiestati hisce diebus in dieta imperiali Augustensi per Illustrem Electorem Saxoniae et alios quosdam Principes et duas Civitates oblatis.*" It was supplemented by nine other treatises on all manner of alleged contradictions and heresies of Luther and Anabaptistic as well as other fruits of his teaching. (Laemmer, 37; *C. R.* 2, 197.) The pasquinade with its supplements comprised no less than 351 folios, 280 of which were devoted to the answer proper. Cochlaeus also designates it as "very severe and extended, *acrior extensiorque.*" July 14 Melanchthon reported he had heard from friends that the Confutation was "long and filled with scurrilities." (193. 218.) July 15: "I am sending you [Luther] a list of the treatises which our opponents have presented to the Emperor, from which you will

see that the Confutation is supplemented by antilogs and other treatises in order to stir up against us the most gentle heart of the Emperor. Such are the stratagems these slanderers (*sycophantae*) devise." (197.)

The effect of the Confutation on the Emperor, however, was not at all what its authors desired and anticipated. Disgusted with the miserable bulky botch, the Emperor convened the estates on July 15, and they resolved to return the bungling document to the theologians for revision. Tone, method, plan, everything displeased the Emperor and estates to such an extent that they expunged almost one-third of it. Intentionally they ignored the nine supplements, and demanded that reflections on Luther be eliminated from the document entirely; moreover, that the theologians confine themselves to a refutation of the Augustana. (Laemmer, 39.) Cochlaeus writes: "Since the Catholic princes all desired peace and concord, they deemed it necessary to answer in a milder tone, and to omit all reference to what the [Lutheran] preachers had formerly taught and written otherwise than their Confession stated." (Koellner, 405.) In a letter to Brueck he declared that such coarse extracts and articles [with which the first draft of the Confutation charged Luther] should not be mentioned in the reply to the Confession, lest any one be put to shame or defamed publicly. (Laemmer, 39.)

In his Annals, Spalatin reports: "At first there were perhaps 280 folios. But His Imperial Majesty is said to have weeded out many folios and condensed the Confutation to such an extent that not more than twelve folios remained. This is said to have hurt and angered Eck severely." (St. L. 21a, 1539.) In a letter to Veit Dietrich, dated July 30, Melanchthon remarks sarcastically: "Recently Eck complained to one of his friends that the Emperor had deleted almost the third part of his treatise; and I suspect that the chief ornaments of the book were rooted out, that is, the glaring lies and the most stupid tricks, *insignia mendacia et sycophantiae stolidissimae.*" (*C. R.* 2, 241.) Brenz regarded this as an evidence of the extent to which the Augustana had perturbed the opponents, leaving them utterly helpless. July 15 he wrote to Isemann: "Meanwhile nothing new has taken place in our midst, except that I heard that the confession of the sophists was to-day returned by the Emperor to its authors, the sophists, and this for the reason that it was so confused, jumbled, vehement, bloodthirsty, and cruel (*confusa, incondita, violenta, sanguinolenta et crudelis*) that he was ashamed to have it read before the Imperial Senate. . . . We experience daily that we have so bewildered, stunned, and confused them that they know not where to begin or to end." (198.) "Pussyfooting (*Leisetreten*)!" — such was the slogan at Augsburg; and in this Melanchthon was nowhere equaled. Privately also Cochlaeus elaborated a milder answer to the Lutheran Confession. But even the friends who had induced him to undertake this task considered his effort too harsh to be presented to the Emperor.

The first, rejected draft of the Confutation has been lost, with the sole exception of the second article, preserved by Cochlaeus. On the difference between this draft and the one finally adopted, Plitt comments as follows: "The Confutation as read simply adopted the first article of the Confession [Augustana] as in complete agreement with the Roman Church. The original draft also approved this article's appeal to the Council of Nicaea, but added that now the Emperor should admonish the confessing estates to accept everything else taught by the Catholic Church, even though it was not verbally contained in the Scriptures, as, for example, the Mass, Quadragesimal fasting, the invocation of the saints, etc.; for the wording of the doctrine of the Trinity could be found in the Scriptures just as little as that of the points mentioned; furthermore, that he also call upon them to acknowledge said Synod of Nicaea in all its parts, hence also to retain the hierarchical degrees with their powers; that he admonish them to compel their preachers and teachers to retract everything which they had said and written against that Synod, especially Luther and Melanchthon, its public defamers. Refusal of such retraction would invalidate their appeal to that Synod and prove it to be nothing but a means of deception. Finally, they were to be admonished, not to believe their teachers in anything which was against the declarations of the Church catholic. Such was the form in which the first draft of the Confutation was couched. Everywhere the tendency was apparent to magnify the differences, make invidious inferences, cast suspicion on their opponents, and place them in a bad light with the Emperor and the majority. This was not the case in the answer which was finally read." (37.)

45. Confutation Adopted and Read.

Only after repeated revisions, in which Campegius and the imperial counselors Valdés and Granvella took part, was an agreement reached regarding the form of the Confutation. July 30 the Emperor received the fourth revision, and on August 1 he presented it to the bishops, princes, and estates for their opinion. There still remained offensive passages which had to be eliminated. A fifth revision was necessary before the approval of the Emperor and the estates was forthcoming. A Prolog and an Epilog were added, according to which the Confutation is drawn up in the name of the Emperor. Thus the original volume was boiled down to a comparatively small document. But, to speak with Kolde, even in its final form the Confutation is "still rather an accusation against the Evangelicals, and an effort to retain all the medieval church customs, than a refutation of the Augustana." (34.) August 6 Jonas wrote to Luther: "The chaplain [John Henkel] of Queen Maria informed us that they had five times changed their Confutation, casting and recasting, minting and reminting it, and still there finally was produced nothing but an uncouth and confused conglomeration and a hodge-

podge, as when a cook pours different soups into one pot. At first they patched together an enormous volume, as Faber is known to be a verbose compiler; the book grew by reason of the multitude of its lies and scurrilities. However, at the first revision the Emperor eliminated the third part of the book, so that barely twelve or sixteen folios remained, which were read." (St. L. 21a, 1539.)

On August 3, 1530, in the same hall in which the Augsburg Confession had been submitted thirty-eight days before, in the presence of all the estates of the empire, the Augustanae Confessionis Responsio, immediately called Confutatio Pontificia by the Protestants, was read in the German language by Alexander Schweiss, the Imperial Secretary. However, the reading, too, proved to be a discreditable affair. Owing to the great haste in which the German copy had been prepared, an entire portion had been omitted; the result was that the conclusion of Article 24 as well as Articles 25 and 26 were not presented. Furthermore, Schweiss, overlooking the lines of erasure, read a part which had been stricken, containing a very bold deliverance on the sacrifice of the Mass, in which they labored to prove from the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin that the word *facite* in the institution of the Sacrament was synonymous with "sacrifice." (Kolde, 34.) August 6, 1530, Jonas wrote to Luther: The opponents presented their Confutation to the Emperor on July 30, and on the 3d of August it was read in the presence of the Emperor and the estates, together with a Prolog and an Epilog of the Emperor. "The reading also consumed two entire hours, but with an incredible aversion, weariness, and disgust on the part of some of the more sensible hearers, who complained that they were almost driven out by this utterly cold, threadbare songlet (*cantilena*), being extremely chagrined that the ears of the Emperor should be molested with such a lengthy array of worthless things masquerading under the name of Catholic doctrines." (St. L. 21a, 1539.) August 4 Brenz wrote to Isemann: "The Emperor maintains neutrality; for he slept both when the Augustana and when the Confutation was read. *Imperator neutralem sese gerit; nam cum nostra confessio legeretur obdormivit; rursus cum adversariorum responsio legeretur, iterum obdormivit in media negotii actione.*" (*C. R.* 2, 245.)

The Confutation was neither published, nor was a copy of it delivered to the Lutherans. Apparently the Romanists, notably the Emperor and the estates, were ashamed of the document. True, Cochlaeus reports that toward the close of the Diet Charles authorized him and Eck to publish it, but that this was not done, because Duke George and the Emperor left Augsburg shortly after, and the printer also moved away. (Koellner, 414.) All subsequent pleading and imploring, however, on the part of Eck and others, to induce the Emperor to publish the Confutation fell on deaf ears. Evidently Charles no longer took any interest in a document that had so shamefully shattered his fond ambition of reconciling the religious parties. What appeared in print, early in 1531, was merely an extract prepared by Cochlaeus, entitled, *Summary of the Imperial Answer*, etc. The first Latin edition of the Confutation appeared as late as 1573; the first German edition, in 1808. All previous German impressions (also the edition of 1584) are translations of the Latin edition of 1573. (*C. R.* 27, 25. 82.) Concerning the German text of the Confutation Kolde remarks: "Since changes were made even after it had been read, we have even less definite knowledge, respecting details, as to what was read than in the case of the Augustana." (35.) One may therefore also speak of a Confutatio Variata. The doctrine of the Confutation does not differ essentially from that which was later on affirmed by the Council of Trent (1545—1563). However, says Kolde, "being written by the German leaders of the Catholic party under the eye of the Papal Legate, and approved by the Emperor, the German bishops, and the Roman-minded princes, it [the Confutation] must be reckoned among the historically most important documents of the Roman Catholic faith of that day."

46. Confutation Denounced by Lutherans.

In the opinion of the Lutherans, the final draft of the Confutation, too, was a miserable makeshift. True, its tone was moderate, and, with few exceptions, personal defamations were omitted. The arrangement of subjects was essentially the same as in the Augustana. Still it was not what it pretended to be. It was no serious attempt at refuting the Lutheran Confession, but rather an accumulation of Bible-texts, arbitrarily expounded, in support of false doctrines and scholastic theories. These efforts led to exegetical feats that made the Confutators butts of scorn and derision. At any rate, the Lutherans were charged with having failed, at the public reading, to control their risibilities sufficiently. Cochlaeus complains: "During the reading many of the Lutherans indulged in unseemly laughter. *Quando recitata fuit, multi e Lutheranis inepte cachinnabantur.*" (Koellner, 411.) If this did not actually occur, it was not because the Confutators had given them no cause for hilarity.

"Altogether childish and silly" — such is Melanchthon's verdict on many of their exegetical pranks. August 6 he wrote letter after letter to Luther, expressing his contempt for the document. "After hearing that Confutation," says Melanchthon, "all good people seem to have been more firmly established on our part, and the opponents, if there be among them some who are more reasonable, are said to be disgusted (*stomachari*) that such absurdities were forced upon the Emperor, the best of princes." (*C. R.* 2, 252.) Again: Although the Emperor's verdict was very stern and terrible, "still, the Confutation being a composition so very puerile, a most remarkable congratulation followed its reading. No book of Faber's is so childish but that this Confutation is still more childish." (253.) In

another letter he remarked that, according to the Confutation, in which the doctrine of justification by faith was rejected, "the opponents had no knowledge of religion whatever." (253.)

August 4 Brenz wrote to Isemann: "All things were written in the fashion of Cochlaeus, Faber, and Eck. Truly a most stupid comment, so that I am ashamed of the Roman name, because in their whole Church they can find no men able to answer us heretics at least in a manner wise and accomplished. *Sed omnia conscripta erant Cochleice et Fabriliter et Eccianice. Commentum sane stupidissimum, ut pudeat me Romani nominis, quod in sua religione non conquirant viros, qui saltem prudenter et ornate nobis haereticis responderent.*" (245.) August 15 Luther answered: "We received all of your letters, and I praise God that he made the Confutation of the adversaries so awkward and foolish a thing. However, courage to the end! *Verum frisch hindurch!*" (Enders, 8, 190.)

47. Luther on the Confutation.

Derision increased when the Papists declined to publish the Confutation, or even to deliver a copy of it to the Lutherans for further inspection. This refusal was universally interpreted as an admission, on the part of the Romanists, of a guilty conscience, and of being ashamed themselves of the document. In his *Warning to My Beloved Germans*, which appeared early in 1531, Luther wrote as follows: "But I am quite ready to believe that extraordinary wisdom prompted them [the Papists at Augsburg] to keep this rebuttal of theirs and that splendid booklet [Confutation] to themselves, because their own conscience tells them very plainly that it is a corrupt, wicked, and frigid thing, of which they would have to be ashamed if it were published and suffered itself to be seen in the light or to endure an answer. For I very well know these highly learned doctors who have cooked and brewed over it for six weeks, though with the ignorant they may be able to give the matter a good semblance. But when it is put on paper, it has neither hands nor feet, but lies there in a disorderly mass, as if a drunkard had spewed it up, as may be seen, in particular, in the writings of Doctor Schmid and Doctor Eck. For there is neither rhyme nor rhythm in whatsoever they are compelled to put into writing. Hence they are more sedulous to shout and prattle. Thus I have also learned that when our Confession was read, many of our opponents were astonished, and confessed that it was the pure truth, which they could not refute from the Scriptures. On the other hand, when their rebuttal was read, they hung their heads, and showed by their gestures that they considered it a mean and useless makeshift as compared with our Confession. Our people, however, and many other pious hearts were greatly delighted and mightily strengthened when they heard that with all the strength and art which our opponents were then called upon to display, they were capable of producing nothing but this flimsy rebuttal, which now, praise God! a woman, a child, a layman, a peasant, are fully able to refute with good arguments taken from the Scriptures, the Word of Truth. And that is also the true and ultimate reason why they refused to deliver [to the Lutherans a copy of] their refutation. Those fugitive evil consciences were filled with horror at themselves, and dared not await the answer of Truth. And it is quite evident that they were confident, and that they had the Diet called together in the conviction that our people would never have the boldness to appear, but if the Emperor should only be brought to Germany in person, every one would be frightened and say to them: Mercy, dear lords, what would you have us do? When they were disappointed in this, and the Elector of Saxony was the very first to appear on the scene, good Lord, how their breeches began to ——! How all their confidence was confounded! What gathering together, secret consultations, and whisperings resulted! . . . The final sum and substance of it all was to devise ways and means (since our men were the first joyously and cheerfully to appear) how to keep them from being heard [block the reading of the Augustana]. When also this scheme of theirs was defeated, they finally succeeded in gaining the glory that they did not dare to hand over their futile rebuttal nor to give us an opportunity to reply to it! . . . But some one might say: The Emperor was willing to deliver the answer to our party, provided they would promise not to have it published nor its contents divulged. That is true, for such a pledge was expected of our men. Here, however, every one may grasp and feel (even though he is able neither to see nor hear) what manner of people they are who will not and dare not permit their matter to come to the light. If it is so precious a thing and so well founded in the Scriptures as they bellow and boast, why, then, does it shun the light? What benefit can there be in hiding from us and every one else such public matters as must nevertheless be taught and held among them? But if it is unfounded and futile, why, then, did they, in the first resolution [of the Diet], have the Elector of Brandenburg proclaim and publish in writing that our Confession had been refuted [by the Confutation] with the Scriptures and stanch arguments? If that were true, and if their own consciences did not give them the lie, they would not merely have allowed such precious and well-founded Refutation to be read, but would have furnished us with a written copy, saying: There you have it; we defy any one to answer it! as we did and still do with our Confession. . . . What the Elector of Brandenburg said in the resolution [read at the Diet], that our Confession was refuted with the Scriptures and with sound arguments, is not the truth, but a lie. . . . For this well-founded refutation [Confutation] has as yet not come to light, but is perhaps sleeping with the old Tannhaeuser on Mount Venus (*Venusberg*)." (St. L. 16, 1635.)

VI. The Apology of the Augsburg Confession.

48. Emperor Demands Adoption of Confutation.

The Confutation was written in the name of the Emperor. This is indicated by the title: "Roman Imperial Confutation, *Roemisch-Kaiserliche Konfutation.*" (*C. R.* 27, 189.) And according to his declaration of July 5, demanding that the Lutherans acknowledge him as judge, the Emperor, immediately before the reading, announced: The Confutation contained his faith and his verdict on the Confession of the Lutherans; he demanded that they accept it; should they refuse to do so, he would prove himself the warden and protector of the Church. In the Epilog the Emperor gave expression to the following thoughts: From this Confutation he saw that the Evangelicals "in many articles agree with the Universal and also the Roman Church, and reject and condemn many wicked teachings current among the common people of the German nation." He therefore did not doubt that, having heard his answer to their Confession, they would square themselves also in the remaining points, and return to what, by common consent, had hitherto been held by all true believers. Should they fail to heed his admonition, they must consider that he would be compelled to reveal and demean himself in this matter in such manner as "by reason of his office, according to his conscience, behooved the supreme warden and protector of the Holy Christian Church." (27, 228.) Immediately after the reading, Frederick, Duke of the Palatinate, declared in the name of the Emperor that the Confutation was the Emperor's answer to the Lutherans, the verdict he rendered against their Confession; and they were now called upon to relinquish the articles of their Confession that were refuted in the Confutation, and to return to the Roman Church in unity of faith. (See the reports of Brenz, Melanchthon, and the delegates from Nuernberg, *C. R.* 2, 245. 250. 253.) Thus the Emperor, who had promised to have the deliberations carried on in love and kindness, demanded blind submission, and closed his demand with a threat. His manifesto was Protestant; his actions remained Papistical. In the estimation of the Romanists, the Emperor, by condescending to an extended reply to the Lutheran Confession, had done more than his duty, and much more than they had considered expedient. Now they rejoiced, believing that everything they wished for had been accomplished, and that there was no other way open for the Lutherans than to submit, voluntarily or by compulsion.

Naturally the attitude of the Emperor was a great disappointment to the Lutherans, and it caused much alarm and fear among them. From the very beginning they had declared themselves ready, in the interest of peace, to do whatever they could "with God and conscience." And this remained their position to the very last. They dreaded war, and were determined to leave no stone unturned towards avoiding this calamity. In this interest even Philip of Hesse was prepared to go to the very limits of possibility. Melanchthon wrote: "The Landgrave deports himself with much restraint. He has openly declared to me that in order to preserve peace, he would accept even sterner conditions, as long as he did not thereby disgrace the Gospel." (*C. R.* 2, 254.) But a denial of God, conscience, and the Gospel was precisely what the Emperor expected. Hence the Lutherans refer to his demands as cruel, impossible of fulfilment, and as a breach of promise. Outraged by the Emperor's procedure, and fearing for his own safety, the Landgrave secretly left the Diet on August 6. War seemed inevitable to many. The reading of the Confutation had shattered the last hopes of the Lutherans for a peaceful settlement. They said so to each other, and wrote it to those at home, though not all of them in the lachrymose tone of the vacillating Melanchthon, who, filled with a thousand fears, was temporarily more qualified for depriving others of their courage than for inspiring courage. (Plitt, 24.)

49. Sustained by Luther.

In these days of severe trials and sore distress the Lutherans were sustained by the comforting letters of Luther and the bracing consciousness that it was the divine truth itself which they advocated. And the reading of the Confutation had marvelously strengthened this conviction. Brueck reports an eyewitness of the reading of the Augustana as saying: "The greater portion among them [the Papists] is not so ignorant as not to have seen long ago that they are in error." (Plitt, 18.) Because of this conviction there was, as Melanchthon reported, a "marvelous congratulation" among the Lutherans after the reading of the Confutation. "We stand for the divine truth, which God cannot but lead to victory, while our opponents are condemned by their own consciences," — such was the buoying conviction of the Lutherans. And in this the powerful letters of Luther strengthened the confessors at Augsburg. He wrote: "This is the nature of our Christian doctrine, that it must be held and grasped as certain, and that every one must think and be convinced: The doctrine is true and sure indeed and cannot fail. But whoever falls to reasoning and begins to waver within himself, saying: My dear friend, do you believe that it is true, etc.? such a heart will never be a true Christian." (Plitt, 12.)

Concerning the spiritual support which the confessors at Augsburg, notably Melanchthon, received from Luther, Plitt remarks: "What Luther did during his solitary stay in the Castle at Coburg cannot be rated high enough. His ideal deportment during these days, so trying for the Church, is an example which at all times Evangelical Christians may look up to, in order to learn from him and to emulate him. What he wrote to his followers in order to comfort and encourage them, can

and must at all times refresh and buoy up those who are concerned about the course of the Church." (24.) June 30 Veit Dietrich, who shared Luther's solitude at Coburg, wrote to Melanchthon: "My dear Philip, you do not know how concerned I am for your welfare, and I beseech you for Christ's sake not to regard as vain the Doctor's [Luther's] letters to you. I cannot sufficiently admire that man's unique constancy, joy, confidence, and hope in these days of most sore distress. And daily he nourishes them by diligent contemplation of the Word of God. Not a day passes in which he does not spend in prayer at least three hours, such as are most precious for study. On one occasion I chanced to hear him pray. Good Lord, what a spirit, what faith spoke out of his words! He prayed with such reverence that one could see he was speaking with God, and withal with such faith and such confidence as is shown by one who is speaking with his father and friend. I know, said he, that Thou art our Father and our God. Therefore I am certain that Thou wilt confound those who persecute Thy children. If Thou dost not do it, the danger is Thine as well as ours. For the entire matter is Thine own. We were compelled to take hold of it; mayest Thou therefore also protect it, etc. Standing at a distance, I heard him praying in this manner with a loud voice. Then my heart, too, burned mightily within me, when he spoke so familiarly, so earnestly, and reverently with God, and in his prayer insisted on the promises in the Psalms, as one who was certain that everything he prayed for would be done. Hence I do not doubt that his prayer will prove a great help in the desperately bad affair of this Diet. And you, my teacher, would do far better to imitate our father, the Doctor, also in this point. For with your miserable cares and your weakling tears you will accomplish nothing, but prepare a sad destruction for yourself and us all, who take pleasure in, and are benefited by, nothing more than your welfare." (*C. R.* 2, 158 f.; St. L. 16, 929 f.)

50. Copy of Confutation Refused to Lutherans.

Since the Confutation, in the manner indicated, had been presented as the Emperor's final verdict upon the Augsburg Confession, the Lutherans were compelled to declare themselves. Accordingly, Chancellor Brueck at once responded to the demand for submission made through the Palatinate after the reading of the Confutation, saying: The importance of this matter, which concerned their salvation, required that the Confutation be delivered to the Lutherans for careful inspection and examination to enable them to arrive at a decision in the matter. The delegates from Nuernberg reported, in substance: After the Confutation was read, Doctor Brueck answered: Whereas, according to their Confession, the Lutherans were willing to do and yield everything that could be so done with a good conscience; whereas, furthermore, according to the Confutation, some of their [the Lutherans'] articles were approved, others entirely rejected, still others partly admitted to be right and partly repudiated; and whereas the Confutation was a somewhat lengthy document: therefore the Electors, princes, and cities deemed it necessary to scan these articles more closely, the more so, because many writings were adduced in them that made it necessary to show to what intent, and if at all, they were rightly quoted, and accordingly requested the Emperor, since he had promised to hear both parties, to submit the Confutation for their inspection. The Emperor answered: "As it was now late and grown dark, and since the matter was important, he would consider their request and reply to it later." Hereupon, according to the Nuernberg delegates, "the chancellor pleaded again and most earnestly that His Imperial Majesty would consider this important and great affair as a gracious and Christian emperor ought to do, and not deny their prayer and petition, but deliver to them the document which had been read." (*C. R.* 2, 251.)

Now, although the Romanists were in no way minded and disposed to submit the Confutation to the Lutherans, they nevertheless did not consider it wise to refuse their petition outright and bluntly; for they realized that this would redound to the glory neither of themselves nor of their document. The fanatical theologians, putting little faith in that sorry fabrication of their own, and shunning the light, at first succeeded in having a resolution passed declaring the entire matter settled with the mere reading. However, in order to save their faces and to avoid the appearance of having refused the Confutation as well as "the scorn and ridicule on that account" (as the Emperor naively put it), and "lest any one say that His Imperial Majesty had not, in accordance with his manifesto, first dealt kindly with" the Lutherans, the estates resolved on August 4 to grant their request. At the same time, however, they added conditions which the Lutherans regarded as dangerous, insinuating, and impossible, hence rendering the Catholic offer illusory and unacceptable.

August 5 the Emperor communicated the resolutions adopted by the Catholic estates to the Lutherans. According to a report of the Nuernberg delegates the negotiations proceeded as follows: The Emperor declared that the Confutation would be forwarded to the Lutherans, but with the understanding that they must come to an agreement with the Catholic princes and estates; furthermore, that they spare His Imperial Majesty with their refutations and make no further reply; and, above all, that they keep this and other writings to themselves, nor let them pass out of their hands, for instance, by printing them, or in any other way. Hereupon Brueck, in the name of the Lutherans, thanked the Emperor, at the same time voicing the request "that, considering their dire necessity, His Imperial Majesty would permit his Elector and princes to make answer to the Confutation." Duke Frederick responded: The Em-

peror was inclined to grant them permission to reply, but desired the answer to be "as profitable and brief as possible," also expected them to come to an agreement with the Catholics, and finally required a solemn promise that they would not permit the document to pass out of their hands. Brueck answered guardedly: The Lutherans would gladly come to an agreement "as far as it was possible for them to do so with God and their conscience"; and as to their answer and the preservation of the document, they would be found "irreprehensible." The Emperor now declared: "The document should be delivered to the Lutherans in case they would promise to keep it to themselves and not allow it to fall into other hands; otherwise His Imperial Majesty was not minded to confer with them any longer." Brueck asked for time to consider the matter, and was given till evening. In his response he declined the Emperor's offer, at the same time indicating that an answer to the Confutation would be forthcoming nevertheless. The Lutherans, he said, felt constrained to relinquish their petition, because the condition that the document be kept in their hands had been stressed in such a manner that they could not but fear the worst interpretation if it would nevertheless leak out without their knowledge and consent; still, they offered to answer the Confutation, since they had noted the most important points while it was read; in this case, however, they asked that it be not charged to them if anything should be overlooked; at the same time they besought the Emperor to consider this action of theirs as compelled by dire necessity, and in no other light. (*C. R.* 2, 255 ff.) In the Preface to the Apology, Melanchthon says: "This [a copy of the Confutation] our princes could not obtain, except on the most perilous conditions, which it was impossible for them to accept." (99.)

51. Lutherans on Roman Duplicity and Perfidy.

The duplicity and perfidy of the Emperor and the Romanists in their dealings with the Lutherans was characterized by Chancellor Brueck as follows: "The tactics of the opponents in offering a copy [of the Confutation] were those of the fox when he invited the stork to be his guest and served him food in a broad, shallow pan, so that he could not take the food with his long bill. In like manner they treated the five electors and princes, as well as the related cities, when they offered to accede to their request and submit a copy to them, but upon conditions which they could not accept without greatly violating their honor." (Koellner, 419.) Over against the Emperor's demand of blind submission and his threat of violence, the Lutherans appealed to their pure Confession, based on the Holy Scriptures, to their good conscience, bound in the Word of God, and to the plain wording of the imperial manifesto, which had promised discussions in love and kindness. In an Answer of August 9, *e. g.*, they declared: The articles of the Augustana which we have presented are drawn from the Scriptures, and "it is impossible for us to relinquish them with a good conscience and peace of heart, unless we find a refutation founded on God's Word and truth, on which we may rest our conscience in peace and certainty." (Foerstemann, 2, 185.) In the Preface to the Apology, Melanchthon comments as follows on the demand of the Romanists: "Afterwards, negotiations for peace were begun, in which it was apparent that our princes declined no burden, however grievous, which could be assumed without offense to conscience. But the adversaries obstinately demanded that we should approve certain manifest abuses and errors; and as we could not do this, His Imperial Majesty again demanded that our princes should assent to the Confutation. This our princes refused to do. For how could they, in a matter pertaining to religion, assent to a writing which they had not been able to examine, especially as they had heard that some articles were condemned in which it was impossible for them, without grievous sin, to approve the opinions of the adversaries?" (99.)

Self-evidently the Lutherans also protested publicly that the procedure of the Romanists was in contravention of the proclamation of the Emperor as well as of his declaration on June 20, according to which both parties were to deliver their opinions in writing for the purpose of mutual friendly discussion. In the Answer of August 9, referred to above, they said: "We understand His Imperial Majesty's answer to mean nothing else than that, after each party had presented its meaning and opinion, such should here be discussed among us in love and kindness." Hence, they said, it was in violation of this agreement to withhold the Confutation, lest it be answered. (Foerstemann, 2, 184 f.) Luther expressed the same conviction, saying: "All the world was awaiting a gracious diet, as the manifesto proclaimed and pretended, and yet, sad to say, it was not so conducted." (St. L. 16, 1636.)

That the Romanists themselves fully realized that the charges of the Lutherans were well founded, appears from the subterfuges to which they resorted in order to justify their violence and duplicity, notably their refusal to let them examine the Confutation. In a declaration of August 11 they stated "that the imperial laws expressly forbid, on pain of loss of life and limb, to dispute or argue (*gruppeln*) about the articles of faith in any manner whatever," and that in the past the edicts of the Emperor in this matter of faith had been despised, scorned, ridiculed, and derided by the Lutherans. (Foerstemann, 2, 190.) Such were the miserable arguments with which the Romanists defended their treachery. Luther certainly hit the nail on the head when he wrote that the Romanists refused to deliver the Confutation "because their consciences felt very well that it was a corrupt, futile, and frigid affair, of which they would have to be ashamed in case it should become public and show itself in the light, or endure an answer." (St. L. 16, 1635.)

52. Original Draft of Apology.

August 5 the Lutherans had declared to the Emperor that they would not remain indebted for an answer to the Confutation, even though a copy of it was refused them. They knew the cunning Romanists, and had prepared for every emergency. Melanchthon, who, according to a letter addressed to Luther (*C. R.* 2, 254), was not present at the reading of the Confutation, writes in the Preface to the Apology: "During the reading some of us had taken down the chief points of the topics and arguments." (101.) Among these was Camerarius. August 4 the Nuernberg delegates reported to their senate that the Confutation, comprising more than fifty pages, had been publicly read on August 3, at 2 P. M., and that the Lutherans had John Kammermeister "record the substance of all the articles; this he has diligently done in shorthand on his tablet, as far as he was able, and more than all of us were able to understand and remember, as Your Excellency may perceive from the enclosed copy." (*C. R.* 2, 250.)

On the basis of these notes the council of Nuernberg had a theological and a legal opinion drawn up, and a copy of the former (Osiander's refutation of the Confutation) was delivered to Melanchthon on August 18 by the Nuernberg delegates. Osiander specially stressed the point that the demand of the Romanists to submit to the decision of the Church in matters of faith must be rejected, that, on the contrary, everything must be subordinated to the Holy Scriptures. (Plitt, 87.) In drawing up the Apology, however, Melanchthon made little, if any, use of Osiander's work. Such, at least, is the inference Kolde draws from Melanchthon's words to Camerarius, September 20: "Your citizens [of Nuernberg] have sent us a book on the same subject [answer to the Confutation], which I hope before long to discuss with you orally." (383.) There can be little doubt that Melanchthon privately entertained the idea of writing the Apology immediately after the reading of the Confutation. The commission, however, to do this was not given until later; and most of the work was probably done in September. For August 19 the Nuernberg delegates reported that their "opinion" had been given to Melanchthon, who as yet, however, had not received orders to write anything in reply to the Confutation, "unless he is privately engaged in such undertaking." (*C. R.* 2, 289.)

At Augsburg the execution of the resolution to frame an answer to the Confutation had been sidetracked for the time being, by the peace parleys between the Lutherans and the Catholics, which began soon after the Confutation was read and continued through August. But when these miscarried, the Evangelical estates, on the 29th of August, took official action regarding the preparation of an Apology. Of the meeting in which the matter was discussed the Nuernberg delegates report: "It was furthermore resolved: 'Since we have recently declared before His Majesty that, in case His Majesty refused to deliver to us the Confutation of our Confession without restrictions [the aforementioned conditions], we nevertheless could not refrain from writing a reply to it, as far as the articles had been noted down during the reading, and from delivering it to His Imperial Majesty: we therefore ought to prepare ourselves in this matter, in order to make use of it in case of necessity.' In this we, the delegates of the cities, also acquiesced. . . . I, Baumgaertner, also said: In case such a work as was under discussion should be drawn up, we had some opinions [the theological and the legal opinions of the city of Nuernberg], which might be of service in this matter, and which we would gladly submit. Hereupon it was ordered that Dr. Brueck and other Saxons be commissioned to draft the writing." (321.) The assumption, therefore, that Melanchthon was the sole author of the first draft of the Apology is erroneous. In the Preface to the Apology he writes: "They had, however, commanded me *and some others* to prepare an Apology of the Confession, in which the reasons why we could not accept the Confutation should be set forth to His Imperial Majesty, and the objections made by the adversaries be refuted." (101.) In the same Preface he says that he had originally drawn up the Apology at Augsburg, "*taking counsel with others.*" (101.) However, we do not know who, besides Brueck, these "others" were.

53. Apology Presented, But Acceptance Refused.

By September 20 Melanchthon had finished his work. For on the same day he wrote to Camerarius: "The verdict [decision of the Diet] on our affair has not yet been rendered. . . . Our Prince thought of leaving yesterday, and again to-day. The Emperor, however, kept him here by the promise that he would render his decision within three days. . . . Owing to the statements of evil-minded people, I am now remaining at home and have in these days written the Apology of our Confession, which, if necessary, shall also be delivered; for it will be opposed to the Confutation of the other party, which you heard when it was read. I have written it sharply and more vehemently" (than the Confession). (*C. R.* 2, 383.)

Before long, a good opportunity also for delivering this Apology presented itself. It was at the meeting of the Diet on September 22, when the draft of a final resolution (*Abschied*) was read to the estates. According to this decision, the Emperor offered to give the Evangelicals time till April 15, 1531, to consider whether or not they would unite with the Christian Church, the Holy Father, and His Majesty "in the other articles," provided, however, that in the mean time nothing be printed and absolutely no further innovations be made. The imperial decision also declared emphatically that the Lutheran Confession had been refuted by the Confutation. The verdict claimed the Emperor "had, in the presence of the other electors, princes, and estates of the holy empire, graciously heard

the opinion and confession [of the Evangelical princes], had given it due and thorough consideration, and had refuted and disproved it with sound arguments from the holy gospels and the Scriptures." (Foerstemann, 2, 475.)

Self-evidently, the Lutherans could not let this Roman boast pass by in silence. Accordingly, in the name of the Elector, Brueck arose to voice their objections, and, while apologizing for its deficiencies, presented the Apology. In his protest, Brueck dwelt especially on the offensive words of the imperial decision which claimed that the Augustana was refuted by the Confutation. He called attention to the fact that the Lutherans had been offered a copy only under impossible conditions; that they had nevertheless, on the basis of what was heard during the reading, drawn up a "counter-plea, or reply"; this he was now holding in his hands, and he requested that it be read publicly; from it every one might learn "with what strong, irrefutable reasons of Holy Scripture" the Augustana was fortified. (Foerstemann, 2, 479.) Duke Frederick took the Apology, but returned it on signal from the Emperor, into whose ear King Ferdinand had been whispering. Sleidan relates: "Cumque hucusce perventum esset, Pontanus apologiam Caesari defert; eam ubi Fridericus Palatinus accepit, subnuente Caesare, cui Ferdinandus aliquid ad aures insusurraverat, reddit." A similar report is found in the annals of Spalatin. (Koellner, 422.)

By refusing to accept the Apology, the Emperor and the Romanists *de facto* broke off negotiations with the Lutherans; and the breach remained, and became permanent. September 23 the Elector left Augsburg. By the time the second imperial decision was rendered, November 19, all the Evangelical princes had left the Diet. The second verdict, dictated by the intolerant spirit of the papal theologians, was more vehement than the first. Confusing Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Anabaptists, Charles emphasized the execution of the Edict of Worms; sanctioned all dogmas and abuses which the Evangelicals had attacked; confirmed the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops; demanded the restoration of all abolished rites; identified himself with the Confutation, and repeated the assertion that the Lutheran Confession had been refuted from the Scriptures. (Foerstemann, 2, 839 f.; Laemmer, 49.)

In his *Gloss on the Alleged Imperial Edict* of 1531, Luther dilates as follows on the Roman assertion of having refuted the Augustana from the Scriptures: "In the first place, concerning their boasting that our Confession was refuted from the holy gospels, this is so manifest a lie that they themselves well know it to be an abominable falsehood. With this rouge they wanted to tint their faces and to defame us, since they noticed very well that their affair was leaky, leprous, and filthy, and despite such deficiency nevertheless was to be honored. Their heart thought: Ours is an evil cause, this we know very well; but we shall say the Lutherans were refuted; that's enough. Who will compel us to prove such a false statement? For if they had not felt that their boasting was lying, pure and simple, they would not only gladly, and without offering any objections, have surrendered their refutation as was so earnestly desired, but would also have made use of all printing-presses to publish it, and heralded it with all trumpets and drums, so that such defiance would have arisen that the very sun would not have been able to shine on account of it. But now, since they so shamefully withheld their answer and still more shamefully hide and secrete it, by this action their evil conscience bears witness to the fact that they lie like reprobates when they boast that our Confession has been refuted, and that by such lies they seek not the truth, but our dishonor and a cover for their shame." (St. L. 16, 1668.)

54. Apology Recast by Melanchthon.

Owing to the fact that Melanchthon, immediately after the presentation of the Apology, resolved to revise and recast it, the original draft was forced into the background. It remained unknown for a long time and was published for the first time forty-seven years after the Diet. Chytraeus embodied it in his *Historia Augustanae Confessionis*, 1578, with the caption, "*Prima Delineatio Caesari Carolo Die 22. Septembris Oblata, sed Non Recepta* — The First Draft which was Offered to Emperor Charles on September 22, but Not Accepted." The German and Latin texts are found in *Corp. Ref.* 27, 275 ff. and 322. Following is the Latin title: "Apologia Confessionis, 1530. Ps. 119: Principes persecuti sunt me gratis." The German title runs: "Antwort der Widerlegung auf unser Bekenntnis uebergeben." (245. 378.) Plitt says of the original Apology: "It was well qualified to be presented to the Emperor, and, in form also, far surpassed the Confutation of the Papists. Still the Evangelical Church suffered no harm when the Emperor declined to accept it. The opportunity for revision which was thus offered and fully exploited by Melanchthon, who was never able to satisfy himself, resulted in a great improvement. The Apology as it appeared the following year is much riper, sharper in its rebuttal, and stronger in its argumentation." (88.)

The draft of the Apology presented at Augsburg concluded as follows: "If the Confutation had been forwarded to us for inspection, we would perhaps have been able to give a more adequate answer on these and additional points." (*C. R.* 27, 378.) When, therefore, the Emperor had refused to accept it, Melanchthon determined to revise, reenforce, and augment the document. September 23 he left Augsburg in the company of the Elector; and already while *en route* he began the work. In his *History of the Augsburg Confession*, 1730, Salig remarks: "Still the loss of the first copy [of the Apology] does not seem to be so great, since we now possess the Apology in a more carefully elaborated form. For while the Diet was still in session, and also after the theologians had returned home, Me-

lanchthon was constantly engaged upon it, casting it into an entirely different mold, and making it much more extensive than it was before. When the theologians had returned to Saxony from the Diet, Melanchthon, in Spalatin's house at Altenburg, even worked at it on Sunday, so that Luther plucked the pen from his hand, saying that on this day he must rest from such work." (1, 377.) However, since the first draft was presented to the Emperor on September 22, and Melanchthon, together with the Elector, left Augsburg on the following day, it is evident that he could not have busied himself very much with the revision of the Apology at Augsburg. And that Luther, in the Altenburg incident, should have put especial stress on the Sunday, for this neither Salig nor those who follow him (*e. g.*, Schaff, *Creeds*, 1, 243) offer any evidence. In his *Seventeen Sermons on the Life of Luther*, Mathesius gives the following version of the incident: "When Luther, returning home with his companions from Coburg, was visiting Spalatin, and Philip, constantly engrossed in thoughts concerning the Apology, was writing during the meal, he arose and took the pen away from him [saying]: 'God can be honored not alone by work, but also by rest and recreation; for that reason He has given the Third Commandment and commanded the Sabbath.'" (243.) This report of Mathesius certainly offers no ground for a Puritanic explanation of the incident in Spalatin's home.

Originally Melanchthon does not seem to have contemplated a revision on a very large scale. In the Preface, which was printed first, he merely remarks that he made "some additions" (*quaedam adieci*) to the Apology drawn up at Augsburg. (101.) Evidently, at the time when he wrote this, he had no estimate of the proportions the work, which grew under his hands, would finally assume. Before long also he obtained a complete copy of the Confutation. It was probably sent to him from Nuernberg, whose delegate had been able to send a copy home on August 28, 1530. (Kolde, 37.) Says Melanchthon in the Preface to the Apology: "I have recently seen the Confutation, and have noticed how cunningly and slanderously it was written, so that on some points it could deceive even the cautious." (101.) Eck clamored that the Confutation "had gotten into Melanchthon's hands in a furtive and fraudulent manner, *furtim et fraudulenter ad manus Melanchthonis eandem pervenisse*." (Koellner, 426.) The possession of the document enabled Melanchthon to deal in a reliable manner with all questions involved, and spurred him on to do most careful and thorough work.

55. Completion of Apology Delayed.

Owing to the fact that Melanchthon spent much more time and labor on the work than he had anticipated and originally planned, the publication of the Apology was unexpectedly delayed. October 1, 1530, Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius: "Concerning the word 'liturgy' [in the Apology] I ask you again and again carefully to search out for me its etymology as well as examples of its meaning." November 12, to Dietrich: "I shall describe them [the forms of the Greek mass] to Osiander as soon as I have completed the Apology, which I am now having printed and am endeavoring to polish. In it I shall fully explain the most important controversies, which, I hope, will prove profitable." (*C. R.* 2, 438.) In a similar strain he wrote to Camerarius, November 18. (440.) January 1, 1531, again to Camerarius: "In the Apology I experience much trouble with the article of Justification, which I seek to explain profitably." (470.) February, 1531, to Brenz: "I am at work on the Apology. It will appear considerably augmented and better founded. For this article, in which we teach that men are justified by faith and not by love, is treated exhaustively." (484.) March 7, to Camerarius: "My Apology is not yet completed. It grows in the writing." (486.) Likewise in March, to Baumgaertner: "I have not yet completed the Apology, as I was hindered, not only by illness, but also by many other matters, which interrupted me, concerning the syncretism Bucer is stirring up." (485.) March 17, to Camerarius: "My Apology is making slower progress than the matter calls for." (488.) Toward the end of March, to Baumgaertner: "The Apology is still in press; for I am revising it entirely and extending it." (492.) April 7, to Jonas: "In the Apology I have completed the article on Marriage, in which the opponents are charged with many real crimes." (493.) April 8, to Brenz: "We have almost finished the Apology. I hope it will please you and other good people." (494.) April 11, to Camerarius: "My Apology will appear one of these days. I shall also see that you receive it. At times I have spoken somewhat vehemently, as I see that the opponents despise every mention of peace." (495.) Finally, in the middle of April, to Bucer: "My Apology has appeared, in which, in my opinion, I have treated the articles of Justification, Repentance, and several others in such a manner that our opponents will find themselves heavily burdened. I have said little of the Eucharist." (498.)

These letters show that Melanchthon took particular pains with the article of Justification, which was expanded more than tenfold. January 31, he was still hard at work on this article. Kolde says: "This was due to the fact that he suppressed five and one-half sheets [preserved by Veit Dietrich] treating this subject because they were not satisfactory to him, and while he at first treated Articles 4 to 6 together, he now included also Article 20, recasting anew the entire question of the nature of justification and the relation of faith and good works. Illness and important business, such as the negotiations with Bucer on the Lord's Supper, brought new delays. He also found it necessary to be more explicit than he had contemplated. Thus it came about that the work could first appear, together with the Augustana, end of April, or, at the latest, beginning of May." (37.) Ac-

cording to the resolution of the Diet, the Lutherans were to have decided by April 15, 1531, whether they would accept the Confutation or not. The answer of the Lutherans was the appearance, on the bookstalls, of the Augustana and the Apology, and a few days prior, of Luther's "Remarks on the Alleged Imperial Edict," *Glossen auf das vermeinte kaiserliche Edikt.*"

56. German Translation by Jonas.

The Apology was written in Latin. The *editio princeps* in quarto of 1531 contained the German and the Latin texts of the Augsburg Confession, and the Latin text of the Apology. From the very beginning, however, a German translation was, if not begun, at least planned. But, though announced on the title-page of the quarto edition just referred to, it appeared six months later, in the fall of 1531. It was the work of Justus Jonas. The title of the edition of 1531 reads: "*Apologie der Konfession, aus dem Latein verdeutscht durch Justus Jonas, Wittenberg.* Apology of the Confession done into German from the Latin by Justus Jonas, Wittenberg." For a time Luther also thought of writing a "German Apology." April 8, 1531, Melanchthon wrote to Brenz: "*Lutherus nunc instituit apologiam Germanicam.* Luther is now preparing a German Apology." (*C. R.* 2, 494. 501.) It is, however, hardly possible that Luther was contemplating a translation. Koellner comments on Melanchthon's words: "One can understand them to mean that Luther is working on the German Apology." *Instituit,* however, seems to indicate an independent work rather than a translation. Koestlin is of the opinion that Luther thought of writing an Apology of his own, because he was not entirely satisfied with Melanchthon's. (*Martin Luther* 2, 382.) However, if this view is correct, it certainly cannot apply to Melanchthon's revised Apology, to which Luther in 1533 expressly confessed himself, but to the first draft at Augsburg, in which, *e. g.*, the 10th Article seems to endorse the concomitance doctrine. (*Lehre und Wehre* 1918, 385.) At all events, Luther changed his plan when Jonas began the translation of the new Apology.

The translation of Jonas is not a literal reproduction of the Latin original, but a version with numerous independent amplifications. Also Melanchthon had a share in this work. In a letter of September 26, 1531, he says: "They are still printing the German Apology, the improvements of which cost me no little labor." (*C. R.* 2, 542.) The deviations from the Latin original therefore must perhaps be traced to Melanchthon rather than to Jonas. Some of them are due to the fact that the translation was based in part not on the text of the *editio princeps,* but on the altered Latin octavo edition, copies of which Melanchthon was able to send to his friends as early as September 14. See, for example, the 10th Article, where the German text follows the octavo edition in omitting the quotation from Theophylact. The German text appeared also in a separate edition, as we learn from the letter of the printer Rhau to Stephen Roth of November 30, 1531: "I shall send you a German Apology, most beautifully bound." (Kolde, 39.) German translations adhering strictly to the text of the *editio princeps* are of a much later date.

57. Alterations of Apology.

Melanchthon, who was forever changing and improving, naturally could not leave the Apology as it read in the first edition. This applies to both the German and the Latin text. He was thinking of the Latin octavo edition when he wrote to Brenz, June 7, 1531: "The Apology is now being printed, and I am at pains to make some points in the article of Justification clearer. It is an extremely great matter, in which we must proceed carefully, that Christ's honor may be magnified." (2, 504.) The same edition he had in mind when he wrote to Myconius, June 14, 1531: "My Apology is now in press, and I am endeavoring to present the article of Justification even more clearly; for there are some things in the solution of the arguments which are not satisfactory to me." (506.) Accordingly, this octavo edition, of which Melanchthon was able to send a copy to Margrave George on September 14, revealed important alterations: partly improvements, partly expansions, partly deletions. The changes in the 10th Article, already referred to, especially the omission of the quotation from Theophylact, attracted most attention. The succeeding Latin editions likewise revealed minor changes. The Apology accompanying the Altered Augsburg Confession of 1540, was designated by Melanchthon himself as "*diligenter recognita,* diligently revised." (*C. R.* 26, 357. 419.)

Concerning the German Apology, Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius on January 1, 1533: "I have more carefully treated the German Apology and the article of Justification, and would ask you to examine it. If you have seen my Romans [Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans], you will be able to notice how exactly and methodically I am endeavoring to explain this matter. I also hope that intelligent men will approve it. For I have done this in order to explain necessary matters and to cut off all manner of questions, partly false, partly useless." (*C. R.* 2, 624.) About the same time he wrote to Spalatin: "Two articles I have recast entirely: Of Original Sin and Of Righteousness. I ask you to examine them, and hope that they will profit pious consciences. For in my humble opinion I have most clearly presented the doctrine of Righteousness and ask you to write me your opinion." (625.) Kolde says of this second revision of the German text of 1533: "This edition, which Melanchthon described as 'diligently amended,' is much sharper in its tone against the Romanists than the first and reveals quite extensive changes. Indeed, entire articles have been remodeled, such as those Of Justification and Good Works, Of Repentance, Of the Mass, and also the statements

on Christian perfection." (41.) These alterations in the Latin and German texts of the Apology, however, do not involve changes in doctrine, at least not in the same degree as in the case of the Augustana Variata of 1540. Self-evidently, it was the text of the first edition of the German as well as the Latin Apology that was embodied in the Book of Concord.

58. Purpose, Arrangement, and Character of Apology.

The aim of the Apology was to show why the Lutherans "do not accept the Confutation," and to puncture the papal boast that the Augustana had been refuted with the Holy Scriptures. In its Preface we read: "Afterwards a certain decree was published [by the Emperor], in which the adversaries boast that they have refuted our Confession from the Scriptures. You have now, therefore, reader, our Apology, from which you will understand not only what the adversaries have judged (for we have reported in good faith), but also that they have condemned several articles contrary to the manifest Scripture of the Holy Ghost; so far are they from overthrowing our propositions by means of the Scriptures." (101.) The Apology is, on the one hand, a refutation of the Confutation and, on the other hand, a defense and elaboration of the Augustana, presenting theological proofs for the correctness of its teachings. Hence constant reference is made to the Augsburg Confession as well as the Confutation; and scholastic theology is discussed as well. On this account also the sequence of the articles, on the whole, agrees with that of the Augustana and the Confutation. However, articles treating of related doctrines are collected into one, *e. g.*, Articles 4, 5, 6, and 20. Articles to which the Romanists assented are but briefly touched upon. Only a few of them have been elaborated somewhat, *e. g.*, Of the Adoration of the Saints, Of Baptism, Of the Lord's Supper, Of Repentance, Of Civil Government. The fourteen articles, however, which the Confutation rejected are discussed extensively, and furnished also with titles, in the *editio princeps* as well as in the Book of Concord of 1580 and 1584. In Mueller's edition of the Symbolical Books all articles of the Apology are for the first time supplied with numbers and captions corresponding with the Augsburg Confession.

In the Apology, just as in the Augsburg Confession, everything springs from, and is regulated by, the fundamental Lutheran principle of Law and Gospel, sin and grace, faith and justification. Not only is the doctrine of justification set forth thoroughly and comfortingly in a particular article, but throughout the discussions it remains the dominant note, its heavenly strain returning again and again as the *motif* in the grand symphony of divine truths — a strain with which the Apology also breathes, as it were, its last, departing breath. For in its Conclusion we read: "If all the scandals [which, according to the Papists, resulted from Luther's teaching] be brought together, still the one article concerning the remission of sins (that for Christ's sake, through faith, we freely obtain the remission of sins) brings so much good as to hide all evils. And this, in the beginning [of the Reformation], gained for Luther not only our favor, but also that of many who are now contending against us." (451.)

In Kolde's opinion, the Apology is a companion volume, as it were, to Melanchthon's *Loci Communes*, and a theological dissertation rather than a confession. However, theological thoroughness and erudition do not conflict with the nature of a confession as long as it is not mere cold intellectual reflection and abstraction, but the warm, living, and immediate language of the believing heart. With all its thoroughness and erudition the Apology is truly edifying, especially the German version. One cannot read without being touched in his inmost heart, without sensing and feeling something of the heart-beat of the Lutheran confessors. Jacobs, who translated the Apology into English, remarks: "To one charged with the cure of souls the frequent reading of the Apology is invaluable; in many (we may say, in most) parts it is a book of practical religion." (*The Book of Concord* 2, 41.) The Apology does not offer all manner of theories of idle minds, but living testimonies of what faith, while struggling hotly with the devil and languishing in the fear of death and the terrors of sin and the Law, found and experienced in the sweet Gospel as restored by Luther. In reading the Apology, one can tell from the words employed how Melanchthon lived, moved, and fairly reveled in this blessed truth which in opposition to all heathen work-righteousness teaches terrified hearts to rely solely and alone on grace. In his *History of Lutheranism* (2, 206) Seckendorf declares that no one can be truly called a theologian of our Church who has not diligently and repeatedly read the Apology or familiarized himself with it. (Salig, 1, 375.)

59. Moderate Tone of Apology.

The tone of the Apology is much sharper than that of the Augsburg Confession. The situation had changed; hence the manner of dealing with the opposition also changed. The Romanists had fully revealed themselves as implacable enemies, who absolutely refused a peace on the basis of truth and justice. In the Conclusion of the Apology we read: "But as to the want of unity and dissension in the Church, it is well known how these matters first happened, and who caused the division, namely, the sellers of indulgences, who shamefully preached intolerable lies, and afterwards condemned Luther for not approving of those lies, and besides, they again and again excited more controversies, so that Luther was induced to attack many other errors. But since our opponents would not tolerate the truth, and dared to promote manifest errors by force, it is easy to judge who is guilty of the schism. Surely, all the world, all wisdom, all power ought to yield to Christ and His holy Word. But the devil is the enemy of God, and there-

fore rouses all his might against Christ to extinguish and suppress the Word of God. Therefore the devil with his members, setting himself against the Word of God, is the cause of the schism and want of unity. For we have most zealously sought peace, and still most eagerly desire it, provided only we are not forced to blaspheme and deny Christ. For God, the discerner of all men's hearts, is our witness that we do not delight and have no joy in this awful disunion. On the other hand, our adversaries have so far not been willing to conclude peace without stipulating that we must abandon the saving doctrine of the forgiveness of sin by Christ without our merit, though Christ would be most foully blasphemed thereby." (451.)

Such being the attitude of the Romanists, there was no longer any reason for Melanchthon to have any special consideration for these implacable opponents of the Lutherans and hardened enemies of the Gospel, of the truth, and of religious liberty and peace. Reconciliation with Rome was out of the question. Hence he could yield more freely to his impulse here than in the Augustana; for when this Confession was written, an agreement was not considered impossible. In a letter of July 15, 1530, informing Luther of the pasquinades delivered to the Emperor, Melanchthon declared: "If an answer will become necessary, I shall certainly remunerate these wretched, bloody men. *Si continget, ut respondendum sit, ego profecto remunerabor istos nefarios viros sanguinum.*" (*C. R.* 2, 197.) And when about to conclude the Apology, he wrote to Brenz, April 8, 1531: "I have entirely laid aside the mildness which I formerly exercised toward the opponents. Since they will not employ me as a peacemaker, but would rather have me as their enemy, I shall do what the matter requires, and faithfully defend our cause." (494.) But while Melanchthon castigates the papal theologians, he spares and even defends the Emperor.

In Luther's *Remarks on the Alleged Imperial Edict*, of 1531, we read: "I, Martin Luther, Doctor of the Sacred Scriptures and pastor of the Christians at Wittenberg, in publishing these *Remarks*, wish it to be distinctly understood that anything I am writing in this booklet against the alleged imperial edict or command is not to be viewed as written against His Imperial Majesty or any higher power, either of spiritual or civil estate. . . . I do not mean the pious Emperor nor the pious lords, but the traitors and reprobates (be they princes or bishops), and especially that fellow whom St. Paul calls God's opponent (I should say God's vicar), the arch-knave, Pope Clement, and his servant Campegius, and the like, who plan to carry out their desperate, nefarious roguery under the imperial name, or, as Solomon says, at court." (16, 1666.) Luther then continues to condemn the Diet in unqualified terms. "What a disgraceful Diet," says he, "the like of which was never held and never heard of, and nevermore shall be held or heard of, on account of such disgraceful action! It cannot but remain an eternal blot on all princes and the entire empire, and makes all Germans blush before God and all the world." But he continues exonerating and excusing the Emperor: "Let no one tremble on account of this edict which they so shamefully invent and publish in the name of the pious Emperor. And should they not publish their lies in the name of a pious Emperor, when their entire blasphemous, abominable affair "was begun and maintained for over six hundred years in the name of God and the Holy Church?" (16, 1634.)

In a similar manner Melanchthon, too, treats the Emperor. He calls him "*optimum imperatorem*," and speaks of "the Emperor's most gentle disposition, *mansuetissimum Caesaris pectus*," which Eck and his party were seeking to incite to bloodshed. (*C. R.* 2, 197.) In the Preface he says: "And now I have written with the greatest moderation possible; and if any expression appears too severe, I must say here beforehand that I am contending with the theologians and monks who wrote the Confutation, and not with the Emperor or the princes, whom I hold in due esteem." (101.) In Article 23 Melanchthon even rises to the apostrophe: "And these their lusts they ask you to defend with your chaste right hand, Emperor Charles (whom even certain ancient predictions name as the king of modest face; for the saying appears concerning you: 'One modest in face shall reign everywhere')." (363.)

The Confutators, however, the avowed enemies of truth and peace, were spared no longer. Upon them Melanchthon now pours out the lye of bitter scorn. He excoriates them as "desperate sophists, who maliciously interpret the holy Gospel according to their dreams," and as "coarse, sluggish, inexperienced theologians." He denounces them as men "who for the greater part do not know whereof they speak," and "who dare to destroy this doctrine of faith with fire and sword," etc. Occasionally Melanchthon even loses his dignified composure. Article 6 we read: "Quis docuit illos asinos hanc dialecticam?" Article 9: "Videant isti asini." In his book of 1534 against the Apology, Cochlaeus complains that the youthful Melanchthon called old priests asses, sycophants, windbags, godless sophists, worthless hyocrites, etc. In the margin he had written: "Fierce and vicious he is, a barking dog toward those who are absent, but to those who were present at Augsburg, Philip was more gentle than a pup. *Ferox et mordax est, latrator in absentes, in praesentes erat Augustae omni catello blandior Philippus.*" (Salig, 1, 377.)

On this score, however, Cochlaeus and his papal compeers had no reason to complain, for they had proved to be past masters in vilifying and slandering the Lutherans, as well as implacable enemies, satisfied with nothing short of their blood and utter destruction. As a sample of their scurrility W. Walther quotes the following from a book written by Duke George of Saxony: "Er [Luther] ist gewiss mit dem Teufel besessen, mit der ganzen Le-

gion, welche Christus von den Besessenen austrieb und erlaubte ihnen, in die Schweine zu fahren. Diese Legion hat dem Luther seinen Moenchschaedel hirnwuetig und wirbelsuechtig gemacht. Du unruhiger, treuloser und meineidiger Kuttenbube! Du bist allein der groesste, groebste Esel und Narr, du verfluchter Apostat! Hieraus kann maenniglich abnehmen die Verraeterei und Falschheit deines blutduerstigen Herzens, rachgierigen Gemuets und teuflischen Willens, so du, Luther, gegen deinen Naechsten tobend, als ein toerichter Hund mit offenem Maul ohne Unterlass wagest. Du treuloser Bube und teuflischer Moench! Du deklarierter Mameluck and verdammter Zwiedarm, deren neun einen Pickharden gelten. Ich sage vornehmlich, dass du selbst der allerunverstaendigste Bacchant und zehneckichte Cornut und Bestia bist. Du meineidiger, treuloser und ehrenblosser Fleischboesewicht! Pfui dich nun, du sakrilegischer, der ausgelaufenen Moenche und Nonnen, der abfaelligen Pfaffen und aller Abtruennigen Hurenwirt! Ei, Doktor Schandluther! Mein Doktor Erzesel, ich will dir's prophezeit haben, der allmaechtige Gott wird dir kuerzlich die Schanze brechen und deiner boshaftigsten, groebsten Eselheit Feierabend geben. Du Sauboze, Doktor Sautrog! Doktor Eselsohr! Doktor Filzhut! Zweiundsiebzig Teufel sollen dich lebendig in den Abgrund der Hoelle fuehren. Ich will machen, dass du als ein Hoellenhund sollst Feuer ausspruehen und dich endlich selbst verbrennen. Ich will dich dem wuetenigen Teufel und seiner Hurenmutter mit einem blutigen Kopf in den Abgrund der Hoelle schicken." (*Luthers Charakter*, 148.)

Despite the occasional asperity referred to, the Apology, as a whole, is written with modesty and moderation. Melanchthon sought to keep the track as clear as possible for a future understanding. In the interest of unity, which he never lost sight of entirely, he was conservative and not disposed needlessly to widen the existing gulf. In the Preface to the Apology he declares: "It has always been my custom in these controversies to retain, so far as I was at all able, the form of the customarily received doctrine, in order that at some time concord could be reached the more readily. Nor, indeed, am I now departing far from this custom, although I could justly lead away the men of this age still farther from the opinions of the adversaries." (101.) This irenic feature is perhaps most prominent in the 10th Article, Of the Lord's Supper, where Melanchthon, in order to satisfy the opponents as to the orthodoxy of the Lutherans in the doctrine of the Real Presence, emphasizes the agreement in such a manner that he has been misunderstood as endorsing also the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation.

60. Symbolical Authority of Apology.

The great importance ascribed to the Apology appears both from its numerous reprints and the strenuous endeavors of the opponents to oppose it with books, which, however, no one was willing to print. The reception accorded it by the Lutherans is described in a letter which Lazarus Spengler sent to Veit Dietrich May 17: "We have received the Apology with the greatest joy and in good hope that it will be productive of much profit among our posterity." Brenz declares it worthy of the canon [worthy of symbolical authority]: "Apologiam, me iudice, canone dignam" (*C. R.* 2, 510), a phrase which Luther had previously applied to Melanchthon's *Loci*. The joy of the Lutherans was equaled only by the consternation of their enemies. The appearance of the Apology surprised and perturbed them. They keenly felt that they were again discredited in the public opinion and had been outwitted by the Lutherans. On November 19 Albert of Mayence sent a copy of the Apology to the Emperor in order to show him how the Catholic religion was being destroyed while the Confutation remained unpublished. Cochlaeus complained that, to judge from letters received, the Apology found approval even in Rome, whereas no printer could be found for Catholic replies to the Apology. He wrote: "Meantime, while we keep silence, they flaunt the Apology and other writings, and not only insult us, but cause our people and cities to doubt and to grow unstable in the faith." (Kolde, 40.)

The Apology, as revised and published by Melanchthon, was a private work. His name, therefore, appeared on the title-page of the edition of 1531, which was not the case with respect to the Confession and Apology presented at Augsburg. The latter were official documents, drawn up by order of the Lutheran princes and estates, while the revised Apology was an undertaking for which Melanchthon had received no commission. Accordingly, as he was not justified in publishing a work of his own under the name of the princes, there was nothing else for him to do than to affix his own signature. In the Preface to the Apology he says: "As it passed through the press, I made some additions. Therefore I give my name, so that no one can complain that the book has been published anonymously." (100.) Melanchthon did not wish to make any one beside himself responsible for the contents of the revised Apology.

Before long, however, the Apology received official recognition. At Schweinfurt, 1532, in opposition to the Papists, the Lutherans appealed to the Augustana and Apology as the confession of their faith, designating the latter as "the defense and explanation of the Confession." And when the Papists advanced the claim that the Lutherans had gone farther in the Apology than in the Augustana, and, April 11, 1532, demanded that they abide by the Augustana, refrain from making the Apology their confession, and accordingly substitute "Assertion" for the title "Apology," the Lutherans, considering the Apology to be the adequate expression of their faith, insisted on the original title. April 17 they declared: "This book was called Apology because it was presented to Caesar after the Confession; nor

could they suffer its doctrine and the Word of God to be bound and limited, or their preachers restricted to teach nothing else than the letter of the Augsburg Confession, thus making it impossible for them to rebuke freely and most fully all doctrinal errors, abuses, sins, and crimes. *Nominatum fuisse Apologiam scriptum illud, quod Caesari post Confessionem exhibitum sit, neque se pati posse, ut doctrina sua et Verbum Dei coangustetur, imminuatur et concionatores astringantur, ut nihil aliud praedicent quam ad litteram Augustanae Confessionis, neque libere et plenissime adversus omnes errores doctrinae, abusus, peccata et crimina dicere possint.*" Hereupon the Romanists, on April 22, demanded that at least a qualifying explanation be added to the title Apology. Brueck answered on the 23d: "It is not possible to omit this word. The Apology is the correlate of the Confession. Still the princes and their associates do not wish any articles taught other than those which have so far begun tc be discussed. *Omitti istud verbum non posse; Apologiam esse correlatum Confessionis; nolle tamen Principes et socios, ut alii articuli docerentur, quam hucusque tractari coepti sint.*" (Koellner, 430.)

In his Letter of Comfort, 1533, to the Leipzig Lutherans banished by Duke George, Luther says: "There is our Confession and Apology. . . . Adhere to our Confession and Apology." (10, 1956.) Membership in the Smalcald League was conditioned on accepting the Apology as well as the Augustana. Both were also subscribed to in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. (*C. R.* 3, 76.) In 1537, at Smalcald, the Apology (together with the Augustana and the Appendix Concerning the Primacy of the Pope) was, by order of the Evangelical estates, subscribed by all of the theologians present, and thereby solemnly declared a confession of the Lutheran Church. In 1539 Denmark reckoned the Apology among the books which pastors were required to adopt. In 1540 it was presented together with the Augustana at Worms. It was also received into the various *corpora doctrinae.* The Formula of Concord adopts the Apology, saying: "We unanimously confess this [Apology] also, because not only is the said Augsburg Confession explained in it as much as is necessary and guarded [against the slanders of the adversaries], but also proved by clear, irrefutable testimonies of Holy Scripture." (853, 6.)

VII. Smalcald Articles and Tract concerning Power and Primacy of Pope.

61. General Council Demanded by Lutherans.

In order to settle the religious controversy between themselves and the Papists, the Lutherans, from the very beginning, asked for a general council. In the course of years this demand became increasingly frequent and insistent. It was solemnly renewed in the Preface of the Augsburg Confession. The Emperor had repeatedly promised to summon a council. At Augsburg he renewed the promise of convening it within a year. The Roman Curia, however, dissatisfied with the arrangements made at the Diet, found ways and means of delaying it. In 1532, the Emperor proceeded to Bologna, where he negotiated with Clement VII concerning the matter, as appears from the imperial and papal proclamations of January 8 and 10, 1533, respectively. As a result, the Pope, in 1533, sent Hugo Rangon, bishop of Resz, to Germany, to propose that the council be held at Placentia, Bologna, or Mantua. Clement, however, was not sincere in making this offer. In reality he was opposed to holding a council. Such were probably also the real sentiments of his successor, Paul III. But when the Emperor, who, in the interest of his sweeping world policy, was anxious to dispose of the religious controversy, renewed his pressure, Paul finally found himself compelled to yield. June 4, 1536, he issued a bull convoking a general council to meet at Mantua, May 8, 1537. Nothing, however, was said about the principles according to which it was to be formed and by which it should be governed in transacting its business. Self-evidently, then, the rules of the former councils were to be applied. Its declared purpose was the peace of the Church through the extinction of heresy. In the Bull *Concerning the Reforms of the Roman Court,* which the Pope issued September 23, he expressly declared that the purpose of the council would be "the utter extirpation of the poisonous, pestilential Lutheran heresy." (St. L. 16, 1914.) Thus the question confronting the Protestants was, whether they could risk to appear at such a council, and ought to do so, or whether (and how) they should decline to attend.

Luther, indeed, still desired a council. But after 1530 he no longer put any confidence in a council convened by the Pope, although, for his person, he did not refuse to attend even such a council. This appears also from his conversation, November 7, 1535, with the papal legate Peter Paul Vergerius (born 1497; accused of Lutheranism 1546; deprived of his bishopric 1549; defending Protestantism after 1550; employed by Duke Christoph of Wuerttemberg 1553; died 1564.) Koestlin writes: "Luther relates how he had told the legate: 'Even if you do call a council, you will not treat of salutary doctrine, saving faith, etc., but of useless matters, such as laws concerning meats, the length of priest's garments, exercises of monks, etc.' While he was thus dilating, says Luther, the legate, holding his head in his hand, turned to a near-by companion and said: 'He strikes the nail on the head.' The further utterances of Luther: 'We do not need a council for ourselves and our adherents, for we already have the firm Evangelical doctrine and order; Christendom, how-

ever, needs it, in order that those whom error still holds captive may be able to distinguish between error and truth,' appeared utterly intolerable to Vergerius, as he himself relates. He regarded them as unheard-of arrogance. By way of answer, he asked, whether, indeed, the Christian men assembled from all parts of the world, upon whom, without doubt, the Holy Spirit descends, must only decide what Luther approved of. Boldly and angrily interrupting him, Luther said: 'Yes, I will come to the council and lose my head if I shall not defend my doctrine against all the world'; furthermore he exclaimed: 'This wrath of my mouth is not my wrath, but the wrath of God.' Vergerius rejoiced to hear that Luther was perfectly willing to come to the council; for, so he wrote to Rome, he thought that nothing more was needed to break the courage of the heretics than the certain prospect of a council, and at the same time he believed that in Luther's assent he heard the decision of his master, the Elector, also. Luther declared that it was immaterial to him where the council would meet, at Mantua, Verona, or at any other place. Vergerius continued: 'Are you willing to come to Bologna?' Luther: 'To whom does Bologna belong?' Vergerius: 'To the Pope.' Luther: 'Good Lord, has this town, too, been grabbed by the Pope? Very well, I shall come to you there.' Vergerius: 'The Pope will probably not refuse to come to you at Wittenberg either.' Luther: 'Very well, let him come; we shall look for him with pleasure.' Vergerius: 'Do you expect him to come with an army or without weapons?' Luther: 'As he pleases; in whatsoever manner he may come, we shall expect him and shall receive him.' — Luther and Bugenhagen remained with Vergerius until he departed with his train of attendants. After mounting, he said once more to Luther: 'See that you be prepared for the council.' Luther answered: 'Yes, sir, with this my neck and head.'" (*Martin Luther* 2, 382 sq.)

62. Luther's Views Regarding the Council.

What Luther's attitude toward a general council was in 1537 is expressed in the Preface to the Smalcald Articles as follows: "But to return to the subject. I verily desire to see a truly Christian council, in order that many matters and persons might be helped. Not that we need it; for our churches are now, through God's grace, so enlightened and equipped with the pure Word and right use of the Sacraments, with knowledge of the various callings and of right works, that we on our part ask for no council, and on such points have nothing better to hope or expect from a council. But we see in the bishoprics everywhere so many parishes vacant and desolate that one's heart would break, and yet neither the bishops nor canons care how the poor people live or die, for whom nevertheless Christ has died, and who are not permitted to hear Him speak with them as the true Shepherd with His sheep. This causes me to shudder and fear that at some time He may send a council of angels upon Germany utterly destroying us, like Sodom and Gomorrah, because we so wantonly mock Him with the council." (457.)

From a popish council Luther expected nothing but condemnation of the truth and its confessors. At the same time he was convinced that the Pope would never permit a truly free, Christian council to assemble. He had found him out and knew "that the Pope would see all Christendom perish and all souls damned rather than suffer either himself or his adherents to be reformed even a little, and his tyranny to be limited." (455.) "For with them conscience is nothing, but money, honors, power, are everything." (455. 477.) The Second Part of his Articles Luther concludes as follows: "In these four articles they will have enough to condemn in the council. For they cannot and will not concede to us even the least point in one of these articles. Of this we should be certain, and animate ourselves with the hope that Christ, our Lord, has attacked His adversary, and He will press the attack home both by His Spirit and coming. Amen. For in the council we will stand not before the Emperor or the political magistrate, as at Augsburg (where the Emperor published a most gracious edict, and caused matters to be heard kindly), but before the Pope and devil himself, who intends to listen to nothing, but merely to condemn, to murder, and to force us to idolatry. Therefore we ought not here to kiss his feet or to say, 'Thou art my gracious lord,' but as the angel in Zechariah 3, 2 said to Satan, The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan." (475.) Hence his Preface also concludes with the plaint and prayer: "O Lord Jesus Christ, do Thou Thyself convoke a council, and deliver Thy servants by Thy glorious advent! The Pope and his adherents are done for; they will have none of Thee. Do Thou, then, help us, who are poor and needy, who sigh to Thee, and beseech Thee earnestly, according to the grace which Thou hast given us, through Thy Holy Ghost, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Father, blessed forever. Amen." (459.)

63. Elector Opposed to Hearing Papal Legate.

From the very beginning, Elector John Frederick was opposed to a council. And the question which particularly engaged his attention was, whether the Lutherans should receive and hear the papal legate who would deliver the invitation. Accordingly, on July 24, the Elector came to Wittenberg and through Brueck delivered four (five) articles to the local theologians and jurists for consideration, with instructions to submit their answer in writing. (*C. R.* 3, 119.) August 1, Melanchthon wrote to Jonas: "Recently the Prince was here and demanded an opinion from all theologians and jurists. . . . It is rumored that a cardinal-legate will come to Germany to announce the council. The Prince is therefore inquiring what to answer, and under what condition the synod might be permitted."

(106.) The articles which Brueck presented dealt mainly with the questions: whether, in view of the fact that the Pope is a party to the issue and his authority to convene a council is questioned, the legate should be heard, especially if the Emperor did not send a messenger along with him; whether one would not already submit himself to the Pope by hearing the legate; whether one ought not to protest, because the Pope alone had summoned the council; and what should be done in case the legate would summon the Elector as a party, and not for consultation, like the other estates. (119 f.)

In the preparation of their answer, the Elector desired the Wittenberg scholars to take into careful consideration also his own view of the matter, which he persistently defended as the only correct one. For this purpose he transmitted to them an opinion of his own on Brueck's articles referred to in the preceding paragraph. In it he maintained that the papal invitation must be declined, because acceptance involved the recognition of the Pope "as the head of the Church and of the council." According to the Elector the proper course for the Lutheran confederates would be to inform the legate, immediately on his arrival in Germany, that they would never submit to the authority which the Pope had arrogated to himself in his proclamation, since the power he assumed was neither more nor less than abominable tyranny; that they could not consider the Pope as differing from, or give him greater honor than, any other ordinary bishop; that, besides, they must regard the Pope as their greatest enemy and opponent; that he had arranged for the council with the sinister object of maintaining his antichristian power and suppressing the holy Gospel; that there was no need of hearing the legate any further, since the Pope, who was sufficiently informed as to their teaching, cared neither for Scripture nor for law and justice, and merely wished to be their judge and lord; that, in public print, they would unmask the roguery of the Pope, and show that he had no authority whatever to convoke a council, but, at the same time, declare their willingness to take part in, and submit their doctrine to, a free, common, Christian, and impartial council, which would judge according to the Scriptures. Nor did the Elector fail to stress the point that, by attending at Mantua, the Lutherans would *de facto* waive their former demand that the council must be held on German soil. (99 ff.)

64. Elector Imbued with Luther's Spirit.

Evidently, the Elector had no desire of engaging once more in diplomatic jugglery, such as had been indulged in at Augsburg. And at Smalcald, despite the opposing advice of the theologians, his views prevailed, to the sorrow of Melanchthon, as appears from the latter's complaint to Camerarius, March 1, 1537. (*C. R.* 3, 293.) The Elector was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Luther, who never felt more antagonistic toward Rome than at Smalcald, although, as shown above, he was personally willing to appear at the council, even if held at Mantua. This spirit of bold defiance appears from the articles which Luther wrote for the convention, notably from the article on the Papacy and on the Mass. In the latter he declares: "As Campegius said at Augsburg that he would be torn to pieces before he would relinquish the Mass, so, by the help of God, I, too, would suffer myself to be reduced to ashes before I would allow a hireling of the Mass, be he good or bad, to be made equal to Christ Jesus, my Lord and Savior, or to be exalted above Him. Thus we are and remain eternally separated and opposed to one another. They feel well enough that when the Mass falls, the Papacy lies in ruins. Before they will permit this to occur, they will put us all to death if they can." (465.) In the Pope, Luther had recognized the Antichrist; and the idea of treating, seeking an agreement, and making a compromise with the enemy of his Savior, was intolerable to him. At Smalcald, while suffering excruciating pain, he declared, "I shall die as the enemy of all enemies of my Lord Christ." When seated in the wagon, and ready to leave Smalcald, he made the sign of the cross over those who stood about him and said: "May the Lord fill you with His blessing and with hatred against the Pope!" Believing that his end was not far removed, he had chosen as his epitaph: "Living, I was thy pest; dying, I shall be thy death, O Pope! *Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa!*"

The same spirit of bold defiance and determination not to compromise the divine truth in any way animated the Elector and practically all of the princes and theologians at Smalcald, with, perhaps, the sole exception of Melanchthon. Koestlin writes: "Meanwhile the allies at Smalcald displayed no lack of 'hatred against the Pope.' His letters, delivered by the legate, were returned unopened. They decidedly refused to take part in the council, and that in spite of the opinion of their theologians, whose reasons Melanchthon again ardently defended. For, as they declared in an explanation to all Christian rulers, they could not submit to a council which, according to the papal proclamation, was convoked to eradicate the Lutheran heresy, would consist only of bishops, who were bound to the Pope by an oath, have as its presiding officer the Pope, who himself was a party to the matter, and would not decide freely according to the Word of God, but according to human and papal decrees. And from the legal standpoint they could hardly act differently. Theologians like Luther could have appeared even before such a council in order to give bold testimony before it. Princes, however, the representatives of the law and protectors of the Church, dared not even create the appearance of acknowledging its legality." (2, 402.)

65. Opinion of Theologians.

August 6 the Wittenberg professors assembled to deliberate on Brueck's articles and the views of the Elector. The opinion resolved

upon was drawn up by Melanchthon. Its contents may be summarized as follows: The Lutherans must not reject the papal invitation before hearing whether the legate comes with a citation or an invitation. In case they were invited like the rest of the princes to take part in the deliberations, and not cited as a party, this would mean a concession on the part of the Pope, inasmuch as he thereby consented "that the opinion of our gracious Lord [the Elector] should be heard and have weight, like that of the other estates." Furthermore, by such invitation the Pope would indicate that he did not consider these princes to be heretics. If the legate were rebuffed, the Romanists would proceed against the Lutherans as obstinate sinners (*contumaces*) and condemn them unheard, which, as is well known, would please the enemies best. The Lutherans would then also be slandered before the Emperor as despisers of His Majesty and of the council. Nor did the mere hearing of the legate involve an acknowledgment of the papal authority. "For with such invitation [to attend the council] the Pope does not issue a command, nor summon any one to appear before his tribunal, but before another judge, namely, the Council, the Pope being in this matter merely the commander of the other estates. By hearing the legate, therefore, one has not submitted to the Pope or to his judgments. . . . For although the Pope has not the authority to summon others by divine law, nevertheless the ancient councils, as, for example, that of Nicaea, have given him this charge, which external church regulation we do not attack. And although in former years, when the empire was under one head, some emperors convoked councils, it would be in vain at present for the Emperor to proclaim a council, as foreign nations would not heed such proclamation. But while the Pope, at present, according to the form of the law, has the charge to proclaim councils, he is thereby not made the judge in matters of faith, for even popes themselves have frequently been deposed by councils. Pope John proclaimed the Council of Constance, but was nevertheless deposed by it." Accordingly the opinion continues: "It is not for us to advise that the council be summarily declined, neither do we consider this profitable, for we have always appealed to a council. What manner of suspicion, therefore, would be aroused with His Imperial Majesty and all nations if at the outset we would summarily decline a council, before discussing the method of procedure!" And even if the Lutherans should be cited [instead of invited], one must await the wording of the citation, "whether we are cited to show the reason for our teaching, or to hear ourselves declared and condemned as public heretics." In the latter case it might be declined. In the former, however, the citation should be accepted, but under the protest "that they had appealed to a free Christian council," and did not acknowledge the Pope as judge. "And if (*caeteris paribus*, that is, provided the procedure is correct otherwise) the council is considered the highest tribunal, as it ought to be considered, one cannot despise the command of the person to whom the charge is given to proclaim councils, whoever he may be. But if afterwards the proceedings are not conducted properly, one can then justly lodge complaint on that account." "To proclaim a council is within the province of the Pope; but the judgment and decision belongs to the council. . . . For all canonists hold that in matters of faith the council is superior to the Pope, and that in case of difference the council's verdict must be preferred to that of the Pope. For there must be a supreme court of the Church, *i. e.*, the council." On account of the place, however, they should not refuse to appear. (*C. R.* 3, 119.)

In their subsequent judgments the theologians adhered to the view that the Protestants ought not to incur the reproach of having prevented the council by turning down the legate. Luther says, in an opinion written at Smalcald, February, 1537: "I have no doubt that the Pope and his adherents are afraid and would like to see the council prevented, but in such a manner as would enable them to boast with a semblance of truth that it was not their fault, since they had proclaimed it, sent messengers, called the estates, etc., as they, indeed, would brag and trump it up. Hence, in order that we might be frightened and back out, they have set before us a horrible devil's head by proclaiming a council, in which they mention nothing about church matters, nothing about a hearing, nothing about other matters, but solely speak of the extirpation and eradication of the poisonous Lutheran heresy, as they themselves indicate in the bull *De Reformatione Curiae* [of September 23, 1536; St. L. 16, 1913 ff.]. Here we have not only our sentence, which is to be passed upon us in the council, but the appeal also with hearing, answer, and discussion of all matters is denied us, and all pious, honorable men who might possibly have been chosen as mediators are also excluded. Moreover, these knaves of the devil are bent on doing their pleasure, not only in condemning (for according to the said bull launched against us they want to be certain of that), but also in speedily beginning and ordering execution and eradication, although we have not yet been heard (as all laws require), nor have they, the cardinals, ever read our writing or learned its doctrine, since our books are proscribed everywhere, but have heard only the false writers and the lying mouths, having not heard us make a reply, although in Germany both princes and bishops know, also those of their party, that they are lying books and rascals, whom the Pope, Italy, and other nations believe. . . . Hence they would like to frighten us into refusing it [the Council]; for then they could safely say that we had prevented it. Thus the shame would not only cleave to us, but we would have to hear that, by our refusal, we had helped to strengthen such abominations of the Pope, which otherwise might have been righted." Such and similar reasons prompted Luther to declare

that, even though he knew "it would finally end in a scuffle," he was not afraid of "the lousy, contemptible council," and would neither give the legate a negative answer, nor "entangle himself," and therefore not be hasty in the matter. (St. L. 16, 1997.) Even after the princes at Smalcald had resolved not to attend the council, Luther expressed the opinion that it had been false wisdom to decline it; the Pope should have been left without excuse; in case it should convene, the council would now be conducted without the Protestants.

66. Elector's Strictures on Opinion of Theologians.

Elector John Frederick was not at all satisfied with the Wittenberg opinion of August 6. Accordingly, he informed the theologians assembled August 30 at Luther's house, through Brueck, that they had permitted themselves to be unduly influenced by the jurists, had not framed their opinion with the diligence required by the importance of the matter, and had not weighed all the dangers lurking in an acceptance of the invitation to the council. If the Lutherans would be invited like the other estates, and attend, they must needs dread a repetition of the craftiness attempted at Augsburg, namely, of bringing their princes in opposition to their preachers. Furthermore, in that case it would also be considered self-evident that the Lutherans submit to the decision of the majority in all matters. And if they refused, what then? "On this wise we, for our part, would be lured into the net so far that we could not, with honor, give a respectable account of our action before the world. For thereupon to appeal from such decision of the council to another would by all the world be construed against our part as capriciousness pure and simple. At all events, therefore, the Lutherans could accept the papal invitation only with a public protest, from which the Pope and every one else could perceive in advance, before the council convened, that the Lutherans would not allow themselves to be lured into the net of a papal council, and what must be the character of the council to which they would assent." (*C. R.* 3, 147.)

In this Protest, which the Elector presented, and which Melanchthon translated into Latin, we read: "By the [possible] acceptance [of the invitation to the council], they [the Lutherans] assent to no council other than a general, free, pious, Christian, and impartial one; not to one either which would be subject to, and bound by, papal prejudices (as the one promised by Clement VII), but to such a synod as will endeavor to bring godly and Christian unity within the Church by choosing pious, learned, impartial, and unsuspected men for the purpose of investigating the religious controversies and adjudicating them from the Word of God, and not in accordance with usage and human traditions, nor on the basis of decisions rendered by former synods that militate against the Word of God." (152. 157.)

67. Counter-Council Disadvised.

The other matters which engaged the Elector's attention dealt primarily with measures of defense, the convening of a counter-council (*Gegenkonzil*) and the preparation of articles which all would unanimously accept, and by which they proposed to stand to the uttermost. August 20 Brueck brought these points up for discussion. And in a "memorandum" which the Elector personally presented to the theologians at Wittenberg on December 1, 1536, he expressed his opinion as follows: The Lutherans were not obligated to attend the council, neither would it be advisable. One could not believe or trust the opponents. Nothing but trickery, deception, harm, and destruction might be expected. At the council the Lutheran doctrine would be condemned, and its confessors excommunicated and outlawed. To be sure, the Lutheran cause was in God's hands. And as in the past, so also in the future God would protect it. Still they must not on this account neglect anything. Luther should therefore draw up articles from which he was determined not to recede. After they had been subscribed by the Wittenbergers and by all Evangelical pastors at the prospective meeting [at Smalcald], the question might also be discussed whether the Lutherans should not arrange for a counter-council, "a universal, free, Christian council," possibly at Augsburg. The proclamation for this council might be issued "by Doctor Luther together with his fellow-bishops and ecclesiastics, as the pastors." However, one might also consider whether this should not preferably be done by the princes and estates. In such an event, however, one had to see to it that the Emperor be properly informed, and that the entire blame be saddled upon the Pope and his adherents, the enemies and opponents of our side. (141.)

The seriousness with which the Elector considered the idea of a counter-council appears from the details on which he entered in the "memorandum" referred to, where he puts especial emphasis on the following points: At this free, universal council the Lutherans were minded "to set forth their doctrine and faith according to the divine, holy Scriptures." Every one, whether priest or layman, should be heard in case he wanted to present anything concerning this doctrine from the Holy Scriptures. A free, safe, Christian passport was to be given to all, even to the worst enemy, leaving it to his discretion when to come and go. Only matters founded in the Scriptures were to be presented and discussed at such council. Human laws, ordinances, and writings should under no circumstances be listened to in matters pertaining to faith and conscience, nor be admitted as evidence against the Word of God. "Whoever would submit such matters, should not be heard, but silence enjoined upon him." To the verdict of such a holy and Christian council the Lutherans would be willing to submit their doctrine. (141.)

The theologians answered in an opinion of December 6, 1536, endorsing the Protest re-

ferred to above, but disapproving the counter-council. Concerning the first point they advised that a writing be published and sent to the Emperor and all rulers in which the Lutherans were to "request that ways and means be considered of adopting a lawful procedure [at the council] promoting the true Christian unity of Christendom." Concerning the counter-council, however, they advised "at all events not to hasten with it. For to convoke it would produce a great and terrible appearance of creating a schism, and of setting oneself against all the world and contemplating taking the field soon. Therefore such great, apparent resistance should not be undertaken till one intends to do something in the matter openly and in deed." Concerning the defense, the Wittenberg theologians were of the opinion that it was the right and duty of the princes to protect and defend their subjects against notorious injuries (if, for example, an attempt should be made to force upon them the Romish idolatry, or to rend asunder the marriages of their pastors), and also against the Emperor, even after the council had condemned them as heretics. Luther signed this opinion with the following words: "I, too, Martin Luther, will help with my prayers and, if necessary, also with my fist." (126.)

68. Articles Drafted by Luther.

In the "memorandum" of December 1 the Elector spoke of the articles Luther was to frame as follows: "Although, in the first place, it may easily be perceived that whatsoever our party may propose in such a [popish] council as has been announced will have no weight with the opposition, miserable, blinded, and mad men that they are, no matter how well it is founded on Holy Scripture, moreover, everything will have to be Lutheran heresy, and their verdict, which probably has already been decided and agreed upon, must be adopted and immediately followed by their proposed ban and interdict [decree excommunicating and outlawing our party], it will, nevertheless, be very necessary for Doctor Martin to prepare his foundation and opinion from the Holy Scriptures, namely, the articles as hitherto taught, preached, and written by him, and which he is determined to adhere to and abide by at the council, as well as upon his departure from this world and before the judgment of Almighty God, and in which we cannot yield without becoming guilty of treason against God, even though property and life, peace or war, are at stake. Such articles, however, as are not necessary, and in which, for the sake of Christian love, yet without offense against God and His Word, something might be yielded (though, doubtless, they will be few in number), should in this connection also be indicated separately by said Doctor Martin. And when Doctor Martin has completed such work (which, if at all possible for the Doctor, must be done between the present date and that of the Conversion of St. Paul [January 25], at the latest), he shall thereupon present it to the other Wittenberg theologians, and likewise to some prominent preachers whose presence he should require, to hear from them, at the same time admonishing them most earnestly, and asking them whether they agreed with him in these articles which he had drawn up, or not, and thereupon, as they hoped for their souls' salvation, their sentiment and opinion be learned in its entirety, but not in appearance, for the sake of peace, or because they did not like to oppose the Doctor, and for this reason would not fully open their hearts, and still, at a later time, would teach, preach, write, and make public something else or advise the people against said articles, as some have in several instances done before this." An agreement having been reached, the articles were to be subscribed by all and prepared in German and Latin. At the prospective meeting [at Smalcald] they should be submitted to the religious confederates for discussion and subscription. Hence, in the invitation, every prince should be asked "to bring with him two or three theologians, in order that a unanimous agreement might be reached there, and no delay could be sought or pretended." (139.) Accordingly, the Elector planned to have Luther draw up articles which were to be accepted by all, first at Wittenberg and then at Smalcald, without compulsion and for no other reason than that they expressed their own inmost convictions. The situation had changed since 1530, and the Elector desired a clearer expression, especially on the Papacy. Hence he did not appoint Melanchthon, but Luther, to compose the articles. The truth was to be confessed without regard to anything else.

Luther had received the order to draw up these articles as early as August 20, 1536. September 3 Brueck wrote to the Elector on this matter: "I also delivered to Doctor Martin the credentials which Your Electoral Grace gave to me, and thereupon also spoke with him in accordance with the command of Your Electoral Grace. He promised to be obedient in every way. It also appears to me that he already has the work well in hand, to open his heart to Your Electoral Grace on religion, which is to be, as it were, his testament." (147.) Luther, who at the time thought that his end would come in the near future, had, no doubt, used such an expression himself. His articles were to be his testament. In the preface to the articles he touched upon it once more, saying: "I have determined to publish these articles in plain print, so that, should I die before there will be a council (as I fully expect and hope, because the knaves who flee the light and shun the day take such wretched pains to delay and hinder the council), those who live and remain after my demise may be able to produce my testimony and confession in addition to the Confession which I previously issued, whereby up to this time I have abided, and by God's grace will abide." (455.)

The Elector seems also to have enjoined silence on Luther with respect to the articles until they had been approved at Wittenberg.

For in his letter to Spalatin, of December 15, 1536, Luther wrote: "But you will keep these matters [his journey to Wittenberg to discuss the articles] as secret as possible, and pretend other reasons for your departure. *Sed haec secreta teneas quantum potes, et finge alias causas abeundi.*" (St. L. 21b, 2135.) December 11 the Elector again called attention to the articles, desiring that Amsdorf, Agricola, and other outside theologians be called to Wittenberg at his expense to take part in the discussion. Shortly after, Luther must have finished the articles. The numerous changes and improvements appearing in the original manuscript, which is still preserved in the Heidelberg library, show how much time and labor he spent on this work. Concluding his articles, Luther says: "These are the articles on which I must stand, and, God willing, shall stand even to my death; and I do not know how to change or to yield anything in them. If any one wishes to yield anything, let him do it at the peril of his conscience." (501, 3.)

Toward the close of the year Luther submitted the draft to his colleagues, Jonas, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Melanchthon, and those who had come from abroad, Spalatin, Amsdorf, and Agricola. After thorough discussion it was adopted by all with but few changes, *e. g.*, regarding the adoration of the saints, concerning which Luther had originally said nothing. (Kolde, 44.) Spalatin reports that all the articles were read, and successively considered and discussed. The Elector had spoken also of points in which a concession might be possible. In the discussion at Wittenberg, Spalatin mentioned as such the question whether the Evangelicals, in case the Pope would concede the cup to them, should cease preaching against the continuance of the one kind among the Papists; furthermore, what was to be done with respect to ordination and the adiaphora. Luther had not entered upon a discussion of these questions, chiefly, perhaps, because he was convinced that the council would condemn even the essential articles. (Compare Melanchthon's letter of August 4, 1530, to Campegius, *C. R.* 2, 246.) After the articles had been read and approved, Spalatin prepared a copy (now preserved in the archives at Weimar), which was signed by the eight theologians present, by Melanchthon, however, with the limitation that the Pope might be permitted to retain his authority "iure humano," "in case he would admit the Gospel." Perhaps Melanchthon, who probably would otherwise have dissimulated, felt constrained to add this stricture on account of the solemn demand of the Elector that no one should hide any dissent of his, with the intention of publishing it later. (*C. R.* 3, 140.)

69. Articles Endorsed by Elector.

With these first subscriptions, Luther sent his articles to the Elector on January 3, 1537, by the hand of Spalatin. In the accompanying letter of the same date he informed the Elector that he had asked Amsdorf, Eisleben [Agricola], and Spalatin to come to Wittenberg on December 28 or the following days. "I presented the articles which I had myself drawn up according to the command of Your Electoral Grace, and talked them over with them for several days, owing to my weakness, which intervened (as I think, by the agency of Satan); for otherwise I had expected to deliberate upon them no longer than one day. And herewith I am sending them, as affirmed with their signatures, by our dear brother and good friend, Magister George Spalatin, to deliver them to Your Electoral Grace, as they all charged and asked me so to do. At the same time, since there are some who, by suspicion and words, insinuate that we parsons (*Pfaffen*), as they call us, by our stubbornness desire to jeopardize you princes and lords, together with your lands and people, etc., I very humbly ask, also in the name of all of us, that by all means Your Electoral Grace would reprimand us for this. For if it would prove dangerous for other humble people, to say nothing of Your Electoral Grace, together with other lords, lands, and people, we would much rather take it upon ourselves alone. Accordingly, Your Electoral Grace will know well how far and to what extent you will accept these articles, for we would have no one but ourselves burdened with them, leaving it to every one whether he will, or will not, burden also himself with them." (St. L. 21b, 2142.)

In his answer of January 7, 1537, the Elector expressed his thanks to Luther for having drawn up the articles "in such Christian, true, and pure fashion," and rejoiced over the unanimity of his theologians. At the same time he ordered Chancellor Brueck to take steps toward having the most prominent pastors of the country subscribe the articles, "so that these pastors and preachers, having affixed their names, must abide by these articles and not devise teachings of their own, according to their own opinion and liking, in case Almighty God would summon Doctor Martin from this world, which rests with His good will." (Kolde, 45.) In the letter which the Elector sent to Luther, we read: "We give thanks to Almighty God and to our Lord Christ for having granted you health and strength to prepare these articles in such Christian, true, and pure fashion; also that He has given you grace, so that you have agreed on them with the others in Christian, also brotherly and friendly unity. . . . From them we also perceive that you have changed your mind in no point, but that you are steadfastly adhering to the Christian articles, as you have always taught, preached, and written, which are also built on the foundation, namely, our Lord Jesus Christ, against whom the gates of hell cannot prevail, and who shall also remain in spite of the Pope, the council, and its adherents. May Almighty God, through our Lord Christ, bestow His grace on us all, that with steadfast and true faith we abide by them, and suffer no human fear or opinion to turn us therefrom! . . . After reading them over for the second time, we can entertain no other opinion of them, but accept them as divine, Christian, and true,

and accordingly shall also confess them and have them confessed freely and publicly before the council, before the whole world, and whatsoever may come, and we shall ask God that He would vouchsafe grace to our brother and to us, and also to our posterity, that steadfastly and without wavering we may abide and remain in them." (21b, 2143.)

70. Melanchthon's Qualified Subscription.

In his letter to Luther the Elector made special reference also to the qualified subscription of Melanchthon. "Concerning the Pope," he said, "we have no hesitation about resisting him most vehemently. For if, from good opinion, or for the sake of peace, as Magister Philip suggests, we should suffer him to remain a lord having the right to command us, our bishops, pastors, and preachers, we would expose ourselves to danger and burden (because he and his successors will not cease in their endeavors to destroy us entirely and to root out all our posterity), for which there is no necessity, since God's Word has delivered and redeemed us therefrom. And if we, now that God has delivered us from the Babylonian captivity, should again run into such danger and thus tempt God, this [subjection to the Pope] would, by a just decree of God, come upon us through our wisdom, which otherwise, no doubt, will not come to pass." (2145.) Evidently, the Elector, though not regarding Melanchthon's deviation as a false doctrine, did not consider it to be without danger.

At the beginning of the Reformation, Luther had entertained similar thoughts, but he had long ago seen through the Papacy, and abandoned such opinions. In the Smalcald Articles he is done with the Pope and his superiority, also by human right. And this for two reasons: first, because it would be impossible for the Pope to agree to a mere superiority *iure humano*, for in that case "he must suffer his rule and estate to be overturned and destroyed together with all his laws and books; in brief, he cannot do it"; in the second place, because even such a purely human superiority would only harm the Church. (473, 7. 8.) Melanchthon, on the other hand, still adhered to the position which he had occupied in the compromise discussions at Augsburg, whence, *e. g.*, he wrote to Camerarius, August 31, 1530: "Oh, would that I could, not indeed fortify the domination, but restore the administration of the bishops. For I see what manner of church we shall have when the ecclesiastical body has been disorganized. I see that afterwards there will arise a much more intolerable tyranny [of the princes] than there ever was before." (*C. R.* 2, 334.) At Smalcald, however, his views met with so little response among the princes and theologians that in his "Tract on the Primacy of the Pope" he omitted them entirely and followed Luther's trend of thought. March 1, 1537, Melanchthon himself wrote concerning his defeat at the deliberations of the theologians on the question in which articles concessions might be made in the interest of peace, saying that the unlearned and the more vehement would not hear of concessions, since the Lutherans would then be charged with inconsistency, and the Emperor would only increase his demands. (*C. R.* 3, 292.) Evidently, then, even at that time Melanchthon was not entirely cured of his utopian dream.

"If the Pontiff would admit the Gospel, *si pontifex evangelium admitteret.*" A. Osiander remarked: "That is, if the devil would become an apostle." In the Jena edition of Luther's works Melanchthon's phrase is commented upon as follows: "And yet the Pope with his wolves, the bishops, even now curses, blasphemes, and outlaws the holy Gospel more horribly than ever before, raging and fuming against the Church of Christ and us poor Christians in most horrible fashion, both with fire and sword, and in whatever way he can, like a real werwolf, aye, like the very devil himself." (6, 557b.) The same comment is found in the edition of the Smalcald Articles prepared 1553 by Stolz and Aurifaber, where the passage begins: "O quantum mutatus ab illo [the former Melanchthon]!" (Koellner, 448. 457.) Carpzov remarks pertinently: "This subscription [of Melanchthon] is not a part of the Book of Concord [it does not contain the doctrine advocated by the Book of Concord], nor was it approved by Luther; moreover, it was later on repudiated by Philip himself." (*Isagoge* 823. 894.)

71. Luther's Articles Sidetracked at Smalcald.

It was a large and brilliant assembly, especially of theologians, which convened at Smalcald in February, 1537. Luther, too, was present. On January 7 the Elector had written: "We hope that our God will grant you grace, strength, and health that you may be able to make the journey to Smalcald with us, and help us to right, and bring to a good issue, this [matter concerning the Pope] and other matters."

As stated above, the Elector's plan was to elevate Luther's articles to a confession officially recognized and subscribed to by all Lutheran princes, estates, and theologians. Accordingly, on February 10, at the first meeting held at Smalcald, Chancellor Brueck moved that the theologians deliberate concerning the doctrine, so that, in case the Lutherans would attend the council, they would know by what they intended to stand, and whether any concessions were to be made, or, as Brueck put it, "whether anything good [perhaps a deliverance on the Papacy] should be adopted, or something should be conceded."

Self-evidently, Brueck had Luther's articles in mind, although it cannot be proved that he directly and expressly mentioned them or submitted them for discussion and adoption. Perhaps, he felt from the very beginning that the Elector would hardly succeed with his plans as smoothly and completely as anticipated. For Luther, desiring to clear the track for the whole truth in every direction, the Reformed as well as the Papistic, both against the "false brethren who would be of our party"

(Preface to Sm. Art. 455, 4), as well as against the open enemies, had in his articles so sharpened the expressions employed in the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 concerning the Lord's Supper that the assent of Philip of Hesse and the attending South German delegates and theologians (Bucer, Blaurer, Wolfart, etc.) was more than doubtful. Luther's letter to the adherents of Zwingli, December 1, 1537, shows that he did not at all desire unnecessarily to disturb the work of union begun by the Wittenberg Concord. (St. L. 17, 2143.) Still, he at the same time endeavored to prevent a false union resting on misunderstanding and self-deception. And, no doubt, his reformulation of the article on the Lord's Supper was intended to serve this purpose. Besides, owing to a very painful attack of gravel, Luther was not able to attend the sessions, hence could not make his influence felt in a decisive manner as desired by the Elector.

This situation was exploited by Melanchthon in the interest of his attitude toward the Zwinglians, which now was much more favorable than it had been at Augsburg, 1530. From the very outset he opposed the official adoption of Luther's articles. He desired more freedom with regard to both the Romanists and the Reformed than was offered by Luther's articles. The first appears from his subscription. Concerning the article of the Lord's Supper, however, which the Strassburgers and others refused to accept, Melanchthon does not seem to have voiced any scruples during the deliberations at Wittenberg. Personally he may even have been able to accept Luther's form, and this, too, more honestly than Bucer did at Smalcald. For as late as September 6, 1557, he wrote to Joachim of Anhalt: "I have answered briefly that in doctrine all are agreed, and that we all embrace and retain the Confession with the Apology and Luther's confession written before the Synod of Mantua. *Respondi breviter, consensum esse omnium de doctrina: amplecti nos omnes et retinere Confessionem cum Apologia et confessione Lutheri scripta ante Mantuanam Synodum.*" (*C. R.* 9, 260.) But, although Melanchthon, for his person, accepted Luther's article on the Lord's Supper, he nevertheless considered it to be dangerous to the Concord with the Southern Germans and to the Smalcald League. Privately he also made known his dissatisfaction in no uncertain manner. And in so doing, he took shelter behind Philip of Hesse, who, as at Augsburg, 1530, still desired to have the Zwinglians regarded and treated as weak brethren.

Kolde relates: "On the same day (February 10) Melanchthon reported to the Landgrave: 'One article, that concerning the Sacrament of the Holy Supper, has been drawn up somewhat vehemently, in that it states that the bread *is* the body of the Lord, which Luther at first did not draw up in this form, but, as contained in the [Wittenberg] Concord, namely, that the body of the Lord is given with the bread; and this was due to Pomeranus, for he is a vehement man and a coarse Pomeranian. Otherwise he [Melanchthon] knew of no shortcoming or complaint in all the articles.' . . . 'He also said' (this the Landgrave reports to Jacob Sturm of Strassburg as an expression of Melanchthon) 'that Luther would hear of no yielding or receding, but declared: This have I drawn up; if the princes and estates desired to yield anything, it would rest with them,' etc. The estates, Melanchthon advised, might therefore in every way declare that they had adopted the Confession and the Concord, and were minded to abide by them. At the same time he promised to demand at the prospective deliberation of the theologians, 'that the article of the Sacrament be drawn up as contained in the Concord.' Melanchthon's assertion that Bugenhagen influenced Luther's formulation of the article on the Lord's Supper is probably correct. At any rate, it can be proved that Luther really changed the article. For a glance at the original manuscript shows that he had at first written, in conformity with the Concord, 'that the true body and blood of Christ is under the bread and wine,' but later on changed it to read: 'that the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper are the true body and blood of Christ.'" (48.) Melanchthon was diplomatic enough to hide from the Landgrave his strictures on Luther's articles about the Pope, knowing well that in this point he could expect neither approval nor support.

72. Articles Not Discussed in Meeting of League.

As the Southern Germans regarded Luther's formulation of the article on the Lord's Supper with disfavor, the Landgrave found little difficulty in winning over (through Jacob Sturm) the delegates of Augsburg and Ulm to Melanchthon's view of declaring adherence only to the Confession and the Wittenberg Concord. Already on February 11 the cities decided to "decline on the best grounds" the Saxon proposition. Following were the reasons advanced: It was not necessary at present to enter upon the proposition, since the council would make slow progress, as the Emperor and the King of France were not yet at peace. They had not understood this (the adoption of the Saxon proposition) to be the purpose of the invitation to bring scholars with them. They had a confession, the Augustana, presented to the Emperor. It was also to be feared that deliberations on the question whether any concessions should be made, might lead to a division; nor would this remain concealed from the Papists. If the Elector desired to present some articles, he might transmit them, and they, in turn, would send them to their superiors for inspection. (Kolde, *Analecta*, 296.)

In the afternoon of February 11 the princes, according to the report of the Strassburgers, expressed their satisfaction with the resolution of the cities. At the same time they declared that they were not minded to make any concessions to the Papists, nor to dispute about, or question, anything in the Confession or the

Wittenberg Concord, "but merely to review the Confession, not to change anything against its contents and substance, nor that of the Concord, but solely to enlarge on the Papacy, which before this, at the Diet, had been omitted, in order to please His Imperial Majesty and for other reasons"; that such was the purpose of the deliberation for which the scholars had been summoned; and that this was not superfluous, since "they were all mortal, and it was necessary that their posterity be thoroughly informed as to what their doctrine had been, lest others who would succeed to their places accept something else." The report continues: "The cities did not object to this." (296.) According to this report, then, Luther's articles were neither discussed nor adopted at the official meeting of the princes and estates belonging to the Smalcald League. Without mentioning them, they declared in their final resolution: Our scholars have "unanimously agreed among themselves in all points and articles contained in our Confession and Apology, presented at the Diet of Augsburg, excepting only that they have expanded and drawn up more clearly than there contained *one article*, concerning the Primacy of the Pope of Rome." (Koellner, 468.) Koestlin remarks: "Since the princes decided to decline the council absolutely, they had no occasion to discuss Luther's articles." (2, 403.)

73. Meeting of Theologians.

At Smalcald the first duty imposed upon the scholars and theologians was once more to discuss the Augustana and the Apology carefully, and to acknowledge both as their own confessions by their signatures. Thereupon they were, in a special treatise, to enlarge on the Papacy. The Strassburg delegates report: "It has also come to pass that the scholars received orders once more to read the articles of the Confession and to enlarge somewhat on the Papacy, which they did." (Kolde, *Analecta*, 298.) However, since neither the Augustana nor its Apology contained an article against the Papacy, the demand of the princes could only be satisfied by a special treatise, the "Tractatus de Potestate et Primatu Papae," which Melanchthon wrote and completed by February 17, whereupon it was immediately delivered to the princes.

The princes had furthermore ordered the theologians, while reviewing and discussing the Augustana (and its Apology), to reenforce its doctrine with additional proofs. Owing to lack of time and books, this was not carried out. February 17 Osiander reports to the Nuernberg preachers: "We are enjoying good health here, although we traveled in stormy weather and over roads that offered many difficulties, and are living under a constantly beclouded sky, which unpleasantries are increased by troublesome and difficult questions in complicated matters. . . . The first business imposed on us by the princes embraces two things: first, to fortify the Confession and the Apology with every kind of argument from the Holy Scriptures, the fathers, councils, and the decrees of the Popes; thereupon, diligently to discuss in detail everything concerning the Primacy, which was omitted in the Confession because it was odious. The latter we completed so far to-day that we shall immediately deliver a copy to the princes. The former, however, will be postponed to another time and place, since it requires a longer time, as well as libraries, which are lacking here." (*C. R.* 3, 267.)

The discussion of the Confession was also to serve the purpose of obtaining mutual assurance whether they were all really agreed in doctrine. This led to deliberations on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper as well as on the question what concessions might be made to the Romanists. According to a report of Melanchthon, March 1, the theologians were to discuss the doctrines, not superficially, but very thoroughly, in order that all disagreement might be removed, and a harmonious and complete system of doctrines exist in our churches. They were to review the Confession in order to learn whether any one deviated in any article or disapproved of anything. But Melanchthon remarks that this object was not reached, since the special request had been voiced not to increase the disagreement by any quarrel and thus to endanger the Smalcald League. (*C. R.* 3, 292.) In a second letter of the same date he says that a real doctrinal discussion had never come to pass, partly because Luther's illness prevented him from taking part in the meetings, partly because the timidity of certain men [the Landgrave and others] had prevented an exact disputation, lest any discord might arise. (295.) March 3 he wrote to Jonas in a similar vein, saying that the reports of violent controversies among the theologians at Smalcald were false. For although they had been in consultation with one another for the purpose of discovering whether all the theologians in attendance there agreed in doctrine, the matter had been treated briefly and incidentally. (298.)

As far as the Lord's Supper is concerned, Melanchthon's report concerning the superficial character of the doctrinal discussions is little, if at all, exaggerated. He himself was one of those timid souls of whom he spoke, having from the beginning done all he could not only to bar Luther's articles from the deliberations, but also to prevent any penetrating discussion of the Lord's Supper. Assent to the Wittenberg Concord was considered satisfactory, although all felt, and believed to know, that some of the Southern Germans did not agree with the loyal Lutherans in this matter. Of the attending theologians who were under suspicion, Bucer, Blaurer, Fagius, Wolfart, Fontanus, and Melander, only the first two took part in the deliberations. (292.) March 1 Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius: "Bucer spoke openly and clearly of the Mystery [the Lord's Supper], affirming the presence of Christ. He satisfied all of our party, also those who are more severe. Blaurer, how-

ever, employed such general expressions as, that Christ was present. Afterward he added several more ambiguous expressions. Osiander pressed him somewhat hotly; but since we did not desire to arouse any very vehement quarrel, I terminated the discussion. Thus we separated, so that agreement was restored among all others, while he [Blaurer] did not seem to contradict. I know that this is weak, but nothing else could be done at this time, especially since Luther was absent, being tortured by very severe gravel pains." (292.)

This agrees with the report Veit Dietrich made to Foerster, May 16, stating: At the first meeting of the committee of the theologians they completed the first nine articles of the Augustana. Blaurer, Wolfart, and some others of those who were doctrinally under suspicion (*nobis suspecti de doctrina*) were present. "However, when the article of the Lord's Supper was to be discussed on the following day, the meeting was prevented, I do not know by whom. It is certain that the princes, too, desired another meeting, because they feared a rupture of the [Smalcald] Alliance, if any doctrinal difference should become evident, which, however, would occur if the matter were thoroughly discussed. Since the disputation was prevented, we were commissioned to write on the Power of the Pope, in order to have something to do. Report had it that Blaurer did not approve the Concord of Wittenberg; certainly, he asked Philip for expressions of the Fathers (which are now in my possession), in order to be better furnished with arguments. This prompted Pomeranus and Amsdorf again to convene the theologians against Melanchthon's will. Then the Lord's Supper was discussed. Bucer indeed satisfied all. Blaurer, however, while speaking vaguely of the other matters, nevertheless publicly attacked the statement that the ungodly do not receive the body of Christ." Wolfart declared that he was present at the Concord made at Wittenberg, and had approved it. It was unpleasant for him [Dietrich] when hereupon Stephanus Agricola and then Wolfart rehashed some old statements, *vetera quaedam dicta*. (370.)

74. Luther's Articles Subscribed.

As to the articles of Luther, Veit Dietrich reports that they were privately circulated at Smalcald and read by all. They were also to be read at the meeting of the theologians on February 18. (*C. R.* 3, 371.) As a matter of fact, however, neither a public reading nor a real discussion, nor an official adoption resulted. The Strassburg delegates report: "Doctor Martin Luther has also drawn up some special articles, which he purposed to send to the council on his own accord, copies of which we have designated with W." The Strassburgers, then, were in position to send home a copy of these articles. Furthermore, Osiander relates in a letter dated February 17: "Besides this, Luther has also written articles at Wittenberg, short indeed, but splendid and keen (*illustres et argutos*), in which everything is summed up in German wherefrom we cannot recede in the council without committing sacrilege. To-morrow we shall read them publicly in our meeting, in order that any one who wishes to add anything to them may present this in the presence of all. They will also, as I hope, deliberate on the [Wittenberg] Concord in the matter concerning the Lord's Supper. I regard Bucer as being sincerely one of us; Blaurer, however, by no means. For Philip tells of his having remarked that he was not able to agree with us." (268.) On February 18, however, Luther was taken ill, and an official, public reading and discussion of his articles did not take place on this day, nor, as already stated, at a later date.

Luther's articles, however, were nevertheless adopted at Smalcald, though not by the South Germans. When all other business had been transacted, they were presented for voluntary subscription. Bugenhagen had called the theologians together for this purpose. He proposed that now all those who wished (*qui velint*) should sign the articles Luther had brought with him. Hereupon Bucer declared that he had no commission to do this. However, in order to obliterate the impression that he declined to subscribe because of doctrinal differences, he added that he knew nothing in Luther's articles which might be criticized. Blaurer of Constance, Melander of Hesse, and Wolfart of Augsburg followed his example in declaring that they had no commission to sign the articles. In order not to endanger the Smalcald League, Bugenhagen, as appears from his proposition, refrained from urging any one to sign. This was also the position of the other theologians.

Veit Dietrich reports: "Bucer was the first to say that he had no orders to sign. He added, however, that he knew of nothing in these articles that could be criticized, but that his magistrates had reasons for instructing him not to sign them. Afterwards Blaurer, Dionysius Melander, and your Boniface [Wolfart of Augsburg] said the same [that they had not been authorized by their superiors to sign]. The thought came to me immediately why Bucer, who taught correctly, should have been the first to refuse his signature, since it was certain that the others, Blaurer and, if you will, also your man, would not subscribe because they did not approve of the dogma of the Lord's Supper. This would have led to an open doctrinal schism, which the Elector, Ernst of Lueneburg, and the Counts of Anhalt would, under no circumstances, have tolerated among the confederates. But, since Bucer did not subscribe, it was not necessary to dispute about the doctrine. When we saw this, I was also pleased that Luther's articles received no attention [in the official subscription], and that all subscribed merely to the Augustana and the Concord. And there was no one who refused to do this." (371.)

While thus Bucer, Fagius, Wolfart, Blaurer, and Fontanus refused to affix their signatures, the attending loyal Lutheran theologians endorsed Luther's articles all the more enthusiastically. And while the signatures affixed to the Augustana and the Apology

total 32, including the suspected theologians, 44 names appear under Luther's articles. Among these is found also the abnormal subscription of Melander of Hesse: "I subscribe to the Confession, the Apology, and the Concord in the matter of the Eucharist," which is probably to be interpreted as a limitation of Luther's Article of the Lord's Supper.

Although, therefore, the subscription of the Smalcald Articles lacked the official character and was not by order of the Smalcald League as such, it nevertheless is in keeping with the actual facts when the Formula of Concord refers to Luther's Articles as "subscribed at that time [1537] by the chief theologians." (777, 4; 853, 7.) All true Lutheran pastors assembled at Smalcald recognized in Luther's articles their own, spontaneous confession against the Papists as well as against the Zwinglians and other enthusiasts.

75. Endorsed by Princes and Estates.

The Thorough Declaration of the Formula of Concord makes the further statement that the Smalcald Articles were to be delivered in the Council at Mantua "in the name of the Estates, Electors, and Princes." (853, 7.) Evidently this is based on Luther's Preface to the Smalcald Articles, written 1538, in which he says concerning his Articles: "They have also been accepted and unanimously confessed by our side, and it has been resolved that, in case the Pope with his adherents should ever be so bold as seriously and in good faith, without lying and cheating, to hold a truly free Christian Council (as, indeed, he would be in duty bound to do), they be publicly delivered in order to set forth the Confession of our Faith." (455.)

Kolde and others surmise that Luther wrote as he did because, owing to his illness, he was not acquainted with the true situation at Smalcald. Tschackert, too, takes it for granted that Luther, not being sufficiently informed, was under the erroneous impression that the princes and estates as well as the theologians had adopted, and subscribed to, his articles. (300. 302.) Nor has a better theory of solving the difficulty hitherto been advanced. Yet it appears very improbable. If adopted, one must assume that Luther's attention was never drawn to this error of his. For Luther does not merely permit his assertion to stand in the following editions of the Smalcald Articles, but repeats it elsewhere as well. In an opinion written 1541 he writes: "In the second place, I leave the matter as it is found in the articles adopted at Smalcald; I shall not be able to improve on them; nor do I know how to yield anything further." (St. L. 17, 666.)

The Elector, too, shared Luther's opinion. In a letter of October 27, 1543, he urged him to publish in Latin and German (octavo), under the title, *Booklet of the Smalcald Agreement — Buechlein der geschehenen Schmalkaldischen Vergleichung*, the "Articles of Agreement, Vergleichungsartikel," on which he and Melanchthon had come to an agreement in 1537, at Smalcald, with the other allied estates, scholars, and theologians. (St. L. 21b, 2913.) October 17, 1552, immediately after he had obtained his liberty, the Elector made a similar statement. (*C. R.* 7, 1109.) Nor did Spalatin possess a knowledge in this matter differing from that of Luther and the Elector. He, too, believed that not only the theologians, but the princes and estates as well, with the exception of Hesse, Wuerttemberg, Strassburg, etc., had subscribed to Luther's articles. (Kolde, 51.)

Evidently, then, Luther's statement was generally regarded as being substantially and approximately correct and for all practical purposes in keeping, if not with the exact letter and form, at least with the real spirit of what transpired at Smalcald and before as well as after this convention. It was not a mere delusion of Luther's, but was generally regarded as agreeing with the facts, that at Smalcald his articles were not only subscribed by the theologians, but adopted also by the Lutheran princes and estates, though, in deference to the Landgrave and the South German cities, not officially and by the Smalcald League as such.

76. Symbolical Authority of Smalcald Articles.

The importance attached to the Smalcald Articles over against the Reformed and Crypto-Calvinists appears from a statement made by the Elector of Saxony, October 17, 1552 (shortly after his deliverance from captivity), in which he maintained that the Lutheran Church could have been spared her internal dissensions if every one had faithfully abided by the articles of Luther. He told the Wittenberg theologians that during his captivity he had heard of the dissensions and continued controversies, "which caused us no little grief. And we have therefore often desired with all our heart that in the churches of our former lands and those of others no change, prompted by human wisdom, had been undertaken nor permitted in the matters [doctrines] as they were held during the life of the blessed Doctor Martin Luther and during our rule, and confirmed at Smalcald, in the year 1537, by all pastors and preachers of the estates of the Augsburg Confession then assembled at that place. For if this had been done, no doubt, the divisions and errors prevailing among the teachers of said Confession, together with the grievous and harmful offenses which resulted therefrom, would, with the help of God, have been avoided." (*C. R.* 7, 1109.)

In the Prolegomena to his edition of the Lutheran Confessions, Hase remarks concerning the symbolical authority of Luther's articles: "The formula of faith, drawn up by such a man, and adorned with such names, immediately enjoyed the greatest authority. *Fidei formula a tali viro profecta talibusque nominibus ornata maxima statim auctoritate floruit.*" To rank among the symbolical books, Luther's articles required a special resolution on the part of the princes and estates as little as did his two catechisms; contents and the

Reformer's name were quite sufficient. Voluntarily the articles were subscribed at Smalcald. On their own merits they won their place of honor in our Church. In the situation then obtaining, they voiced the Lutheran position in a manner so correct and consistent that every loyal Lutheran spontaneously gave and declared his assent. In keeping with the changed historical context of the times, they offered a correct explanation of the Augsburg Confession, adding thereto a declaration concerning the Papacy, the absence of which had become increasingly painful. They struck the timely, logical, Lutheran note also over against the Zwinglian and Bucerian [Reformed and Unionistic] tendencies. Luther's articles offered quarters neither for disguised Papists nor for masked Calvinists. In brief, they gave such a clear expression to genuine Lutheranism that false spirits could not remain in their company. It was the recognition of these facts which immediately elicited the joyful acclaim of all true Lutherans. To them it was a recommendation of Luther's articles when Bucer, Blaurer, and others, though having subscribed the Augsburg Confession, refused to sign them. Loyal Lutherans everywhere felt that the Smalcald Articles presented an up-to-date touchstone of the pure Lutheran truth, and that, in taking their stand on them, their feet were planted, over against the aberrations of the Romanists as well as the Zwinglians, on ground immovable.

In the course of time, the esteem in which Luther's articles were held, rose higher and higher. Especially during and after the controversies on the Interim, as well as in the subsequent controversies with the Crypto-Calvinists, the Lutherans became more and more convinced that the Smalcald Articles, and not the Variata, contained the correct exposition of the Augsburg Confession. At the Diet of Regensburg, in 1541, the Elector, by his delegates, sent word to Melanchthon "to stand by the Confession and the Smalcald Agreement [Smalcald Articles] in word and in sense." The delegates answered that Philip would not yield anything "which was opposed to the Confession and the Smalcald Agreement," as he had declared that "he would die rather than yield anything against his conscience." (*C. R.* 4, 292.) In an opinion of 1544 also the theologians of Hesse, who at Smalcald had helped to sidetrack Luther's articles, put them on a par with the Augustana. At Naumburg, in 1561, where Elector Frederick of the Palatinate and the Crypto-Calvinists endeavored to undermine the authority of Luther, Duke John Frederick of Saxony declared that he would abide by the original Augustana and its "true declaration and norm," the Smalcald Articles.

Faithful Lutherans everywhere received the Smalcald Articles into their *corpora doctrinae*. In 1557 the Convention of Coswig declared them to be "the norm by which controversies are to be decided, *norma decidendi controversias*." Similarly, the Synod of Moelln, 1559. In 1560 the ministerium of Luebeck and the Senate of Hamburg confessionally accepted the Articles. Likewise, the Convention of Lueneburg in 1561, and the theologians of Schleswig-Holstein in 1570. The Thorough Declaration could truthfully say that the Smalcald Articles had been embodied in the confessional writings of the Lutheran Church, "for the reason that these have always and everywhere been regarded as the common, unanimously accepted meaning of our churches, and, moreover, have been subscribed at that time by the chief and most enlightened theologians, and have held sway in all evangelical churches and schools." (855, 11.)

77. Editions of Smalcald Articles.

In 1538 Luther published his Articles, which *editio princeps* was followed by numerous other editions, two of them in the same year. In the copy of the Articles which Spalatin took at Wittenberg the title reads: "Opinion concerning the Faith, and What We Must Adhere to Ultimately at the Future Council. *Bedenken des Glaubens halben, und worauf im kuenftigen Konzil endlich zu beharren sei.*" The *editio princeps* bears the title: "Articles which were to be Delivered on Behalf of Our Party at the Council of Mantua, or Where Else It Would Meet. *Artikel, so da haetten aufs Konzilium zu Mantua, oder wo es wuerde sein, ueberantwortet werden von unsers Teils wegen.*" These titles designate the purpose for which the articles were framed by order of the Elector. In the edition of 1553, published by John Stolz and John Aurifaber, Luther's Articles are designated as "prepared for the Diet of Smalcald in the year 1537, *gestellt auf den Tag zu Schmalkalden Anno 1537.*" Says Carpzov: "They are commonly called Smalcald Articles after the place where they were composed [an error already found in Brenz's letter of February 23, 1537, appended to the subscriptions of the "Tract on the Power and Primacy of the Pope" (529). See also Formula of Concord 777, 4; 853, 7], as well as solemnly approved and subscribed, since the articles were composed by Luther and approved by the Protestants at Smalcald, a town in the borders of Saxony and Ducal Hesse, and selected for the convention of the Protestants for the reason that the individuals who had been called thither might have an easy and safe approach." (*Isagoge*, 769.)

The text of the Smalcald Articles, as published by Luther, omits the following motto found in the original: "This is sufficient doctrine for eternal life. As to the political and economic affairs, there are enough laws to trouble us, so that there is no need of inventing further troubles much more burdensome. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. *His satis est doctrinae pro vita aeterna. Caeterum in politia et oeconomia satis est legum, quibus vexamur, ut non sit opus praeter has molestias fingere alias quam miserrimas [necessarias]. Sufficit diei malitia sua.*" (Luther, Weimar 50, 192. St. L. 16, 1918.) Apart from all kinds of minor corrections, Luther added to the text a Preface (written 1538) and several additions, some

of them quite long, which, however, did not change the sense. Among these are § 5, §§ 13 to 15, and §§ 25—28 of the article concerning the Mass; §§ 42—45 concerning the False Repentance of the Papists; §§ 3—13 about Enthusiasm in the article concerning Confession. The editions of 1543 and 1545 contained further emendations. The German text of Luther's first edition of 1538 was received into the Book of Concord, "as they were first framed and printed." (853, 7.) The first Latin translation by Peter Generanus appeared in 1541, with a Preface by Veit Amerbach (later on Catholic Professor of Philosophy at Ingolstadt). In 1542 it was succeeded by an emended edition. In the following year the Elector desired a Latin-German edition in octavo. The Latin translation found in the Book of Concord of 1580 was furnished by Selneccer; this was revised for the official Latin Concordia of 1584.

78. Tract on the Power and Primacy of the Pope.

Melanchthon's "Tract Concerning the Power and Primacy of the Pope, *Tractatus de Potestate et Primatu Papae*," presents essentially the same thoughts Luther had already discussed in his article "Of the Papacy." Melanchthon here abandons the idea of a papal supremacy *iure humano*, which he had advocated at Augsburg 1530 and expressed in his subscription to Luther's articles, and moves entirely in the wake of Luther and in the trend of the Reformer's thoughts. The Tract was written not so much from his own conviction as from that of Luther and in accommodation to the antipapal sentiment which, to his grief, became increasingly dominant at Smalcald. (*C. R.* 3, 270. 292 f. 297.) In a letter to Jonas, February 23, he remarks, indicating his accommodation to the public opinion prevailing at Smalcald: "I have written this [Tract] somewhat sharper than I am wont to do." (271. 292.) Melanchthon always trimmed his sails according to the wind; and at Smalcald a decidedly antipapal gale was blowing. He complains that he found no one there who assented to his opinion that the papal invitation to a council ought not be declined. (293.) It is also possible that he heard of the Elector's criticism of his qualified subscription to Luther's articles. At all events, the Tract amounts to a retraction of his stricture on Luther's view of the Papacy. In every respect, Smalcald spelled a defeat for Melanchthon. His policy toward the South Germans was actually repudiated by the numerous and enthusiastic subscriptions to Luther's articles, foreshadowing, as it were, the final historical outcome, when Philippism was definitely defeated in the Formula of Concord. And his own Tract gave the *coup de grace* to his mediating policy with regard to the Romanists. For here Melanchthon, in the manner of Luther, opposes and denounces the Pope as the Antichrist, the protector of ungodly doctrine and customs, and the persecutor of the true confessors of Christ, from whom one must separate. The second part of the Tract, "Concerning the Power and the Jurisdiction of the Bishops, *De Potestate et Iurisdictione Episcoporum*," strikes an equally decided note.

The Tract, which was already completed by February 17, received the approval of the estates, and, together with the Augustana and the Apology, was signed by the theologians upon order of the princes. (*C. R.* 3, 286.) Koellner writes: "Immediately at the convention Veit Dietrich translated this writing [the Tract] into German, and (as appears from the fact that the Weimar theologians in 1553 published the document from the archives with the subscriptions) this German translation was, at the convention, presented to, and approved by, the estates as the official text, and subscribed by the theologians." (464.) Brenz's letter appended to the subscriptions shows that the signing did not take place till after February 23, perhaps the 25th of February. For on the 26th Melanchthon and Spalatin refer to it as finished.

With reference to the Concord of 1536, let it be stated here that, although mentioned with approval by the theologians and also included in Brenz's and Melander's subscriptions to the Smalcald Articles, the princes and estates nevertheless passed no resolution requiring its subscription. Melanchthon writes that the princes had expressly declared that they would abide by the Wittenberg Concord. (*C. R.* 3, 292.) Veit Dietrich's remark to Foerster, May 16, 1537, that only the Augustana and the Concord were signed at Smalcald, is probably due to a mistake in writing. (372.)

79. Authorship of Tract.

The Tract first appeared in print in 1540. A German translation, published 1541, designates it as "drawn up by Mr. Philip Melanchthon and done into German by Veit Dietrich." (*C. R.* 23, 722.) In the edition of the Smalcald Articles by Stolz and Aurifaber, 1553, the Tract is appended with the caption: "Concerning the Power and Supremacy of the Pope, Composed by the Scholars. Smalcald, 1537." In the Jena edition of Luther's Works the Smalcald Articles are likewise followed by the Tract with the title: "Concerning the Power and Supremacy of the Pope, Composed by the Scholars in the Year 37 at Smalcald and Printed in the Year 38." (6, 523.) This superscription gave rise to the opinion that the German was the original text. At any rate, such seems to have been the belief of Selneccer, since he incorporated a Latin translation, based on the German text, into the Latin edition of his Book of Concord, privately published 1580. Apart from other errors, this Latin version contained also the offensive misprint referred to in our article on the Book of Concord (p. 5). In the official edition of 1584 it was supplanted by the original text of Melanchthon. The subtitle, however, remained: "Tractatus per Theologos Smalcaldicos Congregatos Conscriptus."

To-day it is generally assumed that by 1553 it was universally forgotten both that Melanchthon was the author of the Tract, and

that it was originally composed in Latin. However, it remains a mystery how this should have been possible — only twelve years after Dietrich had published the Tract under a title which clearly designates Melanchthon as its author, and states that the German text is a translation. The evidence for Melanchthon's authorship which thus became necessary was furnished by J. C. Bertram in 1770. However, before him Chytraeus and Seckendorf, in 1564, had expressly vindicated Melanchthon's authorship. Be it mentioned as a curiosity that the Papist Lud. Jac. a St. Carolo mentioned a certain "Articulus Alsmalcaldicus, Germanus, Lutheranus" as the author of the Tract. In the Formula of Concord and in the Preface to the Book of Concord the Tract is not enumerated as a separate confessional writing, but is treated as an appendix to the Smalcald Articles.

80. A Threefold Criticism.

On the basis of the facts stated in the preceding paragraphs, Kolde, followed by others, believes himself justified in offering a threefold criticism. In the first place, he opines that Luther's Articles are "very improperly called 'Smalcald Articles.'" However, even if Luther's Articles were not officially adopted by the Smalcald League as such, they were, nevertheless, written for the Convention of Smalcald, and were there signed by the assembled Lutheran theologians and preachers, and privately adopted also by most of the princes and estates. For Luther's Articles, then, there is and can be no title more appropriate than "Smalcald Articles." Tschackert remarks: "Almost all [all, with the exception of the suspected theologians] subscribed, and thereby they became weighty and important for the Evangelical churches of Germany; and hence it certainly is not inappropriate to call them 'Smalcald Articles,' even though they were written at Wittenberg and were not publicly deliberated upon at Smalcald." (302.)

"It is entirely unhistorical," Kolde continues in his strictures, "to designate Melanchthon's Tract, which has no connection with Luther's Articles, as an 'Appendix' to them, when in fact it was accepted as an appendix of the Augustana and Apology." (50.) It is a mistake, therefore, says Kolde, that the Tract is not separately mentioned in the Book of Concord, nor counted as a separate confessional writing. (53.) Likewise Tschackert: "On the other hand, it is a mistake to treat Melanchthon's Tract as an appendix to the Smalcald Articles, as is done in the Book of Concord. The signatures of the estates have rather given it an independent authority in the Church." (302.) However, there is much more of a connection between Luther's Articles and the Tract than Kolde and Tschackert seem to be aware of. Luther's Articles as well as the Tract were prepared for the Convention at Smalcald. Both were there signed by practically the same Lutheran theologians. The fact that in the case of the Smalcald Articles this was done voluntarily rather enhances, and does not in the least diminish, their importance. Both also, from the very beginning, were equally regarded as Lutheran confessional writings. The Tract, furthermore, follows Luther's Articles also in substance, as it is but an acknowledgment and additional exposition of his article "Of the Papacy." To be sure, the Tract must not be viewed as an appendix to Luther's Articles, which, indeed, were in no need of such an appendix. Moreover, both the Articles and the Tract may be regarded as appendices to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. Accordingly, there is no reason whatever why, in the Book of Concord, the Tract should not follow Luther's Articles or be regarded as closely connected with it, and naturally belonging to it. Koellner is right when he declares it to be "very appropriate" that the Tract is connected and grouped with the Smalcald Articles. (469.)

Finally, Kolde designates the words in the title "composed, *conscriptus*, by the scholars" as false in every respect. Likewise Tschackert. (303.) The criticism is justified inasmuch as the expression "composed, *zusammengezogen*, *conscriptus*, by the scholars" cannot very well be harmonized with the fact that Melanchthon wrote the Tract. But even this superscription is inappropriate, at least not in the degree assumed by Kolde and Tschackert. For the fact is that the princes and estates did not order Melanchthon, but the theologians, to write the treatise concerning the Papacy, and that the Tract was presented in their name. Koellner writes: "It is certainly a splendid testimony for the noble sentiments of those heroes of the faith that the Elector should know of, and partly disapprove, Melanchthon's milder views, and still entrust him with the composition of this very important document [the Tract], and, on the other hand, equally so, that Melanchthon so splendidly fulfilled the consideration which he owed to the views and the interests of the party without infringing upon his own conviction." "Seckendorf also," Koellner adds, "justly admires this unusual phenomenon." (471.) However, Koellner offers no evidence for the supposition that the Elector charged Melanchthon in particular with the composition of the Tract. According to the report of the Strassburg delegates, the princes declared that "the scholars" should peruse the Confession and enlarge on the Papacy. The report continues: "The scholars received orders . . . to enlarge somewhat on the Papacy, which *they* did, and thereupon transmitted *their* criticism to the Elector and the princes." (Kolde, *Anal.*, 297.) This is corroborated by Melanchthon himself, who wrote to Camerarius, March 1, 1537: "We received orders (*iussi sumus*) to write something on the Primacy of Peter or the Roman Pontiff." (*C. R.* 3, 292.) February 17 Osiander reported: "The first business imposed on *us* by the princes was . . . diligently to explain the Primacy, which was omitted from the Confession because it was regarded as odious. The latter of these duties *we* have to-day completed, so that *we* shall immediately deliver a copy

to the princes." (3, 267.) These statements might even warrant the conclusion that the theologians also participated, more or less, in the drawing up of the Tract, for which, however, further evidence is wanting. Nor does it appear how this view could be harmonized with Veit Dietrich's assertion in his letter to Foerster, May 16: "Orders were given to write about the power of the Pope, the primacy of Peter, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Philip alone performed this very well." (3, 370.)

However, entirely apart from the statement of Osiander, the mere fact that the *theologians* were ordered to prepare the document, and that it was delivered by, and in the name of, these theologians, sufficiently warrants us to speak of the document as "The Tract of the Scholars at Smalcald" with the same propriety that, for example, the opinion which Melanchthon drew up on August 6, 1536, is entitled: "The First Proposal of the Wittenberg Scholars concerning the Future Council." (*C. R.* 3, 119.)

VIII. Luther's Efforts at Restoring Catechetical Instruction.

81. Modern Researches Respecting Luther's Catechisms.

Besides G. v. Zezschwitz (*System der christlich-kirchlichen Katechetik*, 3 volumes, 1862 to 1874) and numerous other contemporary and later students, G. Buchwald, F. Cohrs, and O. Albrecht have, since the middle of the past century, rendered no mean service by their researches pertaining to Luther's Catechisms. Buchwald edited the three series of sermons on the Five Chief Parts which Luther delivered in 1528, pointed out their important bearing on his Catechisms, and shed new light on their origin by discovering and exploiting the Stephan Roth correspondence. He published the results of his labors in 1894 under the title, "The Origin of the Two Catechisms of Luther and the Foundation of the Large Catechism. *Die Entstehung der beiden Katechismen Luthers und die Grundlage des Grossen Katechismus.*" F. Cohrs enriched this department of knowledge by his articles in the third edition of Herzog's *Realenzyklopaedie*, and especially by his five-volume work on *The Evangelical Catechism-Attempts Prior to Luther's Enchiridion*, in *Monumenta Germaniae Paedagogica*, 1900 to 1907. In 1905 O. Albrecht was entrusted with the preparation of Luther's Catechisms for the Weimar Critical Edition of Luther's Complete Works. He also contributed the extensive historical sections of the first of the three parts of Vol. 30, where the Catechisms are treated.

This first part of 826 pages, which appeared in 1910, represents the latest important research work on the origin of Luther's Catechisms. In its preface R. Drescher says: "The writings of 1529 to 1530, in their totality, were a difficult mountain, and it gives us particular joy finally to have surmounted it. And the most difficult and laborious part of the way, at least in view of the comprehensive treatment it was to receive, was the publication of the Large and the Small Catechism, including the three series of Catechism Sermons. . . . The harvest which was garnered fills a large volume of our edition."

82. Meaning of the Word Catechism.

The term *catechismus* (catechism), like its related terms, *catechesis, catechizari, catechumeni*, was common in the ancient Church. In his *Glossarium*, Du Cange defines it as "*institutio puerorum etiam recens natorum, antequam baptizentur* — the instruction of children, also those recently born, before their baptism." The synonymous expression, *catechesis*, he describes as "*institutio primorum fidei Christianae rudimentorum, de quibus κατηχήσεις suas scripsit S. Cyrillus Jerusolymitanus* — instruction in the first rudiments of the Christian faith, about which St. Cyril of Jerusalem wrote his catechizations." (2, 222 f.) Also Luther was acquainted with this usage in the ancient Church. He began his Catechism sermon of November 30, 1528, with the words: "These parts which you heard me recite the old Fathers called catechism, *i. e.*, a sermon for children, which children should know and all who desire to be Christians." (Weimar 30, 1, 57.) At first Luther seems to have employed the term but seldom; later on, however, especially after 1526, more frequently. Evidently he was bent on popularizing it. Between the Preface and the Decalog of the first Wittenberg book edition of the Small Catechism we find the title, "A Small Catechism or Christian Training — *Ein kleiner Katechismus oder christliche Zucht.*" No doubt, Luther added the explanation "christliche Zucht" because the word catechism had not yet become current among the people. May 18, 1528, he began his sermon with the explanation: "*Catechismus dicitur instructio* — Catechism is instruction"; likewise the sermon of September 14: "Catechism, *i. e.*, an instruction or Christian teaching"; the sermon of November 30: "Catechism, *i. e.*, a sermon for children." In the Preface to his Small Catechism he again explains the term as "Christian doctrine." Thus Luther endeavored to familiarize the people with the word catechism.

The meaning of this term, however, is not always the same. It may designate the act of instructing, the subject-matter or the doctrine imparted, a summary thereof, the text of the traditional chief parts, or a book containing the catechismal doctrine, text, or text with explanation. Luther used the word most frequently and preferably in the sense of instruction. This appears from the definitions quoted in the preceding paragraph, where catechism is defined as "sermon," "instruction," "Christian training," etc. "You have the catechism" (the doctrine), says Luther, "in small and large books." Bugenhagen defines thus: "Katechismus, dat is, christlike

underrichtinge ut den teyn gebaden Gades." In the Apology, Melanchthon employs the word catechism as identical with *κατήχησις puerorum*, instruction of the young in the Christian fundamentals. (324, 41.) "Accordingly," says O. Albrecht, "catechism means elementary instruction in Christianity, conceived, first, as the act; then, as the material for instruction; then, as the contents of a book; and finally, as the book itself. This usage must be borne in mind also where Luther speaks of his own Catechisms. "German Catechism" means instruction in, or preaching on, the traditional chief parts in the German language. And while "Enchiridion" signifies a book of small compass, the title "Small Catechism" (as appears from the old subtitle: "Ein kleiner Katechismus oder christliche Zucht") means instruction in the chief parts, proceeding with compact brevity, and, at the same time, these parts themselves together with the explanations added. (W. 30, 1, 454. 539.) As the title of a book the word catechism was first employed by Althamer in 1528, and by Brenz as the subtitle of his "Questions" (*Fragestuecke*). A school-book written by John Colet in the beginning of the sixteenth century bears the title "*Catechyzon*, The Instructor." (456.)

Not every kind of Christian instruction, however, is called catechism by Luther. Whenever he uses the word, he has in mind beginners, children, and unlearned people. In his "German Order of Worship, *Deutsche Messe*," of 1526, he writes: "Catechism is an instruction whereby heathen who desire to become Christians are taught and shown what they must believe, do, not do, and know in Christianity; hence the name catechumens was given to pupils who were accepted for such instruction and who learned the Creed previous to their baptism." (19, 76.) In his sermon of November 30, 1528: "The Catechism is a sermon for children, which the children and all who desire to be Christians must know. Whoever does not know it cannot be numbered among the Christians. For if he does not know these things, it is evident that God and Christ mean nothing to him." (30, 1, 57.) In his sermon of September 14: "This [catechism] is preaching for children, or, the Bible of the laity, which serves the plain people. Whoever, then, does not know these things, and is unable to recite them and understand them, cannot be considered a Christian. It is for this reason, too, that it bears the name catechism, *i. e.*, instruction and Christian teaching, since all Christians at the very least should know this much. Afterward they ought to learn more of the Scriptures. Hence, let all children govern themselves accordingly, and see that they learn it." (27.) May 18 Luther began his sermon thus: "The preaching of the Catechism was begun that it might serve as an instruction for children and the unlearned. . . . For every Christian must necessarily know the Catechism. Whoever does not know it cannot be numbered among the Christians." (2.) In the short Preface to the Large Catechism: "This sermon is designed and undertaken that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded. Hence, of old it was called in Greek catechism, *i. e.*, instruction for children, what every Christian must needs know, so that he who does not know this could not be numbered with the Christians nor be admitted to any Sacrament." (Conc. Trigl., 575, 1; 535, 11.)

83. Chief Parts of Catechism.

In Luther's opinion the elementary doctrines which form the subject-matter of the Catechism are comprised in the three traditional parts: Decalog, Creed, and Lord's Prayer. These he considered to be the gist of the doctrine every one must learn if he would be regarded and treated as a Christian. "Those who are unwilling to learn it," says Luther, "should be told that they deny Christ and are no Christians; neither should they be admitted to the Sacraments, accepted as sponsors at Baptism, nor exercise any part of Christian liberty." (Conc. Trigl. 535, 11.) Of course, Luther considered these three parts only a minimum, which, however, Christians who partake of the Lord's Supper should strive to exceed, but still sufficient for children and plain people. (575, 5.) Even in his later years, Luther speaks of the first three parts as the Catechism proper.

However, probably in consequence of the controversy with the Enthusiasts, which began in 1524, Luther soon added as supplements the parts treating of Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and Confession. In the Large Catechism, where Baptism and the Lord's Supper appear as appendices, Luther emphasizes the fact that the first three parts form the kernel of the Catechism, but that instruction in Baptism and the Lord's Supper must also be imparted. "These" (first three), says he, "are the most necessary parts, which one should first learn to repeat word for word. . . . Now, when these three parts are apprehended, it behooves a person also to know what to say concerning our Sacraments, which Christ Himself instituted, Baptism and the holy body and blood of Christ, namely, the text which Matthew and Mark record at the close of their gospels, when Christ said farewell to His disciples and sent them forth." (579, 20.) Luther regarded a correct knowledge of Baptism and the Lord's Supper not only as useful, but as necessary. Beginning his explanation of the Fourth Chief Part, he remarks: "We have now finished the three chief parts of the common Christian doctrine. Besides these we have yet to speak of our two Sacraments instituted by Christ, of which also every Christian ought to have at least an ordinary, brief instruction, because without them there can be no Christian; although, alas! hitherto no instruction concerning them has been given." (733, 1.) Thus Luther materially enlarged the Catechism. True, several prayer- and confession-books, which appeared in the late Middle Ages, also treat of the Sacraments. As for the people, however, it was considered sufficient for laymen to be able to recite the names of the seven Roman sacraments. Hence

Luther, in the passage cited from the Large Catechism, declares that in Popery practically nothing of Baptism and the Lord's Supper was taught, certainly nothing worth while or wholesome.

84. Parts Inherited from Ancient Church.

The text of the first three chief parts, Luther considered a sacred heirloom from the ancient Church. "For," says he in his Large Catechism, "the holy Fathers or apostles have thus embraced in a summary the doctrine, life, wisdom, and art of Christians, of which they speak and treat, and with which they are occupied." (579, 19.) Thus Luther, always conservative, did not reject the traditional catechism, both bag and baggage, but carefully distinguished between the good, which he retained, and the worthless, which he discarded. In fact, he no more dreamt of foisting a new doctrine or catechism on the Christian Church than he ever thought of founding a new church. On the contrary, his sole object was to restore the ancient Apostolic Church; and his catechetical endeavors were bent on bringing to light once more, purifying, explaining, and restoring, the old catechism of the fathers.

In his book *Wider Hans Worst*, 1541, Luther says: "We have remained faithful to the true and ancient Church; aye, we are the true and ancient Church. You Papists, however, have apostatized from us, *i. e.*, from the ancient Church, and have set up a new church in opposition to the ancient Church." In harmony with this view, Luther repeatedly and emphatically asserted that in his Catechism he was merely protecting and guarding an inheritance of the fathers, which he had preserved to the Church by his correct explanation. In his *German Order of Worship* we read: "I know of no simpler nor better arrangement of this instruction or doctrine than the arrangement which has existed since the beginning of Christendom, *viz.*, the three parts, Ten Commandments, Creed, and the Lord's Prayer." (W. 19, 76.) In the ancient Church the original parts for catechumens and sponsors were the *Symbolum* and the *Paternoster*, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer. To these the Ten Commandments were added as a formal part of doctrine only since the thirteenth century. (30, 1, 434.) The usual sequence of these parts was: Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and, wherever it was not supplanted by other matter, the Decalog. It was with deliberation, then, that Luther substituted his own objective, logical order.

In his *Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer*, 1520, Luther speaks as follows of the three traditional parts, which God preserved to the Church in spite of the Papacy: "It did not come to pass without the special providence of God, that, with reference to the common Christian, who cannot read the Scriptures, it was commanded to teach and to know the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer, which three parts indeed thoroughly and completely embrace all that is contained in the Scripture and may ever be preached, all also that a Christian needs to know, and this, too, in a form so brief and simple that no one can complain or offer the excuse that it is too much, and that it is too hard for him to remember what is essential to his salvation. For in order to be saved, a man must know three things: First, he must know what he is to do and leave undone. Secondly, when he realizes that by his own strength he is unable to do it and leave it undone, he must know where he may take, seek, and find that which will enable him to do and to refrain. Thirdly, he must know *how* he may seek and obtain it. Even as a sick man needs first of all to know what disease he has, what he may or may not do, or leave undone. Thereupon he needs to know where the medicine is which will help him, that he may do and leave undone like a healthy person. Fourthly, he must desire it, seek and get it, or have it brought to him. In like manner the commandments teach a man to know his disease, that he may see and perceive what he can do and not do, leave and not leave, and thus perceive that he is a sinner and a wicked man. Thereupon the Creed holds before his eyes and teaches him where to find the medicine, the grace, which will help him become pious, that he may keep the commandments, and shows him God and His mercy as revealed and offered in Christ. Fifthly, the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to ask for, get and obtain it, namely, by proper, humble, and comforting prayer. These three things comprise the entire Scriptures." (W. 7, 204.) It was things such as the chief parts of the Catechism that Luther had in mind when he wrote against the fanatics, 1528: "We confess that even under the Papacy there are many Christian blessings, aye, all Christian blessings, and thence they have come to us: the true Holy Scriptures, true Baptism, the true Sacrament of the Altar, true keys for the forgiveness of sins, the true office of the ministry, the true catechism, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, etc." (26, 147.) Luther's meaning is, that in the midst of antichristendom and despite the Pope, the text of the three chief parts was, among other things, preserved to the Church.

85. Service Rendered Catechism by Luther.

The fact that the text of the three chief parts existed long before Luther does not detract from the service which he rendered the Catechism. Luther's work, moreover, consisted in this, 1. that he brought about a general revival of the instruction in the Catechism of the ancient Church; 2. that he completed it by adding the parts treating of Baptism, Confession, and the Lord's Supper; 3. that he purged its material from all manner of papal ballast; 4. that he eliminated the Romish interpretation and adulteration in the interest of work-righteousness; 5. that he refilled the ancient forms with their genuine Evangelical and Scriptural meaning. Before Luther's time the study of the Catechism had everywhere fallen into decay.

There were but few who knew its text, and when able to recite it, they did not understand it. The soul of all Christian truths, the Gospel of God's free pardon for Christ's sake, had departed. Concerning "the three parts which have remained in Christendom from of old" Luther said that "little of it had been taught and treated correctly." (Conc. Trigl. 575, 6.)

In his *Warning to My Dear Germans*, of 1531, he enlarges on the same thought as follows: "Thanks to God, our Gospel has produced much and great good. Formerly no one knew what was Gospel, what Christ, what Baptism, what Confession, what Sacrament, what faith, what spirit, what flesh, what good works, what the Ten Commandments, what the Lord's Prayer, what praying, what suffering, what comfort, what civil government, what matrimony, what parents, what children, what lords, what servant, what mistress, what maid, what devil, what angel, what world, what life, what death, what sin, what right, what forgiveness of sin, what God, what bishop, what pastor, what Church, what a Christian, what the cross. Sum, we knew nothing of what a Christian should know. Everything was obscured and suppressed by the papal asses. For in Christian matters they are asses indeed, aye, great, coarse, unlearned asses. For I also was one of them and know that in this I am speaking the truth. And all pious hearts who were captive under the Pope, even as I, will bear me out that they would fain have known one of these things, yet were not able nor permitted to know it. We knew no better than that the priests and monks alone were everything; on their works we based our hope of salvation and not on Christ. Thanks to God, however, it has now come to pass that man and woman, young and old, know the Catechism, and how to believe, live, pray, suffer, and die; and that is indeed a splendid instruction for consciences, teaching them how to be a Christian and to know Christ." (W. 30, 3, 317.)

Thus Luther extols it as the great achievement of his day that now every one knew the Catechism, whereas formerly Christian doctrine was unknown or at least not understood aright. And this achievement is preeminently a service which Luther rendered. He revived once more the ancient catechetical parts of doctrine, placed them in the proper Biblical light, permeated them with the Evangelical spirit, and explained them in conformity with the understanding of the Gospel which he had gained anew, stressing especially the *finis historiae* (the divine purpose of the historical facts of Christianity, as recorded in the Second Article), the forgiveness of sins not by works of our own, but by grace, for Christ's sake.

86. Catechetical Instruction before Luther.

In the Middle Ages the Lord's Prayer and the Creed were called the chief parts for sponsors (*Patenhauptstuecke*), since the canons required sponsors to know them, and at Baptism they were obligated to teach these parts to their godchildren. The children, then, were to learn the Creed and the Lord's Prayer from their parents and sponsors. Since the Carolingian Epoch these regulations of the Church were often repeated, as, for example, in the *Exhortation to the Christian Laity* of the ninth century. From the same century dates the regulation that an explanation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer should be found in every parish, self-evidently to facilitate preaching and the examination in confession. In confession, which, according to the Lateran Council, 1215, everybody was required to make at least once a year, the priests were to inquire also regarding this instruction and have the chief parts recited. Since the middle of the thirteenth century the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, together with the Benedicite, Gratias, Ave Maria, Psalms, and other matter, were taught also in the Latin schools, where probably Luther, too, learned them. In the *Instruction for Visitors*, Melanchthon still mentions "der Kinder Handbuechlein, darin das Alphabet, Vaterunser, Glaub' und andere Gebet' innen stehen — Manual for Children, containing the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other prayers," as the first schoolbook. (W. 26, 237.) After the invention of printing, chart-impressions with pictures illustrating the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments came into the possession also of some laymen. The poorer classes, however, had to content themselves with the charts in the churches, which especially Nicolaus of Cusa endeavored to introduce everywhere. (Herzog's *Realenzyklopaedie* 10, 138.) They were followed by confessional booklets, prayer-booklets, and also by voluminous books of devotion. Apart from other trash, these contained confessional and communion prayers, instructions on Repentance, Confession, and the Sacrament of the Altar; above all, however, a mirror of sins, intended as a guide for self-examination, on the basis of various lists of sins and catalogs of virtues, which, supplanting the Decalog, were to be memorized. Self-evidently, all this was not intended as a schoolmaster to bring them to Christ and to faith in the free grace of God, but merely to serve the interest of the Romish penances, satisfactions, and work-righteousness. Says Luther in the Smalcald Articles: "Here, too, there was no faith nor Christ, and the virtue of the absolution was not declared to him, but upon his enumeration of sins and his self-abasement depended his consolation. What torture, rascality, and idolatry such confession has produced is more than can be related." (485, 20.) The chief parts of Christian doctrine but little taught and nowhere correctly taught, — such was the chief hurt of the Church under the Papacy.

In the course of time, however, even this deficient and false instruction gradually fell into decay. The influence of the Latin schools was not very far-reaching, their number being very small in proportion to the young. Public schools for the people did not exist in the

Middle Ages. As a matter of fact, not a single synod concerned itself specifically with the instruction of the young. (*H. R.* 10, 137.) At home, parents and sponsors became increasingly indifferent and incompetent for teaching. True, the reformers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did attempt to elevate the instruction also in the Catechism. Geiler's sermons on the Lord's Prayer were published. Gerson admonished: "The reformation of the Church must begin with the young," and published sermons on the Decalog as models for the use of the clergy. John Wolf also urged that the young be instructed, and endeavored to substitute the Decalog for the prevalent catalogs of sins. The Humanists John Wimpheling, Erasmus, and John Colet (who wrote the *Catechyzon*, which Erasmus rendered into Latin hexameters) urged the same thing. Peter Tritonius Athesinus wrote a similar book of instruction for the Latin schools. However, all of these attempts proved ineffectual, and even if successful, they would have accomplished little for truly Christian instruction, such as Luther advocated, since the real essence of Christianity, the doctrine of justification, was unknown to these reformers.

Thus in the course of time the people, and especially the young, grew more and more deficient in the knowledge of even the simplest Christian truths and facts. And bishops and priests, unconcerned about the ancient canons, stolidly looked on while Christendom was sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire of total religious ignorance and indifference. Without fearing contradiction, Melanchthon declared in his Apology: "Among the adversaries there is no catechization of the children whatever, concerning which even the canons give commands. . . . Among the adversaries, in many regions [as in Italy and Spain], during the entire year no sermons are delivered, except in Lent." (325, 41.)

87. Medieval Books of Prayer and Instruction.

Concerning the aforementioned Catholic books of prayer and edification which, during the Middle Ages, served the people as catechisms, Luther, in his Prayer-Booklet of 1522 (which was intended to supplant the Romish prayer-books), writes as follows: "Among many other harmful doctrines and booklets which have seduced and deceived Christians and given rise to countless superstitions, I do not consider as the least the prayer-booklets, by which so much distress of confessing and enumerating sins, such unchristian folly in the prayers to God and His saints was inculcated upon the unlearned, and which, nevertheless, were highly puffed with indulgences and red titles, and, in addition, bore precious names, one being called *Hortulus Animae*, the other *Paradisus Animae*, and so forth. They are in sore need of a thorough and sound reformation, or to be eradicated entirely, a sentence which I also pass on the Passional or Legend books, to which also a great deal has been added by the devil." (W. 10, 1, 375.)

The *Hortulus Animae*, which is mentioned even before 1500, was widely circulated at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It embraced all forms of edifying literature. Sebastian Brandt and Jacob Wimpheling helped to compile it. The *Paradisus Animae* had the same contents, but was probably spread in Latin only. The *Hortulus Animae* contains very complete rosters of sins and catalogs of virtues for "confessing and enumerating sins." Among the virtues are listed the bodily works of mercy (Matt. 25, 35) and the seven spiritual works of mercy: to instruct the ignorant, give counsel to the doubtful, comfort the afflicted, admonish sinners, pardon adversaries, suffer wrong, and forgive the enemies. Among the virtues were counted the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost: wisdom, understanding, ability, kindness, counsel, strength, and fear. Furthermore the three divine virtues: faith, hope, and charity. The four cardinal virtues: prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance. The eight beatitudes according to Matt. 5, 3 ff. The twelve counsels: poverty, obedience, chastity, love of enemies, meekness, abundant mercy, simplicity of words, not too much care for temporal things, correct purpose and simplicity of deeds, harmony of doctrine and works, fleeing the cause of sin, brotherly admonition. Finally also the seven sacraments. The list of sins contains the nine foreign sins, the six sins against the Holy Ghost, the four sins that cry to God for vengeance, the five senses, the Ten Commandments, and the seven mortal sins: pride, covetousness, unchastity, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth. Each of these mortal sins is again analyzed extensively. The Weimar edition of Luther's Works remarks: "If these catalogs were employed for self-examination, confusion, endless torment, or complete externalization of the consciousness of sin was bound to result. We can therefore understand why the Reformer inveighs against this 'enumerating of sins.'" (10, 2, 336.)

The *Hortulus Animae* also shows how Luther was obliged to purge the Catechism from all manner of "unchristian follies," as he calls them. For the entire book is pervaded by idolatrous adoration of the saints. An acrostic prayer to Mary addresses her as *mediatrix, auxiliatrix, reparatrix, illuminatrix, advocatrix.* In English the prayer would read as follows: "O Mary, thou mediator between God and men, make of thyself the medium between the righteous God and me, a poor sinner! O Mary, thou helper in all anguish and need, come to my assistance in all sufferings, and help me resist and strive against the evil spirits and overcome all my temptations and afflictions. O Mary, thou restorer of lost grace to all men, restore unto me my lost time, my sinful and wasted life! O Mary, thou illuminator, who didst give birth to the eternal Light of the whole world, illumine my blindness and ignorance, lest I, poor sinner that I am, enter the darkness of eternal death! O Mary, thou advocate of all miserable men, be thou my advocate at my last end before the stern judgment of God,

and obtain for me the grace and the fruit of thy womb, Jesus Christ! Amen." Another prayer calls Mary the "mighty queen of heaven, the holy empress of the angels, the one who stays divine wrath." A prayer to the eleven thousand virgins reads as follows: "O ye, adorned with chastity, crowned with humility, clad with patience, covered with the blossoms of virtue, well polished with moderation — O ye precious pearls and chosen virgin maids, help us in the hour of death!"

With this idolatry and saint-worship silly superstition was combined. In order to be efficacious, a certain prayer prescribed in the *Hortulus* must be spoken not only with "true contrition and pure confession," but also "before a figure which had appeared to St. Gregory." Whoever offers a certain prayer "before the image of Our Lady in the Sun" "will not depart this life unshriven, and thirty days before his death will see the very adorable Virgin Mary prepared to help him." Another prayer is good "for pestilence" when spoken "before the image of St. Ann"; another prayer to St. Margaret profits "every woman in travail"; still another preserves him who says it from "a sudden death." All of these promises, however, are far surpassed by the indulgences assured. The prayer before the apparition of St. Gregory obtains 24,600 years and 24 days of indulgence; another promises "indulgence for as many days as our Lord Jesus Christ received wounds during His passion, *viz.*, 5,475." Whoever prays the Bridget-prayers not only obtains indulgence for himself, but 15 souls of his kin are thereby delivered from purgatory, 15 sinners converted, and 15 righteous "confirmed and established in their good standing." (W. 10, 2, 334.)

Also in the chart booklets for the Latin schools of the Middle Ages the Ave Maria and Salve Regina played an important part. — Such were the books which, before Luther, were to serve the people as catechisms, or books of instruction and prayer. In them, everything, even what was right and good in itself, such as the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Decalog, was made to serve Romish superstition and work-righteousness. Hence one can easily understand why Luther demanded that they be either thoroughly reformed or eradicated.

Indeed, the dire need of the Church in this respect was felt and lamented by none sooner and more deeply than Luther. Already in his tract *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, 1520, he complained that Christian instruction of the young was being neglected. He writes: "Above all, the chief and most common lesson in the higher and lower schools ought to be the Holy Scriptures and for the young boys, the Gospel. Would to God every city had also a school for girls, where the little maids might daily hear the Gospel for an hour, either in German or in Latin! Truly, in the past the schools and convents for men and women were founded for this purpose, with very laudable Christian intention, as we read of St. Agnes and other saints. There grew up holy virgins and martyrs, and Christendom fared very well. But now it amounts to nothing more than praying and singing. Ought not, indeed, every Christian at the age of nine or ten years know the entire holy Gospel, in which his name and life is written? Does not the spinner and the seamstress teach the same handicraft to her daughter when she is still young? But now even the great men, the learned prelates and bishops, do not know the Gospel. How unjustly do we deal with the poor youth entrusted to us, failing, as we do, to govern and instruct them! What a severe reckoning will be required of us because we do not set before them the Word of God! For unto them is done as Jeremiah says, Lam. 2, 11. 12: 'Mine eyes do fail with tears, my bowels are troubled, my liver is poured upon the earth, for the destruction of the daughter of my people; because the children and the sucklings swoon in the streets of the city. They say to their mothers, Where is corn and wine? when they swooned as the wounded in the streets of the city, when their soul was poured out into their mothers' bosom.' But we do not see the wretched misery, how the young people, in the midst of Christendom, now also languish and perish miserably for lack of the Gospel, in which they should always be instructed and drilled." (W. 6, 461; E. 21, 349.)

88. Church Visitation Reveals Deplorable Ignorance.

The Saxon Visitation brought to light such a total decay of all Christian knowledge and of Christian instruction as even Luther had not anticipated. Aside from other evils (clergymen cohabiting with their cooks, addicted to drink, or even conducting taverns, etc.), the people, especially in the villages, were found to be grossly ignorant of even the simplest rudiments of Christian doctrine and most unwilling to learn anything, while many pastors were utterly incompetent to teach. According to the official records, one priest, who enjoyed a great reputation as an exorcist, could not even recite the Lord's Prayer and the Creed fluently. (Koestlin, *Martin Luther*, 2, 41.) Luther took part in the visitation of the Electoral circuit from the end of October till after the middle of November, 1528, and again from the end of December, 1528, till January, 1529, and on April 26, 1529, at Torgau, he, too, signed the report on visitation. When Luther therefore describes the decay of instruction in Popery, he speaks from personal experience. About the middle of January, 1529, he wrote to Spalatin: "Moreover, conditions in the congregations everywhere are pitiable, inasmuch as the peasants learn nothing, know nothing, never pray, do nothing but abuse their liberty, make no confession, receive no communion, as if they had been altogether emancipated from religion. They have neglected their papistical affairs (ours they despise) to such extent that it is terrible to contemplate the administration of the papal bishops." (Enders 7, 45.) The intense heartache and mingled feelings which came over Luther when he thought of the ignorance which he found during the visi-

tation, are described in the Preface to the Small Catechism as follows: "The deplorable, miserable condition which I discovered lately when I, too, was a visitor, has forced and urged me to prepare this Catechism, or Christian doctrine, in this small, plain, simple form. Mercy! Good God! what manifold misery I beheld! The common people, especially in the villages, have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and, alas! many pastors are altogether incapable, and incompetent to teach. Nevertheless, all maintain that they are Christians, all have been baptized and receive the holy Sacrament. Yet they cannot recite either the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live like dumb brutes and irrational swine; and yet, now that the Gospel has come, they have nicely learned to abuse all liberty like experts. O ye bishops! what will ye ever answer to Christ for having so shamefully neglected the people and never for a moment discharged your office? May all misfortune flee you! You command the Sacrament in one form and insist on your human laws, and yet at the same time you do not care in the least whether the people know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or any part of the Word of God. Woe, woe, unto you forever!" (533, 1 ff.)

To these experiences made during the visitation, Luther also refers when he says in the Short Preface to the Large Catechism: "For I well remember the time, indeed, even now it is a daily occurrence that one finds rude, old persons who knew nothing and still know nothing of these things, and who, nevertheless, go to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and use everything belonging to Christians, notwithstanding that those who come to the Lord's Supper ought to know more and have a fuller understanding of all Christian doctrine than children and new scholars." (575, 5.) In his "Admonition to the Clergy" of 1530, Luther describes the conditions before the Reformation as follows: "In brief, preaching and teaching were in a wretched and heart-rending state. Still all the bishops kept silence and saw nothing new, although they are now able to see a gnat in the sun. Hence all things were so confused and wild, owing to the discordant teaching and the strange new opinions, that no one was any longer able to know what was certain or uncertain, what was a Christian or an unchristian. The old doctrine of faith in Christ, of love, of prayer, of cross, of comfort in tribulation was entirely trodden down. Aye, there was in all the world no doctor who knew the entire Catechism, that is, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Creed, to say nothing of understanding and teaching it, as now, God be praised, it is being taught and learned, even by young children. In support of this statement I appeal to all their books, both of theologians and jurists. If a single part of the Catechism can be correctly learned therefrom, I am ready to be broken upon the wheel and to have my veins opened." (W. 30, 1, 301.)

Melanchthon, Jonas, Brenz, George of Anhalt, Mathesius, and many others draw a similar picture of the religious conditions prevailing in Germany, England, and other lands immediately prior to the Reformation. To be sure, Papists, particularly Jesuits, have disputed the accuracy and truth of these descriptions from the pen of Luther and his contemporaries. But arrayed against these Romish apologetes is also the testimony of Papists themselves. In his *Catholicus Catechismus*, published at Cologne, 1543, Nausea writes: "I endeavored to renew the instruction, once well known among all churches, which, however, not only recently, but long ago (I do not know to whose stupidity, negligence, or ignorance this was due) was altogether forgotten, not without lamentable loss to the catholic religion. *Veterem illam catechesin, per omnes quondam ecclesias percelebrem non modo tum, sed et ante pridem, nescio quorum vel socordia vel negligentia vel ignorantia, non sine poenitenda catholicae religionis iactura prorsus in oblivionem coeptam repetere coepi.*" (W. 30, 1, 467.) Moreover, when Romanists dispute Luther's assertions, they refer to the one point only, that religious instruction (as conceived by Catholics) had not declined in the measure claimed by Luther. As to the chief point in Luther's assertion, however, *viz.*, the correct Evangelical explanation of the Catechism, which, in Luther's opinion, is essential to all truly Christian instruction, the Catholic Church has always been utterly devoid of it, not only prior to the Reformation, but also after it, and down to the present day.

True, even during the Reformation some Papists were incited to greater zeal in preaching and teaching. It was a reaction against the Reformation of Luther, who must be regarded as the indirect cause also of the formal improvement in the instruction of the young among the Romanists. To maintain their power, bishops and priests were compelled to resume and cultivate it. This revival, however, meant only an intensified instruction in the old work-righteousness, and therefore was the very opposite of the instruction which Luther desired and advocated. In the Apology, Melanchthon, after charging the Papists with totally neglecting the instruction of the young, continues: "A few among them now also begin to preach of good works. But of the knowledge of Christ, of faith, of the consolation of consciences they are unable to preach anything, moreover, this blessed doctrine, the precious holy Gospel, they call Lutheran." (326, 44.)

89. Luther Devising Measures to Restore Catechism.

Fully realizing the general decay of Christian training, Luther at once directed all his efforts toward bringing about a change for the better. And well aware of the fact that the future belongs to the rising generation, the instruction of the common people, and particularly of the young, became increasingly an object of his especial concern. If the Church, said he, is to be helped, if the Gospel is to be victorious, if the Reformation is to succeed, if Satan and Antichrist are to be dealt a

mortal blow, a blow from which they will not recover, it must be done through the young. For every cause which is not, or cannot be made, the cause of the rising generation, is doomed from the very outset. "This is the total ruin of the Church," said Luther as early as 1516; "for if ever it is to flourish again, one must begin by instructing the young. *Haec est enim ecclesiae ruina tota; si enim unquam debet reflorere, necesse est, ut a puerorum institutione exordium fiat.*" (W. 1, 494.) For, apart from being incapable of much improvement, the old people would soon disappear from the scene. Hence, if Christianity and its saving truths were to be preserved to the Church, the children must learn them from earliest youth.

In his Large Catechism Luther gave utterance to these thoughts as follows: "Let this, then, be said for exhortation, not only for those of us who are old and grown, but also for the young people, who ought to be brought up in the Christian doctrine and understanding. For thereby the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer might be the more easily inculcated upon our youth, so that they would receive them with pleasure and earnestness, and thus would practise them from their youth and accustom themselves to them. For the old are now well-nigh done for, so that these and other things cannot be attained, unless we train the people who are to come after us and succeed us in our office and work, in order that they also may bring up their children successfully, that the Word of God and the Christian Church may be preserved. Therefore let every father of a family know that it is his duty, by the injunction and command of God, to teach these things to his children, or have them learn what they ought to know." (773, 85.)

A thorough and lasting revival of the Catechism can be hoped for only through the young — such were Luther's convictions. Accordingly he implored and adjured pastors and parents not to refuse their help in this matter. In the Preface to his Small Catechism we read: "Therefore I entreat you all for God's sake, my dear sirs and brethren, who are pastors or preachers, to devote yourselves heartily to your office, to have pity on the people who are entrusted to you, and to help us inculcate the Catechism upon the people, especially upon the young." (533, 6.) And as he earnestly admonished the pastors, so he also tenderly invited them to be faithful in this work. He was firmly convinced that nothing except the Gospel, as rediscovered and preached by himself, was able to save men. How, then, could he remain silent or abandon this work because of the hatred and ungratefulness of men! It was this new frame of mind, produced by the Gospel, to which Luther appealed in the interest of the Catechism. "Therefore look to it, ye pastors and preachers," says he, concluding the Preface to his Small Catechism. "Our office is now become a different thing from what it was under the Pope; it is now become serious and salutary. Accordingly it now involves much more trouble and labor, danger and trials, and in addition thereto, secures but little reward and gratitude in the world. But Christ Himself will be our reward if we labor faithfully." (539, 26.)

At the same time Luther also took proper steps toward giving the preachers frequent opportunity for Catechism-work. Since 1525 Wittenberg had a regulation prescribing quarterly instruction in the Catechism by means of special sermons. The *Instruction for Visitors*, of 1527, demanded "that the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith, and the Lord's Prayer be steadily preached and expounded on Sunday afternoons. . . . And when the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed have been preached on Sundays in succession, matrimony, and the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper shall also be preached diligently. In this interest the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Articles of Faith shall be recited word for word, for the sake of the children and other simple and ignorant folk." (W. 26, 230.) November 29, 1528, in an admonition to attend these Catechism-sermons, Luther proclaimed from the pulpit: "We have ordered, as hitherto has been customary with us, that the first principles and the fundamentals of Christian knowledge and life be preached four times each year, two weeks in each quarter, four days per week, at 10 A. M." (W. 27, 444; 29, 146.) In Luther's sermon of November 27, 1530, we read: "It is our custom to preach the Catechism four times a year. Therefore attend these services, and let the children and the rest of the household come." (32, 209.) September 10, 1531, Luther concluded his sermon with the following admonition: "It is the custom, and the time of the Catechism-sermons is at hand. I admonish you to give these eight days to your Lord and permit your household and children to attend, and you yourself may also come and profit by this instruction. No one knows as much as he ought to know. For I myself am constrained to drill it every day. You know that we did not have it under the Papacy. Buy while the market is at the door; some day you will behold the fruit. We would, indeed, rather escape the burden, but we do it for your sakes." (34, 2, 195.)

90. Cooperation of Parents Urged by Luther.

In order to bring the instruction of the young into vogue, Luther saw that church, school, and home must needs cooperate. The home especially must not fail in this. Accordingly, in his admonitions, he endeavored to interest the fathers and mothers in this work. He was convinced that without their vigorous cooperation he could achieve but little. In his *German Order of Worship*, 1526, we read: "For if the parents and guardians of the young are unwilling to take such pains with the young, either personally or through others, Catechism [catechetical instruction] will never be established." (W. 19, 76.) In this he was confirmed by the experiences he

had while on his tour of visitation. If the children were to memorize the Catechism and learn to understand it, they must be instructed and questioned individually, a task to which the Church was unequal, and for the accomplishment of which also the small number of schools was altogether inadequate. Parents, however, were able to reach the children individually. They had the time and opportunity, too, morning, noon, and evening, at the table, etc. Furthermore, they had the greatest interest in this matter, the children being their own flesh and blood. And they, in the first place, were commanded by God to provide for the proper training of their children. The fathers and mothers, therefore, these natural and divinely appointed teachers of the children, Luther was at great pains to enlist for the urgent work of instructing the young. They should see that the children and servants did not only attend the Catechism-sermons in church, but also memorized the text and learned to understand it. The Christian homes should again become home-churches, home-schools, where the housefathers were both house-priests and house-teachers, performing the office of the ministry there just as the pastors did in the churches.

With ever-increasing energy Luther, therefore, urged the parents to study the Catechism in order to be able to teach it to their children. In his sermons on the Ten Commandments, 1516, he admonishes them to bring up their children in the fear and admonition of the Lord. "But alas," he exclaims, "how has not all this been corrupted! Nor is it to be wondered at, since the parents themselves have not been trained and educated." In a sermon of 1526: "Here are two doctrines, Law and Gospel. Of them we preach frequently; but very few there are who take it to heart. I hear that many are still so ignorant that they do not know the Ten Commandments nor are able to pray. It plainly shows that they are altogether careless. Parents ought to see what their children and family are doing. In the school at home they should learn these three. I hear that in the city, too, there are wicked people. We cannot enter the homes; parents, masters, and mistresses ought to be sufficiently skilled to require their children and servants to say the prayers before retiring. But they do not know any themselves. What, then, avails it that we do a great deal of preaching concerning the kingdom of Christ? I thought conditions had improved. I admonish you master — for it is your duty — to instruct the servants, the mistress, the maids, and the children; and it is publicly preached in church for the purpose that it may be preached at home." (W. 20, 485.)

In his sermon of September 14, 1528, Luther declares that the Catechism is the laymen's Bible, which every one must know who wishes to be considered a Christian and to be admitted to the Lord's Supper. He then proceeds: "Hence all children should behave accordingly, and learn. And you parents are bound to have your children learn these things. Likewise you lords, take pains that your family, etc. Whoever does not know these things does not deserve any food. These five points are a brief summary of the Christian doctrine. When the question is put, 'What is the First Commandment?' every one should be able to recite: 'Namely this,'" etc. (W. 30, 1, 27.) Exhorting the people to attend the Catechism-services, Luther declared November 29, 1528: "Think not, ye housefathers, that you are freed from the care of your household when you say: 'Oh, if they are unwilling to go [to Catechism instruction], why should I force them? I am not in need of it.' You have been appointed their bishop and house-pastor; beware lest you neglect your duty toward them!" (27, 444.) On the following day, beginning the sermons he had announced, Luther said: "Therefore I have admonished you adults to have your children and your servants, attend it [the Catechism-sermon], and also be present yourselves; otherwise we shall not admit you to Holy Communion. For if you parents and masters will not help us, we shall accomplish little by our preaching. If I preach an entire year, the household comes, gapes at the walls and windows of the church, etc. Whoever is a good citizen is in duty bound to urge his people to learn these things; he should refuse them food unless, etc. If the servants complain, slam the door on them. If you have children, accustom them to learn the Ten Commandments, the Symbol, the Paternoster, etc. If you will diligently urge them, they will learn much in one year. When they have learned these things, there are everywhere in the Scriptures fine passages which they may learn next; if not all, at least some. For this reason God has appointed you a master, a mistress, that you may urge your household to do this. And this you are well able to accomplish: that they pray in the morning and evening, before and after meals. In this way they would be brought up in the fear of God. I am no idle prattler; I ask you not to cast my words to the winds. I would not think you so rude if I did not daily hear it. Every housefather is a priest in his own house, every housemother is a priestess; therefore see that you help us to perform the office of the ministry in your homes as we do in church. If you do, we shall have a propitious God, who will defend us from all evil. In the Psalm [78, 5] it is written: 'He appointed a law in Israel, which He commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children.'" (30, 1, 57.) In the same sermon: "Able teachers are necessary because of the great need, since parents do not concern themselves about this. But each master and mistress must remember that they are priests and priestesses over Hans and Gretchen," their sons and daughters.

In the same way Luther urges this matter in his Catechisms. For here we read: "Therefore it is the duty of every father of a family to question and examine his children and servants at least once a week and to ascertain what they know of it [the Catechism], or are learning, and, if they do not know it, to keep

them faithfully at it." (575, 4.) "Likewise every head of a household is obliged to do the same with respect to his domestics, man-servants and maid-servants, and not to keep them in his house if they do not know these things and are unwilling to learn them. For a person who is so rude and unruly as to be unwilling to learn these things is not to be tolerated; for in these three parts everything that we have in the Scriptures is comprehended in short, plain, and simple terms." (577, 17.) "Therefore let every father of a family know that it is his duty, by the injunction and command of God, to teach these things to his children, or have them learn what they ought to know. For since they are baptized and received into the Christian Church, they should also enjoy this communion of the Sacrament, in order that they may serve us and be useful to us; for they must all indeed help us to believe, love, pray, and fight against the devil." (773, 87.)

In confession and before visitors, housefathers were also to render account of the manner in which they discharged these duties. In his sermon of July 11, 1529, Luther said: "You will therefore instruct your children and servants according to this Catechism. . . . For you have the Catechism in small and large books; therefore study it. You had the visitors, and you have furthermore those who will examine you housefathers and your household, that they may see how you have improved. . . . You should have given money and property for it; yet you neglect it when it is offered freely; therefore you housefathers ought to be diligent students of this preaching, that as you learn you may instruct, *discendo doceatis.*" (W. 29, 472; 30, 1, 121.)

91. German Services with German Catechism.

With great emphasis Luther advocated diligent Catechism instruction in his *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass, *i. e.*, German Service or German Order of Worship), which he completed toward the end of 1525 and published in 1526. Luther issued this Service "because German masses and services are everywhere insisted upon." The demand was made especially in the interest of the unlearned and the children, for whose benefit, according to Luther, all such measures were adopted. "For," says he, "we do not at all establish such orders for those who are already [advanced] Christians. . . . But we are in need of such orders for the sake of those who are still to become Christians or to grow stronger. Just as a Christian does not need Baptism, the Word, and Sacrament as a Christian, since he already has everything, but as a sinner. Chiefly, however, this is done for the sake of the unlearned and the young people, who should and must be exercised daily and brought up in the Scriptures, the Word of God, that they may become accustomed to the Scripture, skilled, fluent, and at home in it, in order that they may be able to defend their faith, and in time teach others and help to increase the kingdom of Christ. For their sake one must read, sing, preach, write, and compose. And if it would help and promote this aim, I would have all bells rung, all organs played, and everything that is capable of giving sound to sound forth. For the Catholic services are so damnable because they [the Papists] made laws, works, and merits of them, thereby smothering faith, and did not adapt them to the young and unlearned, to exercise them in the Scriptures, in the Word of God, but themselves clung to them [as works], regarding them as beneficial and necessary for salvation to themselves; that is the devil."

While Luther, in his *German Worship*, as well as in other places, favors also Latin masses, yet he demands that "for the sake of the unlearned laity" German services be introduced. And since the unlearned could be truly served only by instruction in the fundamental truths of Christianity, the Catechism, according to Luther, was to constitute a chief part in these services. "Very well," says he, "in God's name! First of all a clear, simple, plain, good Catechism is needed in the German service. Catechism, however, is an instruction whereby heathen who desire to become Christians are taught and instructed in what they must believe, do, not do, and know concerning Christianity. Pupils who were accepted for such instruction and learned the faith before being baptized were therefore called catechumens. Nor do I know how to present this instruction, or teaching, in a form more simple than it already has been presented since the beginning of Christianity, and hitherto retained, to wit, the three parts: the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. These three parts contain in simple and brief form everything that a Christian must know. And since as yet we have no special congregation (*weil man noch keine sonderliche Gemeinde hat*), this instruction must proceed in the following manner, by preaching from the pulpit at various times or daily, as necessity demands, and by repeating and reading it to the children and servants at home in the houses morning and evening (if one would make Christians of them). Yet not only so that they memorize the words or recite them, as was done hitherto, but by questioning them part for part, and having them state in their answer what each part means, and how they understand it. If all parts cannot be asked at one time, take one, the next day another. For if the parents or guardians are unwilling to take such pains with the young, either personally or through others, the Catechism will never be established." (19, 76.) German Catechism in German services — such, then, was the slogan which Luther now sounded forth with ever-increasing emphasis.

92. Luther Illustrating Method of Procedure.

According to Luther's *German Worship*, pastors were to preach the Catechism on Mondays and Tuesdays. To insure the desired results (memorizing and understanding the text), the

children should be questioned, especially at home by the parents. Exemplifying such catechization, Luther writes: "For so shall they be asked: 'What do you pray?' Answer: 'The Lord's Prayer.' What do you mean by saying: 'Our Father who art in heaven?' Answer: 'That God is not an earthly, but a heavenly Father, who would make us rich and blessed in heaven.' 'What does "Hallowed be Thy name" mean?' Answer: 'That we should honor God's name and not use it in vain, lest it be profaned.' 'How, then, is it profaned and desecrated?' Answer: 'When we who are regarded as His children lead wicked lives, teach and believe what is wrong.' And so forth, what God's kingdom means; how it comes; what God's will is; what daily bread, etc. Likewise also of the Creed: 'What do you believe?' Answer: 'I believe in God the Father,' etc. Thereupon part for part, as leisure permits, one or two at a time. Thus: 'What does it mean to believe in God the Father Almighty?' Answer: 'It means that the heart trusts Him entirely, and confidently looks to Him for all grace, favor, help, and comfort, here and hereafter.' 'What does it mean to believe in Jesus Christ, His Son?' Answer: 'It means that the heart believes we should all be lost eternally if Christ had not died for us,' etc. In like manner one must also question on the Ten Commandments, what the first, the second, the third and other commandments mean. Such questions you may take from our Prayer-Booklet, where the three parts are briefly explained, or you may formulate others yourself, until they comprehend with their hearts the entire sum of Christian knowledge in two parts, as in two sacks, which are faith and love. Let faith's sack have two pockets; into the one pocket put the part according to which we believe that we are altogether corrupted by Adam's sin, are sinners and condemned, Rom. 5, 12 and Ps. 51, 7. Into the other pocket put the part telling us that by Jesus Christ we have all been redeemed from such corrupt, sinful, condemned condition, Rom. 5, 18 and John 3, 16. Let love's sack also have two pockets. Into the one put this part, that we should serve, and do good to, every one, even as Christ did unto us, Rom. 13. Into the other put the part that we should gladly suffer and endure all manner of evil." (19, 76.)

In like manner passages of Scripture were also to be made the child's property, as it were; for it was not Luther's idea that instruction should cease at the lowest indispensably necessary goal (the understanding of the text of the chief parts). In his *German Order of Worship* he goes on to say: "When the child begins to comprehend this [the text of the Catechism], accustom it to carry home passages of Scripture from the sermons and to recite them to the parents at the table, at meal-time, as it was formerly customary to recite Latin, and thereupon to store the passages into the sacks and pockets, as one puts *pfennige*, and *groschen*, or *gulden* into his pocket. Let the sack of faith be, as it were, the gulden sack. Into the first pocket let this passage be put, Rom. 5: 'By one man's disobedience many were made sinners'; and Ps. 51: 'Behold, I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.' Those are two Rheinish gulden in the pocket. The other pocket is for the Hungarian gulden, such as this passage, Rom. 5: 'Christ was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification'; again, John 1: 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.' That would be two good Hungarian gulden in the pocket. Let love's sack be the silver sack. Into the first pocket belong the passages of well-doing, such as Gal. 5: 'By love serve one another'; Matt. 25: 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me.' That would be two silver groschen in the pocket. Into the other pocket this passage belongs, Matt. 5: 'Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you for My sake'; Heb. 12: 'For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth; He scourgeth every son whom He receiveth.' Those are two Schreckenbergers [a coin made of silver mined from Schreckenberg] in the pocket." (19, 77 f.)

Believing that understanding, not mere mechanical memorizing, of the Catechism is of paramount import, Luther insisted that the instruction must be popular throughout. Preachers and fathers are urged to come down to the level of the children and to prattle with them, in order to bring the Christian fundamentals home even to the weakest and simplest. In his *German Mass* Luther concludes the chapter on instruction as follows: "And let no one consider himself too wise and despise such child's play. When Christ desired to train men, He had to become a man. If we are to train children, we also must become children with them. Would to God that such child's play were carried on well; then we should in a short time see a great wealth of Christian people, and souls growing rich in the Scriptures and the knowledge of God, until they themselves would give more heed to these pockets as *locos communes* and comprehend in them the entire Scriptures; otherwise they come daily to hear the preaching and leave again as they came. For they believe that the object is merely to spend the time in hearing, no one intending to learn or retain anything. Thus many a man will hear preaching for three, four years and still not learn enough to be able to give account of his faith in one particular, as I indeed experience every day. Enough has been written in books. True, but not all of it has been impressed on the hearts." (19, 78.)

93. Value Placed on Memorizing.

Modern pedagogs have contended that Luther's method of teaching the Catechism unduly multiplies the material to be memorized, and does not sufficiently stress the understanding. Both charges, however, are without any foundation. As to the first, it is true that Luther did not put a low estimate on the memorizing of the Catechism. In the Large Catechism he says: "Therefore we must have

the young learn the parts which belong to the Catechism or instruction for children well, and fluently and diligently exercise themselves in them and keep them occupied with them. Hence it is the duty of every father of a family to question and examine his children and servants at least once a week, and to ascertain what they know of it, or are learning, and, if they do not know it, to keep them faithfully at it." (575, 3 f.) Again: "These are the most necessary parts which one should first learn to repeat word for word, and which our children should be accustomed to recite daily when they arise in the morning, when they sit down to their meals, and when they retire at night; and until they repeat them, they should be given neither food nor drink." (577, 15.)

According to the Preface to the Small Catechism, the teacher is to abide with rigid exactness by the text which he has once chosen, and have the children learn it verbatim. "In the first place," says Luther, "let the preacher above all be careful to avoid many kinds of or various texts and forms of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Sacraments, etc., but choose one form to which he adheres, and which he inculcates all the time, year after year. For young and simple people must be taught by uniform, settled texts and forms, otherwise they easily become confused when the teacher to-day teaches them thus, and in a year some other way, as if he wished to make improvements, and thus all effort and labor will be lost. Also our blessed fathers understood this well; for they all used the same form of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Therefore we, too, should teach the young and simple people these parts in such a way as not to change a syllable, or set them forth and repeat them one year differently than in another. Hence, choose whatever form you please, and adhere to it forever. But when you preach in the presence of learned and intelligent men, you may exhibit your skill, and may present these parts in as varied and intricate ways and give them as masterly turns as you are able. But with the young people stick to one fixed, permanent form and manner, and teach them, first of all, these parts, namely, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., according to the text, word for word, so that they, too, can repeat it in the same manner after you and commit it to memory." (533, 7 ff.) Thus Luther indeed placed a high value on exact memorizing of the Catechism.

As to the quantity of memorizing, however, Luther did not demand more than even the least gifted were well able to render. He was satisfied if they knew, as a minimum, the text of the first three chief parts and the words of institution of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. (579, 22. 25.) That was certainly not overburdening even a weak memory. Luther was right when he declared in his *Short Form of the Ten Commandments*, of 1520: In the three chief parts everything "is summed up with such brevity and simplicity that no one can complain or offer the excuse that it is too much or too hard for him to remember what he must know for his salvation." (W. 7, 204.)

Self-evidently, it was not Luther's opinion that instruction or memorizing should end here. In the Preface to the Small Catechism he says: "In the third place, after you have thus taught them this Short Catechism, then take up the Large Catechism, and give them also a richer and fuller knowledge. Here explain at length every commandment, petition, and part with its various works, uses, benefits, dangers, and injuries as you find these abundantly stated in many books written about these matters." (535, 17.) Then, as Luther often repeats, Bible-verses, hymns, and Psalms were also to be memorized and explained. Nor did he exclude the explanation of the Small Catechism from the material for memorizing. For this very reason he had written the Small Catechism in questions and answers, because he wished to have it learned, questioned, and recited from memory. "However," says Luther in the Large Catechism, "for the common people we are satisfied with the three parts, which have remained in Christendom from of old." (575, 5.) As far, then, as the material for memorizing is concerned, Luther certainly did not demand more than even the least gifted were well able to render.

94. Memorizing to Serve Understanding.

The second charge, that Luther attached no special importance to the understanding of what was memorized, is still more unfounded. The fact is that everywhere he was satisfied with nothing less than correct understanding. Luther was a man of thought, not of mere sacred formulas and words. To him instruction did not mean mere mechanical memorizing, but conscious, personal, enduring, and applicable spiritual appropriation. Says he: "However, it is not enough for them to comprehend and recite these parts according to the words only, but the young people should also be made to attend the preaching, especially during the time which is devoted to the Catechism, that they may hear it explained, and may learn to understand what every part contains, so as to be able to recite it as they have heard it, and, when asked, may give a correct answer, so that the preaching may not be without profit and fruit." (579, 26.) In the Preface to the Small Catechism, Luther instructs the preachers: "After they [the children] have well learned the text, then teach them the sense also, so that they know what it means." (535, 14.) Correct understanding was everything to Luther. Sermons in the churches and catechizations at home were all to serve this purpose.

In the same interest, *viz.*, to enrich the brief text of the Catechism and, as it were, quicken it with concrete perceptions, Luther urged the use of Bible-stories as illustrations. For the same reason he added pictures to both of his Catechisms. His *Prayer-Booklet* contained as its most important part the text and explanation of the Catechism and, in ad-

dition, the passional booklet, a sort of Bible History. To this Luther remarks: "I considered it wise to add the ancient passional booklet [augmented by Luther] to the *Prayer-Booklet*, chiefly for the sake of the children and the unlearned, who are more apt to remember the divine histories if pictures and parables are added, than by mere words and teaching, as St. Mark testifies, that for the sake of the simple Christ, too, preached to them only in parables." (W. 10, 2, 458.) Indeed, Luther left no stone unturned to have his instruction understood. On words and formulas, merely memorized, but not appropriated intellectually, he placed but little value.

Memorizing, too, was regarded by Luther not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. It was to serve the explanation and understanding. And its importance in this respect was realized by Luther much more clearly than by his modern critics. For when the text is safely embedded, as it were, in the memory, its explanation is facilitated, and the process of mental assimilation may proceed all the more readily. In this point, too, the strictures of modern pedagogs on Luther's Catechism are therefore unwarranted. Where Luther's instructions are followed, the memory is not overtaxed, and the understanding not neglected.

The instruction advocated by Luther differed fundamentally from the mechanical methods of the Middle Ages. He insisted on a thorough mental elaboration, by means of sermons, explanations, questions and answers, of the material memorized, in order to elevate it to the plane of knowledge. With Luther we meet the questions: "What does this mean? What does this signify? Where is this written? What does it profit?" He engages the intellect. The *Table of Christian Life* of the Middle Ages, which "all good Christians are in duty bound to have in their houses, for themselves, their children, and household," is regarded by Cohrs as a sort of forerunner of Luther's Small Catechism. "At the same time, however," Cohrs adds, "it clearly shows the difference between the demands made by the Church of the Middle Ages and the requirements of the Evangelical Church; yonder, numerous parts without any word of explanation, sacred formulas, which many prayed without an inkling of the meaning; here, the five chief parts, in which the emphasis is put on 'What does this mean?'" (Herzog, *R.* 10, 138.)

It was due to the neglect of Christian teaching that Christendom had fallen into decay. Force on the part of the popes and priests and blind submission on the part of the people had supplanted instruction and conviction from the Word of God. Hence the cure of the Church, first of all, called for an instructor in Christian fundamentals. And just such a catechist Luther was, who made it his business to teach and convince the people from the Bible. Indeed, in his entire work as a Reformer, Luther consistently appealed to the intellect, as was strikingly demonstrated in the turmoil which Carlstadt brought about at Wittenberg. Instruction was the secret, was the method, of Luther's Reformation. In the Preface to the Small Catechism he says that one cannot and must not force any one to believe nor drive any one to partake of the Sacrament by laws, lest it be turned into poison, that is to say, lest the very object of the Gospel, which is spontaneous action flowing from conviction, be defeated. (539, 24; 535, 13.)

95. Manuals Preceding Luther's Catechism.

When Luther, in his *German Order of Worship*, sounded the slogan: German services with German instruction in Christian fundamentals! he did not lose sight of the fact that this required certain helps for both parents and preachers. A book was needed that would contain not only the text to be memorized, but also necessary explanations. Accordingly, in his *German Order of Worship*, Luther referred to his *Prayer-Booklet* as a help for instruction. However, the *Brief Form of the Ten Commandments*, etc., incorporated in the *Prayer-Booklet*, was not adapted for children and parents, as it was not drawn up in questions and answers. To the experienced teacher it furnished material in abundance, but children and parents had need of a simpler book. Hardeland says: "It is certain that Luther in 1526 already conceived the ideal catechism to be a brief summary of the most important knowledge [in questions and answers], adapted for memorizing and still sufficiently extensive to make a thorough explanation possible, at once confessional in its tone, and fitted for use in divine service." (*Katechismusgedanken* 2.) But if Luther in 1526 had conceived this idea, it was not carried out until three years later.

However, what Luther said on teaching the Catechism by questions and answers, in the *German Order of Worship*, was reprinted repeatedly (probably for the first time at Nuernberg) under the title: "Doctor Martin Luther's instruction how to bring the children to God's Word and service, which parents and guardians are in duty bound to do, 1527." This appeal of Luther also called forth quite a number of other explanations of the Catechism. Among the attempts which appeared before Luther's Catechisms were writings of Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Eustasius Kannel, John Agricola, Val. Ickelsamer, Hans Gerhart, John Toltz, John Bader, Petrus Schultz, Caspar Graeter, Andr. Althamer, Wenz. Link, Conr. Sam, John Brenz, O. Braunfels, Chr. Hegendorfer, Caspar Loener, W. Capito, John Oecolampad, John Zwick, and others. The work of Althamer, the Humanist and so-called Reformer of Brandenburg-Ansbach, was the first to bear the title "Catechism." As yet it has not been ascertained whether, or not, Luther was acquainted with these writings. Cohrs says: "Probably Luther followed this literature with interest, and possibly consulted some of it; the relationship is nowhere close enough to exclude chance; still

the frequent allusions must not be overlooked; as yet it cannot be simply denied that Luther was influenced by these writings." On the other hand, it has been shown what an enormous influence Luther exercised on that literature, especially by his *Brief Form* and his *Prayer-Booklet*. "In fact," says Cohrs, "Luther's writings can be adduced as the source of almost every sentence in most of these books of instruction." (W. 30, 1, 474.) Evidently, Luther's appeal of 1526 had not fallen on deaf ears.

96. Luther's Catechetical Publications.

Luther not only stirred up others to bring the Catechism back into use, but himself put his powerful shoulder to the wheel. From the very beginning he was, time and again, occupied with reading the text of the Catechism to the people, and then explaining it in sermons. From the end of June, 1516, to Easter, 1517, he preached on the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer. (W. 1, 394; 2, 74; 9, 122.) In 1518 the explanation of the Ten Commandments appeared in print: *"Decem Praecepta Wittenbergensi Praedicata Populo.* The Ten Commandments Preached to the People of Wittenberg." (1, 398. 521.) Oecolampadius praised the work, saying that Luther had here "taken the veil from the face of Moses." Sebastian Muenster said: Luther explains the Ten Commandments "in such a spiritual, Christian, and Evangelical way, that its like cannot be found, though many teachers have written on the subject." (1, 394.) Agricola published Luther's sermons on the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of 1518 with some additions of his own, which fact induced Luther to publish them himself. April 5, 1519, his *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer in German* appeared in print. It was intended for the plain people, "not for the learned." (2, 81 to 130.) July 2, 1519, the Humanist Beatus Rhenanus wrote to Zwingli that he would like to see this explanation of the Lord's Prayer offered for sale throughout all Switzerland, in all cities, markets, villages, and houses. Mathesius reports: "At Venice Doctor Martin's Lord's Prayer was translated into Italian, his name being omitted. And when the man saw it from whom the permission to print it was obtained, he exclaimed: Blessed are the hands that wrote this, blessed the eyes that see it, and blessed will be the hearts that believe this book and cry to God in such a manner." (W. 2, 75.) This work passed through many editions. In 1520 it appeared in Latin and Bohemian, and as late as 1844 in English. March 13, 1519, Luther wrote to Spalatin: "I am not able to turn the Lord's Prayer [Explanation of the Lord's Prayer in German of 1518] into Latin, being busy with so many works. Every day at evening I pronounce the commandments and the Lord's Prayer for the children and the unlearned, then I preach." (Enders 1, 449.) Thus Luther preached the Catechism, and at the same time was engaged in publishing it.

The *Brief Instruction How to Confess*, printed 1519, was also essentially an explanation of the Ten Commandments. It is an extract from Luther's Latin work, *Instructio pro Confessione Peccatorum*, published by Spalatin. Luther recast this work and published it in March, 1520, entitled: *Confitendi Ratio.* (W. 2, 59. 65.) As a late fruit of his *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer in German* there appeared, in 1519, the *Brief Form for Understanding and Praying the Lord's Prayer*, which explains it in prayers. (6, 11—19.) In 1519 there appeared also his *Short and Good Explanation Before Oneself and Behind Oneself* ("vor sich und hinter sich"), a concise explanation how the seven petitions must be understood before oneself ("vor sich"), *i. e.*, being ever referred to God, while many, thinking only of themselves, put and understand them behind themselves ("hinter sich"). (6, 21. 22.) June, 1520, it was followed by the *Brief Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer*, a combination of the revised *Brief Explanation of the Ten Commandments*, of 1518, and the *Brief Form for Understanding the Lord's Prayer*, of 1519, with a newly written explanation of the Creed. With few changes Luther embodied it in his *Prayer-Booklet*, which appeared for the first time in 1522. Here he calls it a "simple Christian form and mirror to know one's sins, and to pray." The best evidence of the enthusiastic reception of the *Prayer-Booklet* are the early editions which followed hard upon each other, and the numerous reprints during the first years. (10, 2, 350—409.) In 1525 Luther's sermons on Baptism, Confession, and the Lord's Supper were also received into the *Prayer-Booklet*, and in 1529 the entire Small Catechism.

After his return from the Wartburg, Luther resumed his Catechism-labors with increased energy. March 27 Albert Burer wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: "Luther intends to nourish the weak, whom Carlstadt and Gabriel aroused by their vehement preaching, with milk alone until they grow strong. He daily preaches the Ten Commandments." At Wittenberg special attention was given to the instruction of the young, and regular Catechism-sermons were instituted. In the spring of 1521 Agricola was appointed catechist of the City Church, to instruct the young in religion. Lent 1522 and 1523, Luther also delivered Catechism-sermons, Latin copies of which have been preserved. In the same year Bugenhagen was appointed City Pastor, part of his duties being to deliver sermons on the Catechism, some of which have also been preserved.

Maundy Thursday, 1523, Luther announced that instead of the Romish confession, abolished during the Wittenberg disturbances, communicants were to announce for communion to the pastor and submit to an examination in the Catechism. As appears from Luther's *Formula Missae* of this year, the pastor was to convince himself whether they were able to recite and explain the words of institution by questioning them on what the Lord's Supper is, what it profits, and for what purpose they desired to partake of it. (12, 215.

479.) To enable the people to prepare for such examination, Luther (or Bugenhagen, at the instance of Luther) published a few short questions on the Lord's Supper, culled from one of Luther's sermons. This examination became a permanent institution at Wittenberg. In a sermon on the Sacrament of 1526, Luther says: "Confession, though it serve no other purpose, is a suitable means of instructing the people and of ascertaining what they believe, how they learn to pray, etc.; for else they live like brutes. Therefore I have said that the Sacrament shall be given to no one except he be able to give an account of what he receives [in the Sacrament] and why he is going. This can best be done in confession." (19, 520.)

Furthermore, on Sundays, after the sermon, the Catechism was read to the people, a custom which likewise became a fixture in Wittenberg. According to a small pamphlet of 1526, entitled, "What Shall be Read to the Common People after the Sermon?" it was the text of the five chief parts that was read. (Herz., *R.* 10, 132.) These parts came into the hands of the people by means of the *Booklet for Laymen and Children*, of 1525, written probably by Bugenhagen. He also reorganized the Wittenberg school which the fanatics had dissolved; and, self-evidently, there, too, Catechism instruction was not lacking. In a similar way religious instruction of the young was begun at other places, as appears, for example, from the *Opinions on Reformation* by Nicolaus Hausmann (Zwickau), of 1523 and 1525. Melanchthon's *Instructions for Visitors* (Articuli, de quibus egerunt per visitatores), drawn up in 1527, and used in the visitation of 1528 and 1529 as the guide by which pastors were examined, and pointing out what they should be charged to do, provide, above all, for Catechism-preaching on every Sunday, and give instructions for such sermons. (*C. R.* 26, 9. 48.)

Thus Luther's strenuous efforts at establishing the Catechism were crowned with success. In the Apology of 1530 Melanchthon declares triumphantly: "Among the opponents there is no Catechism, although the canons require it. Among us the canons are observed, for pastors and ministers instruct the children and the young in God's Word, publicly and privately." (526, 41.)

97. Immediate Forerunners of Luther's Catechisms.

Luther's entire pastoral activity was essentially of a catechetical nature and naturally issued in his two Catechisms, which, more than any other of his books, are the result of his labor in the congregation. Three writings, however, must be regarded as their direct precursors, *viz.*, the *Short Form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer*, of 1520, the *Booklet for Laymen and Children*, of 1525, and the three series of Catechism-sermons of 1528, delivered in Bugenhagen's absence. True, they are not yet real catechisms, but they paved the way for them. The *Short Form* is a summary and explanation of the three traditional chief parts. In the preface to this work, Luther expresses himself for the first time on the value and the coherence of these parts, which he considered to be the real kernel of the Catechism. In the *Short Form* he also abandoned the traditional division of the Creed into twelve parts, choosing, instead, the threefold division of the later Small Catechism. In 1522 he embodied the *Short Form* into his *Prayer-Booklet*, in consequence of which it was given extended circulation. It has been called Luther's first catechism, and Luther himself regarded it so; for in his *German Order of Worship* he recommends its use for catechetical instruction. In it are summed up Luther's catechetical efforts since 1516.

The *Booklet for Laymen and Children* appeared at Wittenberg in 1525, at first in Low German (*Ein Boekeschen vor de leyen unde Kinder*), but done into High German in the same year. Though Bugenhagen is probably its author, no doubt, the book was written at the suggestion and under the influence of Luther, parts of whose earlier explanations it contains, and who also, since 1526, made use of it in his public services. Besides the three traditional parts, it offered for the first time also those on Baptism (without the baptismal command) and on the Lord's Supper. The wording of the text was practically the same as that of Luther's Enchiridion. Several prayers, later found in Luther's Enchiridion, were also added. Hence the *Booklet for Laymen and Children* is properly considered a forerunner of Luther's Catechisms.

The three series of Catechism-sermons of 1528 must be considered the last preparatory work and immediate source of the explanation of the Catechisms. Luther delivered the first series May 18 to 30; the second, from September 14 to 25; the third, from November 30 to December 19. Each series treats the same five chief parts. We have these sermons in a transcript which Roerer made from a copy (*Nachschrift*); the third series also in a copy by a South German. In his *Origin of the Catechism*, Buchwald has shown how Luther's Large Catechism grew out of these sermons of 1528. In his opinion, Luther, while engaged on the Large Catechism, "had those three series of sermons before him either in his own manuscript or in the form of a copy (*Nachschrift*)." This explains the extensive agreement of both, apparent everywhere.

Luther himself hints at this relation; for said sermons must have been before him when he began the Large Catechism with the words: "This sermon is designed and undertaken that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded." (575, 1.) This was also Roerer's view; for he calls the Large Catechism "Catechism preached by D. M.," a title found also in the second copy (*Nachschrift*) of the third series: *Catechism Preached by Doctor Martin Luther.* In the conclusion of the first edition of the Large Catechism, Luther seems to have made use also of his sermon on Palm Sunday, 1529, and others; and in the *Short Exhortation to Confession*, which was appended to the second edition, of the sermon of Maundy Thursday, 1529, and others.

Some historians, however, have expressed the opinion that the relationship might here be reversed. The substance of the sermon-series is essentially that also of the Large Catechism. In form the Catechism differs from the sermons by summing up in each case what is contained in the corresponding three sermons, and by giving in German what the copies of the sermons offer in a mixture of Latin and German (principally Latin, especially in the first series).

Following is a sample of the German-Latin form in which Roerer preserved these sermons: "Zaehlet mir her illos, qui reliquerunt multas divitias, wie reiche Kinder sie gehabt haben; du wirst finden, dass ihr Gut zerstoben und zerflogen ist; antequam 3. et 4. generatio venit, so ist's dahin. Die Exempel gelten in allen Historien. Saul 1. fuit bonus etc. Er musste ausgerottet werden, ne quidem uno puello superstite, quia es musste wahr bleiben, quod Deus hic dicit. Sed das betreugt uns, dass er ein Jahr oder 20 regiert hat, et fuit potens rex; das verdreusst uns, ut credamus non esse verum. Sed verba Dei non mentiuntur, et exempla ostendunt etc. Econtra qui Verbo Dei fidunt, die muessen genug haben etc., ut David, qui erat vergeucht [verjagt] und verscheucht ut avicula; tamen mansit rex. Econtra Saul. Sic fit cum omnibus piis. Ideo nota bene 1. praeceptum, i. e., debes ex tota corde fidere Deo et praeterea nulli aliae rei, sive sit potestas etc., ut illis omnibus utaris, ut sutor subula etc., qui tantum laborat cum istis suis instrumentis. Sic utere bonis et donis; sie sollen dein Abgott nicht sein, sed Deus." (30, 1, 29.) The three series of sermons of 1528, therefore, were to the explanation of Luther's Catechisms what the *Booklet for Laymen* was to the text.

98. Catechism of Bohemian Brethren.

The assertion has been made that Luther, in his Small Catechism, followed the Children's Questions of the Bohemian Brethren, which at that time had been in use for about sixty years. This catechism, which was not clear in its teaching on the Lord's Supper, came to the notice of Luther 1520 in Bohemian or Latin, and 1523 in German and Bohemian. In his treatise, *Concerning the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Holy Body of Christ*, 1523, Luther remarks: "A book has been circulated by your people [the Bohemian Brethren] in German and Bohemian which aims to give Christian instruction to the young. Among other things the statement is made that [the presence of] Christ in the Sacrament is not a personal and natural one, and that He must not be adored there, which disquiets us Germans very much. For without doubt it is known to you how, through the delegates you sent to me, I requested you to make this particular article clear in a separate booklet. For by word of mouth I heard them confess that you hold unanimously that Christ is truly in the Sacrament with His flesh and blood as it was born of Mary and hung on the cross, as we Germans believe. That booklet has now been sent to me by Mr. Luca in Latin. Still, in this article it has not yet been made as pure and clear as I should like to have seen it. Hence I did not have it translated into German nor printed as I promised, fearing I might not render the obscure words correctly, and thus fail to give your meaning correctly. For it may be regarded as a piece of good luck if one has hit upon an exact translation, even if the passage is very clear and certain, as I daily experience in the translations I am making. Now, that this matter may come to an end, and that the offense of the German booklet which you have published may be removed, I shall present to you and everybody, as plainly and as clearly as I am able to do, this article as we Germans believe it, and as one ought to believe according to the Gospel. There you may see whether I have stated correctly what you believe or how much we differ from one another. Perhaps my German language will be clearer to you than your German and Latin is to me." (11, 431.) Luther, then, was familiar with the catechism of the Bohemians, which contained, besides the chief parts of the ancient Church, also the doctrine of the Sacraments. This, therefore, may have suggested to him the idea of publishing a small book for children with questions and answers, which would also contain the parts of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Such at least is the opinion of Cohrs, Kolde, Koestlin, Kawerau, and Albrecht. (W. 30, 1, 466.) But we have no sure knowledge of this. At any rate, it is not likely that it was the book of the Bohemian Brethren which prompted Luther to embody the Sacraments in his Catechism. The further assertion of Ehrenfeuchter, Moenckeberg, *et al.*, that Luther in his Table of Duties followed the Bohemian Brethren, is incorrect, since the Table of Duties appeared much later in their catechism.

IX. The Small and the Large Catechism of Luther.

99. Luther Beginning Work on Catechisms.

Luther first mentioned the plan of publishing a catechism in a letter of February 2, 1525, to Nicolaus Hausmann. He informs him: "Jonas and Eisleben [Agricola] have been instructed to prepare a catechism for children. I am devoting myself to the Postil [last part of the Winter Postil] and to Deuteronomy, where I have sufficient work for the present." (Enders, 5, 115.) In a letter of March 26, 1525, also to Hausmann, Luther repeats: "The Catechism, as I have written before, has been given to its authors, *ist seinen Verfassern aufgetragen worden.*" (144.) However, when Jonas and Agricola (who soon moved from Wittenberg to Eisleben) failed, Luther resolved to undertake the work him-

self, which, according to his letter of February 2, he had declined merely for the reason that he was already sufficiently burdened. The execution of his plan, however, was deferred. September 27, 1525, he wrote to Hausmann: "I am postponing the Catechism, as I would like to finish everything at one time in *one* work." (246.) The same letter shows what Luther meant. For here he speaks of the reformation of the parishes and of the introduction of uniform ceremonies. Evidently, then, he at that time desired to publish the Catechism together with a visitation tract, such as Melanchthon wrote in 1527. Besides, his *Prayer-Booklet*, containing the "Brief Form," as well as the *Booklet for Laymen and Children*, offered a temporary substitute for the contemplated Catechism. The deplorable conditions, however, which the Saxon visitation brought to light would not permit him to tarry any longer. "The deplorable, miserable condition," says Luther in the Preface to his Small Catechism, "which I discovered lately when I, too, was a visitor, has forced and urged me to prepare this Catechism, or Christian doctrine, in this small, plain, simple form." (553, 1.) Thus the Small Catechism sprang, as it were, directly from the compassion Luther felt for the churches on account of the sad state of destitution to which they had been brought, and which he felt so keenly during the visitation. However, Luther's statements in the *German Order of Worship* concerning the catechetical procedure in question and answer quoted above show that the thought of such a Catechism did not first occur to him at this time. Still it was the visitation that added the decisive impulse to put the idea into immediate execution. Besides, it was a time in which Luther was entirely engrossed in the Catechism, having preached in 1528 on the five chief parts no less than three times. Thus the harvest was at hand. In January, 1529, according to his own letters, Luther was engaged in this work, having probably begun about the close of 1528. He was able to make rapid progress, since ample material was at his command.

The old moot question which of the two Catechisms appeared first was decided when Buchwald discovered the Stephan Roth letters, which show that the Small Catechism appeared in chart form in January and March, 1529, while the first Wittenberg book edition appeared in May, after the Large Catechism had meanwhile come off the press in April. From the fact that Luther simply called his Large Catechism "German Catechism" one may infer that he began work on this first, and that, when writing the title, he had not yet begun the Small Catechism nor planned it definitely; but not, that Luther completed the Large Catechism first. On the other hand, from the title "Small Catechism" one can only infer that Luther, when he wrote thus, had already begun to write, and was working on, the Large Catechism, but not, that the Small Catechism appeared later than the Large. Albrecht: "One may certainly speak of a small book before the appearance of a large book of similar kind, if the latter has been definitely planned, worked out at the same time, and is almost completed." (W. 30, 1, 569.)

100. Tables Published First.

January 15, 1529, Luther wrote to Martin Goerlitz: "*Modo in parando catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor.* I am now busy preparing the Catechism for the ignorant heathen" (not "peasants," for in his *German Order of Worship*, Luther says: "Catechism is an instruction by means of which heathen who desire to become Christians are taught"). It was formerly asserted that the expression "*pro rudibus paganis*" showed that Luther here meant the Small Catechism. Appealing to the statement in the Preface to the Large Catechism: "This sermon is designed and undertaken that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded," Koellner was the first one to assert that Luther's phrase of January 15 referred to the Large Catechism. In this he was followed by Cohrs, Enders, and others. (Enders, 7, 44.) However, according to the usage of the word catechism described above, the statement quoted does not preclude that Luther, when writing thus, was engaged on *both* Catechisms. And such indeed was the case. For on January 20, 1529, Roerer, the Wittenberg proofreader, wrote to Roth: "Nothing new has appeared. I believe that the Catechism as preached by D. M, for the unlettered and simple will be published for the coming Frankfurt mass. Yet, while writing this, I glance at the wall of my dwelling, and fixed to the wall I behold tables embracing in shortest and simplest form Luther's Catechism for children and the household, and forthwith I send them to you as a sample, so that by the same messenger they may be brought to you immediately. *Iam novi nihil in lucem prodiit; ad nundinas credo Francofurdenses futuras Catechismus per D. M. praedicatus pro rudibus et simplicibus edetur. Hoc vero scribens inspicio parietem aestuarioli mei, affixas parieti video tabulas complectentes brevissime simul et crasse catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia, statim mitto pro exemplari, ut eodem tabellario iam ad te perferantur.*" (W. 30, 1, 428; Enders, 7, 44.)

This letter of January 20 is the first time that both of Luther's Catechisms are mentioned together and distinguished from each other. By catechism Roerer means the text of the five chief parts which Luther put at the head of his Large Catechism. "*Catechismus per D. M. praedicatus*" designates the explanation of this text as comprised in Luther's three series of sermons of 1528 and summed up in the Large Catechism. From this preached and later on so-called Large Catechism, which appeared in April, entitled "German Catechism," Roerer distinguishes "tables, summing up Luther's Catechism in shortest and simplest form for children and the household." He means the series of charts containing the first three chief parts, which Luther considered the Catechism *par excellence*. And at the time when Roerer spoke of the pro-

spective publication of the Large Catechism for the Frankfurt mass, these tables were already hanging on his wall.

Albrecht comments: "For the moment Roerer had not remembered the very interesting novelty, which had already appeared in the first tables of the later so-called Small Catechism. However, a glance at the wall of his room reminded him of it. And from a letter of his dated March 16 we must infer that they were the three charts containing the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer with Luther's explanation. These he calls 'tables which in shortest and simplest form embrace Luther's Catechism for the children and the household.' Thus he wrote in view of the superscription: 'As the head of the family should teach them in a simple way to his household,' without implying a difference between the expression *pro pueris et familia* and the preceding *pro rudibus et simplicibus*, since the former are included in the latter. The difference between the two works is rather indicated by the words *brevissime simul et crasse*. But at the same time their inner connection is asserted, for by sending the tables *pro exemplari*, he characterizes them as a model or sample of Luther's manner of treating the Catechism. They are the *catechismus Lutheri*, that is, the aforementioned *catechismus per D. M. praedicatus* in its shortest form and draft (conceived as an extract of the sermons or of the Large Catechism). He thought that this sample would indicate what was to be expected from the forthcoming larger work." (W. 30, 1, 429.)

When, therefore, Luther wrote on January 15: "Modo in parando catechismo pro rudibus paganis versor," he was engaged on both Catechisms, and had proceeded far enough to enable him to send the first tables of the Small Catechism to the printer. Buchwald remarks regarding the letter of January 20 that Roerer probably had just received the tables from the press. However, Roerer's letter to Roth of February 12, 1529, shows that already about a month ago he had sent the "tables of the Catechism" (evidently the same to which he referred January 20) to Spalatin. Accordingly, these tables were forwarded about January 12. The following remark in the Church Order for Schoenewald in the district of Schweinitz: "First to pronounce for the people the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, thereupon to explain them in the most simple way, *as published [each] on a printed table*," takes us back still a few days more. For the visitation in the district of Schweinitz, in which Luther took part, was held January 7 to 9, the time from which also the Schoenewald Church Order dates. At this visitation, therefore, even prior to January 7, Luther himself distributed the first series of tables, comprising the first three chief parts, of his Small Catechism. Cohrs opines that Luther sent this series to the printer about Christmas 1528 at the latest. However, it does not appear why the printing should have consumed three to four weeks. Seb. Froeschel, however, is mistaken when he declares in his book on the *Priesthood of Christ*, 1565, that, at a table conversation of 1528, Luther had advised Hans Metsch constantly to have with him a good small catechism, such as the one he had written. Knaake surmises that 1528 is a misprint; it should be 1538. (W. 30, 1, 430 f.)

101. Completion of Catechisms Delayed.

It was almost two months after the first table-series had appeared before the second was published. This delay is accounted for by Luther's illness and his being burdened with other work, especially with his book against the Turk. March 3 he wrote to Hausmann: "By reason of Satan's afflictions I am almost constantly compelled to be a sick well man (*als Gesunder krank zu sein*); hence I am much hindered in writing and other work." (Enders, 7, 61.) However, in the same letter Luther informed his impatiently waiting friend: "The Catechism is not completed, my dear Hausmann, but it will be completed shortly." Enders remarks that this refers to the Large Catechism. However, it harmonizes best with Luther's usage and with the facts if the words are understood as referring to both Catechisms. "Shortly," Luther had written; and on March 16 Roerer, according to his letter of this date, forwarded "the tables of Confession, the German Litany, the tables of the Sacrament of Baptism and of the blood of Christ." Roerer calls them a novelty, *recens excussa*, recently printed, from which it appears that the *tabulae catechismum Lutheri brevissime simul et crasse complectentes*, to which he referred on January 20, did not contain the Sacraments. Thus, then, the five chief parts, Decalog, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, and Lord's Supper, were completed by March 16, 1529. Buchwald and Cohrs surmise, but without further ground for their assumption, that the table with the Benedicite and the Gratias was issued together with the first series in January. At the latest, however, the prayers appeared with the second series. For March 7, 1529, Levin Metzsch wrote to Roth, evidently referring to Luther's tables: "I am herewith also sending to you the Benedicite and the Gratias, also the Morning and Evening Prayers, together with the Vice of Drunkenness." (W. 30, 1, 432.) The exact time when Luther composed the Table of Duties is not known. And the first evidence we have of the Small Catechism's appearing in book form is Roerer's letter of May 16, 1529, saying that he is sending two copies of the Small Catechism, the price of which, together with other books, is two groschen. (432.) The necessary data are lacking to determine how long Luther's manuscript was ready before it was printed, and before the printed copies were distributed.

As to the Large Catechism, it was not completed when the second table series appeared in March. In a letter, the date of which must probably be fixed about the end of March, Roerer says: "The Turk is not yet entirely struck off, neither the Catechism." April 23, however, the Large Catechism was on the market, for on this day Roerer wrote: "I am

sending three copies of the Catechism." It was the Large Catechism; for the price of each copy was two groschen, whereas on May 16, 1529, Roerer had sent two copies of the Small Catechism and other books for two groschen. (432.) The Large Catechism probably had appeared several weeks before April 23. Albrecht: "Even if all [of Luther's] sermons from Palm Sunday to Maundy Thursday, 1529, are considered preliminary works, according to which the last paragraphs of the Large Catechism were elaborated, we can assume that its appearance in the beginning or the first half of April, 1529, was possible. To be sure, the printing must then have been advanced so far before Holy Week that the rest could be finished speedily on the basis of the manuscript delivered immediately after the sermons of Monday and Maundy Thursday had been preached.

This theory fits in with the facts that John Lonicer of Marburg had already completed his Latin translation on May 15, 1529 (although, according to the title-page, it first appeared in September), and that Roerer in a letter of April 23 merely mentions the Large Catechism in passing, without designating it as an important novelty. Stephen Roth, the recipient of the letter, spent some time at Wittenberg during April, and probably purchased his first copy there; so Roerer refers to copies which were ordered subsequently. (482.)

While thus the Small Catechism in chart form was completed and published before the Large Catechism, the former succeeded the latter in book form. However, though completed after the Small Catechism, it can be shown that the beginning and perhaps even part of the printing of the Large Catechism dates back to 1528, thus preceding in this respect even the Charts of January 9. If the short Preface to the Large Catechism, as well as the exhortation at the beginning: "Let the young people also come to the preaching, that they hear it explained and learn to understand it," etc., had been written after the 9th of January, Luther would probably have mentioned the Tables, just as he refers to the Large Catechism in the Preface to the Small Catechism, which was written about the end of April or the beginning of May. (535, 17.) Since, however, Luther makes no such indication, these paragraphs of the Large Catechism were, no doubt, composed before January, 1529. (574, 1; 578, 26.) The same inference may be drawn from the fact that, in the explanation of the First Commandment, the wording of the conclusion of the Ten Commandments shows a number of variations from its wording in the Small Catechism, whereas its wording at the close of the explanation of the commandments is in conformity with it. (588, 30; 672, 320.)

102. Similarity and Purpose of Catechisms.

As great as is the dissimilarity between Luther's two Catechisms, on the one hand, so great, on the other, is the similarity. If one did not know that the Large Catechism was begun before the Small, and that both originated in the sermons of 1528, he might either view the Large Catechism as a subsequent expansion of the Small, or the latter as a summary of the former. Yet neither the one nor the other is the case. If the Large Catechism influenced the Small, so also the latter the former. Albrecht says: "It is more probable that the Small Catechism influenced the Large Catechism than *vice versa*." (W. 30, 1, 558.) At all events, the second table-series could not have been extracted from the Large Catechism as such, since the latter was only completed after March 25, whereas these tables were published already on March 16. The Small Catechism has been characterized as "a small basketful of ripe fruit gathered from that tree" [the Large Catechism]. In substance that is true, since both originate from the same source, the sermons of 1528. Already Roerer calls attention to this similarity, when, in the aforementioned letter, he designates the Large Catechism as "*Catechismus per D. M. praedicatus*," and then describes the Small Catechism as "*tabulae complectentes brevissime simul et crasse catechismum Lutheri pro pueris et familia*." Both treat of the same five chief parts; the explanation of both presupposes the knowledge of the text of these parts; both owe their origin to the doctrinal ignorance, uncovered particularly in the Saxon visitation; and the purpose of both is the instruction of the plain people and the young. Indeed, it was not for scholars, but for the people that Luther lived, labored, and contended. "For," says he in his *German Mass*, "the paramount thing is to teach and lead the people." (W. 19, 97.)

Above all, Luther endeavored to acquaint the "dear youth" with the saving truths, not merely for their own sakes, but in the interest of future generations as well. He desired to make them mature Christians, able to confess their faith and to impart instruction to their children later on. In particular, the two Catechisms were to serve the purpose of properly preparing the children and the unlearned for the Holy Eucharist, as appears from the Preface to the Small Catechism and from the last paragraphs of the Large (536, 21 ff.; 760, 39 ff.); for both end in admonitions diligently to partake of the Lord's Supper. The Sacrament of the Altar, in Luther's estimation, is the goal of all catechetical instruction. For this reason he added to the ancient chief parts those of Baptism, Confession, and the Lord's Supper.

Accordingly, both Catechisms, though in various respects, are intended for all: people, youth, parents, preachers, and teachers. It is not correct to say that Luther wrote his Large Catechism only for scholars, and the other only for the unlearned. He desired to instruct all, and, at the same time, enable parents and pastors to teach. According to Luther, it is the duty of every Christian to learn constantly, in order also to be able to teach others in turn. If any one, said he, really no longer needed the Catechism for himself, he should study it nevertheless for the sake of the ignorant. Nor did Luther exempt himself from such study. In the Long Preface to the Large

Catechism we read: "But for myself I say this: I am also a doctor and preacher, yea, as learned and experienced as all those may be who have such presumption and security; yet I do as a child who is being taught the Catechism, and every morning, and whenever I have time, I read and say, word for word, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, etc. And I must still read and study daily, and yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the Catechism, and am glad so to remain." (569, 7.)

April 18, 1530, Luther repeated this in a sermon as follows: "Whoever is able to read, let him, in the morning, take a psalm or some other chapter in the Bible and study it for a while. For that is what I do. When I rise in the morning, I pray the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and also a psalm with the children. I do so because I wish to remain familiar with it, and not have it overgrown with mildew, so that I know it." (W. 32, 65.) In a sermon of November 27, of the same year, Luther warns: "Beware lest you become presumptuous, as though, because you have heard it often, you knew enough of the Catechism. For this knowledge ever desires us to be its students. We shall never finish learning it, since it does not consist in speech, but in life. . . . For I also, D. M., doctor and preacher, am compelled day by day to pray and to recite the words of the Decalog, the Symbol, and the Lord's Prayer as children are wont to do. Hence you need not be ashamed; for much fruit will result." (209.)

103. Particular Purpose of Large Catechism.

In his sermons of 1529 Luther declared repeatedly that his purpose was to instruct the plain people and the children in those things which he regarded as the minimum every Christian ought to know. (30, 1, 2. 27. 57.) And he did not abandon this purpose when he condensed his sermons into the Large Catechism. Accordingly, he begins it with the words: "This sermon is designed and undertaken that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded." (575, 1.) Again: "For the reason why we exercise such diligence in preaching the Catechism so often is that it may be inculcated on our youth, not in a high and subtile manner, but briefly and with the greatest simplicity, so as to enter the mind readily and be fixed in the memory." (581, 27.) Hence Roerer also characterized the Large Catechism as "*Catechismus per D. M. praedicatus pro rudibus et simplicibus.*" Many expressions of the Large Catechism also point to the fact that everything was here intended for the young and the common people. For example: "All this I say that it may be well impressed upon the young." (621, 140.) "But now for young scholars let it suffice to indicate the most necessary points." (681, 12.) "But to explain all these single points separately belongs not to brief sermons for children, but rather to the ampler sermons that extend throughout the entire year." (687, 32.) Thus Luther aimed to serve the people and the children also by his Large Catechism. Not, indeed, that it was to be given into the hands of the children (the Small Catechism served that purpose), but that preachers, teachers, and parents were to use it with a view to teaching them by example how to expound the articles of the Christian doctrine for the simple-minded.

In particular, the Large Catechism was to enable the less educated pastors in the villages and in the country to do justice to their sacred duty. The instructions of the visitors called for regular Catechism-sermons. For this purpose Luther sought to furnish the preachers with material. From the Large Catechism they were to learn how to deliver simple, plain sermons on the five chief parts. In the longer Preface Luther therefore directs his admonition "to all Christians, but especially to all pastors and preachers, that they should daily exercise themselves in the Catechism, which is a short summary and epitome of the entire Holy Scriptures, and that they may always teach the same." And why? Luther explains: "We have no slight reasons for treating the Catechism so constantly, and for both desiring and beseeching others to teach it, since we see to our sorrow that many pastors and preachers are very negligent in this, and slight both their office and this teaching; some from great and high art, but others from sheer laziness and care for their paunches," etc. (567.)

Ministers, according to Luther, were to study the Catechism for their own instruction and edification as well as in the interest of their office. Hence he concludes his Preface, saying: "Therefore I again implore all Christians, especially pastors and preachers, not to be doctors too soon, and imagine that they know everything (for imagination and cloth unshrunk fall far short of the measure), but that they daily exercise themselves well in these studies and constantly treat them; moreover, that they guard with all care and diligence against the poisonous infection of such security and vain imagination, but steadily keep on reading, teaching, learning, pondering, and meditating, and do not cease until they have made a test and are sure that they have taught the devil to death, and have become more learned than God Himself and all His saints." (573, 19; 534, 17.)

From the Large Catechism, therefore, pastors were to learn how to preach the fundamental Christian truths. "To be sure," says Albrecht, "Luther did not make it as easy for the pastors as was later done by Osiander and Sleupner in the Nuernberg *Children's Sermons*, where the individual sermons are exactly marked off, the form of address to the children is retained, and, in each instance, a short explanation, to be memorized, is added to the longer explanation." (W. 30, 1, 478.)— That it was Luther's purpose to have his Large Catechism serve also parents appears from the instructions at the beginning and the end of it. (574, 17; 772, 87.)

104. Special Purpose of Small Catechism.

The Large Catechism was to serve all; the same applies to the Small Catechism. But above all it was to be placed into the hands of the children, who were to use and to memorize it at home, and to bring it with them for instruction in the church. Buchwald and Cohrs surmise that Luther published the second table series during Lent with special reference to "grown people." However, Luther was accustomed to direct his admonition to partake of the Lord's Supper diligently also to children, and that, too, to children of comparatively tender years. In his sermon of March 25, 1529, he says: "This exhortation ought not only to move us older ones, but also the young and the children. Therefore you parents ought to instruct and educate them in the doctrine of the Lord: the Decalog, the Creed, the Prayer, and the Sacraments. Such children ought also to be admitted to the Table that they may be partakers" [of the Lord's Supper]. (W. 30, 1, 233.) In his sermon of December 19, 1528, we read: "Hence, you parents and heads of families, invite your subordinates to this Sacrament; and we shall demand an account of you if you neglect it. If you will not go yourselves, let the young go; we are much concerned about them. When they come, we shall learn, by examining them, how you instruct them in the Word as prescribed. Hence, do come more frequently to the Sacrament, and also admonish your children to do so when they have reached the age of discretion. For in this way we want to learn who are Christians, and who not. If you will not do so, we shall speak to you on the subject. For even though you older people insist on going to the devil, we shall still inquire about your children. Necessity: because sin, the devil, and death are ever present. Benefit: because the remission of sins and the Holy Spirit are received." (121 f.) The tender age at which the young were held to partake of the Lord's Supper appears from Bugenhagen's preface to the Danish edition of the Enchiridion of 1538, where he says "that, after this confession is made, also the little children of about eight years or less should be admitted to the table of Him who says: 'Suffer the little children to come unto Me.'" (433.) The conjecture, therefore, that the tables of Confession and the Sacraments were not intended for children, but specifically for adults, is without foundation. In all its parts the Small Catechism was intended to serve the children.

When the first table appeared, it bore the superscription: "The Ten Commandments, as *the head of the family* should teach them in a simple way to his household." Similar to this were the titles of the remaining charts. And these superscriptions were permitted to stand when Luther published the Enchiridion in book form. The book edition, therefore, as well as the chart edition, was to render services also to parents, who were to take upon themselves a large part of the work in teaching the young. But how were they to do it, in view of the fact that many of them did not know the Catechism themselves? This had occurred also to Luther. He realized that, besides the Large Catechism, parents were in need of a text-book containing questions and answers, adapted for catechizing the children on the meaning of each part of the Catechism. This, too, was the reason why the Small Catechism was rapidly completed before the Large, which had been begun first. Luther intended parents to use it, first of all for their own instruction and edification, but also for the purpose of enabling them to discharge their duty by their children and household.

105. Small Catechism Intended Also for Pastors.

That Luther intended his Small Catechism as a help also for pastors was, in so many words, stated on the title-page of the first book edition. For, surprising as it may seem, here he mentions neither the parents nor the children, but solely the "ordinary pastors and preachers." The Preface also is addressed to "all faithful, pious pastors and preachers," and it shows in detail how they were to make use of the book. Evidently, then, the book edition was intended to render special services also to preachers. The reason, however, was not, as has been surmised, because it embodied the booklet on Marriage (the booklet on Baptism was added in the second edition); for the Preface, which is addressed to the preachers, does not even mention it. The pastors, moreover, were especially designated on the title-page as the recipients of the Enchiridion, inasmuch as they were to employ it in their religious instruction and catechetical sermons, in order to imbue the young with its contents. The expression "ordinary pastors and preachers" referred primarily to the plain preachers in the villages, where no properly regulated school system existed, and where, at best, the sexton might assist the pastor in seeing to it that the Catechism was memorized. Albrecht: "When Luther prepared both Catechisms at the same time and with reference to each other, he evidently desired their simultaneous use, especially on the part of the plain pastors, who in the Small Catechism possessed the leading thoughts which were to be memorized, and in the Large Catechism their clear and popular explanation." (W. 30, 1, 548.)

Luther's intention was to make the Small Catechism the basis of instruction in the church as well as in the homes; for uniform instruction was required to insure results. Having, therefore, placed the Catechism into the hands of the parents, Luther could but urge that it be introduced in the churches, too. He also showed them how to use it. On June 11, 1529, for instance, he expounded the First Article after he had read the text and the explanation of the Small Catechism. (549.) This the pastors were to imitate, a plan which was also carried out. The charts were suspended in the churches; the people and children were wont to bring the book edition with them to church; the preachers read the text,

expounded it, and had it recited. The Schoenewald Church Order prescribed that the pastor "first pronounce for the people" the text of the chief parts, and then expound it as on Luther's charts. (549.)

106. A Book Also for Schools and Teachers.

When planning and writing his Small Catechism, Luther self-evidently did not overlook the schools and the schoolteachers. The first booklet of the charts for the Latin schools of the Middle Ages contained the abc; the second, the first reading-material, *viz.*, the Paternoster, Ave Maria, and the Credo; the third, the Benedicite, Gratias, and similar prayers. Albrecht writes: "We may surmise that Luther, when composing the German tables and combining them in a book, had in mind the old chart-booklets. This view is supported by the fact that in it he embodied the prayers, the Benedicite and Gratias, and probably also by the title Enchiridion, which, besides the titles 'Handbooklet' or 'The Children's Handbooklet' was applied to such elementary books." (W. 30, 1, 546.) In the *Instruction for the Visitors* we read: "A certain day, either Saturday or Wednesday, shall be set aside for imparting to the children Christian instruction. . . . Hereupon the schoolteacher shall simply and correctly expound at one time the Lord's Prayer, at another the Creed, at another the Ten Commandments, etc." (W. 26, 238.) In these schools Luther's Small Catechism served as text-book. From 1529 until the beginning of the eighteenth century Sauermann's Latin translation (*Parvus Catechismus pro Pueris in Schola*) was employed in the Latin schools of Saxony. In the German schools the German Enchiridion was used as the First Reader. Hence, the Marburg reprint of the first Wittenberg edition of the Catechism begins with the alphabet, and makes it a point to mention this fact on its title-page.

Down to the present day no other book has become and remained a schoolbook for religious instruction to such an extent as Luther's Small Catechism. And rightly so; for even Bible History must be regarded as subordinate to it. The assertion of modern educators that instruction in Bible History must precede instruction in Luther's Catechism rests on the false assumption that Luther's Catechism teaches doctrines only. But the truth is that it contains all the essential facts of salvation as well, though in briefest form, as appears particularly from the Second Article, which enumerates historical facts only. The Small Catechism is "the Laymen's Bible, *der Laien Biblia*," as Luther called it in a sermon of September 14, 1528, an expression adopted also by the Formula of Concord. (777, 5.) Luther's Enchiridion presents both the facts of salvation and their divine interpretation. The picture for which the Small Catechism furnishes the frame is Christ, the historical Christ, as glorified by the Holy Spirit, particularly in the writings of the Apostle Paul. In the Lutheran Church the Small Catechism, therefore, deserves to be and always to remain what it became from the first moment of its publication: the book of religious instruction for home, school, and church; for parents, children, teachers, and preachers, just as Luther had planned and desired.

107. Titles of Large Catechism.

"*Deutsch Katechismus*, German Catechism," was the title under which the Large Catechism first appeared, and which Luther never changed. In the Preface to the Small Catechism he used the expression "Large Catechism," having in mind his own Catechism, though not exclusively, as the context shows. (534, 17.) Yet this was the natural title, since the shorter Catechism was from the beginning known as the "Small Catechism." And before long it was universally in vogue. The Church Order for Brueck, of 1530, designates the Large Catechism as "the Long Catechism." In the catalog of his writings of 1533, which Luther prefaced, but did not compile, it is called "Large Catechism, *Catechismus Gross.*" Likewise in the *Corpus Doctrinae Pomeranicum.* The Articles of the Visitors in Meiszen, 1533, first employed the designation "The Large and Small Catechisms." The Church Order for Gera of the same year also distinguishes: "The Large Catechism and the Small Catechism." The Eisfeld Order of 1554 distinguishes: "The Small Catechism of Luther" and "The Large Catechism of Luther." In his treatise on the Large Catechism of 1541, Spangenberg first employed the new form as a title: "The Large Catechism and Children's Instruction of Dr. M. Luther."

The title of the Low German edition of 1541 runs: "De Grote Katechismus Duedesch." The Latin translation by Obsopoeus of 1544 is entitled "Catechismus Maior." The Index of the Wittenberg complete edition of Luther's Works of 1553 has "Der grosse Katechismus," while the Catechism itself still bears the original title, "Deutscher Katechismus." The Jena edition of 1556 also has the original title, but paraphrases in the Index: "*Zweierlei Vorrede, gross und klein, D. M. L. auf den Katechismum, von ihm gepredigt Anno 1529.* Two Prefaces, large and small, of Dr. M. L. to the Catechism, preached by him in the year 1529." Since 1570, the *Corpora Doctrinae* give the title, "The Large Catechism, German. *Der Grosse Katechismus, deutsch.*" So also the Book of Concord of 1580. In the Leipzig edition and in Walch's the word "deutsch" is omitted. (W. 30, 1, 474 f.)

"German Catechism," corresponding to the title "German Mass," means German preaching for children, German instruction in the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. Luther wrote "German Mass" in order to distinguish it from the Latin, which was retained for many years at Wittenberg beside the German service (this is also what Wolfgang Musculus meant when he reported in 1536 that in Wittenberg services were conducted predominantly in papistic fashion, *ad morem papisticum*).

So also "German Catechism" is in contrast to the Latin instruction in the churches and especially in the schools. Concerning the latter we read, *e. g.*, in the instruction of the visitors: "The boys shall also be induced to speak Latin, and the schoolteachers shall, as far as possible, speak nothing but Latin with them." (26, 240.) Ever since the early part of the Middle Ages the Latin Credo, Paternoster, etc., had been regarded and memorized as sacred formulas, the vernacular being permitted only rarely, and reluctantly at that. Also in the Lutheran Church the Latin language was not immediately abolished. A number of Evangelical catechisms, antedating Luther's, were written in, and presuppose the use of, the Latin language, for example, Melanchthon's *Enchiridion*, Urerius's *Paedagogia*, Agricola's *Elementa Pietatis*, etc. The Brunswick Liturgy of 1528, drafted by Bugenhagen, prescribed that on Saturday evening and early on Sunday morning the chief parts of the Catechism be read in Latin in the churches "on both galleries, slowly, without chanting (*sine tono*), alternately (*ummeschicht*)." The Wittenberg Liturgy provided: "Before the early sermon on Sundays or on festival-days the boys in the choir, on both sides, shall read the entire Catechism in Latin, verse by verse, without ornamental tone (*sine tono distincto*)." (477.) Accordingly, when Luther began to preach on the chief parts in German, he was said to conduct "German Catechism." And since German services with German instruction were instituted by Luther in the interest of the unlearned and such as were unable to attend the Latin schools, the term "German Catechism" was equivalent to popular instruction in religion. That Luther's Catechism, also in point of racy language, was German to the core, appears from the frequent use of German words and expressions which, in part, have since become obsolete. (Mueller, *Symb. Buecher*, 857—860.)

108. Editions of Large Catechism.

The first edition (quarto) of the Large Catechism, of which Roerer forwarded copies on April 23, 1529, contains, as text, the Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the words of institution of the Sacraments. The text is preceded by a Brief Preface, which, however, Luther, considering it a part of the Catechism, did not designate and superscribe as such. Some instructions and admonitions are inserted between the Catechism-text, which is followed by the detailed explanation. Such is the form in which the Large Catechism first appeared, and which, in the main, it also retained. The second edition (also in quarto and from the year 1529) reveals numerous textual corrections and adds a longer section to the Lord's Prayer, *viz.*, paragraphs 9 to 11: "at the risk of God's wrath . . . seek His grace." (699.) This addition, though not found in the German Book of Concord of 1580, was received into the official Latin Concordia of 1584. Furthermore, the second edition of 1529 adds the "Short Admonition to Confession"; hence the subtitle: "Increased by a New Instruction and Admonition to Confession." This addition, however, was embodied in neither the German nor the Latin Concordia. In the Seventh Commandment the second edition of 1529 omits the words "with whom [arch-thieves] lords and princes keep company" (644, 230), which, according to Albrecht, was due to a timid proof-reader. Numerous marginal notes, briefly summarizing the contents, were also added to this edition and retained in the Latin Concordia of 1584. Furthermore, it contained 24 woodcuts, the first three of which were already used in Melanchthon's fragmentary Catechism sermons of 1528, for which book probably also the remaining cuts were originally intended. Albrecht remarks: "Let it remain undecided whether the cuts, which Melanchthon probably was first to select for his catechism sermons of 1528, were received into the edition of 1529 (which Luther corrected) upon a suggestion of the printer Rhau, or Bugenhagen, or Luther himself." (W. 30, 1, 493.)

Two Latin as well as a Low German translation (by Bugenhagen) also appeared in 1529. The Low German edition, printed by Rhau, seems to have paved the way in using the aforementioned pictures. Of the Latin translations, one was prepared by Lonicer and printed at Marburg, while the other, by Vicentius Obsopoeus, rector of the school at Ansbach, was printed at Hagenau. After making some changes, which were not always improvements, Selneccer embodied the latter in the Latin Concordia, adding the longer Preface from the Frankfurt edition of 1544. In the Large Catechism this new Preface is found for the first time in Rhau's quarto edition of 1530. Literal allusions to Luther's letter of June 30, 1530, to J. Jonas have given rise to the assumption that it was written at Castle Coburg. (Enders, 8, 47. 37.) In the Jena edition of Luther's Works, the Dresden edition of the Book of Concord of 1580, the Magdeburg edition of 1580, the Heidelberg folio edition of 1582, and the Latin edition of 1580, this longer Preface follows the shorter. However, since the shorter Preface forms part of the Catechism itself, the longer Preface ought to precede it, as is the case in the official Latin Concordia of 1584. In the Low German edition of 1531 Bugenhagen defends the expressions, criticized by some: I believe "an Gott, an Christum" in the Low German edition of 1529, instead of "in Gott, in Christum." (W. 30, 1, 493.) In Rhau's edition of 1532 and 1535 the morning and evening prayers are added, probably only as fillers. The changes in Rhau's edition of 1538, styling itself, "newly corrected and improved," consist in linguistic improvements and some additions and omissions. Albrecht believes that most, but not all, of these changes were made by Luther himself, and that the omissions are mostly due to inadvertence.

109. Title of Small Catechism.

Luther seems to have published the chart catechism of January, 1529, without any special title, though Roerer, from the very

first, calls it a catechism. In the first Wittenberg book edition, however, one finds inserted, between the Preface and the Decalog, the superscription: "*Ein kleiner Katechismus oder christliche Zucht.* A Small Catechism or Christian Discipline." This may have been the title of the charts, since it would hardly have been introduced for the book edition, where it was entirely superfluous, the title-page designating it as "The Small Catechism for the Ordinary Pastors and Preachers." Likewise, it cannot be proved that the opening word on the title-page of this first book edition was "Enchiridion," since this edition has disappeared without a trace, and the only remaining direct reprint does not contain the word "Enchiridion." All subsequent editions, however, have it.

The word "Enchiridion" is already found in the writings of Augustine, and later became common. In his Glossary, Du Cange remarks: "This name [Enchiridion] St. Augustine gave to a most excellent little work on faith, hope, and charity, which could easily be carried in the hand, or, rather, ought continually to be so carried, since it contained the things most necessary for salvation." (3, 265.) The Erfurt *Hymn-Booklet* of 1524 was called "Enchiridion or Handbooklet, very profitable for every Christian to have with him for constant use and meditation." In 1531 Luther praised the Psalter, saying: "It may be called a little Bible, wherein all that is found in the entire Bible is most beautifully and briefly summed up and has been made and prepared to be a splendid Enchiridion, or Handbook." (E. 63, 28.) The *Instruction for Visitors* calls the primer "the handbooklet of the children, containing the alphabet, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and other prayers." In 1523 Melanchthon had published such a book, entitled "Enchiridion." Thus Enchiridion denotes a book of pithy brevity, an elementary book. The various Church Orders employ the word in a similar sense. (W. 30, 1, 540.)

110. Editions of Small Catechism.

At Wittenberg, George Rhau printed the Large Catechism and Michel Schirlentz the Small Catechism (the chart impressions of which must be considered the first edition). In the Preface to the Small Catechism, Luther speaks of "these tables" and "the form of these tables," thus referring to the chief parts, which were already printed on placards. However, since "table" also denotes a list, the term could be applied also to the chief parts in book form. It was nothing new to employ tables ("*Zeddeln*," *i. e.*, placards printed on one side) in order to spread the parts of the Catechism in churches, homes, and schools. In 1518 Luther published his "Ten Commandments with a brief exposition of their fulfilment and transgression," on placards. Of the charts of the Small Catechism only a Low German copy has as yet been discovered. It contains Luther's Morning and Evening Prayers, a reduced reproduction of which is found in the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works. (30, 1, 241.) The book editions soon took their place beside the charts. It seems (but here the traces are rather indefinable) that the first three tables were summed up into a booklet as early as January or February, 1529. At Hamburg, Bugenhagen published the charts, which he had received till then, as a booklet, in Low German. It contained the five chief parts and the Benedicite and Gratias. Shortly after the first Wittenberg book edition had reached him, Bugenhagen translated the Preface and had it printed as a supplement.

Shortly after the completion of the Large Catechism Luther made arrangements to have the Small Catechism appear in book form. May 16 Roerer sent two copies of the *Catechismus Minor*. But, as stated above, all copies of this edition were completely used up. The edition has been preserved in three reprints only, two of which appeared at Erfurt and one at Marburg. Th. Harnack published the one Erfurt and the Marburg reprint, and H. Hartung the other Erfurt reprint in separate facsimile editions. Evidently these reprints appeared before the second Wittenberg edition of June, 1529, was known at Erfurt and Marburg. In estimating their value, however, modern scholars are not agreed as to whether they represent three direct or one direct and two indirect reprints. Albrecht is of the opinion that only one of the three may be looked upon as a direct reprint. Judging from these reprints, the original edition was entitled: "*Der kleine Katechismus fuer die gemeinen Pfarrherrn und Prediger.* The Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers." Aside from the five chief parts, it contained the Preface, the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Table of Duties, and the Marriage Booklet. On the other hand, these reprints omit not only the word Enchiridion, but also the question, "How can bodily eating and drinking do such great things?" together with its answer. Now, in case all three should be direct reprints, the omitted question and answer evidently were not contained in the first Wittenberg edition either. On the other hand, if only one of them is a direct reprint, the mistake must be charged to the original Wittenberg impression or to the reprint. That the omission is an error, probably due to the printer, appears from the fact that the omitted question and answer were already found on the charts; for the Hamburg book edition of the charts in Low German has them, as also Stifel's written copies of the charts. (W. 30, 1, 573.)

Of the Wittenberg editions which followed the *editio princeps*, those of 1529, 1531, and 1542 deserve special mention. The first appeared under the title: "Enchiridion. The Small Catechism for the Ordinary Pastors and Preachers, enlarged and improved." On the 13th of June this edition was completed, for Roerer reports on this date: "Parvus Catechismus sub incudem iam tertio revocatus est et in ista postrema editione adauctus." (Kolde, *l. c.*, 60.) Roerer designates this edition as the third, probably because two imprints had been

made of the *editio princeps*. According to a defective copy, the only one preserved, this edition adds to the contents of the *editio princeps* the word Enchiridion in the title, the Booklet of Baptism, A Brief Form of Confessing to the Priest, for the Simple, and the Litany. The fifth chief part has the question: "How can bodily eating and drinking do such great things?" In the Lord's Prayer, however, the explanation of the introduction is still lacking. This emended edition of 1529 furthermore had the pictures, for the first time as it seems. The booklets on Marriage and Baptism were retained, as additions, in all editions of the Small Catechism published during the life of Luther, and in many later editions as well. As yet, however, it has not been proved directly that such was intended and arranged for by Luther himself.

Also in the succeeding editions Luther made various material and linguistic changes. In the edition of 1531 he omitted the Litany, and for the "Short Form of Confession" he substituted an instruction in confession, which he inserted between the fourth and fifth chief parts, under the caption, "How the Unlearned Shall be Taught to Confess." The Lord's Prayer was complemented by the addition of the Introduction and its explanation, and the number of cuts was increased to 23. This edition of 1531, of which but one copy (found in the Bodleiana of Oxford) is in existence, shows essentially the form in which the Enchiridion was henceforth regularly printed during and after Luther's life. (W. 30, 1, 608.) The editions of 1537 reveal several changes in language, especially in the Bible-verses, which are made to conform to Luther's translation. In the edition of 1542 the promise of the Fourth Commandment appears for the first time, and the Table of Duties is expanded. The Bible-verses referring to the relation of congregations to their pastors were added, and the verses setting forth the relation of subjects to their government were considerably augmented. Hence the title: "Newly revised and prepared, *aufs neue uebersehen und zugerichtet*." Probably the last edition to appear during Luther's life was the one of 1543, which, however, was essentially a reprint of the edition of 1542.

Knaake declared that all the editions which we possess "must be attributed to the enterprise of the book dealers," and that one cannot speak of a direct influence of Luther on any of these editions. In opposition to this extreme skepticism, Albrecht points out that, for instance, the insertion of the explanation of the Introduction to the Lord's Prayer and the new form of confession, as well as its insertion between Baptism and the Lord's Supper, could not have taken place "without the direct cooperation of Luther."

111. Translations and Elaborations of Small Catechism.

Two of the Latin translations of the Small Catechism date back to 1529. The first was inserted in the *Enchiridion Piarum Precationum*, the Latin translation of Luther's *Prayer-Booklet*, which appeared toward the end of August, 1529. Roerer met with great difficulties in editing the book. August, 1529, he wrote: "You may not believe me if I tell you how much trouble I am having with the Latin *Prayer-Booklet* which is now being printed. Somebody else, it is true, translated it from German into Latin, but I spent much more labor in this work than he did." (W. 30, 1, 588.) We do not know who the translator was to whom Roerer refers. It certainly was not Lonicer, the versatile Humanist of Marburg, who at that time had completed the Large Catechism with a Preface dated May 15, 1529. Kawerau surmises that it was probably *G. Major*. Evidently Luther himself had nothing to do with this translation. This Catechism is entitled: *Simplicissima et Brevissima Catechismi Expositio*. Almost throughout the question form was abandoned. In 1532 a revised form of this translation appeared, entitled: *Nova Catechismi Brevioris Translatio*. From these facts the theory (advocated also by v. Zezschwitz and Knaake) has been spun that the Small Catechism sprang from a still shorter one, which was not throughout cast in questions and answers, and offered texts as well as explanations in a briefer form. This would necessitate the further inference that the Preface to the Small Catechism was originally written in Latin. All of these suppositions, however, founder on the fact that the charts as we have them in the handwriting of Stifel are in the form of questions and answers. The *Prayer-Booklet* discarded the form of questions and answers, because its object was merely to reproduce the contents of Luther's Catechism for such as were unacquainted with German.

The second Latin translation of 1529 was furnished by John Sauermann, not (as v. Zezschwitz and Cohrs, 1901, in Herzog's *R. E.*, 10, 135, assume) the Canon of Breslau, who died 1510, but probably Johannes Sauermann of Bambergen, who matriculated at Wittenberg in the winter semester of 1518. (W. 30, 1, 601.) Sauermann's translation was intended as a school edition of the Small Catechism. First came the alphabet, then followed the texts: Decalog, Creed, the Lord's Prayer, Baptism, the Lord's Supper. Luther's Preface, the Litany, and the Booklets of Marriage and Baptism were omitted as not adapted for school use. The chapter on Confession, from the second Wittenberg book edition, was inserted between the fourth and fifth chief parts. The note to the Benedicite was put into the text with the superscription "Scholion" (instead of the incorrect "Scholia" of the German edition, found also in the Book of Concord). "Paedagogus" was substituted for "head of the family (*Hausvater*)." The word "Haustafel" remained untranslated. The words of the Third Petition, "so uns den Namen Gottes nicht heiligen und sein Reich nicht kommen lassen wollen," are rendered: "quae nobis nomen Dei non *sanctificent* regnumque eius ad nos pervenire non sinant."

In the Preface, dated September 19, 1529, "Johannes Sauromannus" writes: "Every one

is of the opinion that it is clearly the best thing from early youth carefully and diligently to instruct the boys in the principles of Christian piety. And since I believe that of all the elementary books of the theologians of this age none are better adapted for this purpose than those of Dr. Martin Luther, I have rendered into Latin the booklet of this man which is called the Small Catechism, hoping that it might be given to the boys to be learned as soon as they enter the Latin school." At the same time Sauermann declares that his translation was published "by the advice and order (*consilio ac iussu*) of the author [Luther] himself." (30, 1, 673.) One cannot doubt, therefore, that Sauermann's translation received Luther's approval. And being in entire conformity with the *Instruction for Visitors,* of 1528, for the Latin city schools, the book was soon in general use. In 1556 Michael Neander speaks of it as "the common Latin version, hitherto used in all schools." (603.) The Latin Concordia of 1584 contains Sauermann's version, essentially, though not literally. The Preface, which Sauermann had not translated, is taken over from the *Prayer-Booklet.* The part On Confession was newly translated from the German edition of the Catechism of 1531. The textual changes which were made in Sauermann's translation for the Concordia of 1584 "show that he was careful and usually felicitous, and are partly to be explained as combinations of the first and second Latin translations." (604.)

When, in 1539, Justus Jonas translated the Nuernberg *Sermons for Children,* he made a third Latin translation of the Small Catechism. He calls it "this my Latin translation, not carefully finished indeed, but nevertheless rendered in good faith." (627.) This Latin text obtained special importance since it was immediately done into English, Polish, and Icelandic. In 1560 Job Magdeburg furnished a fourth Latin version. Concerning the translations into Greek, Hebrew, and other languages see Weimar Edition of Luther's Complete Works (10, 1, 718 f.).

Among the earliest elaborations of the Small Catechism was the Catechism of Justus Menius, 1532, and the Nuernberg *Children's Sermons* of 1533. Both exploit Luther's explanations without mentioning his name. At the same time some changing, abbreviating, polishing, etc., was done, as Luther's text was considered difficult to memorize. Albrecht says of Menius's emendations: "Some of his formal changes are not bad; most of them, however, are unnecessary. The entire book finally serves the purpose of bringing to light the surpassing merit of the real Luther-Catechism." (617.) The same verdict will probably be passed on all the substitute catechisms which have hitherto appeared. John Spangenberg's Small Catechism of 1541, which was widely used, is, as he himself says, composed "from the Catechism of our beloved father, Dr. Martin, and those of others." It contains Luther's Catechism mainly as changed by Menius. The Nuernberg *Children's Sermons,* which embodied also the pictures of Luther's Catechism and received a wide circulation, were written by Osiander and Sleupner in 1532, and printed at Nuernberg, 1533. They contain almost complete the five chief parts of Luther's Small Catechism as concluding sentences of the individual sermons, but in original minting, with abbreviations, additions, and other changes, which, however, are not nearly as marked as those of Menius. These changes were also made to facilitate memorizing. Between Baptism and the Lord's Supper was found the doctrinal part on the Office of the Keys, which in this or a similar form was, after Luther's death, appended to, or inserted in, the Small Catechism as the sixth or fifth chief part, respectively.

112. The Part "Of Confession."

The Small Catechism did not spring from Luther's mind finished and complete at one sitting. Originally he considered the first three chief parts as constituting the Catechism. Before long, however, he added the parts of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. These five parts are for the first time mentioned in the *German Order of Worship,* and printed together in the Booklet for Laymen and Children. The Introduction to the Large Catechism also offers no more. The chart and book editions added as real parts of the Catechism (the Booklets of Marriage and of Baptism cannot be viewed as such) the Benedicite and Gratias, the Morning and Evening Prayers, the Table of Duties, and Confession. It is the last of these parts which played a peculiar rôle in the history of the Small Catechism. Albrecht writes: "In the textual history of the Small Catechism, Confession (besides the Table of Duties) is the most restless and movable part. In the Low German editions since 1531 and 1534 it is found after the Lord's Supper as a sort of sixth chief part. In individual instances it is entirely omitted. On the other hand, in elaborations of the Catechism, notably in the Nuernberg Catechism-sermons, it is supplanted by the Office of the Keys, and in later prints also combined with it or otherwise recast." (W. 30, 1, 607.)

As for Luther, evidently, as soon as he began to work on the Catechism, he planned to include also a part on Confession. Among the charts there were already those which dealt with Confession. In fact, Luther must have here treated this part at comparative length. For Roerer reports that the price of the Confession charts was three pfennige, whereas the price of the Sacrament charts was two pfennige. Yet nothing of Confession was embodied in the first book edition of the Small Catechism. The first edition also of the Large Catechism had no part treating of Confession. But the second Wittenberg edition, of 1529, appeared "augmented with a new instruction and admonition concerning Confession." Likewise the "augmented and improved" Small Catechism of 1529, superscribed, "Enchiridion," contained a "Short Form how the Unlearned shall Confess to the Priest. *Eine kurze Weise zu beichten fuer die Einfaeltigen,*

dem Priester." This Form was not to serve the pastor in admonishing, etc., but Christians when going to confession. Possibly it was one of the charts which Roerer, March 16, mentioned as novelties. The addition of this part was, no doubt, caused by Luther himself. This is supported by the fact that Sauermann's translation, which appeared by Luther's "advice and order," also contained it. And while in the German book edition it was found in the Appendix, following the Booklet on Baptism, Sauermann inserted it between Baptism and the Lord's Supper with the superscription: "How schoolmasters ought in simplest manner to teach their boys a brief form of confession. *Quo pacto paedagogi suos pueros brevem confitendi rationem simplicissime docere debeant.*" Evidently this, too, was done with Luther's approval (*auctoris consilio et iussu*). "Thus Luther at that time already," says Albrecht, "selected this place for Confession and retained it later on, when [1531] he furnished another form of confession for the Catechism which to him seemed more appropriate." The gradual insertion of a new chief part (of Confession and Absolution) between Baptism and the Lord's Supper was therefore entirely according to Luther's mind; indeed, it had virtually been carried out by him as early as 1529.

The original part Of Confession, however, was no catechetical and doctrinal part in the proper sense of the word, but purely a liturgical formula of Confession, even the Absolution being omitted. It merely contained two confessions similar to the forms found in the Book of Concord, page 552, sections 21 to 23. Hence Luther, in the edition of 1531, replaced it with a catechetico-liturgical form entitled, "How the Unlearned Should be Taught to Confess." It is identical with the one found in the Book of Concord of 1580, save only that the original contained the words, "What is Confession? Answer," which are omitted in the German Concordia. Luther placed the part Of Confession between Baptism and the Lord's Supper, thereby actually making this the fifth and the Lord's Supper the sixth chief part. And when later on (for in Luther's editions the chief parts are not numbered) the figures were added, Confession could but receive the number 5, and the Lord's Supper, 6. Thus, then, the sequence of the six parts, as found in the Book of Concord, was, in a way, chosen by Luther himself.

113. Office of the Keys and Christian Questions.

The three questions on the Office of the Keys in the fifth chief part form the most important and independent addition to Luther's Small Catechism. However, they are not only in complete agreement with Luther's doctrine of Absolution, but, in substance, also contained in what he himself offered in the part Of Confession. For what Luther says in paragraphs 26 to 28 in a liturgical form is expressed and explained in the three questions on the Office of the Keys in a doctrinal and catechetical form. Not being formulated by Luther, however, they were not received into the Book of Concord. In the Nuernberg *Text-Booklet* of 1531 they are placed before Baptism. Thence they were taken over into the Nuernberg *Children's Sermons* of 1533 as a substitute for Luther's form of Confession. Andrew Osiander, in the draft of his Church Order of 1531, in the article on "Catechism and the Instruction of Children," added as sixth to the five chief parts: "Of the Keys of the Church, or the Power to Bind and to Unbind from Sins," quoting as Bible-verse the passage: "The Lord Jesus breathed on His disciples," etc. Brenz, though not, as frequently assumed, the author of the Nuernberg Catechism, also contributed toward introducing and popularizing this part of the Catechism. In his Questions of 1535 and 1536, which appeared in the Appendix to the Latin translation of Luther's Large Catechism, he offered an original treatment to the Keys of Heaven, as the sixth chief part, on the basis of Matt. 16, 19; Luke 19, 16; John 20, 22 f. Thirty-six years after the first publication of Luther's Catechisms, Mathesius, in his *Sermons on the Life of Luther*, also speaks of six chief parts of catechetical instruction; but he enumerates Absolution as the part between Baptism and the Lord's Supper, hence as the fifth chief part of the Catechism.

As to the Christian Questions for Those Who Intend to Go to the Sacrament, it was claimed very early that Luther was the author. They were first published in 1549, and a number of separate impressions followed. After 1558 they are usually found in the appendix to the Small Catechism. The Note, "These questions and answers," etc., designating Luther as the author, first appeared in an edition of 1551. Together with this Note, the Questions are found in an undated Wittenberg edition of the Small Catechism, which appeared about 1560, containing pictures dated 1551. Referring to this edition, the Wittenberg proof-reader, Christopher Walther, in a polemical writing (1566) against Aurifaber, asserted that the Questions were not written by Luther, but by John Lang of Erfurt († 1548). The question at issue has not yet been decided. For while the contents of the Questions reproduce, from beginning to end, Luther's thoughts, and the last answers are almost literally taken from the Large Catechism, we have no evidence that Luther compiled them; but, on the other hand, also no convincing proof against this. Claus Harms and Koellner asserted that Luther is the author of the Questions, while Kliefoth and Loehe declared it as probable. — The Introduction to the Ten Commandments, "I the Lord, thy God," and the Doxology, at the close of the Lord's Prayer, were added after Luther's death.

114. The Table of Duties — Haustafel.

The eighth and last chart of the Catechism differed from the preceding ones in that it was superscribed: "Table of Duties (Haustafel), Consisting of Certain Passages of Scripture

for Various Holy Orders and Stations, Whereby These are to be Admonished, as by a Special Lesson, Regarding Their Office and Service." The exact time when Luther drew up this Table is not known. The latest date to which its composition can be assigned is the end of April or the beginning of May, 1529. It may, however, be questioned whether it was published at all as a placard. The two groups of passages: "What the Hearers Owe to Their Pastors," and: "What Subjects Owe to Their Government," are probably not from Luther. Following are the grounds supporting this view: 1. They are not contained in the German editions, but appeared for the first time in the Latin translation. 2. Their superscriptions differ in form from those of the other groups. 3. They adduce quite a number of Bible-verses, and repeat some already quoted, *e. g.*, 1 Tim. 2, 1; Rom. 13, 1. The German Book of Concord omitted these passages, while the Latin Concordia of 1580 and 1584 embodied them. Albrecht writes: "The Table of Duties is an original part of the Catechism, bearing a true Lutheran stamp. But it was old material worked over, as is the case almost throughout the Small Catechism." The oft-repeated assertion, however, that the Table of Duties was borrowed from the catechism of the Waldensians or Bohemian Brethren, is not correct. For this Table is not found in the Catechism of the Brethren of 1522, with which Luther was acquainted, but first in Gyrick's Catechism of 1554, in which Lutheran material is embodied also in other places." (W. 30, 1, 645.)

The confession books of the Middle Ages, however, which classified sins according to the social estates, and especially John Gerson's tract (*De Modo Vivendi Omnium Fidelium*, reprinted at Wittenberg 1513), which treated of the offices of all sorts of lay-people in every station of life, may have prompted Luther to draw up this Table. But, says Albrecht, "it certainly grew under his hand into something new and characteristic. The old material is thoroughly shortened, sifted, supplemented, newly arranged, recast. While Gerson's tract throughout bears the stamp of the Middle Ages, Luther's Table of Duties, with its appeal to the Scriptures alone, its knowledge of what is a 'holy estate,' its teaching that, as divine ordinances, civil government and the household (when embraced by the common order of Christian love) are equally as holy as the priesthood, reveals the characteristic marks of the Reformer's new ideal of life, which, rooting in his faith, and opposed to the hierarchy and monkery of the Middle Ages, as well as to the fanaticism of the Anabaptists, became of far-reaching importance for the entire moral thought of the succeeding centuries." (647.)

Grimm's Lexicon defines "Haustafel" as "*der Abschnitt des Katechismus, der ueber die Pflichten des Hausstandes handelt*, that section of the Catechism which treats of the duties of the household." This verbal definition, suggested by the term, is too narrow, since Luther's "Haustafel" is designed "for various holy orders and estates," magistrates and pastors included. Still, the term is not on this account inappropriate. Table (*Tafel, tabula*) signifies in general a roster, a list, or index of leading points, with or without reference to the chart form. And such a table, suspended in the home and employed in the instruction of the home congregation, is properly termed "Haustafel." Agreeably to this, Andreas Fabricius, in 1569, called the "Haustafel" a domestic table of works, *tabula operum domestica*. Daniel Kauzmann, in his *Handbook* (16 sermons on the Catechism) of 1569, says: "It is called 'Haustafel' of the Christians because every Christian should daily view it and call to mind therefrom his calling, as from a table which portrays and presents to every one what pertains to him. It teaches all the people who may be in a house what each one ought to do or to leave undone in his calling." (642.)

In his *Catechismus Lutheri* of 1600 Polycarp Leyser offers the following explanation: "Why are these passages called a table? Beyond doubt this is due to the fact that, from of old, good ordinances have been written and graven on tables. So did God, who prescribed His Law to the Jews in ten commandments on two tables. Similarly Solon wrote the laws of Athens on tables. The Romans also had their law of twelve tables brought from Athens. And so, when the government to-day issues certain commands, it is customary to suspend them on tables, as also princes and lords suspend on tables their court rules. But why is it called 'Haustafel' when it also treats of preachers and the government? The reason for this is given by St. Paul, 1 Tim. 3, where he calls the Church a house of the living God. For as the housefather in a large house summons his servants and prescribes to each one what he is to do, so God is also wont to call into certain stations those who have been received into His house by Holy Baptism, and to prescribe to them in this table how each one in his calling shall conduct himself." (641.)

Concerning the purpose of the Table of Duties, Albrecht remarks: "If I am correct, Luther, by these additions, would especially inculcate that Christianity, the essence of which is set forth in the preceding chief parts, must daily be practised." That is certainly correct, for the Catechism must not only be learned, but lived. And the Table of Duties emphasizes the great truth, brought to light again by Luther, that Christianity does not consist in any peculiar form of life, as Romish priests, monks, and nuns held, who separated themselves from the world outwardly, but that it is essentially faith of the heart, which, however, is not to flee into cloisters and solitudes, but courageously and cheerfully to plunge into practical life with its natural forms and relations as ordained by Creation, there to be tried as well as glorified. In his *Admonition to the Clergy*, 1530, Luther says: "Furthermore, by such abominable doctrine all truly good works which God appointed and ordained were despised and utterly set at naught [by the Papists]. For instance, lord, subject,

father, mother, son, daughter, servant, maid were not regarded as good works, but were called worldliness, dangerous estates, and lost works." (W. 30, 2, 291.) The Table of Duties is a protest against such perverted views. For here Luther considers not only the calling of preachers and teachers, but also all those of government and subjects, of fathers, mothers, and children, of masters and servants, of mistresses and maids, of employees and employers, as "holy orders and estates," in which a Christian may live with a good conscience, and all of which the Catechism is to permeate with its truths. "Out into the stream of life with the Catechism you have learned!" Such, then, is the admonition which, in particular, the Table of Duties adds to the preceding parts of the Catechism.

115. Symbolical Authority of Catechisms.

The symbolical authority of Luther's Catechisms must be distinguished from the practical use to which they were put in church, school, and home. As to his doctrine, Luther knew it to be the pure truth of the divine Word. Hence he could not but demand that every one acknowledge it. Self-evidently this applies also to the doctrinal contents of the Catechisms. Luther, however, did not insist that his Catechisms be made the books of instruction in church, school, and home; he only desired and counseled it. If for the purpose of instruction the form of his Small Catechism did not suit any one, let him, said Luther, choose another. In the Preface to the Small Catechism he declared: "Hence, choose whatever form you think best, and adhere to it forever." Again, "Take the form of these tables or some other short, fixed form of your choice, and adhere to it without the change of a single syllable." Self-evidently Luther is here not speaking of the doctrine of the Catechism, but of the form to be used for instruction. And with respect to the latter he makes no demands whatever. However, the contents of these books and the name of the author sufficed to procure for them the widest circulation and the most extensive use. Everywhere the doors of churches, schools, and homes were opened to the writings of Luther.

The tables had hardly been published when catechism instruction already generally was given according to Luther's Explanation. The church regulations, first in Saxony, then also in other lands, provided that Luther's Small Catechism be memorized word for word, and that preaching be according to the Large Catechism. The Church Order of Henry the Pious, 1539, declares: "There shall not be taught a different catechism in every locality, but one and the same form, as presented by Dr. Martin Luther at Wittenberg, shall be observed everywhere." In 1533 the ministers of Allstaedt were ordered "to preach according to Luther's Large Catechism." (Kolde, 63.) The authority of the Catechisms grew during the controversies after Luther's death, when the faithful Lutherans appealed to the Smalcald Articles and especially to Luther's Catechisms. The Lueneburg Articles of 1561 designate them, together with the Smalcald Articles, as the correct "explication and explanation" of the true sense of the Augustana. The *Corpus Doctrinae Pomeranicum* of 1564 declares that "the sum of Christian and evangelical doctrine is purely and correctly contained in Luther's Catechisms." Their authority as a genuinely Lutheran norm of doctrine increased when the Reformed of Germany, in 1563, made the Heidelberg Catechism their particular confession.

Like the Smalcald Articles, Luther's Catechisms achieved their symbolical authority by themselves, without resolutions of princes, estates, and theologians. The Thorough Declaration of the Formula of Concord is merely chronicling actual facts when it adopts the Catechisms for this reason: "because they have been unanimously approved and received by all churches adhering to the Augsburg Confession, and have been publicly used in churches, schools, and homes, and, moreover, because the Christian doctrine from God's Word is comprised in them in the most correct and simple way, and, in like manner, is explained, as far as necessary for simple laymen." (852, 8.) The Epitome adds: "And because such matters concern also the laity and the salvation of their souls, we also confess the Small and Large Catechisms of Dr. Luther, as they are included in Luther's works, as the Bible of the laity, wherein everything is comprised which is treated at greater length in Holy Scripture, and is necessary for a Christian man to know for his salvation." (777, 5.)

116. Enemies and Friends of Small Catechism.

In recent times liberal German theologians, pastors, and teachers have endeavored to dislodge Luther's Small Catechism from its position in church, school, and home. As a rule, these attacks were made in the name of pedagogy; the real cause, however, were their liberal dogmatical views. The form was mentioned and assailed, but the contents were meant. As a sample of this hostility we quote the pedagog, philologian, and historian Dr. Ludwig Gurlitt (*Die Zukunft*, Vol. 17, No. 6, p. 222): "At the beginning of the sixteenth century," he says, "a monk eloped from a cloister and wrote a religious book of instruction for the German children. At the time it was a bold innovation, the delight of all freethinkers and men of progress, of all who desired to serve the future. This book, which will soon celebrate its five-[four-]hundredth anniversary, is still the chief book of instruction for German children. True, its contents already are so antiquated that parents reject almost every sentence of it for themselves; true, the man of to-day understands its language only with difficulty — what of it, the children must gulp down the moldy, musty food. How we would scoff and jeer if a similar report were made about the school system of China! To this Lutheran Catechism, which I would best like to see in

state libraries only, are added many antiquated hymns of mystical turgidity, which a simple youth, even with the best will, does not know how to use. All outlived! Faith in the Bible owes its existence only to the tough power and law of inertia. It is purely mechanical thinking and speaking which the schoolmaster preaches to them and pounds into them. We continue thus because we are too indolent to fight, or because we fear an enlightened people."

The best refutation of such and similar aspersions is a reference to the enormous circulation which Luther's Small Catechism has enjoyed, to its countless editions, translations, elaborations, and its universal use in church, school, and home for four centuries. Thirty-seven years after the publication of Luther's Catechisms, Mathesius wrote: "Praise God, it is said that in our times over one hundred thousand copies have been printed and used in great numbers in all kinds of languages in foreign lands and in all Latin and German schools." And since then, down to the present day, millions and millions of hands have been stretched forth to receive Luther's catechetical classic. While during the last four centuries hundreds of catechisms have gone under, Luther's Enchiridion is afloat to-day and is just as seaworthy as when it was first launched. A person, however, endowed with an average measure of common sense will hardly be able to believe that the entire Lutheran Church has, for four centuries, been so stupid as would have been the case if men of Dr. Gurlitt's stripe had spoken only half the truth in their criticisms.

Moreover, the number of detractors disappears in the great host of friends who down to the present day have not tired of praising the Catechisms, especially the Enchiridion. They admire its artistic and perfect form; its harmonious grouping, as of the petals of a flower; the melody and rhythm of its language, notably in the explanation of the Second Article; its clarity, perspicuity, and popularity; its simplicity, coupled with depth and richness of thought; the absence of polemics and of theological terminology, etc. However, with all this and many other things which have been and might be said in praise of the Catechism, the feature which made it what it truly was, a Great Deed of the Reformation, has not as yet been pointed out. Luther Paulinized, Evangelicalized, the Catechism by properly setting forth in his explanations the *finis historiae*, the blessed meaning of the great deeds of God, the doctrine of justification. Indeed, also Luther's Catechism is, in more than one way, conditioned by its times, but in its kernel, in its doctrine, it contains, as Albrecht puts it, "timeless, never-aging material. For in it pulsates the heart-beat of the primitive Christian faith, as witnessed by the apostles, and experienced anew by the Reformer." (648.) This, too, is the reason why Luther's Enchiridion is, indeed, as G. v. Zezschwitz remarks, "a booklet which a theologian never finishes learning, and a Christian never finishes living."

117. Evaluation of Small Catechism.

Luther himself reckoned his Catechisms among his most important books. In his letter to Wolfgang Capito, July 9, 1537, he writes: "I am quite cold and indifferent about arranging my books, for, incited by a Saturnine hunger, I would much rather have them all devoured, *eo quod Saturnina fame percitus magis cuperem eos omnes devoratos.* For none do I acknowledge as really my books, except perhaps *De Servo Arbitrio* and the Catechism." (Enders, 11, 247.) Justus Jonas declares: "The Catechism is but a small booklet, which can be purchased for six pfennige, but six thousand worlds could not pay for it." He believed that the Holy Ghost inspired the blessed Luther to write it. Mathesius says: "If in his career Luther had produced and done no other good thing than to give his two Catechisms to homes, schools, and pulpits, the entire world could never sufficiently thank or repay him for it." J. Fr. Mayer: *"Tot res, quot verba. Tot utilitates, quot apices complectens. Pagellis brevis, sed rerum theologicarum amplitudine incomparabilis.* As many thoughts as words; as many uses as there are characters in the book. Brief in pages, but incomparable in amplitude of theological thoughts."

In his dedicatory epistle of 1591, to Chemnitz's *Loci*, Polycarp Leyser says: "That sainted man, Martin Luther, never took greater pains than when he drew up into a brief sum those prolix expositions which he taught most energetically in his various books. . . . Therefore he composed the Short Catechism, which is more precious than gold or gems, in which the pure doctrine of the prophets and apostles (*prophetica et apostolica doctrinae puritas*) is summed up into one integral doctrinal body, and set forth in such clear words that it may justly be considered worthy of the Canon (for everything has been drawn from the canonical Scriptures). I can truthfully affirm that this very small book contains such a wealth of so many and so great things that, if all faithful preachers of the Gospel during their entire lives would do nothing else in their sermons than explain aright to the common people the secret wisdom of God comprised in those few words, and set forth from the divine Scriptures the solid ground upon which each word is built, they could never exhaust this immense abyss."

Leopold von Ranke, in his *German History of the Time of the Reformation*, 1839, declares: "The Catechism which Luther published in 1529, and of which he said that he, old Doctor though he was, prayed it, is as childlike as it is deep, as comprehensible as it is unfathomable, simple, and sublime. Blessed is the man who nourishes his soul with it, who adheres to it! He has imperishable comfort in every moment: under a thin shell the kernel of truth, which satisfies the wisest of the wise."

Loehe, another enthusiastic panegyrist of Luther, declares: "The Small Lutheran Catechism can be read and spoken throughout with

a praying heart; in short, it can be prayed. This can be said of no other catechism. It contains the most definitive doctrine, resisting every perversion, and still it is not polemical — it exhales the purest air of peace. In it is expressed the manliest and most developed knowledge, and yet it admits of the most blissful contemplation the soul may wish for. It is a confession of the Church, and of all, the best known, the most universal, in which God's children most frequently meet in conscious faith; and still this universal confession speaks in a most pleasing personal tone. Warm, hearty, childlike, yet it is so manly, so courageous, so free the individual confessor speaks here. Of all the confessions comprised in the Concordia of 1580, this is the most youthful, the clearest, and the most penetrating note in the harmonious chime, and, withal, as rounded and finished as any. One may say that in it the firmest objectiveness appears in the garb of the most pleasing subjectiveness."

Schmauk writes: "The Small Catechism is the real epitome of Lutheranism in the simplest, the most practical, the most modern and living, and, at the same time, the most radical form. It steers clear of all obscure historical allusions; it contains no condemnatory articles; it is based on the shortest and the oldest of the ecumenical symbols. It is not a work for theologians, but for every Lutheran; and it is not nearly as large as the Augsburg Confession." (*Conf. Prin.*, 696.)

McGiffert says: "In 1529 appeared his [Luther's] Large and Small Catechisms, the latter containing a most beautiful summary of Christian faith and duty, wholly devoid of polemics of every kind, and so simple and concise as to be easily understood and memorized by every child. It has formed the basis of the religious education of German youth ever since. Though preceded by other catechisms from the pen of this and that colleague or disciple, it speedily displaced them all, not simply because of its authorship, but because of its superlative merit, and has alone maintained itself in general use. The versatility of the Reformer in adapting himself with such success to the needs of the young and immature is no less than extraordinary. Such a little book as this it is that reveals most clearly the genius of the man." (*Life of Luther*, 316.)

O. Albrecht writes: "Reverently adhering to the churchly tradition and permeating it with the new understanding of the Gospel, such are the characteristics of Luther's Catechisms, especially the Small Catechism." "On every page new and original features appear beside the traditional elements." "The essential doctrinal content of the booklet is thoroughly original; in it Luther offered a carefully digested presentation of the essence of Christianity, according to his own understanding as the Reformer, in a manner adapted to the comprehension of children — a simple, pithy description of his own personal Christian piety, without polemics and systematization, but with the convincing power of experienced truth." (W. 30, 1, 647.) — Similar testimonies might easily be multiplied and have been collected and published repeatedly.

The best praise, however, comes from the enemy in the form of imitation or even verbal appropriation. Albrecht says: "Old Catholic catechetes, and not the worst, have not hesitated to draw on Luther's Large Catechism. If one peruses the widely spread catechism of the Dominican monk John Dietenberger, of 1537 (reprinted by Maufang in his work on the Catholic Catechisms of the sixteenth century, 1881), one is frequently edified and delighted by the diligence with which, besides older material, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms, as well as the Nuernberg Catechism-sermons of 1533, have been exploited." (W. 30, 1, 497.)

118. Literary Merit of Small Catechism.

Moenckeberg remarks: The Small Catechism betrays "the imperfection of the haste in which it had to be finished." As a matter of fact, however, Luther, the master of German, paid much attention also to its language, in order, by pithy brevity and simple, attractive form, to make its glorious truths the permanent property of the children and unlearned who memorized it. In his publication "*Zur Sprache und Geschichte des Kleinen Katechismus Luthers*, Concerning the Language and History of Luther's Small Catechism," 1909, J. Gillhoff writes: "Here, if ever, arose a master of language, who expressed the deepest mysteries in sounds most simple. Here, if ever, there was created in the German language and spirit, and in brief compass, a work of art of German prose. If ever the gods blessed a man to create, consciously or unconsciously, on the soil of the people and their needs, a perfect work of popular art in the spirit of the people and in the terms of their speech, to the weal of the people and their youth throughout the centuries, it was here. The explanation of the Second Article is one of the chief creations of the home art of German poetry. And such it is, not for the reason that it rises from desert surroundings, drawing attention to itself alone, but because it sums up and crowns the character of the book throughout." (16.)

Speaking in particular of the Second Article, Bang, in 1909, said in his lecture "*Luthers Kleiner Katechismus, ein Kleinod der Volksschule* — Luther's Small Catechism, a Jewel of the Public Schools": "The Catechism is precious also for the reason that Luther in the explanations strikes a personal, subjective, confessional note. When at home I read the text of the Second Article in silence, and then read Luther's explanation *aloud*, it seems to me as if a hymn rushing heavenward arises from the lapidary record of facts. It is no longer the language of the word, but of the sound as well. The text reports objectively, like the language of a Roman, writing tables of law. The explanation witnesses and confesses subjectively. It is Christianity transformed into flesh and blood. It sounds like an oath of allegiance to the flag. In its ravishing tone we perceive the marching tread

of the myriads of believers of nineteen centuries; we see them moving onward under the fluttering banner of the cross in war, victory, and peace. And we, too, by a power which cannot be expressed in words, are drawn into the great, blessed experience of our ancestors and champions. Who would dare to lay his impious hands on this consecrated, inherited jewel, and rob the coming generations of it?!" (20.)

X. The Smalcald War and the Augsburg and Leipzig Interims.

119. Bulwark of Peace Removed.

Luther died on the day of Concordia, February 18, 1546. With him peace and concord departed from the Lutheran Church. His death was everywhere the signal for action against true Lutheranism on the part of both its avowed enemies and false brethren. As long as that hero of faith and prayer was still living, the weight of his personal influence and authority proved to be a veritable bulwark of peace and doctrinal purity against the enemies within as well as without the Church. Though enemies seeking to devour had been lurking long ago, the powerful and commanding personality of Luther had checked all forces making for war from without and for dissension from within. The Emperor could not be induced to attack the Lutherans. He knew that they would stand united and strong as long as the Hero of the Reformation was in their midst. Nor were the false brethren able to muster up sufficient courage to come out into the open and publish their errors while the voice of the lion was heard.

But no sooner had Luther departed than strife began its distracting work. War, political as well as theological, followed in the wake of his death. From the grave of the fallen hero a double specter began to loom up. Pope and Emperor now joined hands to crush Protestantism by brute force as they had planned long ago. The result was the Smalcald War. The secret enemies which Lutheranism harbored within its own bosom began boldly to raise their heads. Revealing their true colors and coming out in the open with their pernicious errors, they caused numerous controversies which spread over all Germany (Saxony, the cradle of the Reformation, becoming the chief battlefield), and threatened to undo completely the blessed work of Luther, to disrupt and disintegrate the Church, or to pervert it into a unionistic or Reformed sect. Especially these discreditable internal dissensions were a cause of deep humiliation and of anxious concern to all loyal Lutherans. To the Romanists and Reformed, however, who united in predicting the impending collapse of Lutheranism, they were a source of malicious and triumphant scoffing and jeering. A prominent theologian reported that by 1566 matters had come to such a pass in Germany that the old Lutheran doctrine was publicly proclaimed only in relatively few places. In the Calvinized Palatinate public thanks were rendered to God in the churches that also Electoral Saxony was now about to join them. The Jesuits insisted that, having abandoned the doctrine of the real presence in the Lord's Supper, the Lutherans were no longer genuine Lutherans and hence no more entitled to the privileges guaranteed by the Peace of Augsburg (1555). That the final result of this turmoil, political as well as theological, proved a blessing to the Lutheran Church must be regarded and ever gratefully remembered as a special grace and a remarkable favor of Almighty God.

120. Luther Foretold Coming Distress.

Though fully conscious of the gravity of the political and theological situation, and convinced that war and dissensions were bound to come, Luther was at the same time confident that it would not occur during his life. With respect to the coming war he said: "With great earnestness I have asked God, and still pray daily, that He would thwart their [the Papists'] plan and suffer no war to come upon Germany during my life. And I am confident that God surely hears such prayer of mine, and I know that there will be no war in Germany as long as I shall live." (St. L. 9, 1856.) In his Commentary on the Book of Genesis he wrote: "It is a great consolation when he says (Is. 57, 1) that the righteous are taken away from the evil to come. Thus we, too, shall die in peace before misfortune and misery overtake Germany." (St. L. 1, 1758.)

Luther spoke frequently also of the impending doctrinal dissensions. As early as 1531 he declared that the Gospel would abide only a short time. "When the present pious, true preachers will be dead," said he, "others will come who will preach and act as it pleases the devil." (8, 72.) In 1546 he said in a sermon preached at Wittenberg: "Up to this time you have heard the real, true Word; now beware of your own thoughts and wisdom. The devil will kindle the light of reason and lead you away from the faith, as he did the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. . . . I see clearly that, if God does not give us faithful preachers and ministers, the devil will tear our church to pieces by the fanatics (*Rottengeister*), and will not cease until he has finished. Such is plainly his object. If he cannot accomplish it through the Pope and the Emperor, he will do it through those who are [now] in doctrinal agreement with us.... Therefore pray earnestly that God may preserve the Word to you, for things will come to a dreadful pass." (12, 1174. 437.)

Reading the signs of the times, Melanchthon also realized that Luther's prophecies would be fulfilled. His address to the students of Wittenberg University, on February 19, 1546, in which he announced the death of Luther, concludes: "*Obiit auriga et currus Israel.* He is dead, the chariot of Israel and the horsemen thereof, who guided the Church

in this last old age of the world. For the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins and of faith in the Son of God was not discovered by human sagacity, but revealed by God through this man. Let us therefore love his memory and his teaching; and may we be all the more humble and ponder the terrible calamity and the great changes which will follow this misfortune." (*C. R.* 6, 59.)

Nor were these prophecies of Luther mere intuitions or deductions based on general reflections only. They were inductions from facts which he had not failed to observe at Wittenberg, even in his immediate surroundings. Seckendorf relates that Luther, when sick at Smalcald in 1537, told the Elector of Saxony that after his death, discord would break out in the University of Wittenberg, and that his doctrine would be changed. (*Comm. de Lutheranismo* 3, 165.) In his Preface to Luther's Table Talk, John Aurifaber reports that Luther had frequently predicted that after his death his doctrine would wane and decline because of false brethren, fanatics, and sectarians, and that the truth, which in 1530 had been placed on a pinnacle at Augsburg, would descend into the valley, since the Word of God had seldom flourished more than forty years in one place. (Richard, *Conf. Hist.*, 311.) Stephanus Tucher, a faithful Lutheran preacher of Magdeburg, wrote in 1549: "Doctor Martin Luther, of sainted memory, has frequently repeated before many trustworthy witnesses, and also before Doctor Augustine Schurf, these words: 'After my death not one of these [Wittenberg] theologians will remain steadfast.'" Tucher adds: "This I have heard of Doctor Augustine Schurf not once, but frequently. Therefore I also testify to it before Christ, my Lord, the righteous Judge," etc. (St. L. 12, 1177; Walther, *Kern und Stern*, 7.)

It was, above all, the spirit of indifferentism toward false doctrine, particularly concerning the Lord's Supper, which Luther observed and deplored in his Wittenberg colleagues: Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Cruciger, Eber, and Major. Shortly before his last journey to Eisleben he invited them to his house, where he addressed to them the following solemn words of warning: They should "remain steadfast in the Gospel; for I see that soon after my death the most prominent brethren will fall away. I am not afraid of the Papists," he added; "for most of them are coarse, unlearned asses and Epicureans; but *our brethren* will inflict the damage on the Gospel; for 'they went out from us, but they were not of us' (1 John 2, 19); they will give the Gospel a harder blow than did the Papists." About the same time Luther had written above the entrance to his study: "Our professors are to be examined on the Lord's Supper." When Major, who was about to leave for the colloquy at Regensburg, entered and inquired what these words signified, Luther answered: "The meaning of these words is precisely what you read and what they say; and when you and I shall have returned, an examination will have to be held, to which you as well as others will be cited." Major protested that he was not addicted to any false doctrine. Luther answered: "It is by your silence and cloaking that you cast suspicion upon yourself. If you believe as you declare in my presence, then speak so also in the church, in public lectures, in sermons, and in private conversations, and strengthen your brethren, and lead the erring back to the right path, and contradict the contumacious spirits; otherwise your confession is sham pure and simple, and worth nothing. Whoever really regards his doctrine, faith, and confession as true, right, and certain cannot remain in the same stall with such as teach, or adhere to, false doctrine; nor can he keep on giving friendly words to Satan and his minions. A teacher who remains silent when errors are taught, and nevertheless pretends to be a true teacher, is worse than an open fanatic and by his hypocrisy does greater damage than a heretic. Nor can he be trusted. He is a wolf and a fox, a hireling and a servant of his belly, and ready to despise and to sacrifice doctrine, Word, faith, Sacrament, churches, and schools. He is either a secret bedfellow of the enemies, or a skeptic and a weathervane, waiting to see whether Christ or the devil will prove victorious; or he has no convictions of his own whatever, and is not worthy to be called a pupil, let alone a teacher; nor does he want to offend anybody, or say a word in favor of Christ, or hurt the devil and the world." (Walther, 39 f.)

121. Unfortunate Issue of Smalcald War.

All too soon the predictions of Luther, and the fears expressed by Melanchthon and others, were realized. June 26, 1546, four months after Luther's death, Pope and Emperor entered into a secret agreement to compel the Protestants by force of arms to acknowledge the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to return to the bosom of the Roman Church. The covenant provided that, "in the name of God and with the help and assistance of His Papal Holiness, His Imperial Majesty should prepare himself for war, and equip himself with soldiers and everything pertaining to warfare against those who objected to the Council, against the Smalcald League, and against all who were addicted to the false belief and error in Germany, and that he do so with all his power and might, in order to bring them back to the old [papal] faith and to the obedience of the Holy See." The Pope promised to assist the Emperor with 200,000 Krontaler, more than 12,000 Italian soldiers, and quite a number of horsemen. He furthermore permitted the Emperor to appropriate, for the purpose of this war, one half of the total income of the church property in Spain and 500,000 Krontaler from the revenue of the Spanish cloisters.

While the Emperor endeavored to veil the real purpose of his preparations, the Pope openly declared in a bull of July 4, 1546: "From the beginning of our Papacy it has

always been our concern how to root out the weeds of godless doctrines which the heretics have sowed throughout Germany. . . . Now it has come to pass that, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, our dearest son in Christ, Charles, the Roman Emperor, has decided to employ the sword against these enemies of God. And for the protection of religion we intend to promote this pious enterprise with all our own and the Roman Church's possessions. Accordingly, we admonish all Christians to assist in this war with their prayers to God and their alms, in order that the godless heresy may be rooted out and the dissension removed. . . . To each and all who do these things we grant the most complete indulgence and remission of all their sins." (St. L. 17, 1453 ff. Walther, 10.)

The Smalcald War, so called because it was directed against the Smalcald League, was easily won by the Emperor. Among the causes of this unfortunate issue were the neutral attitude of Joachim II of Brandenburg and of other Lutheran princes, and especially the treachery of the ambitious and unscrupulous Maurice, Duke of Saxony and nephew of Elector John Frederick of Saxony, who, in order to gain the Electorate of Saxony, had made a secret agreement with the Emperor according to which he was to join his forces with those of the Emperor against the Lutherans. The decisive battle was fought at Muehlberg on the Elbe, April 24, 1547. It proved to be a crushing defeat for the Protestants. The Elector himself was taken captive, treated as a rebel, and sentenced to death. The sentence was read to him while he was playing chess with his fellow-captive, Duke Ernest of Lueneburg. John Frederick answered, he did not believe that the Emperor would deal so severely with him; if, however, he were in earnest, they should let him know that he might order his affairs with his wife and children. He then calmly turned to the Duke, saying: "Let us continue the game; it's your move." (Jaekel, *G. d. Ref.* 1, 114.) The day after the battle at Muehlberg, Torgau fell into the hands of the Emperor; and when he threatened to execute the Elector, having already erected a scaffold for this purpose, Wittenberg, too, though well protected by 5,000 soldiers, signed a capitulation on May 19, in order to save the Elector's life. On the 23d of May, Wittenberg was occupied by the Emperor. Here Charles, when standing at the grave of Luther, and urged to have the body of "the heretic" exhumed, spoke the memorable words that he was warring not with the dead, but with the living. The death-sentence was rescinded, but, apart from other cruel conditions forced upon the Elector, he was compelled to resign in favor of Maurice and promise to remain in captivity as long as the Emperor should desire. His sons were granted the districts of Weimar, Jena, Eisenach, and Gotha. Philip of Hesse surrendered without striking a blow, and was likewise treacherously held in captivity and humiliated in every possible way by the Emperor. The imperial plenipotentiaries had assured the Landgrave that he would not be imprisoned. Afterwards, however, the words in the document, "not any bodily captivity — *nit eenige Leibesgefangenschaft*," were fraudulently changed by Granvella to read, "not eternal captivity — *nit ewige Leibesgefangenschaft*." (Marheineke, *G. d. Deut. Ref.* 4, 438.) The sons of the Landgrave remained in possession of his territory. Thus all of Southern and, barring a few cities, also all of Northern Germany was conquered by Charles. Everywhere the Lutherans were at the tender mercy of the Emperor, whose undisputed power struck terror into all Germany.

122. The Augsburg Interim.

The first step to reduce the Lutherans to obedience to the Pope was the so-called Augsburg Interim. It was proclaimed by the Emperor at Augsburg on May 15, 1548, as the law of the Empire under the title: "Der roemischen kaiserlichen Majestaet Erklaerung, wie es der Religion halben im heiligen Reich bis zu Austrag des gemeinen Concilii gehalten werden soll." The people were also forbidden to teach, write, or preach against the document. The Interim had been prepared by the papal bishops Julius Pflug and Michael Helding and the court-preacher of Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, John Agricola, a man with whom Luther had, already since 1540, refused to have any further intercourse owing to his insincerity and duplicity. "I go forth as the Reformer of all Germany," Agricola boasted when he left Berlin to attend the Diet at Augsburg, which was to open September 1, 1547. After the Diet he bragged that in Augsburg he had flung the windows wide open for the Gospel; that he had reformed the Pope and made the Emperor a Lutheran; that a golden time had now arrived, for the Gospel would be preached in all Europe; that he had not only been present, but had presided at the drafting of the Interim; that he had received 500 crowns from the Emperor and 500 from King Ferdinand, etc. (Preger, *M. Flacius Illyricus*, 1, 119.)

The document, prepared at the command of the Emperor, was called Interim because its object was to regulate the church affairs until the religious controversy would be finally settled by the Council of Trent, to the resolutions of which the Lutherans were required to submit. It was, however, essentially papal. For the time being, indeed, it permitted Protestant clergymen to marry, and to celebrate the Lord's Supper in both kinds, but demanded the immediate restoration of the Romish customs and ceremonies, the acknowledgment of papal supremacy *iure divino*, as well as the jurisdiction of the bishops, and the adoption of articles in which the doctrines were all explained in the sense of the Catholic dogmas, and in which truth and falsehood, in general, were badly mingled. Transubstantiation, the seven sacraments, and other papal errors were reaffirmed, while Lutheran tenets, such as the doctrine of justification by faith alone, were either denied or omitted.

And from the fact that this Interim was nevertheless condemned by the Pope and the Romanists, who demanded an unqualified, blind, and unconditional submission, the Lutherans could infer what they were to expect after consenting to these interimistic provisions. The general conviction among Catholics as well as Protestants was that the Interim was but the first step to a complete return to Romanism. Indeed, soon after its promulgation, the Catholic Electors of Mainz and Koeln endeavored to rob the Lutherans also of the use of the cup and of the marriage of the priests. The Elector of Mainz declared all such marriages void and their children bastards. (Jaekel, 162.)

In the most important point, the doctrine of justification, the Augsburg Interim not only omitted the *sola fide*, but clearly taught that justification embraces also renewal. When God justifies a man, the Interim declared, He does not only absolve him from his guilt, but also "makes him better by imparting the Holy Ghost, who cleanses his heart and incites it through the love of God which is shed abroad in his heart." (Frank, *Theologie d. Konkordienformel*, 2, 80.) A man "is absolved from the guilt of eternal damnation and renewed through the Holy Spirit, and thus an unjust man becomes just." (143.) Again: "This faith obtains the gift of the Holy Ghost, by which the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts; and after this has been added to faith and hope, we are truly justified by the infused righteousness which is in man; for this righteousness consists in faith, hope, and love." (81.)

In Southern Germany, Charles V and his Italian and Spanish troops, employing brute force, succeeded in rigidly enforcing the Interim outwardly and temporarily. Free cities rejecting it were deprived of their liberties and privileges. Constance, having fallen after a heroic defense, was annexed to Austria. Magdeburg offered the longest resistance and was outlawed three times. Defiantly its citizens declared: "We are saved neither by an Interim nor by an Exterim, but by the Word of God alone." (Jaekel 1, 166.) Refractory magistrates were treated as rebels. Pastors who declined to introduce the Interim were deposed; some were banished, others incarcerated, still others even executed. In Swabia and along the Rhine about four hundred ministers were willing to suffer imprisonment and banishment rather than conform to the Interim. They were driven into exile with their families, and some of them were killed. When Jacob Sturm of Augsburg presented his grievances to Granvella, the latter answered: "If necessary, one might proceed against heretics also with fire." "Indeed," Sturm retorted, "you may kill people by fire, but even in this way you cannot force their faith." (165.) Bucer and Fagius, preachers in Augsburg, left for England. Musculus was deposed because he had preached against the Interim. Osiander was compelled to leave Nuernberg, Erhard Schnepf, Wuerttemberg. Among the fugitives eagerly sought throughout Germany by the imperial henchmen was Brenz in Schwaebisch-Hall, the renowned theologian of Wuerttemberg, who spoke of the Interim only as "Interitus, Ruin." (*C. R.* 7, 289.) The tombstone of Brenz bears the inscription: "*Voce, stylo, pietate, fide, ardore probatus* — Renowned for his eloquence, style, piety, faithfulness, and ardor." (Jaekel, 164.) A prize of 5,000 gulden was offered for the head of Caspar Aquila, who was one of the first to write against the Interim. (Preger 1, 12.) Of course, by persecuting and banishing their ministers, the Emperor could not and did not win the people. Elector Frederick II of the Palatinate consented to introduce the Interim. But even in Southern Germany the success of the Emperor was apparent rather than real. The churches in Augsburg, Ulm, and other cities stood empty as a silent protest against the Interim and imperial tyranny.

In Northern Germany the Emperor met with more than a mere passive resistance on the part of the people as well as the preachers. The Interim was regarded as a trap for the Lutherans. The slogan ran: "There is a rogue behind the Interim! *O selig ist der Mann, Der Gott vertrauen kann Und willigt nicht ins Interim, Denn es hat den Schalk hinter ihm!*" The Interim was rejected in Brunswick, Hamburg, Luebeck, Lueneburg, Goslar, Bremen, Goettingen, Hannover, Einbeck, Eisleben, Mansfeld, Stolberg, Schwarzburg, Hohenstein, Halle, etc. Joachim of Brandenburg endeavored to introduce it, but soon abandoned these efforts. At a convent of 300 preachers assembled in Berlin for the purpose of subscribing to the Interim, an old minister, whose name was Leutinger, arose and declared in the presence of Agricola, the coauthor of the Interim: "I love Agricola, and more than him I love my Elector; but my Lord Jesus Christ I love most," and saying this, he cast the document handed him for subscription into the flames of the fire burning in the hearth. Before this, Margrave Hans, of Kuestrin, had flung away the pen handed him for the subscription of the infamous document, saying: "I shall never adopt this poisonous concoction, nor submit to any council. Rather sword than pen; blood rather than ink!"

The three Counts of Mansfeld, Hans Jorge, Hans Albrecht, and Hans Ernest, declared in a letter of August 20, 1548, to the Emperor: "Most gracious Emperor and Lord! As for our government, the greater part of the people are miners, who have not much to lose and are easily induced to leave. Nor are they willing to suffer much coercion. Yet the welfare of our whole government depends upon them. Besides, we know that, if we should press the matter, all of the preachers would leave, and the result would be a desolation of preaching and of the Sacraments. And after losing our preachers, our own lives and limbs would not be safe among the miners, and we must needs expect a revolt of all the people." (Walther, 19 f.) Thus the Interim before long became a dead letter throughout the greater part of Germany.

123. Attitude of John Frederick toward Interim.

In order to obtain his liberty, the vacillating Philip of Hesse, though he had declined to submit to the resolutions of the Council of Trent, declared himself willing to adopt the Interim. "It is better," he is reported to have said, "to hear a mass than to play cards," etc. (Jaekel 1, 130. 162.) Especial efforts were also made by the Emperor to induce John Frederick to declare his submission to the Council and to sanction the Interim. But the Elector solemnly protested that this was impossible for him. All attempts to induce him to abandon his religious convictions met with quiet, but determined resistance. One of the cruel conditions under which the Emperor was willing to rescind the death-sentence passed on the Elector was, that he should consent to everything the Emperor or the Council would prescribe in matters of religion. But the Elector declared: "I will rather lose my head and suffer Wittenberg to be battered down than submit to a demand that violates my conscience. *Lieber will ich meinen Kopf verlieren und Wittenberg zusammenschiessen lassen, als eine Forderung eingehen, die mein Gewissen verletzt.*" (1, 116.) Through Granvella the Emperor promised the Elector liberty if he would sign the Interim. But again the Elector declared decidedly that this was impossible for him.

In a written answer to the Emperor the ex-Elector declared, boldly confessing his faith: "I cannot refrain from informing Your Majesty that since the days of my youth I have been instructed and taught by the servants of God's Word, and by diligently searching the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures I have also learned to know, and (this I testify as in the sight of God) unswervingly to adhere in my conscience to this, that the articles composing the Augsburg Confession, and whatever is connected therewith, are the correct, true, Christian, pure doctrine, confirmed by, and founded in, the writings of the holy prophets and apostles, and of the teachers who followed in their footsteps, in such a manner that no substantial objection can be raised against it. . . . Since now in my conscience I am firmly persuaded of this, I owe this gratefulness and obedience to God, who has shown me such unspeakable grace, that, as I desire to obtain eternal salvation and escape eternal damnation, I do not fall away from the truth of His almighty will which His Word has revealed to me, and which I know to be the truth. For such is the comforting and also the terrible word of God: 'Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny Me before men, him will I also deny before My Father which is in heaven.' If I should acknowledge and adopt the Interim as Christian and godly, I would have to condemn and deny against my own conscience, knowingly and maliciously, the Augsburg Confession, and whatever I have heretofore held and believed concerning the Gospel of Christ, and approve with my mouth what I regard in my heart and conscience as altogether contrary to the holy and divine Scriptures. This, O my God in heaven, would indeed be misusing and cruelly blaspheming Thy holy name, . . . for which I would have to pay all too dearly with my soul. For this is truly the sin against the Holy Ghost concerning which Christ says that it shall never be forgiven, neither in this nor in the world to come, *i. e.*, in eternity." (Walther, 16.)

The Emperor was small enough to punish the heroic refusal and bold confession of the Elector by increasing the severity of his imprisonment. For now he was deprived of Luther's writings and even of the Bible. But the Elector, who drew the line of submission at his conscience and faith, declared, "that they were able indeed to deprive him of the books, but could not tear out of his heart what he had learned from them." And when Musculus and the Lutheran preachers of Augsburg whom the Emperor had banished because of their refusal to introduce the Interim, took leave of the Elector, the latter said: "Though the Emperor has banished you from the realm, he has not banished you from heaven. Surely, God will find some other country where you may preach His Word." (Jaekel, 164.)

124. Melanchthon's Attitude toward the Interim.

In the beginning, Melanchthon, too, assumed an attitude of defiance over against the Augsburg Interim. Especially among his friends and in his private letters he condemned it. In several letters, also to Elector Maurice, he and his Wittenberg colleagues declared that they disapproved of the document, and that the doctrine must not be denied, changed, nor falsified. (*C. R.* 6, 874. 954.) April 25, 1548, he wrote to Camerarius that the Interim corrupted the truth in the doctrine of justification, and that he was unable to assent to its sophisms. (878. 900.) April 29, 1548: "The manifest facts teach that efforts at conciliation with our persecutors are vain. Even though some kind of concord is patched up, still a peace will be established such as exists between wolves and lambs. *Etiam cum sarcitur concordia qualiscumque, tamen pax constituitur, qualis est inter lupos et agnos.*" (*C. R.* 6, 889; Frank 4, 90.) In a letter to Christian, King of Denmark (June 13, 1548), he said that the Interim "confirmed and reestablished many papal errors and abuses," and that the "abominable book would cause many dissensions in the German nation." (*C. R.* 6, 923.) June 20 he wrote with reference to the Interim: "I shall not change the doctrine of our churches, nor assent to those who do." (946.) July 31, to the Margrave John of Brandenburg: "As for my person, I do not intend to approve of this book, called Interim, for which I have many weighty reasons, and will commend my miserable life to God, even if I am imprisoned or banished." (7, 85.) In a letter of August 10 he speaks of the cor-

ruptions "which are found in the Augsburg sphinx," and declares that he is determined faithfully to guard the doctrine of the Gospel. (97.) August 13, 1548, he wrote to Medler: "Brenz, Nopus [Noppius], Musculus, learned, pious, and most deserving men, have been driven from their churches, and I hear that everywhere others are being expelled from other places, — and Islebius [Agricola] is shouting that this is the way to spread the Gospel." (102.)

In a criticism of the Augsburg Interim published in the beginning of July, 1548, Melanchthon declared: "Although war and destruction are threatened, it is, nevertheless, our duty to regard the Word of God as higher; that is to say, we must not deny what we know to be the truth of the Gospel." On November 10, 1548, he said before a convention of theologians: "Remember that you are the guardians of truth, and consider what has been entrusted to you for preservation by God through the prophets and the apostles, and, last of all, through Dr. Luther. If that man were still living, the misfortune of a change of doctrine would not be threatening us; but now that there is no one who is clothed with the authority which he had, now that there is no one who warns as he was wont to do, and many are accepting error for truth, the churches are brought to ruin, the doctrine heretofore correctly transmitted is distorted, idolatrous customs are established, fear, doubt, and strife are reigning everywhere." (Walther, 21.)

However, though Melanchthon disapproved of the imperial Interim, he was afraid to antagonize it openly and unflinchingly. Yet it was just such a public and decided testimony that was needed, and everywhere expected of Melanchthon; for he was generally regarded as the logical and lawful successor of Luther and as the theological leader of the Church. July 22, 1548, Aquila wrote: "What shall I say of the arch-knave Eisleben, Agricola? He said: 'The Interim is the best book and work making for unity in the whole Empire and for religious agreement throughout all Europe. For now the Pope is reformed, and the Emperor is a Lutheran.'" Imploring Melanchthon to break his silence and sound the public warning, Aquila continues: "Thou holy man, answer and come to our assistance, defend the Word and name of Christ and His honor (which is the highest good on earth) against that virulent sycophant Agricola, who is an impostor." (7, 78.)

Such were the sentiments of loyal Lutherans everywhere. But Melanchthon, intimidated by threats of the Emperor, and fearing for his safety, turned a deaf ear to these entreaties. While the captive Elector was determined to die rather than submit to the Interim, and while hundreds of Lutheran ministers were deposed, banished, imprisoned, and some of them even executed because of their devotion to the truth, Melanchthon was unwilling to expose himself to the anger of the Emperor. And before long his fear to confess and his refusal to give public testimony to the truth was followed by open denial. At the behest of Elector Maurice he consented to elaborate, as a substitute for the Augsburg Interim, a compromise document — the so-called Leipzig Interim.

125. Melanchthon and the Leipzig Interim.

After the victory of the Emperor and the proclamation of the Augsburg Interim, Maurice, the new-fledged Elector, found himself in a dilemma. Charles V urged him to set a good example in obeying and enforcing the Interim. Indebted as he was to the Emperor for his Electorate, he, to some extent, felt bound to obey him also in religious matters. At the same time, Maurice was personally not at all in agreement with the radical Augsburg Interim and afraid of forfeiting the sympathies of both his old and new subjects on account of it. Nor did he fail to realize the difficulties he would encounter in enforcing it. Accordingly, he notified the Emperor on May 18 that he was not able to introduce the Interim at present. Soon after, he commissioned the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians to elaborate, as a substitute for the Augsburg Interim, a compromise, more favorable and acceptable to his subjects. At the preliminary discussions, especially at Pegau and Celle, the theologians yielded, declaring their willingness to submit to the will of the Emperor with respect to the reintroduction of Romish ceremonies and to acknowledge the authority of the Pope and bishops if they would tolerate the true doctrine. (Preger 1, 40.) The final upshot of it all was the new Interim, a compromise document, prepared chiefly by Melanchthon and adopted December 22, 1548, at Leipzig. This "Resolution of the Diet at Leipzig" was designated by its opponents the "Leipzig Interim." Schaff remarks: "It was the mistake of his [Melanchthon's] life, yet not without plausible excuses and incidental advantages. He advocated immovable steadfastness in doctrine [?], but submission in everything else for the sake of peace. He had the satisfaction that the University of Wittenberg, after temporary suspension, was restored and soon frequented again by two thousand students. [The school was closed May 19, and reopened October 16, 1547.] But outside of Wittenberg and Saxony his conduct appeared treasonable to the cause of the Reformation, and acted as an encouragement to an unscrupulous and uncompromising enemy. Hence the venerable man was fiercely assailed from every quarter by friend and foe." (*Creeds* 1, 300.)

It is generally held that fear induced Melanchthon to condescend to this betrayal of Lutheranism, — for such the Leipzig Interim amounted to in reality. And, no doubt, there is a good deal of truth in this assumption. For Melanchthon had been told that because of his opposition to the Augsburg Interim the anger of the Emperor was directed against him especially, and that he had already called upon Maurice to banish this "arch-heretic." It certainly served the purpose of Maurice

well that he had to deal with Melanchthon, whose fear and vacillation made him as pliable as putty, and not with Luther, on whose unbending firmness all of his schemes would have foundered. However, it cannot have been mere temporary fear which induced Melanchthon to barter away eternal truth for temporal peace. For the theologians of Wittenberg and Leipzig did not only identify themselves with the Leipzig Interim while the threatening clouds of persecution were hovering over them, but also afterwards continued to defend their action. When the representatives of the Saxon cities protested against some of the provisions of the Interim, they declared, on December 28, 1548: "We have learned your request and are satisfied with the articles [Leipzig Interim] delivered, which not we alone, but also several other superintendents and theologians prepared and weighed well; therefore we are unable to change them. For they can well be received and observed without any violence to good conscience." (*C. R.* 7, 270.) It was as late as September, 1556, that Melanchthon, though even then only in a qualified way, admitted that he had sinned in this matter, and should have kept aloof from the insidious counsels of the politicians. (8, 839.) Indeed, in 1557 and 1560 the Leipzig and Wittenberg theologians still defended the position they had occupied during the Interim. Evidently, then, apart from other motives of fear, etc., Melanchthon consented to write the Interim because he still believed in the possibility of arriving at an understanding with the Romanists and tried to persuade himself that the Emperor seriously sought to abolish prevailing errors and abuses, and because the theological views he entertained were not as far apart from those of the Leipzig compromise as is frequently assumed.

126. Provisions of Leipzig Interim.

The professed object of the Leipzig Interim was to effect a compromise in order to escape persecution and desolation of the churches by adhering to the doctrine, notably of justification, but yielding in matters pertaining to ceremonies, etc. December 18, 1548, Melanchthon (in the name of George of Anhalt) wrote to Burchard concerning the Interim adopted four days later: "They [Maurice and the estates] hope to be able to ward off dangers if we receive some rites which are not in themselves vicious; and the charge of unjust obstinacy is made if in such things we are unwilling to contribute toward public tranquillity. . . . In order, therefore, to retain necessary things, we are not too exacting with respect to such as are unnecessary, especially since heretofore these rites have, to a great extent, remained in the churches of these regions. . . . We know that much is said against this moderation; but the devastation of the churches, such as is taking place in Swabia, would be a still greater offense." (7, 251 ff.) The plan of Melanchthon therefore was to yield in things which he regarded as unnecessary in order to maintain the truth and avoid persecution.

As a matter of fact, however, the Leipzig Interim, too, was in every respect a truce over the corpse of true Lutheranism. It was a unionistic document sacrificing Lutheranism doctrinally as well as practically. The obnoxious features of the Augsburg Interim had not been eliminated, but merely toned down. Throughout, the controverted doctrines were treated in ambiguous or false formulas. Tschackert is correct in maintaining that, in the articles of justification and of the Church, "the fundamental thoughts of the Reformation doctrine were catholicized" by the Leipzig Interim. (508.) Even the Lutheran *sola* (*sola fide*, by faith alone) is omitted in the article of justification. The entire matter is presented in terms which Romanists were able to interpret in the sense of their doctrine of "infused righteousness, *iustitia infusa*." Faith is coordinated with other virtues, and good works are declared to be necessary to salvation. "Justification by faith," says Schmauk, "is there [in the Leipzig Interim] so changed as to mean that man is renewed by the Holy Spirit, and can fulfil righteousness with his works, and that God will, for His Son's sake, accept in believers this weak beginning of obedience in this miserable, frail nature." (*Conf. Prin.*, 596.)

Furthermore, the Leipzig Interim indirectly admits the Semi-Pelagian teaching regarding original sin and free will, while other doctrines which should have been confessed are passed by in silence. It recognizes the supremacy of the Pope, restores the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, acknowledges the authority of the council, approves of a number of ceremonies objectionable as such (*e. g.*, the Corpus Christi Festival), and advocates the reintroduction of these and others in order to avoid persecution and to maintain outward peace with the Papists.

Self-evidently, in keeping with the Interim, the Pope also could no longer be regarded as, and publicly declared to be, the Antichrist. In 1561 Flacius wrote that at that time the suspected Lutherans did not consider the Pope the Antichrist. Simon Musaeus and others were banished because they refused to eliminate the hymn "Erhalt uns, Herr, bei deinem Wort" from their services. (Walther, 25.) — Such, then, being the character of the Leipzig Interim, it stands to reason that this document, adopted as it was by Melanchthon and other Lutheran leaders, was bound to become a fertile source of numerous and violent controversies.

127. Flacius and Other Opponents of Interimists.

The Leipzig Interim was imposed upon the churches of Electoral Saxony as a directory for teaching, preaching, and worship. Melanchthon declared that it could be adopted with a good conscience, and hence should be introduced, as demanded by Maurice, in order to insure the peace of the Church. At Wit-

tenberg and other places corresponding efforts were made. But everywhere the result was dissension and strife. The Interim defeated its own purpose. Pastors who declined to conform were deposed, banished, incarcerated, or abused in other ways. And wherever faithful ministers were removed, the people refused to be served by the hirelings who took their places. At the very convention at Leipzig where the Interim was adopted, Wolfgang Pfentner, Superintendent at Annaberg, declared: "What caused them to reintroduce such tomfooleries [Romish ceremonies]? Were they growing childish again? They might do what they wanted to, but as for himself, he could not consent [to the Interim]. And even if he should permit himself to be deceived, his parishioners would not accept it. For in a letter delivered by a messenger on horseback they had charged him to agree to no ungodly article, or not return to them. Accordingly, he would have his head cut off at Leipzig and suffer this with a good conscience rather than give offense to his church." (Walther, 22.)

December 24, three days after the adoption of the Interim, representatives of the cities in Saxony presented complaints to Elector Maurice and Melanchthon against some of the provisions of the document. They protested particularly against the reinstitution of Extreme Unction, the Festival of Corpus Christi, and the use of chrism at Baptism. (*C. R.* 7, 270.) Even the Wittenberg theologians finally admitted that in consequence of "the Interim the rupture had become so great that there was an agreement neither of one church with another, nor, in the same church, of any deacon, any schoolmaster, or sexton with his pastor, nor of one neighbor with another, nor of members of the household with one another." (Walther, 23.)

Foremost among the champions of true Lutheranism over against the Interimists were John Hermann, Aquila, Nicholas Amsdorf, John Wigand, Alberus, Gallus, Matthias Judex, Westphal, and especially Matthias Flacius Illyricus, then (from 1544 to 1549) a member of the Wittenberg faculty, where he opposed all concessions to the Adiaphorists. It is due, no doubt, to Flacius more than to any other individual that true Lutheranism and with it the Lutheran Church was saved from annihilation in consequence of the Interims. In 1548 he began his numerous and powerful publications against them. In the same year, 1548, the following book of John Hermann appeared: "That during These Dangerous Times Nothing should be Changed in the Churches of God in Order to Please the Devil and the Antichrist." In 1549: "Against the Mean Devil who Now Again is Disguising Himself as an Angel of Light."

In 1549, when he was no longer safe in Wittenberg, Flacius removed to Magdeburg, then the only safe asylum in all Germany for such as were persecuted on account of their Lutheran faith and loyalty, where he was joined by such "exiles of Christ" as Wigand, Gallus, and others, who had also been banished and persecuted because of their opposition to the Interim. Here they inaugurated a powerful propaganda by publishing broadsides of annihilating pamphlets against the Interim, as well as its authors, patrons, and abettors. They roused the Lutheran consciousness everywhere; and before long the great majority of Lutherans stood behind Flacius and the heroes of Magdeburg. The publications emanating from this fortress caused such an aversion to the Adiaphoristic princes as well as theologians among the people that from the very outset all their plans and efforts were doomed to failure, and the sinister schemes of the Pope and Emperor were frustrated. Because of this able and staunch defense of Lutheranism and the determined opposition to any unionistic compromise, Magdeburg at that time was generally called "God's chancellery, *Gottes Kanzlei.*" Nor did the opposition subside when this Lutheran stronghold, thrice outlawed by the Emperor, was finally, after a siege of thirteen months, captured by Maurice. In their attacks the champions of Magdeburg were joined also by the ministers of Hamburg and other places. Only in Saxony and Brandenburg the policy of Melanchthon was defended.

As the conflict extended, it grew in bitterness, revealing with increasing luridness the insincerity and dishonesty of the Philippists. True Lutherans everywhere were satisfied that the adoption also of the Leipzig Interim was tantamount to a complete surrender of Lutheranism. Their animosity against this document was all the stronger because it bore the stamp of the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians and was sponsored by Melanchthon, the very man whom they had regarded as Luther's successor and as the leader of the Church. This, too, was the reason why the Leipzig Interim caused even more resentment among the Lutherans, especially in Northern Germany, than did the Augsburg Interim. In their view, Melanchthon and his colleagues had betrayed the cause of the Reformation and practically joined their forces with those of the Romanists, even as Maurice had betrayed the Lutherans politically when fighting at the side of the Emperor against his own coreligionists. Tschackert remarks: "In view of the fact that at that time about 400 Evangelical pastors in Southern Germany, because of their refusal to adopt the Augsburg Interim, had suffered themselves to be driven from their charges and homes and wandered about starving, many with their wives and children, the yielding of the theologians of Electoral Saxony could but appear as unpardonable and as a betrayal of the Church." (508.)

128. Grief over Melanchthon's Inconstancy.

In consequence of his dubious attitude, Melanchthon also, who before this had been generally honored as the leader of the Lutheran Church, completely lost his prestige, even among many of his formerly most devoted

friends. The grief and distress experienced by loyal Lutherans at his wavering and yielding is eloquently expressed by Antonius Corvinus, Superintendent at Kalenberg-Goettingen, the Lutheran martyr, who, because of his opposition to the Interim, was incarcerated for three years, in consequence of which he died, 1553. In a letter dated September 25, 1549, he implored his friend to abandon the Interim, and to "return to his pristine candor, his pristine sincerity, and his pristine constancy," and "to think, say, write, and do what is becoming to Philip, the Christian teacher, not the court philosopher." Peace, indeed, was desirable, but it must not be obtained by distracting the churches. Christ had also declared that He did not come to bring peace, but the sword. Even the heathen Horatius Flaccus had said: *"Si fractus illabitur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae."* How much more should Christians avoid cowardice! One must not court the cross wantonly, but it must be borne courageously when for the sake of truth it cannot be avoided, etc.

In the original, Corvinus's letter reads, in part, as follows: "O mi Philippe, o, inquam, Philippe noster, rede per immortalem Christum ad pristinum candorem, ad pristinam sinceritatem, ad pristinam constantiam! Ne languescito ista tua formidine ac pusillanimitate nostrorum animos tantopere! . . . Non sis tantorum in ecclesia offendiculorum autor! Ne sinas, tua tam egregia scripta, dicta, facta, quibus mirifice hactenus de ecclesia ac scholis meritus es, isto condonationis, novationis, moderationis naevo ad eum modum deformari! Cogita, quantum animi ista vestra consilia et adversariis addant et nostris adimant! . . . Rogamus, ut, professionis tuae memor, talem te cum Vitebergensibus tuis iam geras, qualem te ab initio huius causae gessisti, hoc est, ut ea sentias, dicas, scribas, agas, quae Philippum, doctorem Christianum, non aulicum philosophum decent." (Tschackert, 506.)

In a similar manner Melanchthon was admonished also by Brenz, who preferred exile and misery to the Interim. In a letter written early in 1549 he said: "It is also most manifest that the Interitus [Ruin, a term employed by Brenz for Interim] conflicts with the Word of the Lord. What concord, then, can be found between such conflicting things? You think that one ought to come to the assistance of the churches and pious ministers. Correct, if such can be done without dishonor to Christ. Perhaps you believe that the Interimists will tolerate the pious doctrine if we agree to accept all their ceremonies. But do you not know that it is clearly commanded in the introduction of the Interitus that no one shall speak or write against this book? What kind of liberty in regard to doctrine is this? Therefore, if the Church and the pious ministers cannot be saved in any other way than by dishonoring the pious doctrine, let us commend them to Christ, the Son of God. He will take care of them. Meanwhile let us patiently bear our exile and wait for the Lord." (*C. R.* 7, 289.)

June 18, 1550, Calvin also wrote a letter of warning to Melanchthon, in which he said, in substance: "My grief renders me almost speechless. How the enemies of Christ enjoy your conflicts with the Magdeburgers appears from their mockeries. Nor do I acquit you altogether of all guilt. Permit me to admonish you freely as a true friend. I should like to approve of all your actions. But now I accuse you before your very face (*ego te nunc apud te ipsum accuso*). This is the sum of your defense: If the purity of doctrine be retained, externals should not be pertinaciously contended for (*modo retineatur doctrinae puritas, de rebus externis non esse pertinaciter dimicandum*). But you extend the adiaphora too far. Some of them plainly conflict with the Word of God. Now, since the Lord has drawn us into the fight, it behooves us to struggle all the more manfully (*eo virilius nos eniti decebat*). You know that your position differs from that of the multitude. The hesitation of the general or leader is more disgraceful than the flight of an entire regiment of common soldiers. Unless you set an example of unflinching steadfastness, all will declare that vacillation cannot be tolerated in such a man. By yielding but a little, you alone have caused more lamentations and complaints than a hundred ordinary men by open apostasy (*Itaque plures tu unus paululum cedendo querimonias et gemitus excitasti quam centum mediocres aperta defectione*). I would die with you a hundred times rather than see you survive the doctrine surrendered by you. You will pardon me for unloading into your bosom these pitiable, though useless groans." (Schluesselburg 13, 635; *C. R.* 41 [*Calvini Opera* 13], 593; Frank 4, 88.)

129. Interim Eliminated Politically, But Not Theologically.

It was also in the interest of allaying the animosity against his own person that Elector Maurice had prevailed upon Melanchthon to frame the Leipzig Interim. But in this respect, too, the document proved to be a dismal failure. Openly the people, his own former subjects included, showed their contempt for his person and character. Everywhere public sentiment was aroused against him. He was held responsible for the captivity and shameful treatment of Philip of Hesse and especially of John Frederick, whom the people admired as the Confessor of Augsburg and now also as the innocent Martyr of Lutheranism. Maurice, on the other hand, was branded a mameluke, condemned as a renegade and an apostate, despised as the traitor of Lutheranism, and abhorred as the "Judas of Meissen," who had sold his coreligionists for an electorate.

At the same time Maurice was provoked by the arbitrary manner in which the Emperor exploited and abused his victory by a repeated breach of his promises, and by the treacherous and shameful treatment accorded his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse. Chagrined at all this and fully realizing the utter impos-

sibility of enforcing the Interim, Maurice decided to end the matter by a single stroke, which at the same time would atone for his treachery, and turn shame into glory and the vile name of a "traitor" into the noble title of "Champion of Protestantism." Accordingly Maurice, easily the match of Charles in duplicity and cunning, secretly prepared his plans, and, suddenly turning his army against the unsuspecting Emperor, drove him from Innsbruck, scared the "Fathers of Trent" to their homes, and on April 5, 1552, victoriously entered Augsburg, where he was received with great rejoicing. The fruits of this victory were the Treaties of Passau, August 2, 1552, and of Augsburg, 1555, which for the first time granted religious liberty to the Protestants. The latter placed Lutherans and Catholics on an equal footing in the Empire and, according to the rule: *Cuius regio, eius religio*, gave every prince religious control in his own territory, non-conformists being granted the right of emigration. To the great advantage of the Romanists, however, the treaty also provided that territories ruled by bishops must remain Catholic even though the ruler should turn Protestant.

But while the Interim was thus eliminated as a political and practical issue, the theological controversy precipitated by it continued unabated. Its political elimination cleared the situation toward the Romanists, but left conditions within the Lutheran Church unsettled. It neither unified nor pacified the Church. It neither eliminated the false doctrines and unionistic principles and tendencies injected by the Interimists, nor did it restore confidence in the doctrinal soundness, loyalty, and sincerity of the vacillating Philippists, who had caused the first breach in the Lutheran Church. "Does it agree with the character of the Lutheran Church to tolerate and approve the doctrines and principles contained and involved in the Interim, and to harbor and fellowship such indifferentists as framed, indorsed, and defended this document?" such and similar were the questions which remained live issues even after the Interim was politically dead. The theological situation within the Lutheran Church, therefore, was not changed in the least when the annihilation threatening her from without was warded off by the victory of Maurice over the Emperor. The Interim was fraught with doctrinal issues which made unavoidable the subsequent controversies.

XI. Controversies Following the Interim and Settled by the Formula of Concord.

130. Three Theological Parties.

In the theological conflicts after Luther's death three parties may be distinguished. The first party embraced chiefly the Interimists, the Synergists, and the Crypto-Calvinists. They were adherents of Philip Melanchthon, hence called Melanchthonians or, more commonly, Philippists, and were led by the theologians of Electoral Saxony. Their object was to supplant the authority and theology of Luther by the unionistic and liberal views of Melanchthon. Their headquarters were the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig. Some of their chief representatives were: Joachim Camerarius (born 1500, professor of Greek in Leipzig, a close friend of Melanchthon, died 1574); Paul Eber (born 1511, professor in Wittenberg, died 1568); Caspar Cruciger, Jr. (born 1525, professor in Wittenberg, died at Cassel 1597); Christopher Pezel (born 1539, professor in Wittenberg, died 1600 or 1604); George Major (Meier; born 1502, professor in Wittenberg, died 1574); Caspar Peucer (doctor of medicine, son-in-law of Melanchthon; born 1525, imprisoned from 1574 till 1586, died 1602); Paul Crell (born 1531, professor in Wittenberg, died 1579); John Pfeffinger (born 1493, professor in Leipzig, died 1573); Victorin Strigel (born 1524, 1548 professor in Jena, died in Heidelberg 1569); John Stoessel (born 1524, died in prison 1576); George Cracow (born 1525, professor of jurisprudence in Wittenberg, privy counselor in Dresden, died in prison 1575).

The second party, the so-called Gnesio-Lutherans (genuine Lutherans), was represented chiefly by the theologians of Ducal Saxony and embraced such staunch and loyal men as Amsdorf, Flacius, Wigand, Gallus, Matthias Judex, Moerlin, Tileman Hesshusius, Timann, Westphal, and Simon Musaeus. Though some of these leaders were later discredited by falling into extreme positions themselves, they all proved to be valiant champions of Luther and most determined opponents of the Philippists. The strongholds of this party were Magdeburg and the University of Jena, founded by the sons of John Frederick in 1547. Led by Flacius, this university unflinchingly opposed the modified and unionistic Lutheranism advocated by the Philippists at Wittenberg and Leipzig. Seeberg says, in substance: The Gnesio-Lutherans were opposed to the philosophy of the Philippists and stood for "the simple Biblical truth as Luther had understood it." Even when opposed by the government, they defended the truth, and were willing to suffer the consequences. Strict doctrinal discipline was exercised by them. They opposed with equal determination the errors also of their fellow-combatants: Amsdorf, Flacius, Poach, and others. Intellectually they were superior to the Philippists. Seeberg concludes: "In the forms of their time (which were not outgrown by any one of the Philippists either) they preserved to the Church genuine Luther-treasures — *echtes Luthergut.*" (*Dogmengeschichte* 4, 2, 482.)

The third, or center-party, was composed of the loyal Lutherans who took no conspicuous part in the controversies, but came to the front when the work of pacification began. They were of special service in settling the

controversies, framing the Formula of Concord, and restoring a true and godly peace to our Church. Prominent among them were Brenz, Andreae, Chemnitz, Selneccer, Chytraeus, Cornerus, Moerlin, and others. These theologians were, on the one hand, opposed to all unnecessary logomachies, *i. e.*, controversies involving no doctrinal differences, and, at the same time, were most careful not to fall into any extreme position themselves. On the other hand, however, they approved of all controversies really necessary in the interest of truth, rejected and condemned all forms of indifferentism and unionism, and strenuously opposed every effort at sacrificing, veiling, or compromising any doctrine by ambiguous formulas for the sake of external peace or any other policy whatsoever. (Conc. Trigl., 855 f.)

131. Various Theological Controversies.

Following is a synopsis and summary of the main controversies within the Lutheran Church after the death of Luther, which were settled in the first eleven articles of the Formula of Concord. The sequence of these articles, however, is not strictly historical and chronological, but dogmatic. In the main, the arrangement of the Augsburg Confession is observed.

The first of these controversies was the so-called Adiaphoristic Controversy, from 1548 to 1555, in which the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians (Melanchthon, Eber, Pfeffinger, etc.) defended the Leipzig Interim and the reintroduction of Romish ceremonies into the Lutheran Church. They were opposed by the champions of a consistent and determined Lutheranism, led by Flacius, who declared: "*Nihil est adiaphoron in statu confessionis et scandali.* Nothing is an adiaphoron in case of confession and offense." The controversy was decided by Article X.

The second is the Majoristic Controversy, from 1551 to 1562, in which George Major and Justus Menius defended the phrase of Melanchthon that good works are necessary to salvation. They were opposed by the loyal Lutherans, of whom Amsdorf, however, lapsed into the opposite error: Good works are detrimental to salvation. This controversy was settled by Article IV.

The third is the Synergistic Controversy, from 1555 to 1560, in which Pfeffinger, Eber, Major, Crell, Pezel, Strigel, and Stoessel held with Melanchthon that man by his own natural powers cooperates in his conversion. Their opponents (Amsdorf, Flacius, Hesshusius, Wigand, Gallus, Musaeus, and Judex) taught, as formulated by Flacius: "*Solus Deus convertit hominem. . . . Non excludit voluntatem, sed omnem efficaciam et operationem eius.* God alone converts man. . . . He does not exclude the will, but all efficaciousness and operation of the same." This controversy was decided and settled by Article II.

The fourth is the Flacian Controversy, from 1560 to 1575, in which Flacius, supported by Cyriacus Spangenberg, Christian Irenaeus, Matthias Wolf, I. F. Coelestinus, Schneider, and others, maintained that original sin is not an accident, but the very substance of fallen man. The Lutherans, including the Philippists, were practically unanimous in opposing this error. It was decided by Article I.

The fifth was the Osiandristic and the Stancarian Controversy, from 1549 to 1566, in which Andrew Osiander denied the forensic character of justification, and taught that Christ is our righteousness only according to His divine nature, while Stancarus contended that Christ is our righteousness according to His human nature only. Both, Osiander as well as Stancarus, were opposed by Melanchthon, Flacius, and practically all other Lutherans, the Philippists included. This controversy was settled by Article III.

The sixth was the Antinomistic Controversy, from 1527 to 1556, in which various false views concerning the Law and the Gospel were defended, especially by John Agricola, who maintained that repentance (contrition) is not wrought by the Law, but by the Gospel (a view which, in a modified form, was later on defended also by Wittenberg Philippists), and, after Luther's death, by Poach and Otto, who rejected the so-called Third Use of the Law. The questions involved in these Antinomian controversies were decided by Articles V and VI.

The seventh was the Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy, from 1560 to 1574, in which the Philippists in Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Dresden (Peucer, Cracow, Stoessel, etc.) endeavored gradually to supplant Luther's doctrines concerning the Lord's Supper and the majesty of the human nature of Christ by the Calvinistic teachings on these points. These secret and dishonest enemies of Lutheranism were opposed by true Lutherans everywhere, notably by the theologians of Ducal Saxony. In 1574 they were publicly unmasked as deceivers and Calvinistic schemers. The controversy was settled by Articles VII and VIII.

The two last controversies were of a local nature. The first was chiefly confined to Hamburg, the second to Strassburg. In the former city John Aepinus taught that Christ's descent into hell was a part of His suffering and humiliation. He was opposed by his colleagues in Hamburg. In Strassburg John Marbach publicly denounced Zanchi, a Crypto-Calvinist, for teaching that faith, once engendered in a man, cannot be lost. The questions involved in these two articles are dealt with in Articles IX and XI, respectively.

132. Conflicts Unavoidable.

When describing the conflicts after Luther's death, historians frequently deplore "the dreadful controversies of these dark days of doctrinal extremists and the polemical spirit of rigid Lutheranism." G. J. Planck, in particular, characterized them all as useless quarrels and personal wranglings of narrow-minded, bigoted adherents of Luther, who vitiated original Lutheranism by making it essentially a matter of "pure doctrine." To the present day indifferentistically inclined historians are wont to mar their pages with similar views.

True, "pure doctrine," "unity in the pure doctrine of the Gospel," such was the shibboleth of the faithful Lutherans over against the Melanchthonians and other errorists. But this was neither reprehensible doctrinalism nor a corruption of original Lutheranism, but the very principle from which it was born and for which Luther contended throughout his life — a principle of life or death for the Lutheran Church. It was the *false* doctrine of justification which made Luther a most miserable man. It was the *pure* doctrine as taught by St. Paul which freed his conscience, transported him into Paradise, as he himself puts it, and made him the Reformer of the Church. Ever since, purity of doctrine was held, by Luther and all true Lutheran theologians, to be of paramount import to Christianity and the Church. Fully realizing that adulteration of any part of the Christian doctrine was bound to infect also the doctrine of faith and justification and thus endanger salvation, they earnestly warned against, and opposed, every deviation from the clear Word of God, no matter how insignificant it might appear. They loved the truth more than external peace, more even than their own lives. Hence they found it impossible to be silent, apathetic, and complacent spectators while the Philippists and others denied, attacked, and corrupted the truth taught by Luther from the Word of God.

Accordingly, since the Leipzig Interim involved and maintained doctrines and principles subversive of genuine Lutheranism and was prepared, introduced, and defended by the very men who were regarded as pillars of the Lutheran Church, it was evident from the outset that this document must of necessity precipitate most serious internal troubles. From the moment the Wittenbergers cast the Interim as a firebrand into the Church, a domestic warfare was unavoidable, — if indeed any true disciples of Luther still remained in the Church of which he, and not Melanchthon, was the founder. While the Augsburg Interim resulted in an external theological warfare of the Lutherans against the Romanists, the Leipzig Interim added a most serious domestic conflict, which conscientious Lutherans could not evade, though it well-nigh brought our Church to the brink of destruction. For now the issue was not merely how to resist the Pope and the Romanists, but, how to purge our own Church from the Interimists and their pernicious principles. And as long as the advocates of the Interim or of other aberrations from the old Lutheran moorings refused to abandon their errors, and nevertheless insisted on remaining in the Church, there was no real unity in the truth. Hence there could also be no true peace and brotherly harmony among the Lutherans. And the way to settle these differences was not indifferently to ignore them, nor unionistically to compromise them by adopting ambiguous formulas, but patiently to discuss the doctrines at issue until an agreement in the truth was reached, which finally was done by means of the Formula of Concord.

True, these controversies endangered the very existence of our Church. But the real cause of this was not the resistance which the loyal Lutherans offered to the errorists, nor even the unseemly severity by which the prosecution of these controversies was frequently marred, but the un-Lutheran spirit and the false principles and doctrines manifested and defended by the opponents. In so far as divine truth was defended and error opposed, these controversies were truly wars to end war, and to establish real peace and true unity within our Church. A cowardly surrender to the indifferentistic spirit, the unionistic policy, the false principles, and the erroneous doctrines of the Interimists would have been tantamount to a complete transformation of our Church and a total annihilation of genuine Lutheranism.

The manner in which these controversies were conducted, it is true, was frequently such as to obstruct, rather than further, mutual understanding and peace. As a rule, it is assumed that only the genuine Lutherans indulged in unseemly polemical invective, and spoke and wrote in a bitter and spiteful tone. But the Melanchthonians were, to say the least, equally guilty. And when censuring this spirit of combativeness, one must not overlook that the ultimate cause of the most violent of these controversies was the betrayal of the Lutheran Church by the Interimists; and that the severity of the polemics of the loyal Lutherans did not, at least not as a rule, emanate from any personal malice toward Melanchthon, but rather from a burning zeal to maintain sound Lutheranism, and from the fear that by the scheming and the indifference of the Philippists the fruits of Luther's blessed work might be altogether lost to the coming generations. The "peace-loving" Melanchthon started a conflagration within his own church in order to obtain a temporal and temporary peace with the Romanists; while the loyal Lutherans, inasmuch as they fought for the preservation of genuine Lutheranism, stood for, and promoted, a truly honorable, godly, and lasting peace on the basis of eternal truth. And while the latter fought honestly and in the open, the Philippists have never fully cleared themselves from the charges of duplicity, dishonesty, and dissimulation.

133. Melanchthon Prime Mover of Conflicts.

The Leipzig Interim was the signal for a general and prolonged warfare within the Lutheran Church. It contained the germs of various doctrinal errors, and produced a spirit of general distrust and suspicion, which tended to exaggerate and multiply the real differences. Schmauk says: "The seeds of the subsequent controversies are all to be found in the Leipzig Interim." (595.) At any rate, most of the controversies after Luther's death flowed from, or were in some way or other connected with, this unfortunate document. Such is the view also of the Formula of Concord, which declares that the thirty years'

controversies which it settled originated especially in the Interim. (857, 19; 946, 29.)

Yet the Interim was rather the occasion than the ultimate cause of these conflicts. Long before the flames of open discord burst forth, the embers of secret doctrinal dissension had been glowing under the surface. Even during the life of Luther much powder had been secretly stored up for which the Interim furnished the spark. This is proved, among other things, by Luther's predictions (referred to in the preceding chapter) concerning his own colleagues. And above all it was the "peace-loving" Philip who first and most successfully sowed the dragon's teeth of discord. Melanchthon's doctrinal deviations from the teachings of Luther and from his own former position must be regarded as the last cause of both the Leipzig Interim and the lamentable controversies that followed in its wake. Indeed, a tragic sight to behold: The colaborer of Luther, the servant of the Reformation second only to Luther, the Praeceptor Germaniae, the ardent and anxious lover of peace, etc. — untrue to his confiding friend, disloyal to the cause of the Reformation, and the chief cause of strife and dissension in the Lutheran Church! And withal, Melanchthon, mistaking external union for real unity and temporal peace with men for true peace with God, felt satisfied that he had spent the efforts of his entire life in the interest of the true welfare of the Church! Shortly before his death (April 19, 1560) he expressed his joy that now he would be delivered from the "fury of the theologians." On a sheet of paper found on his table were written a number of reasons why he feared death less. One of them was: "*Liberaberis ab aerumnis et a rabie theologorum.* You will be delivered from toils and from the fury of the theologians." (*C. R.* 9, 1098.) Thus even in the face of death he did not realize that he himself was the chief cause of the conflicts that had embittered his declining years!

134. Melanchthon's Humanistic and Unionistic Tendencies.

Till about 1530 Melanchthon seems to have been in complete harmony with Luther, and to have followed him enthusiastically. To propagate, coin, and bring into scholastic form the Christian truths once more brought to light by the Reformer he considered to be his peculiar mission. But his secret letters and, with gradually increasing clearness and boldness, also his publications show that later on he began to strike out on paths of his own, and to cultivate and disseminate doctrines incompatible with the Lutheranism of Luther. In a measure, these deviations were known also to the Wittenberg students and theologians, to Cordatus, Stifel, Amsdorf, the Elector John Frederick, Brueck, and Luther, who also called him to account whenever sufficient evidence warranted his doing so. (*Lehre und Wehre* 1908, 61 ff.)

In a letter to Cordatus, dated April 15, 1537, Melanchthon was bold enough to state that he had made many corrections in his writings and was glad of the fact: "*Multa ultro correxi in libellis meis et correxisse me gaudeo.*" (*C. R.* 3, 342.) In discussing the squabble between Cordatus and Melanchthon, whether good works are necessary for salvation, Luther is reported by the former to have said, in 1536: "To Philip I leave the sciences and philosophy and nothing else. But I shall be compelled to chop off the head of philosophy, too." (Kolde, *Analecta*, 266.) Melanchthon, as Luther put it, was always troubled by his philosophy; that is to say, instead of subjecting his reason to the Word of God, he was inclined to balance the former against the latter. The truth is that Melanchthon never fully succeeded in freeing himself from his original humanistic tendencies, a fact which gave his mind a moralistic rather than a truly religious and Scriptural bent. Even during the early years of the Reformation, when he was carried away with admiration for Luther and his work, the humanistic undercurrent did not disappear altogether. January 22, 1525, he wrote to Camerarius: "*Ego mihi conscius sum, non ullam ob causam unquam τεθεολογηκέναι, nisi ut mores meos emendarem.* I am conscious of the fact that I have never theologized for any other reason than to improve my morals." (*C. R.* 1, 722.) Such, then, being his frame of mind, it was no wonder that he should finally desert Luther in most important points, lapse into synergism and other errors, and, in particular, value indifferentistically doctrinal convictions, notably on the real presence in the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ. "Over against Luther," says Schaff, "Melanchthon represented the unionistic and liberal type of Lutheranism." (*Creeds*, 1, 259.) This is correct; but the stricture must be added that, since unionism and liberalism are incompatible with the very essence of Lutheranism, Melanchthonianism as such was in reality not a "type," but a denial of Lutheranism.

Melanchthon lacked the simple faith in, and the firm adherence and implicit submission to, the Word of God which made Luther the undaunted and invincible hero of the Reformation. Standing four-square on the Bible and deriving from this source of divine power alone all his theological thoughts and convictions, Luther was a rock, firm and immovable. With him every theological question was decided and settled conclusively by quoting a clear passage from the Holy Scriptures, while Melanchthon, devoid of Luther's single-minded and whole-hearted devotion to the Word of God, endeavored to satisfy his reason as well. Consequently he lacked assurance and firm conviction, wavered and vacillated, and was never fully satisfied that the position he occupied was really the only correct one, while, on the other hand, he endeavored to present his views concerning some of the disputed doctrines in ambiguous and indefinite terms. "We have twenty-eight large volumes of Melanchthon's writings," says C. P. Krauth, "and, at this hour, impartial and learned men are not agreed as to what were his views on some of the profoundest

questions of church doctrine, on which Melanchthon was writing all his life!" (*Conservative Ref.*, 291; Schmauk, 748.) This indefinite and wavering attitude towards divine truth, the natural consequence of the humanistic bent of his mind, produced in Melanchthon a general tendency and proneness to surrender or compromise doctrinal matters in the interest of policy, and to barter away eternal truth for temporal peace. It made him an indifferentist and a unionist, always ready to strike a bargain also in matters pertaining to Christian faith, and to cover doctrinal differences with ambiguous formulas. While Luther's lifelong attitude on matters of Christian doctrine is characterized by the famous words spoken by him at Worms in 1521: "*Ich kann nicht anders*, I cannot do otherwise," Melanchthon, treating even questions of faith as matters of expediency rather than of conscience, was the man who, as a rule, could also do otherwise, and who was great in manufacturing "Polish boots," as the ambiguous phrases by which he endeavored to unite opposing parties were called by the Lutherans in Reuss.

In order to preserve peace with the Romanists at Augsburg in 1530, he did not hesitate to sacrifice Lutheran truths and to receive into the bargain a number of what he considered minor papal errors. In his subsequent overtures to the Reformed he was more than willing to make similar concessions. The spirit of Melanchthon was the spirit of religious indifference and of unionism, which, though thoroughly eliminated by the Formula of Concord, was from time to time revived within the Lutheran Church by such men as Calixtus, Spener, Zinzendorf, Neander, and, in our own country, by S. S. Schmucker.

The unionistic tendencies and doctrinal corruptions which Melanchthon injected into Lutheranism were all the more dangerous to our Church because they derived special weight and prestige from the fact that Luther had unstintingly praised his gifts, his books, and the services he had rendered the Church (St. L. 18, 1671; 23, 1152), that he was now generally regarded as Luther's successor with regard to theological leadership of the Church; and that he was gratefully admired as the Praeceptor Germaniae by a host of loyal pupils, who made it a point also to cultivate just those theological peculiarities of Master Philip, as they called him, in which he differed from Luther.

135. Melanchthon's "Shameful Servitude."

That Melanchthon failed our Church in the Interim emergency as well as in the subsequent controversies is generally ascribed to the fact that he lacked the bracing influence and assistance of Luther. No doubt, there is a good deal of truth in this assumption. But the true reason why he did not measure up to the demands of the times and the expectations of our Church were not mere moral weaknesses, but rather the errors and false principles to which he was wedded. How could Melanchthon have approved himself a leader of the Lutherans when he was out of sympathy with them, doubted some of their most cherished doctrines, and long ago had struck out on a path deviating from that mapped out by Luther? True, the bracing which he received from Luther in the past had repeatedly kept him from publicly sacrificing the truth; but even in these instances he did not always yield because he was really convinced, but because he feared the uncompromising spirit of Luther.

That fear of an open conflict with Luther, which, he felt, would result in a crushing defeat for himself, bulked large among the motives which prompted him to maintain a semblance of true orthodoxy as long as Luther lived, is clearly admitted by Melanchthon himself. In his notorious and most discreditable letter to Carlowitz (counselor of Elector Maurice), written April 28, 1548, eight days after the meeting at Celle, where he had debauched his conscience by promising submission to the religious demands of the Emperor, Melanchthon, pouring forth his feelings and revealing his true inwardness and his spirit of unionism and indifferentism, as much as admitted that in the past he had been accustomed to hiding his real views. Here he declared in so many words that it was not he who started, and was responsible for, the religious controversy between the Lutherans and Romanists, but rather Luther, whose contentious spirit (he said) also had constantly increased the rupture, and that under Luther he had suffered "a most shameful servitude."

In the original the letter reads, in part, as follows: "Totum enim me tibi [Carlowitz] aperio. . . . Ego, cum decreverit princeps, etiamsi quid non probabo, tamen nihil seditiose faciam, sed vel tacebo, vel cedam, vel feram, quidquid accidet. *Tuli etiam antea servitutem paene deformem*, cum saepe Lutherus magis suae naturae, in qua *φιλονεικία* erat non exigua, quam vel personae suae vel utilitati communi serviret. Et scio, omnibus aetatibus, ut tempestatum incommoda, ita aliqua in gubernatione vitia modeste et arte ferenda et dissimulanda esse. . . . Fortassis natura sum ingenio servili." (*C. R.* 6, 879 f.)

Even before Melanchthon had, in private letters to his friends, displayed a similar vein of ill will toward Luther, whom he evidently feared because of his own secret doctrinal deviations. (*Lehre und Wehre* 1908, 61. 68.) No doubt, as stated above, fear was also among the motives which induced him to identify himself with the Leipzig Interim. But evidently his own theological attitude, too, differed little from the spirit pervading this document. At any rate, the letter to Carlowitz does not support the assumption that Melanchthon really outraged his own convictions when he wrote and adopted the Interim. As a matter of fact, he also continued to defend the Interim; and it was as late as 1556 before he was ready to make even a qualified admission of one of the errors connected with it.

While, therefore, the Lutheran Church will always gratefully acknowledge the splendid services which Melanchthon rendered in the work of Luther's Reformation, it must at the same time be admitted and cannot be gainsaid that, in the last analysis, Melanchthon, by reason of his deviations from Luther, which will be set forth more fully in the following, was the ultimate cause and originator of most of the dissensions which began to distract the Lutheran Church soon after the death of Luther. Andrew Musculus, who assisted in drafting the *Formula of Concord*, brought out this fact (though in terms too strong) when he characterized Melanchthon as a "philosophical theologian and a patriarch of all heretics." (Meusel, *Handl.* 4, 710.) In a way, Melanchthon may even be regarded as the indirect cause of the Smalcald War and its unfortunate issue, inasmuch, namely, as his vacillating and compromising attitude and his incompetent leadership created conditions of internal weakness among the Lutherans, which invited the aggression of Pope and Emperor.

XII. The Adiaphoristic Controversy.

136. Contents of the Leipzig Interim.

To exhibit the insidious character of the Leipzig Interim more fully, we submit the following quotations. In its Introduction we read: "As far as the doctrine of the state and nature of man before and after the Fall is concerned, there is no controversy" (between the Lutherans and Romanists). The article "Of Justification," in which the Lutheran *sola fide* is omitted, declares: "The merciful God does not work with man as with a block, but draws him, so that his will also cooperates if he be of understanding years." Again: "And they who have thus received the forgiveness of sins and the Holy Ghost, and in whom the Holy Ghost begins faith and trust in the Son of God, love and hope, *then* become heirs of eternal salvation for the Savior's sake." In the article "Of Good Works" we read: "Nevertheless, the new virtues and good works are so highly necessary that, if they were not quickened in the heart, there would be no reception of divine grace." Again: "It is certainly true that these virtues, faith, love, hope, and others, must be in us and are *necessary to salvation*. . . . And since the virtues and good works, as has been said, please God, they merit also a reward in this life, both spiritual and temporal, according to God's counsel, and still more reward in the eternal life, because of the divine promise."

The article "Of Ecclesiastical Power" runs as follows: "What the true Christian Church, gathered in the Holy Ghost, acknowledges, determines, and teaches in regard to matters of faith is to be taught and preached, since it neither should nor can determine anything contrary to the Holy Scriptures." Self-evidently, Romanists construed this as an *a priori* endorsement of the Council and its resolutions. In the article "Of Ecclesiastical Ministers" we read: "And that all other ministers should be subject and obedient to the chief bishop [the Pope] and to other bishops who administer their episcopal office according to God's command, using the same for edification and not for destruction; which ministers should be ordained also by such bishops upon presentation by the patrons." This article conceded the primacy of the Pope and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the bishops. The article "Of Ordination" declares: "Also, that, as has been said, upon presentation by patrons, ministers should hereafter be ordained with Christian ceremonies by such bishops as administer their episcopal office, and that no one should be allowed to be in the ministry unless, as has been said, he be presented by the patrons and have the permission of the bishops." That was tantamount to a restoration of the "sacrament" of episcopal ordination.

The Interim furthermore demanded the immediate reintroduction of abolished ceremonies, such as exorcism and other ceremonies of Baptism, confirmation by bishops, auricular confession, extreme unction, episcopal ordination, and the like. We read: "That repentance, confession, and absolution, and what pertains thereto, be diligently taught and preached; that the people confess to the priests, and receive of them absolution in God's stead, and be also diligently admonished and urged to prayer, fasting, and almsgiving; also, that no one be admitted to the highly venerable Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ [in this indirect way only the cup of the laity is referred to in the Interim] unless he have first confessed to the priest and received of him absolution." Again: "Although in this country the unction [Extreme Unction] has not been in use for many years, yet . . . such unction, according to the apostle, may be hereafter observed." Again: "That henceforth the mass be observed in this country with ringing of bells, with lights and vessels, with chants, vestments, and ceremonies." Among the holidays to be observed the Interim mentions also Corpus Christi and the festivals of the holy Virgin Mary. Again we read: "The images and pictures of the sufferings of Christ and of the saints may be also retained in the churches." Again: "In the churches where the canonical hours have been formerly observed, the devout Psalms shall be sung in chapters and towns at the appointed time and on other high festivals, and also on Sundays." "Likewise, that on Fridays and Saturdays, as well as during fasts, the eating of meat be abstained from, and that this be observed as an external ordinance at the command of His Imperial Majesty." The clause, "that this be observed," etc., was regarded by Flacius and Gallus as implying self-deception and hypocrisy on the part of the Interimists. (Frank 4, 72. 119.) Again, as to the apparel of priests,

that "a distinction be observed between ministers and secular persons, and that proper reverence be paid the priestly estate." The Introduction of the Interim gives the assurance that the Lutherans would obey the Emperor and be found disposed toward peace and unity. The Conclusion adds the humble promise: "In all other articles we are ready . . . in a friendly and submissive manner to confer with Your Beloved and Princely Graces, and to settle our differences in a Christian way." (*C. R.* 7, 258. Jacobs, *Book of Concord*, 2, 260.)

137. Issue in Adiaphoristic Controversy.

From the passages quoted it appears that the Leipzig Interim was inoculated with the germs of many controversies. However, while in the beginning its offensive doctrinal features were not fully and generally recognized and realized, the Emperor's demand for, and approval of, the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologian's reintroduction of the Romish ceremonies immediately created an acute situation and a great commotion everywhere. The resulting theological conflict pertaining to the latter point in particular was called the Adiaphoristic or Interimistic Controversy. And, as explained above, even after the Interim had become a dead letter politically, this controversy did not subside, because its paramount object was not merely to pass a correct judgment on past events during the Interim, nor even to obtain norms for similar situations in the future, but, above all, to eliminate from our Church the spirit of indifferentism, unionism, and of direct as well as indirect denial of the Gospel-truth.

Accordingly, the exact issue in the Adiaphoristic Controversy was: May Lutherans, under conditions such as prevailed during the Interim, when the Romanists on pain of persecution and violence demanded the reinstitution of abolished papal ceremonies, even if the ceremonies in question be truly indifferent in themselves, submit with a good conscience, that is to say, without denying the truth and Christian liberty, without sanctioning the errors of Romanism, and without giving offense either to the enemies or to the friends of the Lutheran Church, especially its weak members? This was affirmed by the Interimists and denied by their opponents.

138. Opposition to the Adiaphorists.

Prominent among the theologians who participated in the controversy against the Adiaphorists were Flacius, Wigand, Gallus, and others, who in Magdeburg opened a most effective fire on the authors, sponsors, and advocates of the Interim. Following are some of the chief publications which dealt with the questions involved: "Opinion concerning the Interim, by Melanchthon, June 16, 1548," published by Flacius without the knowledge of Melanchthon. — "Report on the Interim by the Theologians of Meissen," 1548. — "That in These Dangerous Times (in diesen geschwinden Laeuften) Nothing is to be Changed in the Churches of God in Order to Please the Devil and the Antichrist," by John Hermann, 1548. A Latin edition of this publication appeared 1549, mentioning Flacius as its author. — "A Brief Report (Ein kurzer Bericht) on the Interim from which One may Easily Learn the Doctrine and Spirit of That Book," 1548. — "A General Protest and Writ of Complaint (Eine gemeine Protestation und Klageschrift) of All Pious Christians against the Interim and Other Sinister Schemes and Cruel Persecutions by the Enemies of the Gospel, by John Waremund, 1548." Waremund was a pseudonym for Flacius. — "Against the Interim, Papal Mass, Canon, and Master Eisleben," 1549. — "Against the Vile Devil (Wider den schnoeden Teufel), who Now Again Transforms Himself into an Angel of Light, *i. e.*, against the New Interim, by Carolus Azarias Gotsburgensis, 1549." Of this book, too, Flacius was the author. (Preger 1, 67.) — "Apology (Entschuldigung) of Matthias Flacius Illy. to a Certain Pastor," 1549. — "Several Letters of the Venerable D. M. Luther concerning the Union of Christ and Belial, Written 1530 to the Theologians at the Diet in Augsburg," 1549, with a preface by Flacius. — "Apology of Matthias Flacius Illy., Addressed to the University of Wittenberg, regarding the Adiaphora," 1549. — "Writing of Matthias Flacius Illy. against a Truly Heathen, yea, Epicurean Book of the Adiaphorists (in which the Leipzig Interim is Defended) in Order to Guard Oneself against the Present Counterfeiters of the True Religion," 1549. — "Answer of Magister Nicolas Gallus and Matthias Flacius Illy. to the Letter of Some Preachers in Meissen regarding the Question whether One should Abandon His Parish rather than Don the Cassock" (*linea vestis, Chorrock*). — "Against the Extract of the Leipzig Interim, or the Small Interim," by Flacius, 1549. — "Book concerning True and False Adiaphora (*Liber de Veris et Falsis Adiaphoris*), in which the Adiaphoristic Controversy is Explained Almost in Its Entirety, by Flacius, 1549." This book, which is most frequently quoted and deals most thoroughly with the questions involved, is found in Schlüsselburg's *Catalogus Haereticorum*, 13, 154 ff. — "An Admonition (Vermahnung) to be Constant in the Confession of the Truth, in Cross and Prayer, by Flacius," 1549. — "A Christian Admonition by Matthias Flacius Illy. to be Constant in the True, Pure Religion of Jesus Christ and in the Augsburg Confession," 1550. — "Against the Alleged Power and Primacy of the Pope, Useful to Read at This Time, when the Whole World Endeavors again to Place the Expelled Antichrist into the Temple of Christ, by Matthias Flacius Illy." — "Against the Evangelist of the Holy Chorrock, D. Geitz Major, by Matthias Flacius Illy., 1552." — For a complete list of the writings of Flacius against the Interim, see Preger's *Matthias Flacius Illyricus*, 2, 540 ff.

Even the titles of these publications indicate that the Adiaphoristic Controversy did not lack violence and virulence. This animosity against the Interimists was chiefly due

to the fear that their policy would finally lead to the complete undoing of the Reformation. For while Melanchthon still believed in, and hoped for, an understanding with the Romanists, Flacius saw through their schemes and fully realized the impending danger. In the reintroduction of Catholic ceremonies, which Melanchthon regarded as entirely harmless, Flacius beheld nothing but the entering wedge, which would gradually be followed by the entire mass of Romish errors and abuses and the absolute dominance of Pope and Emperor over the Lutheran Church. The obedience demanded by the Emperor, said Flacius, consists in this, that "we abandon our true doctrine and adopt the godless Papacy." In all its details, he explained, the ultimate purpose of the Interim is none other than the reestablishment of Popery, of which even such seemingly trifling matters as the reintroduction of the *Chorrock* (*linea vestis*) were but the beginning, as it were, the breach in the dam which was bound ultimately to result in a complete submersion of Lutheranism. (Frank 4, 74. 76. 119.)

Since the loyal Lutherans, in keeping with the teaching of Luther and the Lutheran Confessions, regarded the Papacy as antichristendom, they could not but abhor the concessions made by the Interimists as treachery against the truth. From the very outset Flacius and Gallus insisted that their opponents answer the question, "whether the Pope with his government is the true Antichrist in the Church as according to the Word of God he has been publicly declared to be in our churches, and whether he still should and must be regarded and confessed as such." And if Luther's doctrine was to stand, how, then, they argued, could a union be effected between the enemies of the Gospel (the Antichrist and his bishops) and the Lutherans without idolatry and denial of the religion of Christ? (53. 107.) On the title-page of his *Apology*, of 1549, Flacius declares: "The upshot [of the Interim] is the establishment of the Papacy and the installation of the Antichrist in the temple of Christ, the encouragement of the wicked to flaunt their victory over the Church of Christ and to grieve the godly, likewise weakening, leading into doubt, separation and innumerable offenses." (Schaff 1, 301.) Regarding the acknowledgment of the Pope and bishops by the Interim, Flacius remarked: "Mark well, here the werwolf (*Baerwolf*), together with his fellow-wolves, is placed over the little flock of Christ. There is, however, no danger whatever; for, as is added [in the Interim: "The Pope should use his power not for destruction, but for edification"], they have counted the sheep and commanded the wolves to be gentle. In my opinion this is certainly a good adiaphoron to restore Antichrist to the temple from which he has been expelled by the Finger of God." (Preger 1, 191.) Accordingly, burning with shame and indignation, and trembling with fear for the future of Lutheranism, Flacius charged Melanchthon with want of faith and with treason against the truth, and characterized the Leipzig Interim as an unholy union of Christ and Belial, of light and darkness, of Christ and Antichrist.

While Flacius thus denounced the Interim as well as its authors and abettors, he at the same time admonished and encouraged the Lutheran pastors to be steadfast in confessing the truth, in spite of cross and persecution, and to stand by their flocks as true shepherds. That minister, he said, who denies or fails to confess the truth, or who yields to a tyrant, deserts his Church. We must not only confess with our mouths, but by deeds and actions as well. Not abandonment of the flock, but suffering is the best way to win the victory over a tyrant. Flacius also earnestly warned the people against yielding to the princes and acknowledging, hearing, and following their own ministers if they advocated and introduced the Interim. Moreover, he encouraged both pastors and laymen to resist the tyranny of princes demanding the reinstitution of the Roman ceremonies. "A government," said he in his *Admonition*, "no matter which, has not the authority to forbid a pastor to preach the pure doctrine." When the government presecutes the truth, we must not yield, no matter what the consequences may be. Christians will sacrifice everything to a tyrannical prince, but not "the truth, not the consolation of divine grace, nor the hope of eternal life." (Frank 4, 68. 117.)

139. Doctrinal Position of Anti-Adiaphorists.

The theological position occupied by the opponents of the Adiaphorists may be summarized as follows: Ceremonies which God has neither commanded nor prohibited are adiaphora (*res mediae, Mitteldinge*) and, *ceteris paribus* (other things being equal), may be observed or omitted, adopted or rejected. However, under circumstances testing one's faith they may become a matter of principle and conscience. Such is the case wherever and whenever they are demanded as necessary, or when their introduction involves a denial of the truth, an admission of error, an infringement of Christian liberty, an encouragement of errorists and of the enemies of the Church, a disheartening of the confessors of the truth, or an offense to Christians, especially the weak. Such conditions, they maintained, prevailed during the time of the Interim, when both Pope and Emperor plainly declared it to be their object to reestablish the Romish religion in Lutheran churches; when the adoption of the Interim and the reinstitution of the papal ceremonies were universally regarded, by Catholics as well as Protestants, as the beginning of just such a reestablishment of the Papacy; when the timid Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians, instead of boldly confessing the Gospel and trusting to God for the protection of His Church, compromised the truth and yielded to the demands of the Romanists in order to escape persecution; when the consciences of Lutherans were perplexed and confused wherever the abolished rites were reinstituted. Accordingly, they declared that under the prevailing circumstances

the reintroduction of the Romish ceremonies was nothing short of a denial of Christian faith and of Christian love as well.

Flacius, in particular, maintained that under the prevailing circumstances even such ceremonies as were in themselves true adiaphora ceased to be adiaphora and could not be reintroduced with a good conscience, because they were forced upon the Lutherans by the enemies of the Gospel, because they were accepted for reprehensible reasons, such as fear of persecution and desire for external peace, and because their reintroduction confounded the consciences, offended the weak, and gave comfort and encouragement to the enemies of Christ. The people, Protestants as well as Catholics, said Flacius, would regard such reintroduction both as an admission on the part of the Lutherans that they had been in the wrong and the Romanists in the right, and as the beginning of a general restoration of the Papacy. Explain the reintroduction of the ceremonies as piously as you may, said he to the Interimists, the common people, especially the Romanists, always impressed by ceremonies much more than by the doctrine, will infer that those teachers who reintroduce the ceremonies approve of the Papacy in every respect and reject the Evangelical doctrine. In his book *De Veris et Falsis Adiaphoris* we read: "Adversarii totum suum cultum, vel certe praecipua capita suae religionis in ceremoniis collocant, quas cum in nostris ecclesiis in eorum gratiam restituimus, an non videmur tum eis, tum aliis eorum impiis cultibus assentiri? Nec dubitant, quin quandoquidem in tantis rebus ipsis cesserimus, etiam in reliquis cessuri simus, nostrum errorem agnoscamus, eorumque religionem veram esse confiteamur." (Schluesselburg 13, 217.) Accordingly, Flacius contended that under the prevailing circumstances a concession to the Romanists, even in ceremonies harmless in themselves, was tantamount to a denial of Lutheranism. The entire argument of the Anti-Adiaphorists was by him reduced to the following principle or axiom: "*Nihil est adiaphoron in casu confessionis et scandali.* Nothing is an adiaphoron when confession and offense are involved." And wherever the Interim was enforced, the consequences foretold by Flacius showed themselves: consciences were confused, simple Christians were offended, and the enemies were strengthened in their error and emboldened in their attacks and in further demands made upon the Lutherans.

140. Sophistries of Adiaphorists Refuted.

The Wittenberg Interimists endeavored to justify their attitude by a series of sophisms to which they also adhered in the "Final Report (Endlicher Bericht) of the Theologians of Both Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg," 1570. (Frank 4, 87. 2.) By adopting the Interim, the Wittenbergers, in reality, had assented also to doctrinally false and dubious statements and to a number of ceremonies objectionable as such. Yet they pleaded the guilelessness of their intentions and the harmlessness of their procedure. They maintained that they had yielded merely in minor matters and ceremonies, which were neither commanded nor prohibited by the Word of God; that this was done in order to preserve intact the central Christian truth of justification; to preserve political peace and to save the Church from ruin; to protect the weak, whose shoulders were not strong enough to suffer persecution; that in their concessions they had been guided by the dictates of true wisdom, which always chooses the lesser of two evils; and that in all this they had merely followed the example set by Luther himself. They minimized the entire affair, and endeavored to explain away the seriousness of the situation. In particular they ridiculed Flacius for shouting and sounding the fire-alarm, when in reality, they said, he had discovered nothing but a little smoke coming from a Wittenberg chimney.

But in the ears of all genuine and earnest Lutherans their sophistries and apologies rang neither true nor sincere. The arguments which they employed merely served to defeat their own purpose. What else, for example, than disgust, indignation, and distrust could be the effect on all honest Lutherans when the Wittenberg theologians, dishonestly veiling the real facts, declared in their official "Exposition" of 1559 (when danger of persecution had passed long ago) concerning the reintroduction of Corpus Christi that they had reintroduced this festival all the more readily in order that they might be able to instruct the people in the right use of the Sacrament and in the horrible abuses and profanations of the most holy Supper of the Lord in the circumgestation and adoration of the bread which their critics [the Lutheran opponents of the Interimists, by their doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper] strengthened, and that they might thank God for the purification of the temple from the Romish idol Maozim, Dan. 11, 38. (Tschackert, 510.) Frank remarks: "One must see this passage black on white in order to believe the Wittenbergers really capable of stultifying themselves in such an incredible manner. It is a monstrosity, a defense unworthy of an honest man, let alone an Evangelical Christian." (4, 61. 113.)

The weak and insincere arguments of the Adiaphorists were thoroughly and convincingly refuted by their opponents. To the assertion of the Wittenbergers that the dispute was concerning mere unimportant ceremonies, which were neither commanded nor prohibited by God, Flacius and Gallus replied (in their answer to the question of the ministers of Meissen whether they should leave their charges rather than don the *Chorrock, lineam vestem induere*) that even with respect to such seemingly most trifling adiaphora as the cope (*Chorrock, vestis alba*) one must not overlook what is attached to it. "We do not believe," they said, "that the robber will let the traveler keep his money, although first he only asks for his coat or similar things, at

the same time, however, not obscurely hinting that, after having taken these, he will also demand the rest. We certainly do not doubt that you yourselves, as well as all men endowed with a sound mind, believe that, since the beginning is always hardest, these small beginnings of changes are at present demanded only that a door may be opened for all the other impieties that are to follow — *quod tantum ideo parva ista mutationum initia iam proponantur, ut quia principia semper sunt difficillima per ea aditus reliquis omnibus secuturis impietatibus patefiat.*" (Schluesselburg 13, 644.)

The Adiaphorists pretended that they had consented to the Interim in the interest of the weak, who were unable to bear persecution. But the Lutherans answered that weak Christians could not be strengthened in their faith by teaching and persuading them to deny it, and that the enemies and persecutors of the Gospel could certainly not be regarded as weak. (Frank 4, 78.) The protestations of the Adiaphorists that they had made the changes in ceremonies with the very best of intentions were answered by Flacius in *De Veris et Falsis Adiaphoris* as follows: Hardly ever has a Christian denied Christ without endeavoring to deceive both God and himself as to his motives. "But one must also consider, as may be clearly shown from 1 Cor. 10, with what design (*quo animo*) the adversaries propose such things to us, likewise, how they as well as others interpret our act." (Schl. 13, 217.) "Even though the intention of those who receive and use the adiaphora be not an evil one, the question is," said Martin Chemnitz in his *Iudicium de Adiaphoris,* "whether the opinion of the one who commands, imposes, and demands the adiaphora is impious or wicked, whether such reception and observation is interpreted and understood as a turning away from the confession of the true doctrine, and whether the weak are offended and grow faint thereby." (717.)

To the claims of the Interimists that they were but following the example of Luther, who, for the sake of the weak, had tolerated Romish ceremonies, etc., the Lutherans replied: Distinguish times and conditions! Luther was dealing with Christians who in their consciences still felt bound to the Roman usages, while the "weakness" spoken of by Adiaphorists is not an erring conscience, but fear of persecution. Moreover, Luther tolerated existing Romish ceremonies as long as there was hope of arriving at an agreement with the Romanists in doctrine, while the Adiaphorists reinstitute ceremonies which have been abolished, and this, too, in deference and obedience to irreconcilable adversaries of the truth. Accordingly, Luther's attitude in this matter flowed from pure love for truth and from compassion with the weak, whom he endeavored to win for the truth, while the submission of the Adiaphorists to the demands of their adversaries is nothing short of unchristian denial of both true love and faith. (Frank 4, 55.) Brenz declared: "*Adiaphora ex suis conditionibus iudicanda sunt.* Adiaphora must be judged from their conditions. For if the condition is good, the adiaphoron, too, is good, and its observance is commanded. If, however, the condition is evil, the adiaphoron, too, is evil, and the observance of it is prohibited." (Schl. 13, 562.)

Furthermore, when the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians maintained that, in preferring the lesser evil (the Roman ceremonies) to the greater (persecution), they had merely listened to, and followed, the voice of true wisdom, the Lutherans replied that moral evils must not be placed on a level with physical evils, nor guilt be incurred in order to avoid suffering and persecution. Westphal declared in his *Explicatio Generalis Sententiae, quod a Duobus Malis Minus sit Eligendum: "Impium est, amoliri pericula per peccata, nec ita removentur aut minuuntur, sed accersuntur et augentur poenae.* It is wicked to avert dangers by sins, nor are they removed or diminished in this way, but rather superinduced and increased." (13, 251.) "It is better to take upon oneself punishments and great dangers than to offend God and to provoke His wrath by such offense." (250.) "It is better and easier to bear many evils and to undergo many dangers than to be unfaithful in the least commandment of God, and burden oneself with the guilt of even a single sin." (251.) Our paramount duty is not to escape persecution, but to retain a good conscience. Obey the Lord and await His help! Such was the counsel of Flacius and the loyal Lutherans. (Frank 4, 65.)

But our Wittenberg school will be closed, our churches will be desolated, and our preachers will be banished, exclaimed the faint-hearted Wittenbergers. The Lutherans answered: It is our duty to confess the truth regardless of consequences, and, at the same time, to look to God for the protection of His Church. Flacius said, in *De Veris et Falsis Adiaphoris:* Confess the truth and suffer the consequences! A Christian cannot obtain peace by offending God and serving and satisfying tyrants. Rather be drowned by the Spaniards in the Elbe with a millstone about one's neck than offend a Christian, deny the truth, and surrender the Church to Satan. "Longe satius esset teste Christo pati, ut alligata mola asinaria in medium Albis ab Hispanis proiiceremur, quam *unicum* parvulum Christi scandalizaremus, multo vero magis haec et quaevis gravissima pati deberemus, quam *tam infinitis* (ut iam fit) Christi parvulis offendiculum daremus, ecclesiam Satanae proderemus et salvificam confessionem veritatis abiiceremus." (Schl. 13, 227.)

As to the Wittenberg School, Flacius said: "It would certainly be better that the school were closed not one, but many years than that we, by avoiding confession, extremely weaken our own religion as well as strengthen the one opposed to it." (13, 231.) "As for myself, I do not doubt that, if only the theologians had been steadfast, the Wittenberg School would have been to-day much firmer than it is. . . . The Interim sprang from the timidity of the Wittenberg theologians. . . . Even a

thousand Wittenberg schools ought certainly not to be valued so highly by pious men that, in order to preserve them unimpaired, they would rather suffer the world to be deprived of the light of the Gospel. *Certe non tanti mille Wittenbergenses scholae piis esse debent, ut propter earum incolumitatem velint pati orbem terrarum Evangelii luce privari.*" (232.) In a letter to Melanchthon, written in the beginning of 1549, Brenz said: "If therefore the Church and pious ministers cannot be preserved in any other way than by bringing reproach upon the pious doctrine, then let us commend them to Christ, the Son of God; He will take care of them; and in the mean time let us patiently bear our banishment and wait for the Lord." (*C. R.* 7, 290.)

June 30, 1530, Luther had written to Melanchthon, who was then in Augsburg: "You want to govern things according to your philosophy; you torment yourself and do not see that this matter is not within your power and wisdom. . . . If we fall, Christ, that is to say, the Ruler of the world, falls with us; and even though He should fall, I would rather fall with Christ than stand with the Emperor." This passage is contained in one of the letters of Luther which Flacius published 1548 in order to dispel Melanchthon's timidity, rouse his Lutheran consciousness, and cure him of his vain and most dangerous disposition to save the Church by human wisdom and shrewdness, instead of, as Luther believed, solely by a bold confession of the truth of God's Word.

141. Theological Attitude of Flacius Sanctioned.

The theological position which Flacius and his fellow-combatants occupied over against the Adiaphorists was embodied in the Tenth Article of the *Formula of Concord*, and thus endorsed by the Lutheran Church as a whole. Frank says concerning this most excellent article which our Church owes to the faithfulness of the Anti-Melanchthonians, notably Flacius: "The theses which received churchly recognition in the *Formula of Concord* were those of Flacius." The entire matter, too, concerning the adiaphora had been discussed so thoroughly and correctly that the subsequent formulation and recognition of the Tenth Article caused but little difficulties. (Frank 4, 3 f.)

Even Melanchthon, though refusing to confess that he was guilty of any doctrinal deviations, finally yielded to the arguments of his opponents and admitted that they were right in teaching as they did regarding the adiaphora. In his famous letter to Flacius (who, however, was not satisfied with the manner of Melanchthon's retraction), dated September 5, 1556, he wrote with respect to the Adiaphoristic Controversy: "I knew that even the least changes [in ceremonies] would be unwelcome to the people. However, since the doctrine [?] was retained, I would rather have our people submit to this servitude than forsake the ministry of the Gospel. *Cum doctrina retineretur integra, malui nostros hanc servitutem subire quam deserere ministerium evangelii.* And I confess that I have given the same advice to the Francans (*Francis*). This I have done; the doctrine of the Confession I have never changed. . . . Afterwards you began to contradict. I yielded; I did not fight. In Homer, Ajax fighting with Hector is satisfied when Hector yields and admits that the former is victor. You never come to an end with your accusations. Where is the enemy that does such a thing as striking those who yield and cast their arms away? Win! I yield. I do not contend concerning those rites, and I most earnestly wish that the churches would enjoy sweet concord. I also admit that I have sinned in this matter, and ask forgiveness of God, that I did not flee far from those insidious deliberations [in which the Interim was framed]. *Fateor hac in re a me peccatum esse, et a Deo veniam peto, quod non procul fugi insidiosas illas deliberationes.*" (*C. R.* 8, 839.)

On January 17, 1557, Melanchthon wrote to the Saxon pastors: "I was drawn into the insidious deliberations of the courts. Therefore, if in any way I have either fallen or been too weak, I ask forgiveness of God and of the Church, and I shall submit to the judgments of the Church." (9, 61.) In the *Formula Consensus*, written by Melanchthon at Worms, in 1557, the Interim is expressly condemned. For here we read: "With the help of God we retain, and shall retain, the entire doctrine of justification, agreeing with the Augsburg Confession and with the confessions which were published in the church of Hamburg against the book called Interim. Nor do we want any corruptions or ambiguities to be mixed with it; and we desire most earnestly that the true doctrine in all its articles be set forth, as far as possible, in identical and proper forms of speech, and that ambitious innovations be avoided." (9, 369.) The *Frankfurt Recess* of 1558, also written by Melanchthon and signed by the princes, maintains: "Where the true Christian doctrine of the holy Gospel is polluted or persecuted, there the adiaphora as well as other ceremonies are detrimental and injurious." (9, 501.)

XIII. The Majoristic Controversy.

142. Early Origin of This Error.

Though not personally mentioned and attacked by the opponents of Majorism, Melanchthon must be regarded as the real father also of this controversy. He was the first to introduce and to cultivate the phrase: "Good works are necessary to salvation." In his *Loci* of 1535 he taught that, in the article of justification, good works are the *causa sine qua non* and are necessary to salvation, *ad vitam aeternam, ad salutem.* (Herzog, *R. E.*, 1903, 12, 519; Galle, *Melanchthon*, 345. 134.)

Melanchthon defined: "*Causa sine qua non* works nothing, nor is it a constituent part, but merely something without which the effect does not occur, or by which, if it were not present, the working cause would be hindered because it was not added. *Causa sine qua non nihil agit, nec est pars constituens, sed tantum est quiddam, sine quo non fit effectus, seu quo, si non adesset, impediretur agens, ideo quia illud non accessisset.*" (Preger 1, 356.) According to Melanchthon, therefore, justification cannot occur without the presence of good works. He explained: "*Et tamen bona opera ita necessaria sunt ad vitam aeternam, quia sequi reconciliationem necessario debent.* Nevertheless good works are necessary to eternal life, inasmuch as they must necessarily follow reconciliation." (*C. R.* 21, 429. 775.) According to the context in which it is found, this statement includes that good works are necessary also to justification; for Melanchthon, too, correctly held "that the adoption to eternal life or the gift of eternal life was connected with justification, that is, the reconciliation imparted to faith." (453.)

At Wittenberg Melanchthon's efforts to introduce the new formula met with energetic opposition, especially on the part of Cordatus and Amsdorf. The formula: "*Bona opera non quidem esse causam efficientem salutis, sed tamen causam sine qua non* — Good works are indeed not the efficient cause of salvation, but nevertheless an indispensable cause," a necessary antecedent, was launched in a lecture delivered July 24, 1536, by a devoted pupil of Melanchthon, Caspar Cruciger, Sr. [born at Leipzig, January 1, 1504; professor in Wittenberg; assisted Luther in translating the Bible and in taking down his lectures and sermons; present at colloquies in Marburg 1529, in Wittenberg 1536, in Smalcald 1537, in Worms and Hagenau 1540, in Regensburg 1541, in Augsburg 1548; died November 16, 1548]. According to Ratzeberger, Cruciger had dictated: "*Bona opera requiri ad salutem tamquam causam sine qua non.*" Cordatus reports Cruciger's dictation as follows: "*Tantum Christus est causa propter quem; interim tamen verum est, homines agere aliquid oportere; oportere nos habere contritionem et debere Verbo erigere conscientiam, ut fidem concipiamus, ut nostra contritio et noster conatus sunt causae iustificationis sine quibus non* — our contrition and our endeavor are causes of justification without which it does not take place." (3, 350.)

Cordatus immediately attacked the new formula as false. "I know," said he, "that this duality of causes cannot stand with the simple article of justification." (3, 350.) He demanded a public retraction from Cruciger. Before long Amsdorf also entered the fray. September 14, 1536, he wrote to Luther about the new-fangled teaching of Melanchthon, "that works are necessary to eternal life." (3, 162; Luther, St. L. 21 b, 4104.) Pressed by Cordatus, Cruciger finally admitted that Melanchthon was back of the phrases he had dictated. He declared that he was the pupil of Mr. Philip; that the entire dictation was Mr. Philip's; that by him he had been led into this matter; and that he did not know how it happened. *Se esse D. Philippi discipulum, et dictata omnia esse D. Philippi, se ab eo in illam rem traductum, et nescire quomodo.*" (*C. R.* 3, 162.)

That Melanchthon had been making efforts to introduce the new phrases in Wittenberg appears from the passage in his *Loci* of 1535 quoted above, and especially from his letters of the two following years. November 5, 1536, he wrote to Veit Dietrich: "Cordatus incites the city, its neighborhood, and even the Court against me because in the explanation of the controversy on justification I have said that new obedience is necessary to salvation, *novam obedientiam necessariam esse ad salutem.*" (185. 179.) May 16, 1537, Veit Dietrich wrote to Foerster: "Our Cordatus, driven, I know not, by what furies, writes against Philip and Cruciger as against heretics, and is determined to force Cruciger to retract because he has said that good works are necessary to salvation. . . . This matter worries Philip very much, and if certain malicious men do not control themselves, he threatens to leave." (372.) As for Melanchthon, he made no efforts to shirk the responsibility for Cruciger's dictation. "*Libenter totam rem in me transfero* — I cheerfully transfer the entire affair to myself," he wrote April 15, 1537. Yet he was worried much more than his words seem to indicate. (342.)

Complaints against the innovations of Melanchthon and Cruciger were also lodged with Luther by Cordatus, Amsdorf, and Stiefel. Cordatus reports Luther as saying after the matter had been related to him, October 24, 1536: "This is the very theology of Erasmus, nor can anything be more opposed to our doctrine. *Haec est ipsissima theologia Erasmi, neque potest quidquam nostrae doctrinae esse magis adversum.*" To say that new obedience is the "*causa sine qua non — sine qua non contingit vita aeterna,*" Luther declared, was tantamount to treading Christ and His blood under our feet. "*Cruciger autem haec, quae publice dictavit, publice revocabit.* What he has publicly dictated, Cruciger shall publicly retract." (Kolde, *Analecta*, 266.)

According to Ratzeberger, Luther immediately warned and censured Cruciger "in severe terms." (*C. R.* 4, 1038.) Flacius reports that Luther had publicly declared more than five times: "*Propositionem: Bona opera esse necessaria ad salutem, volumus damnatam, abrogatam, ex ecclesiis et scholis nostris penitus explosam.*" (Schluesselburg 7, 567.) After his return from Smalcald, where he had expressed grave fears as to the future doctrinal soundness of his Wittenberg colleagues, Luther, in a public disputation on June 1, 1537, "exploded and condemned" the teaching that good works are necessary to salvation, or necessary to salvation as a *causa sine qua non.* (*Lehre u. Wehre* 1908, 65.) Both parties were present at the disputation, Cordatus as well as Melanchthon and Cruciger. In a letter to

Veit Dietrich, June 27, 1537, Cruciger reports: Luther maintained that new obedience is an "effect necessarily following justification," but he rejected the statement: "New obedience is necessary to salvation, *necessariam ad salutem.*" He adds: "*Male hoc habuit nostrum* [Melanchthon], *sed noluit eam rem porro agitare.* Melanchthon was displeased with this, but he did not wish to agitate the matter any further." (*C. R.* 3, 385.) After the disputation Cruciger was handed an anonymous note, saying that his "Treatise on Timothy" was now branded as "heretical, sacrilegious, impious, and blasphemous (*haeretica, sacrilega, impia et blasphema*)," and unless he retracted, he would have to be regarded as a Papist, a teacher and servant of Satan and not of Christ, and that his dictations would be published. (387.) In a letter to Dietrich, Cruciger remarks that Luther had disapproved of this anonymous writing, but he adds: "I can't see why he [Luther] gives so much encouragement to Cordatus." (385.)

In private, Luther repeatedly discussed this matter also with Melanchthon. This appears from their Disputation of 1536 on the question: "Whether this proposition is true: The righteousness of works is necessary to salvation." (E. 58, 353.) In a letter to Dietrich of June 22, 1537, Melanchthon, in substance, refers as follows to his discussions with Luther: I am desirous of maintaining the unity of the Wittenberg Academy; in this matter I also employ some art; nor does Luther seem to be inimical; yesterday he spoke to me in a very kind manner on the questions raised by Quadratus [Cordatus]. What a spectacle if the Lutherans would oppose each other as the Cadmean brethren! I will therefore modify whatever I can. Yet I desire a more thorough exposition of the doctrines of predestination, of the consent of the will, of the necessity of our obedience, and of the sin unto death. (*C. R.* 3, 383.)

A number of private letters written by Melanchthon during and immediately after his conflict with Cordatus, however, reveal much animosity, not only against Cordatus, but against Luther as well. Nor do those written after Luther's disputation, June 1, 1537, indicate that he was then fully cured of his error. (357. 392. 407.) Moreover, in his *Loci* of 1538 we read: "*Et tamen haec nova spiritualis obedientia* (*nova spiritualitas*) *necessaria est ad vitam aeternam.* And nevertheless this new spiritual obedience is necessary to eternal life." (21, 429.) Evidently, then, Melanchthon did not grasp the matter, and was not convinced of the incorrectness of his phraseology. Yet he made it a point to avoid and eliminate from his publications the obnoxious formula: "*Bona opera necessaria esse ad salutem.*" At any rate, his essay on Justification and Good Works, of October, 1537, as well as subsequent publications of his, do not contain it. In the *Loci* of 1538, just referred to, he replaced the words *bona opera* by the phrase *obedientia haec nova spiritualis,* — indeed, a purely verbal rather than a doctrinal change. Nor did it reappear even in the *Variata* of 1540. In 1541, at Regensburg, Melanchthon consented to the formula "that we are justified by a living and efficacious faith — *iustificari per fidem vivam et efficacem.*" But when Luther deleted the words "*et efficacem,* and efficacious," Melanchthon acquiesced. (4, 499.) In the *Loci* of 1543 he expunged the appendix "*ad salutem,* to salvation." At the same time, however, he retained the error in a more disguised form, *viz.,* that good works are necessary to retain faith. For among the reasons why good works are necessary he here enumerates also "the necessity of retaining the faith, since the Holy Spirit is expelled and grieved when sins against the conscience are admitted." (21, 775.)

143. Formula Renewed — Abandoned.

Under the duress of the Augsburg Interim, Melanchthon relapsed into his old error. July 6, 1548, he (together with Caspar Cruciger, John Pfeffinger, Daniel Gresser, George Major, and John Foerster) agreed to the statement: "For this proposition is certainly true, that no one can be saved without love and good works. Yet we are not justified by love and good works, but by grace for Christ's sake." (7, 22.) In the Leipzig Interim, adopted several months later, the false teaching concerning the necessity of good works to salvation was fully restored, as appears from the quotations from this document cited in the chapter on the Adiaphoristic Controversy. According to the *Formula of Concord* this renewal of the obnoxious formula at the time of the Interim furnished the direct occasion for the Majoristic Controversy. For here we read: "The aforesaid modes of speech and false expressions [concerning the necessity of good works to salvation] were renewed by the Interim, just at a time when there was special need of a clear, correct confession against all sorts of corruptions and adulterations of the article of justification." (947, 29.) However, when the controversy on good works began, and George Major zealously championed the restored formula, Melanchthon, probably mindful of his former troubles in this matter, signally failed to support and endorse his friend and colleague. Moreover, he now advised Major and others to abstain from using the phrase: Good works are necessary to salvation, "because," said he, "this appendix [to salvation, *ad salutem*] is interpreted as merit, and obscures the doctrine of grace."

In an opinion of December, 1553, Melanchthon explains: "New obedience is necessary; . . . but when it is said: New obedience is necessary to salvation, the Papists understand that good works merit salvation. This proposition is false; therefore I relinquish this mode of speech." (*C. R.* 8, 194.) January 13, 1555, he wrote to the Senate of Nordhausen that their ministers "should not preach, defend, and dispute the proposition [Good works are necessary to salvation], because it would immediately be interpreted to mean that good works merit salvation — *weil doch alsbald diese Deutung angehaengt wird, als sollten*

gute Werke Verdienst sein der Seligkeit." (410.) September 5, 1556, he said in his letter to Flacius: "I have always admonished George [Major] not only to explain his sentence (which he did), but to abandon that form of speech. And he promised that he would not use it. What more can I ask? The same I did with others." (842.)

In the Frankfurt Recess of 1558, written by Melanchthon and signed by the Lutheran princes, we read: "Although therefore this proposition, 'New obedience is necessary (*Nova obedientia est necessaria, nova obedientia est debitum*),' must be retained, we nevertheless do not wish to attach these words, '*ad salutem*, to salvation,' because this appendix is interpreted as referring to merit and obscures the doctrine of grace; for this remains true that man is justified before God and is an heir of eternal salvation by grace, for the sake of the Lord Christ, by faith in Him only." (9, 497. 405.) In an opinion written November 13, 1559, Melanchthon (together with Paul Eber, Pfeffinger, and H. Salmut) again declared: "I say clearly that I do not employ the phrase, 'Good works are necessary to salvation.'" (969.) In his *Responsiones ad Articulos Bavaricos* of 1559 he wrote: "*Ego non utor his verbis: Bona opera sunt necessaria ad salutem, quia hac additione 'ad salutem' intelligitur meritum.* I do not use these words: Good works are necessary to salvation, because by the addition 'to salvation' a merit is understood." In his lectures, too, Melanchthon frequently rejected the appendix (to salvation), and warned his pupils not to use the phrase. (4, 543; *Lehre und Wehre* 1908, 78.)

Thus Melanchthon, time and again, disowned the proposition which he himself had first introduced. Nowhere, however, did he reject it or advise against its use because it was inherently erroneous and false as such, but always merely because it was subject to abuse and misapprehension, — a qualified rejection which self-evidently could not and did not satisfy his opponents. In an opinion, dated March 4, 1558, Melanchthon refuses to reject flatly the controverted formula, and endeavors to show that it is not in disagreement with the mode of speech employed in the Bible. We read: "Illyricus and his compeers are not satisfied when we say that the appendix [to salvation] is to be omitted on account of the false interpretation given it, but demand that we simply declare the proposition, 'Good works are necessary to salvation,' to be wrong. Against this it must be considered what also Paul has said, Rom. 10: Confession is made to salvation (*Confessio fit ad salutem*), which Wigand maliciously alters thus: Confession is made concerning salvation (*Confessio fit de salute*). Again, 2 Cor. 7: 'For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation.' Likewise Phil. 2: 'Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling.' Nor do these words sound any differently: 'Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord will be saved,' Acts 2, 21. But, they say, one must understand these expressions correctly! That is what we say, too. This disputation, however, would be ended if we agreed to eliminate the appendix and rack our brains no further — *dass wir den Anhang ausschliessen und nicht weiter gruebelten.*" (9, 474.)

144. Major Champions Error.

The immediate cause of the public controversy concerning the question whether good works are necessary to salvation was George Major, a devoted pupil and adherent of Melanchthon and a most active member of the Wittenberg faculty [Major was born April 25, 1502; 1529 Rector of the school in Magdeburg; 1536 Superintendent in Eisleben; soon after, preacher and professor in Wittenberg; 1544 Rector of the University of Wittenberg; in 1548, at Celle, he, too, submitted to the demands of Maurice; in the Leipzig Interim he merely objected to the insertion of Extreme Unction; 1552 Superintendent in Eisleben; professor in Wittenberg from 1553 until his death in 1574].

"*That Dr. Pommer* [Bugenhagen] *and Dr. Major have Caused Offense and Confusion.* Nicholas Amsdorf, Exul Christi. Magdeburg, 1551," — such was the title of a publication which appeared immediately prior to Major's appointment as Superintendent in Eisleben. In it Bugenhagen (who died 1558) and Major (of course, Melanchthon could and should have been included) were denounced for their connection with the Leipzig Interim. Major, in particular, was censured for having, in the Interim, omitted the word *sola*, "alone," in the phrase "*sola fide iustificamur*, we are justified by faith alone," and for having emphasized instead that Christian virtues and good works are meritorious and necessary to salvation. When, as a result of this publication, the preachers of Eisleben and Mansfeld refused to recognize Major as their superior, the latter promised to justify himself publicly. He endeavored to do so in his *Answer*, published 1552 at Wittenberg, after he had already been dismissed by Count Albrecht as Superintendent of Eisleben. The *Answer* was entitled: *Auf des ehrenwuerdigen Herrn Niclas von Amsdorfs Schrift, so jetzund neulich mense Novembri 1551 wider Dr. Major oeffendtlich im Druck ausgegangen. Antwort Georg Majors.* In it Major disclaimed responsibility for the Interim (although he had been present at Celle, where it had been framed), and declared that he had never doubted the "*sola fide*, by faith alone." "But," continued Major, "I do confess that I have hitherto taught, and still teach, and henceforth will teach all my life: that good works are necessary to salvation. And I declare publicly and with clear and plain words that no one is saved by evil works, and also, that no one is saved without good works. Furthermore I say, let him who teaches otherwise, even though an angel from heaven, be accursed (*der sei verflucht*)!" Again: "Therefore it is impossible for a man to be saved without good works." Major explained that good works are necessary to salvation, not because they effect or merit forgiveness of sins,

justification, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and eternal life (for these gifts are merited alone by the death of our only Mediator and Savior Jesus Christ, and can be received only by faith), "but nevertheless good works *must be present*, not as a merit, but as due obedience toward God." (Schlb. 7, 30.)

In his defiant attitude Major was immediately and firmly opposed by Amsdorf, Flacius, Gallus, and others. Amsdorf published his "*Brief Instruction Concerning Dr. Major's Answer, that he is not innocent, as he boasts.* Ein kurzer Unterricht auf Dr. Majoris Antwort, dass er nicht unschuldig sei, wie er sich ruehmet," 1552. Major's declaration and anathema are here met by Amsdorf as follows: "First of all, I would like to know against whom Dr. George Major is writing when he says: Nobody merits heaven by evil works. Has even the angry and impetuous Amsdorf ever taught and written thus? . . . We know well, praise God, and confess that a Christian should and must do good works. Nobody disputes and speaks concerning that; nor has anybody doubted this. On the contrary, we speak and dispute concerning this, whether a Christian earns salvation by the good works which he should and must do. . . . For we all say and confess that after his renewal and new birth a Christian should love and fear God and do all manner of good works, but not that he may be saved, for he is saved already by faith (*aber nicht darum, dass er selig werde, denn er ist schon durch den Glauben selig*). This is the true prophetic and apostolic doctrine, and whoever teaches otherwise is already accursed and damned. I, therefore, Nicholas von Amsdorf, declare: Whoever teaches and preaches these words as they read (Good works are necessary to salvation), is a Pelagian, a mameluke, and a denier of Christ, and he has the same spirit which prompted Drs. Mensing and Witzel to write against Dr. Luther, of blessed memory, that good works are necessary to salvation." (Schlb. 7, 210.)

Another attack was entitled: "Against the Evangelist of the Holy Gown, Dr. Miser Major. *Wider den Evangelisten des heiligen Chorrocks, Dr. Geitz Major,*" 1552. Here Flacius — for he was the author of this publication — maintained that neither justification, nor salvation, nor the preservation of the state of grace is to be based on good works. He objected to Major's propositions because they actually made good works the antecedent and cause of salvation and robbed Christians of their comfort. He declared: "When we say: That is necessary for this work or matter, it means just as much as if we said: It is a cause, or, by this or that work one effects this or that." As to the practical consequences of Major's propositions, Flacius remarks: "If therefore good works are necessary to salvation, and if it is impossible for any one to be saved without them, then tell us, Dr. Major, how can a man be saved who all his life till his last breath has led a sinful life, but now, when about to die, desires to apprehend Christ (as is the case with many on their death-bed or on the gallows)? How will Major comfort such a poor sinner? The poor sinner, Flacius continues, would declare: "Major, the great theologian, writes and teaches as most certain that no one can be saved without good works, and that good works are absolutely necessary (*ganz notwendig*) to salvation; therefore I am damned, for I have heretofore never done any good works." "Furthermore Major will also have to state and determine the least number of ounces or pounds of good works one is required to have to obtain salvation." (Preger 1, 363 f.)

In his "Explanation and Answer to the New Subtle Corruption of the Gospel of Christ — *Erklaerung und Antwort auf die neue subtile Verfaelschung des Evangelii Christi,*" 1554, Nicholas Gallus maintained that, if the righteousness presented by Christ alone is the cause of our justification and salvation, then good works can only be the fruits of it. In a similar way Schnepf, Chemnitz, and others declared themselves against Majorism. (Schlb. 7, 55. 162. 205. 534. 572; *C. R.* 9, 475; Seeberg, *Dogg.* 4, 486.)

145. Major's Modifications.

Major answered his opponents in his book of 1553 entitled, *A Sermon on the Conversion to God of St. Paul and All God-fearing Men.*" In it he most emphatically denied that he had ever taught that good works are necessary in order to *earn* salvation, and explained more fully "whether, in what way, which, and why good works are nevertheless necessary to salvation." Here he also admits: "This proposition would be dangerous and dark if I had said without any distinction and explanation: Good works are necessary to salvation. For thus one might easily be led to believe that we are saved by good works without faith, or also by the merit of good works, not by faith alone." "We are not just and saved by renewal, and because the fulfilment of the Law is begun in us, as the Interim teaches, but in this life we always remain just and saved by faith *alone.*" (Preger 1, 364 ff.)

Major explains: "When I say: The new obedience or good works which follow faith are necessary to salvation, this is not to be understood in the sense that one must earn salvation by good works, or that they constitute, or could effect or impart the righteousness by which a man may stand before the judgment-seat of God, but that good works are effects and fruits of true faith, which are to follow it [faith] and are wrought by Christ in believers. For whoever believes and is just, he, at the risk of losing his righteousness and salvation, is in duty bound and obliged to begin to obey God as his Father, to do that which is good, and to avoid evil." (370.)

Major furthermore modified his statement by explaining: Good works are necessary to salvation, not in order to obtain, but to retain, salvation. "In order to retain salvation and not to lose it again," he said, "they are necessary to such an extent that, if you fail to do them, it is a sure indication that your faith is dead and false, a painted faith, an

opinion existing only in your imagination." The reason, said Major (Menius, too, later on expressed his agreement in this point with Major), why he had urged his proposition concerning the necessity of good works to salvation, was the fact that the greater number also of those who claim to be good evangelical Christians "imagine that they believe, and imagine and fabricate a faith which may exist without good works, though this is just as impossible as that the sun should not emit brightness and splendor." (Tschackert 515; Frank 2, 162. 373.)

Reducing his teaching to a number of syllogisms, Major argued, in substance, as follows: Eternal life is given to none but the regenerate; regeneration, however, is new obedience and good works in the believers and the beginning of eternal life: hence the new life, which consists in good works, is necessary to believers for salvation. Again: No one is saved unless he confesses with his mouth the faith of his heart in Christ and remains steadfast in such faith, Rom. 10, 9. 10; Matt. 22, 13; hence the works of confessing and persevering faith are necessary to salvation as fruits of faith, in order that salvation, obtained by faith, may not be lost by denial and apostasy. (Frank 2, 162.) Again: The thing without which salvation cannot be preserved is necessary to salvation; without obedience toward God salvation, received by grace through faith, cannot be preserved; hence obedience toward God is necessary in order that by it salvation, received by grace, may be preserved and may not be lost by disobedience. At the conclusion of his "Sermon on Paul's Conversion," Major also repeated his anathema against all those who teach otherwise, and added: "Hiewider moegen nun Amseln [Amsdorf] oder Drosseln singen und schreien, Haehne [Gallus] kraehen oder gatzen [gakkern], verloffene und unbekannte Wenden und Walen [Flacius] laestern, die Schrift verwenden, verkehren, kalumniieren, schreiben und malen, wie sie wollen, so bin ich doch gewiss, dass diese Lehre, so in diesem Sermon steht, die rechte goettliche Wahrheit ist, wider welche auch alle hoellischen Pforten nichts Bestaendiges oder Gruendliches koennen aufbringen, wie boese sie sich auch machen." (Preger 1, 371. 380.)

Schluesselburg charges Major also with confounding justification with sanctification. In proof of this he quotes the following from Major's remarks on Rom. 8: "Salvation or justification is twofold: one in this life and the other in eternal life. The salvification in this life consists, first, in the remission of sins and in the imputation of righteousness; secondly, in the gift and renewing of the Holy Spirit and in the hope of eternal life bestowed freely for the sake of Christ. This salvification and justification is only begun [in this life] and imperfect; for in those who are saved and justified by faith there still remains sin, the depravity of nature; there remain also the terrors of sin and of the Law, the bite of the old Serpent, and death, together with all miseries that flesh is heir to. Thus by faith and the Holy Ghost we, indeed, *begin to be justified*, sanctified, and saved, but we are not yet *perfectly justified*, sanctified, and saved. It remains, therefore, that we become *perfectly just and saved*. Sic per fidem et Spiritum Sanctum *coepimus quidem iustificari*, sanctificari, et salvari, nondum tamen perfecte iusti et salvi sumus. Reliquum igitur est, ut perfecte iusti et salvi fiamus." (7, 348.)

146. Menius Sides with Major.

Prominent among the theologians who were in essential agreement with Major was Justus Menius. He was born 1499; became Superintendent in Gotha 1546; was favorably disposed toward the Leipzig Interim; resigned his position in Gotha 1557; removed to Leipzig, where he published his polemical writings against Flacius; died August 11, 1558. In 1554 he was entangled in the Majoristic controversy. In this year Amsdorf demanded that Menius, who, together with himself, Schnepf, and Stolz, had been appointed visitors of Thuringia, declare himself against the Adiaphorists, and, in particular, reject the books of Major, and his doctrine that good works are necessary to salvation. Menius declined, because, he said, he had not read these books. As a result Menius was charged with being a secret adherent of Majorism.

In 1556, however, Menius himself proved by his publications that this suspicion was not altogether unwarranted. For in his *Preparation for a Blessed Death* and in a *Sermon on Salvation*, published in that year, Menius taught that the beginning of the new life in believers is "necessary to salvation" (Tschackert, 517; *Herzog, R.* 12, 89.) This caused Flacius to remark in his book, *Concerning the Unity of Those who in the Past Years have Fought for and against the Adiaphora*, 1556: "Major and Menius, in their printed books, are again reviving the error that good works are necessary to salvation; wherefore it is to be feared that the latter misfortune will be worse than the former." (Preger 1, 382.) Soon after, Menius was suspended from office and required to clear himself before the Synod in Eisenach, 1556. Here he subscribed seven propositions in which the doctrine that good works are necessary to salvation, or to retain salvation, was rejected.

The seven Eisenach propositions, signed by Menius, read as follows: "1. Although this proposition, Good works are necessary to salvation, may be tolerated in the doctrine of the Law abstractly and ideally (*in doctrina legis abstractive et de idea tolerari potest*), nevertheless there are many weighty reasons why it should be avoided and shunned no less than the other: Christ is a creature. 2. In the forum of justification and salvation this proposition, Good works are necessary to salvation, is not at all to be tolerated. 3. In the forum of new obedience, after reconciliation, good works are not at all necessary to salvation, but for other causes. 4. Faith alone justifies and saves in the beginning, middle, and end. 5. Good works are not necessary to

retain salvation (*ad retinendam salutem*). 6. Justification and salvation are synonyms and equipollent or convertible terms, and neither can nor must be separated in any way (*nec ulla ratione distrahi aut possunt aut debent*). 7. May therefore the papistical buskin be banished from our church on account of its manifold offenses and innumerable dissensions and other causes of which the apostles speak Acts 15." (Preger 1, 383.)

In his subscription to these theses Menius declared: "I, Justus Menius, testify by my present signature that this confession is true and orthodox, and that, according to the gift given me by God, I have heretofore by word and writing publicly defended it, and shall continue to defend it." In this subscription Menius also promised to correct the offensive expressions in his *Sermon on Salvation.* However, dissatisfied with the intolerable situation thus created, he resigned, and soon after became Superintendent in Leipzig. In three violently polemical books, published there in 1557 and 1558, he freely vented his long pent-up feelings of anger and animosity, especially against Flacius. (384 f.)

In these publications, Menius denied that he had ever used the proposition of Major. However, he not only refused to reject it, but defended the same error, though in somewhat different terms. He merely replaced the phrase "good works" by "new life," "new righteousness," "new obedience," and affirmed "that it is necessary to our salvation that such be wrought in us by the Holy Ghost." He wrote: The Holy Spirit renews those who have become children of God by faith in Christ, and that this is performed in them, "this, I say, they need for their salvation — *sei ihnen zur Seligkeit vonnoeten.*" (Frank 2, 223.) Again: "He [the Holy Spirit] begins righteousness and life in the believers, which beginning is in this life (as long as we dwell on earth in this sinful flesh) very weak and imperfect, *but nevertheless necessary to salvation,* and will be perfect after the resurrection, that we may walk in it before God eternally and be saved." (222.) Works, said Menius, must not be introduced into the article of justification, reconciliation, and redemption; but when dealing with the article of sanctification, "then it is correct to say: Sanctification, or renewal of the Holy Spirit, is necessary to salvation." (Preger 1, 388.)

With respect to the proposition, Good works are necessary to salvation, Menius stated that he could not simply condemn it as altogether false and heretical. Moreover, he argued: "If it is correct to say: Sanctification, or renewal by the Holy Spirit, is necessary to salvation, then it cannot be false to say: Good works are necessary to salvation, since it is certain and cannot be gainsaid that sanctification and renewal do not and cannot exist without good works." (386.) Indeed, he himself maintained that "good works are necessary to salvation in order that we may not lose it again." (387. 391.) At the same time Menius, as stated above, claimed that he had never employed Major's proposition, and counseled others to abstain from its use in order to avoid misinterpretation. The same advice he gave with respect to his own formula, that new obedience is necessary to salvation. (Frank 2, 165. 223.)

Menius also confounded justification and sanctification. He wrote: "By faith in Christ alone we become just before God and are saved. Why? Because by faith one receives, first, forgiveness of sins and the righteousness or obedience of Christ, with which He fulfilled the Law for us; thereupon, one also receives the Holy Spirit, who effects and fulfils in us the righteousness required by the Law, here in this life imperfectly, and perfectly in the life to come." (Preger 1, 387.) At the synod of Eisenach, 1556, the theologians accordingly declared: "Although it is true that grace and the gift through grace cannot be separated, but are always together, nevertheless the gift of the Holy Spirit is not a piece or part, much less a co-cause of justification and salvation, but an appendix, a consequence, and an additional gift of grace. — *Wiewohl es wahr ist, dass gratia und donum per gratiam nicht koennen getrennt werden, sondern allezeit beieinander sind, so ist doch die Gabe des Heiligen Geistes nicht ein Stueck oder Teil, viel weniger eine Mitursache der Justifikation und Salvation, sondern ist ein Anhang, Folge und Zugabe der Gnade.*" (Seeberg 4, 487.)

147. Attitude of Anti-Majorists.

With the exception of Menius and other adherents in Electoral Saxony, Major was firmly opposed by Lutheran ministers and theologians everywhere. Even when he was still their superintendent, the ministers of Mansfeld took issue with him; and after he was dismissed by Count Albrecht, they drafted an *Opinion,* in which they declared that Major's proposition obscures the doctrine of God's grace and Christ's merit. Also the clergy of Luebeck, Hamburg, Lueneburg, and Magdeburg united in an *Opinion,* in which they rejected Major's proposition. Chief among the theologians who opposed him were, as stated, Amsdorf, Flacius, Wigand, Gallus, Moerlin, and Chemnitz. In their publications they unanimously denounced the proposition that good works are necessary to salvation, and its equivalents, as dangerous, godless, blasphemous, and popish. Yet before the controversy they themselves had not all nor always been consistent and correct in their terminology.

The *Formula of Concord* says: "Before this controversy quite a few pure teachers employed such and similar expressions [that faith is preserved by good works, etc.] in the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, in no way, however, intending thereby to confirm the above-mentioned errors of the Papists." (949, 36.) Concerning the word "faith," 1549, Flacius, for example had said that our effort to obey God might be called a "*causa sine qua non,* or something which serves salvation." His words are: "Atque hinc apparet, quatenus nostrum studium obediendi Deo dici possit causa sine qua non, seu *ὑπηρετικόν τι,* id est, quiddam subserviens ad salutem." But

when his attention was called to this passage, he first eliminated the *causa sine qua non* and substituted *ad vitam aeternam* for *ad salutem*, and afterwards changed this phrase into *ad veram pietatem*. (Frank 2, 218. 169.) However, as soon as the controversy began, the Lutherans, notably Flacius, clearly saw the utter falsity of Major's statements.

Flacius wrote: "Salvation is forgiveness of sins, as Paul testifies, Rom. 4, and David, Ps. 32: 'Blessed are they whose sins are forgiven.' 'Thy faith hath made thee whole.' Matt. 9; Mark 5. 10; Luke 7. 8. 18. Jesus saves sinners and the lost. Matt. 1, 18; 1 Tim. 1. Since, now, salvation and forgiveness of sins are one and the same thing, consider, dear Christian, what kind of doctrine this is: No one has received forgiveness of sins without good works; it is impossible for any one to receive forgiveness of sins or to be saved without good works; good works are necessary to forgiveness of sins." (Preger 1, 375.) Again: "Young children and those who are converted in their last hour (who certainly constitute the greater part), must confess that they neither possess, nor will possess, any good works, for they die forthwith. Indeed, St. Bernard also wrote when on his deathbed: *Perdite vixi* — I have led a wicked life! And what is still more, all Christians, when, in their dying moments, they are striving with sins, must say: 'All our good works are like filthy rags; in my life there is nothing good'; and, as David says, Ps. 51: 'Before Thee I am nothing but sin,' as Dr. Luther explains it." (376.) Again: "We are concerned about this, that poor and afflicted consciences may have a firm and certain consolation against sin, death, devil, and hell, and thus be saved. For if a condition or appendix concerning our good works and worthiness is required as necessary to salvation, then, as Dr. Major frequently discusses this matter very excellently, it is impossible to have a firm and solid consolation." (376.)

Flacius showed that Major's proposition, taken as it reads, can be interpreted only in a papistical sense, and that no amount of explanations is able to cure it of its ingrained falsity. Major, said he, must choose between his proposition, or the interpretations which he places upon it; for the former does not admit of the latter. He added that a proposition which is in constant need of explanations in order not to be misunderstood is not adapted for religious instruction. From the fact, says Flacius, that the justified are obliged to obey the Law, it follows indeed that good works are necessary, but not that they are necessary to salvation (as Major and Menius inferred). "From the premises [that Christians are in duty bound to obey the Law and to render the new obedience] it merely follows that this obedience is necessary; but nothing is here said of salvation." (392.) Flacius showed that Major's proposition, even with the proviso that each and every merit of works was to be excluded, remained objectionable. The words "necessary to, *necessaria ad*," always, he insisted, designate something that precedes, moves, works, effects. The proposition: Justification, salvation, and faith are necessary to good works, cannot be reversed, because good works are not antecedents, but consequents of justification, salvation, and faith.

For the same reason Flacius objected to the phrase that good works are necessary as *causa sine qua non*. "Dear Dr. G." (Major), says he, "ask the highly learned Greek philosophers for a little information as to what they say *de causa sine qua non, ὃν οὐκ ἄνευ*. Ask, I say, the learned and the unlearned, ask philosophy, reason, and common languages, whether it is not true that it [*causa sine qua non*] must precede." (377.) No one, said he, would understand the propositions of Major and Menius correctly. Illustrating this point, Flacius wrote: "Can one become a carpenter without the house which he builds afterwards? Can one make a wagon or ship without driving or sailing? I say, yes! Or, dear Doctor, are we accustomed to say: Driving and sailing is necessary to the wagon and ship, respectively, and it is impossible for a wagon or ship to be made without driving or sailing? I hear: No!" (375.) "Nobody says: Fruits and leaves are necessary to the tree; wine and grapes are necessary to the vineyard; or, dwelling is necessary to a house; driving and sailing, to a wagon and ship; riding is necessary to a horse; but thus they speak: Wagons and horses are necessary to riding, a ship is necessary to sailing." (391.)

The charge that Major's proposition robbed Christians of their assurance of salvation was urged also by Nicholas Gallus. He says: It is giving with one hand and taking again with the other when Major adds [to his proposition concerning the necessity of good works to salvation] that our conscience is not to look upon our works, but on Christ alone. (Frank 2, 224.) The same point was stressed in the *Opinion* of the ministers of Luebeck, Hamburg, Lueneburg, and Magdeburg, published by Flacius and Gallus in 1553. (220.) The Hamburg theologians declared: "This appendix [necessary to salvation, *ad salutem*] indicates a cause and a merit." They added that in this sense also the phrase was generally understood by the Papists. (Planck, *Geschichte des prot. Lehrbegriffes* 5, 505. 497.) Gallus also explained that it was papistical to infer: By sins we lose salvation, hence it is retained by good works; or, Sins condemn, hence good works save. (Frank 2, 171.) Hesshusius wrote to Wigand: "I regard Eber's assertion that good works are necessary to justification *because they must be present*, as false and detrimental. For Paul expressly excludes good works from the justification of a sinner before God, not only when considered a merit, cause, glory, dignity, price, object or trust, and medium of application, etc., but also as to the necessity of their presence (*verum etiam quoad necessitatem praesentiae*). If it is necessary that good works be present with him who is to be justified, then Paul errs when he declares that a man is justified without the works of the Law." (172.)

Regarding this point, that good works are necessary to justification in so far as they must be present, the Majorists appealed to Luther, who, however, had merely stated that faith is never alone, though it alone justifies. His axiom was: "Faith alone justifies, but it is not alone — *Fides sola iustificat, sed non est sola.*" According to Luther good works, wherever they are found, are present in virtue of faith; where they are not present, they are absent because faith is lacking; nor can they preserve the faith by which alone they are produced. At the Altenburg Colloquy (1568 to 1569) the theologians of Electoral Saxony insisted that, since true faith does not and cannot exist in those who persevere in sins against their conscience, good works must not be altogether and absolutely excluded from justification, at least their necessity and presence must not be regarded as unnecessary. (189.) The theologians of Ducal Saxony, however, denied "that in the article and act of justification our good works are necessary by necessity of presence. *Sed impugnamus istam propositionem, in articulo et actu iustificationis bona nostra opera necessaria esse necessitate praesentiae.*" On the other hand, however, they, too, were solicitous to affirm the impossibility of faith's coexisting with an evil purpose to sin against God in one and the same mind at the same time." (237; Gieseler 3, 2, 251.) In the *Apology of the Book of Concord* the Lutheran theologians declared: "The proposition (Justification of faith requires the presence of good works) was rejected [in the *Formula of Concord*] because it cannot be understood otherwise than of the cause of justification. For whatever is present in justification as necessary in such a manner that without its presence justification can neither be nor occur, that must indeed be understood as being a cause of justification itself." (238.)

148. Major's Concessions Not Satisfactory.

In order to put an end to the controversy, Major offered a concession in his "*Confession concerning the Article of Justification*, that is, concerning the doctrine that by faith alone, without any merit, for the sake of Christ, a man has forgiveness of sins, and is just before God and an heir of eternal salvation," 1558. Here he states that he had not used the controverted formula for several years and, in order not to give further cause for public contention, he promised "not to employ the words, 'Good works are necessary to salvation,' any more, on account of the false interpretations placed upon it." (Preger 1, 396.) In making this concession, however, Major did not at all intend to retract his teaching or to condemn his proposition as false. He promised to abstain from its use, not because he was now convinced of his error and viewed his propositions as false and incorrect as such, but merely because it was ambiguous and liable to abuse, and because he wished to end the conflict. (Frank 2, 166 f. 223.)

Nor did Major later on ever admit that he had erred in the matter. In an oration delivered 1567 he boasted of his intimate relation and doctrinal agreement with Luther and Melanchthon, adding: "Neither did I ever deviate, nor, God assisting me, shall I ever deviate, from the truth once acknowledged. *Nec discessi umquam nec Deo iuvante discedam ab agnita semel veritate.*" He had never thought or taught, said he, that good works are a cause of justification. And concerning the proposition, "Good works are necessary to salvation," he had expressly declared that he intended to abstain from its use "because it had offended some on account of its ambiguity, *cum propter ambiguitatem offenderit aliquos.*" He continued: "The facts show that we [the professors of Wittenberg University] are and have remained guardians of that doctrine which Luther and Melanchthon . . . delivered to us, in whose writings from the time of the [Augsburg] Confession there is neither a dissonance nor a discrepancy, either among themselves or from the foundation, nor anything obscure or perplexing." (Frank 2, 224. 167.)

Also in his *Testament* (*Testamentum Doctoris Georgii Majoris*), published 1570, Major emphatically denied that he had ever harbored or taught any false views concerning justification, salvation, and good works. Of his own accord he had also abandoned the phrases: "Good works are necessary to salvation; it is impossible to be saved without good works; no one has ever been saved without good works — *Bona opera sunt necessaria ad salutem; impossibile est, sine bonis operibus salvum fieri; nemo umquam sine bonis operibus salvatus est.*" He had done this in order to obviate the misapprehension as though he taught that good works are a cause of salvation which contribute to merit and effect salvation. According to this *Testament*, he desired his doctrines and writings to be judged. In future he would not dispute with anybody about these phrases. (168.) Thus in his *Testament*, too, Major withdrew his statements not because they were simply false, but only because they had been interpreted to mean that good works are the efficient cause of justification and salvation. And while Major in later writings did eliminate the appendix "*ad salutem*, to salvation," or "*ad vitam aeternam*, to eternal life," he retained, and continued to teach, essentially the same error in another garb, namely, that good works are necessary in order to retain faith. Enumerating, in his *Explanation of the Letter to the Galatians*, of 1560, the purposes on account of which good works ought to be rendered, he mentions as the "first, in order to retain faith, the Holy Spirit, the grace bestowed, and a good conscience." (218.)

Thus Major was willing to abandon as dangerous and ambiguous, and to abstain from the use of, the formula, "Good works are necessary to salvation," but refused to reject it as false and to make a public admission and confession of his error. This, however, was precisely what his opponents demanded; for they were convinced that they could be satisfied with nothing less. As a result the controversy continued till Major's death, in

1574. The Jena professors, notably Flacius, have been charged with prolonging the controversy from motives of personal revenge. (Schaff, 276.) No doubt, the Wittenbergers had gone to the very limit of rousing the animosity and resentment of Flacius (who himself, indeed, was not blameless in the language used against his opponents). Major had depicted Flacius as a most base and wicked man; as a cunning and sly adventurer; as a tyrant, who, after having suppressed the Wittenbergers, would, as a pope, lord it over all Germany; as an Antinomian and a despiser of all good works, etc. (Preger 1, 397.) In the address of October 18, 1567, already referred to, Major said: "There was in this school [Wittenberg] a vagabond of uncertain origin, fatherland, religion, and faith, who called himself Flacius Illyricus. . . . He was the first one to spew out against this school, against its principal Doctors, against the churches of these regions, against the princes themselves, the poison which he had brewed and imbibed some time ago, and, having gnawed and consumed with the bite of a serpent the womb of his mother, to destroy the harmony of these churches, at first by spreading his dreams, fables, and gossip, but now also by calumnies and manifest lies." (Frank 2, 217.) Melanchthon, too, had repeatedly written in a similar vein. In an *Opinion* of his, dated March 4, 1558, we read: "Even if they [Flacius and his adherents] condemn and banish me, I am well satisfied; for I do not desire to associate with them, because I well know that the said Illyricus with his adherents does not seek the honor of God, but publicly opposes the truth, and as yet has never declared himself concerning the entire sum of Christian doctrine." (*C. R.* 9, 463. 476. 311.) In an *Opinion* of March 9, 1559, Melanchthon even insinuated that Flacius denied the Trinity. (763.) Before this, August, 1549, he had written to Fabricius: "The Slavic runagate (Slavus δραπέτης) received many benefits from our Academy and from me. But we have nursed a serpent in our bosom. He deserves to be branded on his forehead as the Macedonian king did with a soldier: 'Ungrateful stranger, ξένος ἀχάριστος.' Nor do I believe that the source of his hatred is any other than that the place of Cruciger was not given to him. But I omit these disagreeable narrations." (7, 449. 478 ff.) This personal abuse, however, was not the reason why Flacius persisted in his opposition despite the concessions made by Major and Menius, — concessions with which even such moderate men as Martin Chemnitz were not satisfied.

Flacius continued his opposition because he could not do otherwise without sacrificing his own principles, compromising the truth, and jeopardizing the doctrine of justification. He did not yield because he was satisfied with nothing less than a complete victory of the divine truth and an unqualified retraction of error. The truly objective manner in which he dealt with this matter appears from his *Strictures on the Testament of Dr. Major* (*Censura de Testamento D. Majoris*). Here we read, in substance: In his *Testament* Major covers his error with the same sophism which he employed in his former writings. For he says that he ascribes the entire efficient cause, merit, and price of our justification and salvation to Christ alone, and therefore excludes and removes all our works and virtues. This he has set forth more fully and more clearly in his previous writings, saying that the proposition, "Good works are necessary to salvation," can be understood in a double sense; *viz.*, that they are necessary to salvation as a certain merit, price, or efficient cause of justification or salvation (as the Papists understand and teach it), or that they are necessary to salvation as a certain debt or an indispensable cause (*causa sine qua non*), or a cause without which it is impossible for the effect of salvation to follow or for any one to obtain it. He now confesses this same opinion. He does not expressly eliminate "the indispensable cause, or the obligation without the fulfilment of which it is impossible for any one to be preserved, as he asserted repeatedly before this, from which it appears that he adheres to his old error. *Et non diserte tollit causam sine qua non seu debitum, sine cuius persolutione sit impossibile quemquam servari, quod toties antea asseruit; facile patet, eum pristinum illum suum errorem retinere.*" (Schlb. 7, 266; Preger 1, 398.) Flacius demanded an unqualified rejection of the statement, "Good works are necessary to salvation" — a demand with which Major as well as Melanchthon refused to comply. (*C. R.* 9, 474 f.)

The *Formula of Concord*, however, sanctioned the attitude of Flacius. It flatly rejected the false and dubious formulas of Melanchthon, Major, and Menius concerning the necessity of good works to salvation, and fully restored Luther's doctrine. Luther's words concerning "good works" are quoted as follows: "We concede indeed that instruction should be given also concerning love and good works, yet in such a way that this be done when and where it is necessary, namely, when otherwise and outside of this matter of justification we have to do with works. But here the chief matter dealt with is the question, not whether we should also do good works and exercise love, but by what means we can be justified before God and saved. And here we answer with St. Paul: that we are justified by faith in Christ alone, and not by the deeds of the Law or by love. Not that we hereby entirely reject works and love, as the adversaries falsely slander and accuse us, but that we do not allow ourselves to be led away, as Satan desires, from the chief matter, with which we have to do here, to another and foreign affair, which does not at all belong to this matter. Therefore, whereas and as long as we are occupied with this article of justification, we reject and condemn works, since this article is so constituted that it can admit of no disputation or treatment whatever regarding works. Therefore in this matter we cut short all Law and works of the Law." (925, 29.)

The *Formula of Concord* rejects the Majoristic formula, not because it is ambiguous, but because it is false. Concerning ambiguous phrases it declares: "To avoid strife about words, *aequivocationes vocabulorum, i. e.*, words and expressions which are applied and used in various meanings, should be carefully and distinctly explained." (874, 51.) An ambiguous phrase or statement need not be condemned, because it may be made immune from error and misapprehension by a careful explanation. The statement, "Good works are necessary to salvation," however, does not admit of such treatment. It is inherently false and cannot be cured by any amount of explanation or interpretation. Because of this inherent falsity it must be rejected as such. Logically and grammatically the phrase, "Good works are necessary to salvation," reverses the correct theological order, by placing works before faith and sanctification before justification. It turns things topsy-turvy. It makes the effect the cause; the consequent, the antecedent; and *vice versa*.

Not personal animosity, but this fundamental falsity of the Majoristic formula was, in the last analysis, the reason why the explanations and concessions made by Major and Menius did not and could not satisfy their opponents. They maintained, as explained above, that the words "necessary to" always imply "something that precedes, moves, effects, works," and that, accordingly, the obnoxious propositions of Major "place good works before the remission of sins and before salvation." (Preger 1, 377.) Even Planck admits that only force could make the proposition, "Good works are necessary to salvation," say, "Good works must follow faith and justification." "According to the usage of every language," says he, "a phrase saying that one thing is necessary to another designates a causal connection. Whoever dreamt of asserting that heat is necessary to make it day, because it is a necessary effect of the rays of the sun, by the spreading of which it becomes day." (4, 542. 485.) Without compromising the truth and jeopardizing the doctrine of justification, therefore, the Lutherans were able to regard as satisfactory only a clear and unequivocal rejection of Majorism as it is found in the *Formula of Concord*.

149. Absurd Proposition of Amsdorf.

Nicholas Amsdorf, the intimate and trusted friend of Luther, was among the most zealous of the opponents of Majorism. He was born December 3, 1483; professor in Wittenberg; 1521 in Worms with Luther; superintendent in Magdeburg; 1542 bishop at Naumburg; banished by Maurice in 1547, he removed to Magdeburg; soon after professor and superintendent in Jena; opposed the Interimists, Adiaphorists, Osiandrists, Majorists, Synergists, Sacramentarians, Anabaptists, and Schwenckfeldians; died at Eisenach May 14, 1565. Regarding the bold statements of Major as a blow at the very heart of true Lutheranism, Amsdorf antagonized his teaching as a "most pernicious error," and denounced Major as a Pelagian and a double Papist. But, alas, the momentum of his uncontrolled zeal carried him a step too far — over the precipice. He declared that good works are detrimental and injurious to salvation, *bona opera perniciosa* (*noxia*) *esse ad salutem*. He defended his paradoxical statement in a publication of 1559 against Menius, with whose subscription to the Eisenach propositions, referred to above, he was not satisfied; chiefly because Menius said there that he had taught and defended them also in the past. The flagrant blunder of Amsdorf was all the more offensive because it appeared on the title of his tract, reading as follows: "*Dass diese Propositio: 'Gute Werke sind zur Seligkeit schaedlich,' eine rechte, wahre, christliche Propositio sei*, durch die heiligen Paulum und Lutherum gelehrt und gepredigt. Niclas von Amsdorf, 1559. That this proposition, 'Good works are injurious to salvation,' is a correct, true, Christian proposition, taught and preached by Sts. Paul and Luther." (Frank 2, 228.)

Luther, to whose writings Amsdorf appealed, had spoken very guardedly and correctly in this matter. He had declared: Good works are detrimental to the righteousness of faith, "if one presumes to be justified by them, *si quis per ea praesumat iustificari*." Wherever Luther speaks of the injuriousness of good works, it is always *sub specie iustificationis*, that is to say, viewing good works as entering the article of justification, or the forgiveness of sins. (Weimar 7, 59; 10, 3, 373. 374. 387; E. 16, 465. 484; Tschackert, 516.) What vitiated the proposition as found in Amsdorf's tract was the fact that he had omitted the modification added by Luther. Amsdorf made a flat statement of what Luther had asserted, not flatly, *nude et simpliciter*, but with a limitation, *secundum quid*.

Self-evidently the venerable Amsdorf, too, who from the very beginning of the Reformation had set an example in preaching as well as in living a truly Christian life, did not in the least intend to minimize, or discourage the doing of, good works by his offensive phrase, but merely to eliminate good works from the article of justification. As a matter of fact, his extravagant statement, when taken as it reads, flatly contradicted his own clear teaching. In 1552 he had declared against Major, as recorded above: "Who has ever taught or said that one should or need not do good works?" "For we all say and confess that after his renewal and new birth a Christian should love and fear God and do all manner of good works," etc. What Amsdorf wished to emphasize was not that good works are dangerous in themselves and as such, but in the article of salvation. For this reason he added: "*ad salutem*, to salvation." By this appendix he *meant* to emphasize that good works are dangerous when introduced as a factor in justification and trusted in for one's salvation.

Melanchthon refers to the proposition of Amsdorf as "filthy speech, *unflaetige Rede*." In 1557, at Worms, he wrote: "Now Amsdorf

writes: Good works are detrimental to salvation. . . . The Antinomians and their like must avoid the filthy speech, 'Good works are detrimental to salvation.'" (*C. R.* 9, 405 ff.) Though unanimously rejecting his blundering proposition, Amsdorf's colleagues treated the venerable veteran of Lutheranism with consideration and moderation. No one, says Frank, disputed the statement in the sense in which Amsdorf took it, and its form was so apparently false that it could but be generally disapproved. (2, 176.) The result was that the paradox assertion remained without any special historical consequences.

True, Major endeavored to foist Amsdorf's teaching also on Flacius. He wrote: Flacius "endeavors with all his powers to subvert this proposition, that good works are necessary to those who are to be saved; and tries to establish the opposite blasphemy, that good works are dangerous to those who are to be saved, and that they are a hindrance to eternal salvation — *evertere summis viribus hanc propositionem conatur: bona opera salvandis esse necessaria. Ac contra stabilire oppositam blasphemiam studet: Bona opera salvandis periculosa sunt et aeternae saluti officiunt.*" Major continues: "Let pious minds permit Flacius and his compeers, at their own risk, to prostitute their eternal salvation to the devils, and by their execrations and anathemas to sacrifice themselves to the devil and his angels." (Frank 2, 221.) This, however, was slander pure and simple, for Flacius was among the first publicly to disown Amsdorf when he made his extravagant statement against Menius. (Preger 1, 392. 384.)

The *Formula of Concord* most emphatically rejects the error of Amsdorf (the bare statement that good works are injurious to salvation) "as offensive and detrimental to Christian discipline." And justly so; for the question was not what Amsdorf meant to say, but what he really did say. The *Formula* adds: "For especially in these last times it is no less needful to admonish men to Christian discipline and good works, and remind them how necessary it is that they exercise themselves in good works as a declaration of their faith and gratitude to God, than that works be not mingled in the article of justification; because men may be damned by an Epicurean delusion concerning faith, as well as by papistic and Pharisaical confidence in their own works and merits." (801, 18.)

150. Other Points of Dispute.

Is it correct to say: God requires good works, or, Good works are necessary, and, Christians are obliged or in duty bound to do good works (*bona opera sunt necessaria et debita*)? This question, too, was a point of dispute in the Majoristic controversy. Originally the controversy concerning these terms and phrases was a mere logomachy, which, however, later on (when, after the error lurking in the absolute rejection of them had been pointed out, the phrases were still flatly condemned), developed into a violent controversy. The *Formula of Concord* explains: "It has also been argued by some that good works are not *necessary* (*noetig*), but are *voluntary* (*freiwillig*), because they are not extorted by fear and the penalty of the Law, but are to be done from a voluntary spirit and a joyful heart. Over against this the other side contended that good works are *necessary*. This controversy was originally occasioned by the words *necessitas* and *libertas* ["*notwendig*" und "*frei*"], that is, necessary and free, because especially the word *necessitas*, necessary, signifies not only the eternal, immutable order according to which all men are obliged and in duty bound to obey God, but sometimes also a coercion, by which the Law forces men to good works. But afterwards there was a disputation not only concerning the words, but the doctrine itself was attacked in the most violent manner, and it was contended that the new obedience in the regenerate is not necessary because of the above-mentioned divine order." (939, 4 f.)

From the very beginning of the Reformation the Romanists had slandered Luther also by maintaining that he condemned good works and simply denied their necessity. A similar charge was made by the Majorists against their opponents generally. And Melanchthon's writings, too, frequently create the same impression. But it was an inference of their own. They argued: If good works are not necessary to salvation, they cannot be necessary at all. Wigand wrote: "It is a most malicious and insidious trait in the new teachers [the Majorists] that they, in order to gloss over their case, cry out with the Papists that the controversy is whether good works are necessary. But this is not in dispute, for no Christian ever denied it. Good works are necessary; that is certainly true. But the conflict arises from the appendix attached to it, and the patch pasted to it, *viz.*, 'to salvation.' And here all God-fearing men say that it is a detrimental, offensive, damnable, papistic appendix." (Planck 4, 498. 544.)

It is true, however, that the Antinomians (who will be dealt with more extensively in a following chapter) as well as several other opponents of the Majorists were unwilling to allow the statement, "Good works are necessary." Falsely interpreting the proposition as necessarily implying, not merely moral obligation, but also compulsion and coercion, they rejected it as unevangelical and semipopish. The word "must" is here not in place, they protested. Agricola, as well as the later Antinomians (Poach and Otto), rejected the expressions "*necessarium*, necessary" and "duty, *debitum*," when employed in connection with good works. January 13, 1555, Melanchthon wrote: "Some object to the words, 'Good works are *necessary*,' or, 'One *must* do good works.' They object to the two words *necessitas* and *debitum*. And the Court-preacher [Agricola] at that time juggled with the word *must*: '*das Muss ist versalzen.*' He understood *necessarium* and *debitum* as meaning, coerced by fear of punishment, *extortum co-*

actione (extorted by coercion), and spoke high-sounding words, such as, how good works came without the Law. Yet the first meaning of *necessarium* and *debitum* is not *extortum coactione*, but the eternal and immutable order of divine wisdom; and the Lord Christ and Paul themselves employ these words *necessarium* and *debitum*." In December, 1557, he wrote: "They [the Antinomians] object to the proposition: 'New obedience is necessary'; again: 'New obedience is a debt (*debitum*).' And now Amsdorf writes: 'Good works are detrimental to salvation,' and it was Eisleben's [Agricola's] slogan: 'Das Muss ist versalzen.' In Nordhausen some one has publicly announced a disputation which contains the proposition: '*Summa ars Christianorum est nescire legem* — The highest art of a Christian is not to know the Law.'" March 4, 1558: "Some, for instance, Amsdorf and Gallus, object to the word *debitum*." (*C. R.* 8, 411. 194. 842; 9, 405. 474.)

Andrew Musculus, professor in Frankfurt on the Oder, is reported to have said in a sermon, 1558: "They are all the devil's own who teach: 'New obedience is necessary (*nova obedientia est necessaria*)'; the word 'must (necessary)' does not belong here. 'Good works are necessary to salvation,' and, 'Good works are necessary, but not to salvation' — these are both of a cloth — *das sind zwei Hosen aus* EINEM *Tuch*." (Meusel, *Handlexikon* 4, 710; Gieseler 3, 2, 216.)

Over against this extreme position, Melanchthon, Flacius, Wigand, Moerlin, and others held that it was entirely correct to say that good works are necessary. In the *Opinion* of November 13, 1559, referred to above, Melanchthon, after stating that he does not employ the phrase, "Good works are necessary to salvation," continues as follows: "But I do affirm that these propositions are true, and that one may properly and without sophistry say, 'The new obedience or good works are necessary,' because obedience is due to God, . . . and because it is necessary that, after the Holy Spirit has been received, regeneration or conversion be followed by motions corresponding to the Holy Spirit. . . . And the words 'duty' and 'necessity' signify the order of God's wisdom and justice; they do not signify an obedience which is compelled or extorted by fear." (*C. R.* 9, 969.) The Frankfurt *Rezess* of 1558 [Rezess, Rueckzug, Vergleich = Agreement], written by Melanchthon and signed by the Lutheran princes, declared: "These propositions, '*Nova obedientia est necessaria, nova obedientia est debitum*, New obedience is necessary, is a debt,' shall not be rejected." The *Rezess* explained: "It is certainly a divine, immovable truth that new obedience is necessary in those who are justified; and these words are to be retained in their true meaning. 'Necessary' signifies divine order. New obedience is necessary and is a debt for the very reason that it is an immutable divine order that the rational creature obeys God." (*C. R.* 9, 496. 498.)

In a similar way this matter was explained by Flacius and other theologians. They all maintained that it is correct to say, Good works are necessary. Even Amsdorf wrote 1552 in his *Brief Instruction* against Major: "For we all say and confess that a Christian after his renewal and new birth *should* and *must* (*soll und muss*) love and fear God and do all manner of good works, but not in order to be saved thereby, for he is saved already by faith." (Schlb. 7, 210.) This view, which was also plainly taught in the *Augsburg Confession*, prevailed and received the sanction of our Church in Article IV of the *Formula of Concord*. When a Christian spontaneously and by the free impulse of his own faith does (and would do, even if there were no law at all) what, according to the holy will of God, revealed in the Ten Commandments, he is obliged and in duty bound to do — such works, and such only, are, according to the *Formula of Concord*, truly good works, works pleasing to God. It was the doctrine of Luther, who had written, *e. g.*, in his *Church Postil* of 1521: "No, dear man, you [cannot earn heaven by your good works, but you] must have heaven and already be saved before you do good works. Works do not merit heaven, but, on the contrary, heaven, imparted by pure grace, does good works spontaneously, seeking no merit, but only the welfare of the neighbor and the glory of God. *Nein, lieber Mensch, du musst den Himmel haben und schon selig sein, ehe du gute Werke tust. Die Werke verdienen nicht den Himmel, sondern wiederum* [*umgekehrt*], *der Himmel, aus lauter Gnaden gegeben, tut die guten Werke dahin, ohne Gesuch des Verdienstes, nur dem Naechsten zu Nutz und Gott zu Ehren*." (E. 7, 174:) Again, in *De Servo Arbitrio* of 1525: "The children of God do good entirely voluntarily, seeking no reward, but only the glory and will of God, ready to do the good even if, assuming the impossible, there were neither heaven nor hell. *Filii autem Dei gratuita voluntate faciunt bonum, nullum praemium quaerentes, sed solam gloriam et voluntatem Dei, parati bonum facere, si per impossibile neque regnum neque infernus esset*." (E. v. a. 7, 234.)

XIV. The Synergistic Controversy.

151. Relation of Majorism and Synergism.

The theological connection between Majorism and synergism is much closer than is generally realized. Both maintain that, in part, or in a certain respect, salvation depends not on grace alone, but also on man and his efforts. The Majorists declared good works to be necessary to salvation, or at least to the preservation of faith and of salvation. Thus salvation would, in a way, depend on the right conduct of a Christian after his conversion. The Synergists asserted: Man, too, must do his bit and cooperate with the Holy Spirit if

he desires to be saved. Conversion and salvation, therefore, would depend, at least in part, on man's conduct toward converting grace, and he would be justified and saved, not by grace alone, but by a faith which to a certain extent is a work of his own. The burden of both, Majorism and synergism, was the denial of the *sola gratia*. Both coordinated man and God as the causes of our salvation. Indeed, consistently carried out, both destroyed the central Christian truth of justification by grace alone and, with it, the assurance of a gracious God and of eternal salvation — the supreme religious concern of Luther and the entire Lutheran theology.

Majorists and Synergists employed also the same line of argument. Both derived their doctrine, not from any clear statements of the Bible, but by a process of anti-Scriptural and fallacious reasoning. The Majorists inferred: Since evil works and sins against conscience destroy faith and justification, good works are required for their preservation. The Synergists argued: Since all who are not converted or finally saved must blame, not God, but themselves for rejecting grace, those, too, who are converted must be credited with at least a small share in the work of their salvation, that is to say, with a better conduct toward grace than the conduct of those who are lost.

However, while Majorism as well as synergism, as stated, represented essentially the same error and argued against the doctrine of grace in the same unscriptural manner, the more subtle, veiled, and hence the more dangerous of the two, no doubt, was synergism, which reduced man's cooperation to a seemingly harmless minimum and, especially in the beginning, endeavored to clothe itself in ambiguous phrases and apparently pious and plausible formulas. Perhaps this accounts also for the fact that, though Melanchthon and the Majorists felt constrained to abandon, as described in the preceding chapter, the coarser and more offensive Majoristic propositions, they had at the same time no compunctions about retaining and defending essentially the same error in their doctrine of conversion; and that, on the other hand, their opponents, who by that time fully realized also the viciousness of synergism, were not satisfied with Major's concessions in the controversy on good works, because he and his colleagues in Wittenberg were known to identify themselves with the Synergists. For the same reason the dangerous error lurking in the synergistic phrases does not seem from the first to have been recognized by the Lutherans in the same degree as was the error contained in the Majoristic propositions, which indeed had even during Luther's life to some extent become a subject of dispute. Yet it seems hardly possible that for years they should not have detected the synergistic deviations in Wittenberg from Luther's doctrine of free will. Perhaps the fact that at the time when Melanchthon came out boldly with his synergism, 1548, the Lutherans were engrossed with the Adiaphoristic and Majoristic controversies may help to explain, at least to some extent, why the synergistic error caused small concern, and was given but little consideration in the beginning. As a matter of fact, although a considerable amount of synergistic material had been published by 1548, the controversy did not begin till 1556, while the error that good works are necessary to salvation was publicly opposed soon after its reappearance in the Leipzig Interim. At the Weimar Disputation, 1560, Strigel referred to this silence, saying: "I am astonished that I am pressed so much in this matter [concerning synergism], since three years ago at Worms no mention whatever [?] was made of this controversy, while many severe commands were given regarding others." (Richard, *Conf. Prin.*, 349.) The matter was mentioned at Worms, but Melanchthon is reported to have satisfied Brenz and others by declaring that in the passages of his *Loci* suspected of synergism he meant "the regenerated will."

152. Luther's Monergism.

According to Lutheran theology, the true opposite of synergism is not Calvinism with its double election, irresistible grace, denial of universal redemption, etc., but the monergism of grace, embracing particularly the tenets that in consequence of Adam's fall man is spiritually dead and utterly unable to contribute in any degree or manner toward his own justification and conversion; moreover, that, being an enemy of God, man, of his own natural powers, is active only in resisting the saving efforts of God, as well as able and prone only to do so; that God alone and in every respect is the Author of man's conversion, perseverance, and final salvation; and that, since the grace of God is universal and earnestly proffered, man alone is responsible for, and the cause of, his own damnation.

"*Sola fides iustificat*, Faith alone justifies" — that was the great slogan of the Reformation sounded forth by Luther and his followers with ever increasing boldness, force, and volume. And the distinct meaning of this proposition, which Luther called "*hoc meum dogma*, this my dogma," was just this, that we are saved not by any effort or work of our own, but in every respect by God's grace alone. The restoration of this wonderful truth, taught by St. Paul, made Luther the Reformer of the Church. This truth alone, as Luther had experienced, is able to impart solid comfort to a terror-stricken conscience, engender divine assurance of God's pardon and acceptance, and thus translate a poor miserable sinner from the terrors of hell into paradise.

In the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, written 1517, Luther says: "If God's mercy is to be praised, then all [human] merits and worthiness must come to naught." (Weimar 1, 161.) "Not such are blessed as have no sins or extricate themselves by their own labors, but only those whose sins are graciously forgiven by God." (167.) It is characteristic of God (*es ist Gottes Natur*) to make something out

of nothing. Hence God cannot make anything out of him who is not as yet nothing. . . . Therefore God receives none but the forsaken, heals none but the ill, gives sight to none but the blind, quickens none but the dead, makes pious none but the sinners, makes wise none but the ignorant, — in short, He has mercy on none but the miserable, and gives grace to none but those who are in disgrace. Whoever, therefore, is a proud saint, wise or just, cannot become God's material and receive God's work within himself, but remains in his own work and makes an imaginary, seeming, false, and painted saint of himself, *i. e.*, a hypocrite." (183.) "For he whom Thou [God] dost justify will never become righteous by his works; hence it is called Thy righteousness, since Thou givest it to us by grace, and we do not obtain it by works." (192.) "Israel, the true [new] man, does not take refuge in himself, nor in his strength, nor in his righteousness and wisdom. . . . For help and grace is not with themselves. They are sinners and damned in themselves, as He also says through Hosea: O Israel, with thee there is nothing but damnation, but with Me is thine help." (210.) "He, He, God Himself, not they themselves, will deliver the true Israel. . . . Mark well, Israel has sin and cannot help itself." (211.)

In his explanation of Ps. 109 (110), 1518, Luther says: "He calls these children [conceived from spiritual seed, the Word of God] dew, since no soul is converted and transformed from Adam's sinful childhood to the gracious childhood of Christ by human work, but only by God, who works from heaven like the dew, as Micah writes: 'The children of Israel will be like the dew given by God which does not wait for the hands of men.'" (701.) Again: "In every single man God precedes with grace and works before we pray for grace or cooperate. The Doctors call this *gratiam primam et praevenientem*, that is, the first and prevenient grace. Augustine: *Gratia Dei praevenit, ut velimus, ne frustra velimus.* God's grace prevenes that we will, lest we will in vain." (710.)

In his 40 theses for the Heidelberg disputation, also of 1518, Luther says of man's powers in spiritual matters: "13. Free will after sin [the Fall] is a mere titular affair [an empty title only], and sins mortally when it does what it is able to do. *Liberum arbitrium post peccatum res est de solo titulo, et dum facit, quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.*" "16. A man desirous of obtaining grace by doing what he is able to do adds sin to sin, becoming doubly guilty. *Homo putans, se ad gratiam velle pervenire faciendo, quod est in se, peccatum addit peccato, ut duplo reus fiat.*" "18. It is certain that a man must utterly despair of himself in order to become apt to acquire the grace of Christ. *Certum est, hominem de se penitus oportere desperare, ut aptus fiat ad consequendam gratiam Christi.*" (W. 1, 354.) By way of explanation Luther added to thesis 13: "The first part [of this thesis, that free will is a mere empty title] is apparent, because the will is a captive and a servant to sin; not that it is nothing, but that it is free only to [do] evil — *non quod sit nihil, sed quod non sit liberum nisi ad malum.* John 8, 34. 36: 'Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin. If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.' Hence St. Augustine says in his book *De Spiritu et Litera:* Free will without grace can only sin — *non nisi ad peccandum valet.* And in his second book against Julianus: You call that a free will which in truth is captive, etc." To thesis 16 Luther added: "When man does what he is able to do (*dum facit, quod est in se*), he sins, seeking altogether his own. And if he is minded to become worthy of, and apt for, grace by a sin, he adds proud presumption."

In his sermon of 1519 on Genesis 4, Luther remarked: "This passage ['The Lord had respect unto Abel'] subverts the entire liberty of our human will. *Hic locus semel invertit universam libertatem voluntatis nostrae.*" (Weimar 9, 337.) In a sermon of September 8, 1520, we read: "By nature we are born accursed; . . . through Christ we are born again children of life. Thus we are born not by free will, not by works, not by our efforts. As a child in the womb . . . is not born by its own works, but suffers itself to be carried and to be given birth, so we are justified by suffering, not by doing." (474.) "Where, then," Luther exclaimed about the same time in his *Operationes in Psalmos*, "will free will remain? where the doing what one can? *Ubi ergo manebit liberum arbitrium, ubi facere, quod in se?*" (5, 544. 74.) In a sermon of February 2, 1521, he said: "Whatever grace is in us comes from God alone. Here free will is entirely dead. All that we attempt to establish with our powers is lost, unless He prevenes and makes us alive through His grace. Grace is His own work, which we receive in our hearts by faith. This grace the soul did not possess before, for it is the new man. . . . The great proud saints will not do this [ascribe everything to God and His mercy]. They, too, would have a share in it, saying to our Lord: 'This I have done by my free will, this I have deserved.'" (9, 573; 5, 544.)

Thus Luther, from the very beginning of the Reformation, stood for the doctrine of justification, conversion, and salvation by grace alone. Most emphatically he denied that man, though free to a certain extent in human and temporal affairs, is able to cooperate with the powers of his natural, unregenerate will in matters spiritual and pertaining to God. This was also the position which Luther victoriously defended against Erasmus in his *De Servo Arbitrio* of 1525. Goaded on by the Romanists to come out publicly against the German heretic, the great Humanist, in his *Diatribe* of 1524, had shrewdly planned to attack his opponent at the most vulnerable point. As such he regarded Luther's monergistic doctrine, according to which it is God alone who justifies, converts, preserves, and saves men, without any works of their own. In reality, however, as presently appeared

from his glorious classic on the *sola-gratia*-doctrine, Erasmus had assaulted the strongest gate of Luther's fortress. For the source of the wonderful power which Luther displayed throughout the Reformation was none other than the divine conviction born of the Word of God that in every respect grace alone is the cause of our justification and salvation. And if ever this blessed doctrine was firmly established, successfully defended, and greatly glorified, it was in Luther's book against Erasmus.

Justification, conversion, perseverance in faith, and final salvation, obtained not by any effort of ours, but in every respect received as a gracious gift of God alone — that was the teaching also to which Luther faithfully, most determinedly, and without any wavering adhered throughout his life. In his *Large Confession* of 1528, for example, we read: "Herewith I reject and condemn as nothing but error all dogmas which extol our free will, as they directly conflict with this help and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ. For since outside of Christ death and sin are our lords, and the devil our god and prince, there can be no power or might, no wisdom or understanding, whereby we can qualify ourselves for, or strive after, righteousness and life; but we must be blinded people and prisoners of sin and the devil's own, to do and to think what pleases them and is contrary to God and His commandments." (Conc. Trigl. 897, 43.)

153. Luther's Doctrine Endorsed.

To adhere faithfully to Luther's doctrine of conversion and salvation by grace alone was also the determination of the loyal Lutherans in their opposition to the Synergists. Planck correctly remarks that the doctrine which Flacius and the Anti-Synergists defended was the very doctrine which "Luther advocated in his conflict with Erasmus." (*Prot. Lehrbegriff* 4, 667.) This was substantially conceded even by the opponents. When, for example, at the colloquy in Worms, 1557, the Romanists demanded that Flacius's doctrine of free will be condemned by the Lutherans, Melanchthon declared that herein one ought not to submit to the Papists, who slyly, under the name of Illyricus [Flacius], demanded the condemnation of Luther, whose opinion in the doctrine of free will he [Melanchthon] was neither able nor willing to condemn. (Gieseler 3, 2, 232.) In their *Confession*, published in March, 1569, the theologians of Ducal Saxony (Wigand, Coelestin, Irenaeus, Kirchner, etc.) declared: "We also add that we embrace the doctrine and opinion of Dr. Luther, the Elias of these latter days of the world, as it is most luminously and skilfully set forth in the book *De Servo Arbitrio*, against Erasmus, in the *Commentary on Genesis*, and in other books; and we hold that this teaching of Luther agrees with the eternal Word of God." (Schluesselburg, *Catalogus* 5, 133.)

Luther's *sola-gratia*-doctrine was embodied also in the *Formula of Concord*, and this with a special endorsement of his book *De Servo Arbitrio*. For here we read: "Even so Dr. Luther wrote of this matter [the doctrine that our free will has no power whatever to qualify itself for righteousness, etc.] also in his book *De Servo Arbitrio; i. e.*, Of the Captive Will of Man, in opposition to Erasmus, and elucidated and supported this position well and thoroughly [*egregie et solide*]; and afterward he repeated and explained it in his glorious exposition of the book of Genesis, especially of chapter 26. There likewise his meaning and understanding of some other peculiar disputations introduced incidentally by Erasmus, as of absolute necessity, etc., have been secured by him in the best and most careful way against all misunderstanding and perversion; to which we also hereby appeal and refer others." (897, 44; 980, 28.) In the passage of his *Commentary on Genesis* referred to by the *Formula*, Luther does not, as has been claimed, retract or modify his former statements concerning the inability of the human will and the monergism of grace, but emphasizes that, in reading *De Servo Arbitrio*, one must heed and not overlook his frequent admonitions to concern oneself with God as He has revealed Himself in the Gospel, and not speculate concerning God in His transcendence, absoluteness, and majesty, as the One in whom we live and move and have our being, and without whom nothing can either exist or occur, and whose wonderful ways are past finding out. (Conc. Trigl., 898.) And the fact that the Lutheran theologians, living at the time and immediately after the framing of the *Formula of Concord*, objected neither to the book *De Servo Arbitrio* itself nor to its public endorsement by the *Formula of Concord*, is an additional proof of the fact that they were in complete agreement with Luther's teaching of conversion and salvation by grace alone. (Frank 1, 120.)

This *sola-gratia*-doctrine, the vital truth of Christianity, rediscovered and proclaimed once more by Luther, was, as stated, the target at which Erasmus directed his shafts. In his *Diatribe* he defined the power of free will to be the faculty of applying oneself to grace (*facultas applicandi se ad gratiam*), and declared that those are the best theologians who, while ascribing as much as possible to the grace of God, do not eliminate this human factor. He wrote: Free will is "the ability of the human will according to which man is able either to turn himself to what leads to eternal salvation or to turn away from it." (St. L. 18, 1612.) Again: "Those, therefore, who are farthest apart from the views of Pelagius ascribe to grace the most, but to free will almost nothing; yet they do not abolish it entirely. They say that man cannot will anything good without special grace, cannot begin anything good, cannot continue in it, cannot complete anything without the chief thing, the constant help of divine grace. This opinion seems to be pretty probable because it leaves to man a striving and an effort, and yet does not admit that he is to ascribe even the least to his own powers." (1619.) One must avoid extremes, and seek the middle of the road, said Erasmus. Pelagius had fallen

into Scylla, and Luther into Charybdis. "I am pleased with the opinion of those who ascribe to free will something, but to grace by far the most." (1666.) Essentially, this was the error held, nursed, and defended also by the Synergists, though frequently in more guarded and ambiguous phrases. But their theory of conversion also involved, as Schaff and Schmauk put it, "the idea of a partnership between God and man, and a corresponding division of work and merit." (*Conf. Principle*, 600.)

However, these attempts to revamp the Semi-Pelagian teaching resulted in a controversy which more and longer than any other endangered and disquieted the Lutheran Church, before as well as after the adoption of the *Formula of Concord*. Whether the unregenerate man, when the Word of God is preached, and the grace of God is offered him, is able to prepare himself for grace, accept it, and assent thereto, was, according to the *Formula of Concord*, "the question upon which, *for quite a number of years now*, there has been a controversy among some theologians in the churches of the Augsburg Confession." (881, 2.) And of all the controversies after Luther's death the synergistic controversy was most momentous and consequential. For the doctrine of grace with which it dealt is the vital breath of every Christian. Without it neither faith nor the Christian religion can live and remain. "If we believe," says Luther in *De Servo Arbitrio*, "that Christ has redeemed men by His blood, then we must confess *that the entire man was lost;* otherwise we make Christ superfluous or the Redeemer of but the meanest part of us, which is blasphemous and sacrilegious." Reading the book of Erasmus, in which he bent every effort toward exploding the doctrine of grace, Luther felt the hand of his opponent clutching his throat. In the closing paragraph of *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther wrote: "I highly laud and extol you for this thing also, that of all others you alone have gone to the heart of the subject. . . . You alone have discerned the core of the matter and have aimed at the throat, for which I thank you heartily. — *Unus tu et solus cardinem rerum vidisti, et ipsum iugulum petisti, pro quo ex animo tibi gratias ago, in hac enim causa libentius versor, quantum favet tempus et otium.*" (E. v. a. 7, 367. 137; St. L. 18, 1967; Pieper, *Dogm.* 2, 543.) And so the Synergists, who renewed the doctrine of Erasmus, also flew at the throat of Christianity. Genuine Lutheranism would have been strangled if synergism had emerged victorious from this great controversy of grace *versus* free will.

154. The Father of Synergism.

During the first period of his activity in Wittenberg, Melanchthon was in perfect agreement with Luther also on the question of man's inability in spiritual matters and the sole activity, or monergism, of grace in the work of his salvation. As late as 1530 he incorporated these views in the *Augsburg Confession*, as appears, in particular, from Articles II, V, XVIII, and XIX. His later doctrine concerning the three concurring causes of conversion (the Holy Spirit, the Word, and the consenting will of man), as well as his theory explaining synergistically, from an alleged dissimilar action in man, the difference why some are saved while others are lost, is not so much as hinted at in the Confession. But even at this early date (1530) or soon after, Melanchthon also does not seem any longer to have agreed whole-heartedly with Luther in the doctrine of grace and free will. And in the course of time his theology drifted farther and farther from its original monergistic moorings. Nor was Luther wholly unaware of the secret trend of his colleague and friend toward — Erasmus. In 1536, when the deviations of Melanchthon and Cruciger, dealt with in our previous chapter, were brought to his notice, Luther exclaimed: "*Haec est ipsissima theologia Erasmi.* This is the identical theology of Erasmus, nor can there be anything more opposed to our doctrine." (Kolde, *Analecta*, 266.)

That Melanchthon's theology was verging toward Erasmus appears from his letter of June 22, 1537, to Veit Dietrich, in which he said that he desired a more thorough exposition also of the doctrines of predestination and of the *consent of the will.* (*C. R.* 3, 383.) Before this, in his *Commentary on Romans* of 1532, he had written that there is some cause of election also in man; *viz.*, in as far as he does not repudiate the grace offered — "*tamen eatenus aliquam causam in accipiente esse, quatenus promissionem oblatam non repudiat.*" (Seeberg 4, 442.) In an addition to his *Loci* of 1533 he also spoke of a cause of justification and election residing in man. (*C. R.* 21, 332.) In the revised editions of 1535 and 1543 he plainly began to prepare the way for his later bold and unmistakable deviations. For even though unable to point out a clean-cut and unequivocal synergistic statement, one cannot read these editions without scenting a Semi-Pelagian and Erasmian atmosphere. What Melanchthon began to teach was the doctrine that man, when approached by the Word of God, is able to assume either an attitude of *pro* or *con*, *i. e.*, for or against the grace of God. The same applies to the *Variata* of 1540 in which the frequent "*adiuvari*" there employed, though not incorrect as such, was not without a synergistic flavor.

Tschackert remarks of the *Loci* of 1535: "Melanchthon wants to make man responsible for his state of grace. Nor does the human will in consequence of original sin lose the ability to decide itself when incited; the will produces nothing new by its own power, but assumes an attitude toward what approaches it. When man hears the Word of God, and the Holy Spirit produces spiritual affections in his heart, the will can either assent or turn against it. In this way Melanchthon arrives at the formula, ever after stereotype with him, that there are three concurring causes in the process of conversion: 'the Word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the human will, which, indeed, is not idle, *but strives against its infirmity.*'" (520.)

However, during the life of Luther, Melanchthon made no further measurable progress towards synergism. Perhaps the unpleasant experiences following upon his innovations in the doctrine of good works acted as a check also on the public development of his synergistic tendencies. During Luther's life Melanchthon, as he himself admitted to Carlowitz (106), dissimulated, keeping his deviating views to himself and his intimate friends. After Luther's death, however, he came out unmistakably and publicly, also in favor of synergism, endorsing even the Erasmian definition of free will as "the power in man to apply himself to grace." He plainly taught that, when drawn by the Holy Spirit, the will is able to decide *pro* or *con*, to obey or to resist. Especially in his lectures, Melanchthon — not indeed directly, but mentioning the name of Flacius — continually lashed such phrases of Luther as "purely passive," "block," "resistance," — a fact to which Schluesselburg, who had studied in Wittenberg, refers in support of his assertion that Melanchthon had departed from Luther's teaching on free will. (*Catalogus* 5, 32.) While Melanchthon formerly (in his *Loci* of 1543) had spoken of three causes of a good *action* (*bonae actionis*), he now publicly advocated the doctrine of three concurring causes of *conversion*. Now he boldly maintained that, since the grace of God is universal, one must assume, and also teach, that there are different actions in different men, which accounts for the fact that some are converted and saved while others are lost. According to the later Melanchthon, therefore, man's eternal salvation evidently does not depend on the gracious operations of God's Holy Spirit and Word alone, but also on his own correct conduct toward grace. In his heart, especially when approaching the mercy-seat in prayer, Melanchthon, no doubt, forgot and disavowed his own teaching, and believed and practised Luther's *sola-gratia*-doctrine. But it cannot be denied that, in his endeavors to harmonize universal grace with the fact that not all, but some only, are saved, Melanchthon repudiated the monergism of Luther, espoused and defended the powers of free will in spiritual matters, and thought, argued, spoke, and wrote in terms of synergism. Indeed, Melanchthon must be regarded as the father of both synergism and the rationalistic methods employed in its defense, and as the true father also of the modern rationalistico-synergistic theology represented by such distinguished men as Von Hofmann, Thomasius, Kahnis, Luthardt, etc. (Pieper 2, 582; Frank 1, 231.)

155. Unsound Statements of Melanchthon.

Following are some of the ambiguous and false deliverances of Melanchthon: In the *Loci* of 1535 the so-called human cause of conversion which must be added to the Word and Spirit is described as endeavoring, striving, and wishing to obey and believe. We read: "We do not say this to ensnare the consciences, or to deter men from the endeavor to obey and believe, or from making an effort. On the contrary, since we are to begin with the Word, we certainly must not resist the Word of God, but strive to obey it. . . . We see that these causes are united: the Word, the Holy Spirit, and the will, which is certainly not idle, but strives against its infirmity. In this manner ecclesiastical writers are accustomed to join these causes. Basil says: 'Only will, and God will precede.' God precedes, calls, moves, assists us; but let us beware lest we resist. . . . Chrysostom says: He who draws, draws him who is willing." (*C. R.* 21, 376.)

In conversion and salvation God certainly must do and does His share, but man must beware lest he fail to do what is required of him. This is also the impression received from Melanchthon's statements in the third elaboration of his *Loci*, 1543. We read: "Here three causes of a good action concur (*hic concurrunt tres causae bonae actionis*): the Word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the human will assenting to and not resisting the Word of God (*humana voluntas assentiens, nec repugnans Verbo Dei*). For it could expel [the Spirit], as Saul expelled [Him] of his own free will. But when the mind hearing and sustaining itself does not resist, does not give way to diffidence, but, the Holy Spirit assisting, endeavors to assent, — in such a struggle the will is not inactive (*in hoc certamine voluntas non est otiosa*). The ancients have said that good works are done when grace precedes and the will follows. So also Basil says: *Μόνον θέλησον, καὶ θεὸς προαπαντᾷ*, Only will, and God anticipates. God precedes, calls, moves, assists us; but as for us, let us see to it that we do not resist. *Deus antevertit nos, vocat, movet, adiuvat*, SED NOS VIDERIMUS, *ne repugnemus.*" (21, 658.) "And Phil. 1, 6: 'He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ,' *i. e.*, we are assisted by God (*adiuvamur a Deo*), but we must hear the Word of God and not resist the drawing God." (916.) "God draws our minds that they will, but we must assent, not resist. *Deus trahit mentes, ut velint, sed assentiri nos, non repugnare oportet.*" (917.) Here we also meet the remark: "But the will, when assisted by the Holy Spirit, becomes more free. *Fit autem voluntas adiuvata Spiritu Sancto magis libera.*" (663.) Frank comments pertinently that the *magis* presupposes a certain degree of liberty of the will before the assistance of the Holy Spirit. (1, 198.)

The boldest synergistic statements are found in the *Loci* of 1548. It was the year of the Leipzig Interim, in which the same error was embodied as follows: "The merciful God does not deal with man as with a block, but draws him in such a way that his will, too, cooperates." (*C. R.* 7, 51. 260.) As to the *Loci* of this year, Bindseil remarks in the *Corpus Reformatorum:* "This edition is famous on account of certain paragraphs inserted by the author in the article on Free Will. For these additions contain the Erasmian definition of free will (that it is the

faculty of applying oneself to grace), on account of which Melanchthon was charged with synergism by the Flacians. . . . For this reason the edition is called by J. T. Mayer 'the worst of all (*omnium pessima*).'" At the Weimar colloquy, 1560, even Strigel was not willing to identify himself openly with the Erasmian definition of free will (*facultas applicandi se ad gratiam*) as found in one of these sections. When Flacius quoted the passage, Strigel retorted excitedly: "I do not defend that definition which you have quoted from the recent edition [1548]. When did you hear it from me? When have I undertaken to defend it?" (Frank 1, 199. 135.) At the Herzberg colloquy Andreae remarked: "The *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon are useful. But whoever reads the *locus de libero arbitrio* must confess, even if he judges most mildly, that the statements are dubious and ambiguous. And what of the four paragraphs which were inserted after Luther's death? For here we read: 'There must of necessity be a cause of difference in us why a Saul is rejected, a David received.'" (Pieper 2, 587.)

From these additions of 1548 we cite: "Nor does conversion occur in David in such a manner as when a stone is turned into a fig; but free will does something in David; for when he hears the rebuke and the promise, he willingly and freely confesses his fault. And his will does something when he sustains himself with this word: The Lord hath taken away your sin. And when he endeavors to sustain himself with this word, he is already assisted by the Holy Spirit." (*C. R.* 21, 659.) Again: "I therefore answer those who excuse their idleness because they think that free will does nothing, as follows: It certainly is the eternal and immovable will of God that you obey the voice of the Gospel, that you hear the Son of God, that you acknowledge the Mediator. How black is that sin which refuses to behold the Mediator, the Son of God, presented to the human race! You will answer: 'I cannot.' But in a manner you can (*immo aliquo modo potes*), and when you sustain yourself with the voice of the Gospel, then pray that God would assist you, and know that the Holy Spirit is efficacious in such consolation. Know that just in this manner God intends to convert us, when we, roused by the promise, wrestle with ourselves, pray and resist our diffidence and other vicious affections. For this reason some of the ancient Fathers have said that free will in man is the faculty to apply himself to grace (*liberum arbitrium in homine facultatem esse applicandi se ad gratiam*); *i. e.*, he hears the promise, endeavors to assent, and abandons sins against conscience. Such things do not occur in devils. The difference therefore between the devils and the human race ought to be considered. These matters, however, become still clearer when the promise is considered. For since the promise is universal, and since there are no contradictory wills in God, there must of necessity be in us some cause of difference why Saul is rejected and David is received; *i. e.*, there must of necessity be some dissimilar action in these two. *Cum promissio sit universalis, nec sint in Deo contradictoriae voluntates, necesse est in nobis esse aliquam discriminis causam, cur Saul abiiciatur, David recipiatur, id est, necesse est aliquam esse actionem dissimilem in his duobus.* Properly understood, this is true, and the use [*usus*] in the exercises of faith and in true consolation (when our minds acquiesce in the Son of God, shown in the promise) will illustrate this copulation of causes: the Word of God, the Holy Spirit, and the will." (*C. R.* 21, 659 f.)

At the colloquy of Worms, 1557, Melanchthon, interpellated by Brenz, is reported to have said that the passage in his *Loci* of 1548 defining free will as the faculty of applying oneself to grace referred to the regenerated will (*voluntas renata*), as, he said, appeared from the context. (Gieseler 3, 2, 225; Frank 1, 198.) As a matter of fact, however, the context clearly excludes this interpretation. In the passage quoted, Melanchthon, moreover, plainly teaches: 1. that in conversion man, too, can do, and really does, something by willingly confessing his fault, by sustaining himself with the Word, by praying that God would assist him, by wrestling with himself, by striving against diffidence, etc.; 2. that the nature of fallen man differs from that of the devils in this, that his free will is still able to apply itself to grace, endeavor to assent to it, etc.; 3. that the dissimilar actions resulting from the different use of this natural ability accounts for the fact that some are saved while others are lost. Such was the plain teaching of Melanchthon from which he never receded, but which he, apart from other publications, reaffirmed in every new edition of his *Loci*. For all, including the last one to appear during his life (1559), contain the additions of 1548. "The passage added by the author [Melanchthon, 1548] after Luther's death is repeated in all subsequent editions," says Bindseil. (*C. R.* 21, 570.)

The sections which were added to the *Loci* after 1548 also breathe the same synergistic spirit. In 1553 Melanchthon inserted a paragraph which says that, when approached by the Holy Spirit, the will can obey or resist. We read: "The liberty of the human will after the Fall, also in the non-regenerate, is the faculty by virtue of which man is able to govern his motions; *i. e.*, he can enjoin upon his external members such actions as agree, or such as do not agree, with the Law of God. But he cannot banish doubts from his mind and evil inclinations from his heart without the light of the Gospel and without the Holy Spirit. But when the will is drawn by the Holy Spirit, it can obey or resist. *Cum autem trahitur a Spiritu Sancto, potest obsequi et repugnare.*" (21, 1078; 13, 162.)

Other publications contain the same doctrine. While in his *Loci* of 1543 he had spoken only of three causes of a good action (*bonae actionis*), Melanchthon, in his *Enarratio Symboli Nicaeni* of 1550, substituted "conversion" for "good action." We read: In conversion these causes concur: the Holy Spirit, the voice of the Gospel, "and the will of man, which does not resist the divine voice,

but somehow, with trepidation, assents. *Concurrunt in conversione hae causae: Spiritus Sanctus . . . vox Evangelii . . . et voluntas hominis, quae non repugnat voci divinae, sed inter trepidationem utcumque assentitur.*" Again: "And concerning this copulation of causes it is said: The Spirit comes to the assistance of our infirmity. And Chrysostom truly says: God draws, but He draws him who is willing." Again: God's promise is universal, and there are no contradictory wills in God; hence, though Paul is drawn in a different manner than Zacchaeus, "nevertheless there is some assent of the will (*tamen aliqua est voluntatis assensio*)." "God therefore begins and draws by the voice of the Gospel, but He draws him who is willing, and assists him who assents." "Nor is anything detracted from the glory of God, but it is truly affirmed that the assistance of God always concurs in the beginning and afterwards (*auxilium Dei semper initio et deinceps concurrere*)." (23, 280 ff.) Accordingly, God merely concurs as one of three causes, among which the will of man is the third. In his *Examen Ordinandorum* of 1554, Melanchthon again replaced the term "good action" by "conversion." He says: "In conversion these causes concur: the Word of God, the Holy Spirit, whom the Father and Son send to kindle our hearts, and our will, assenting and not resisting the Word of God (*et nostra voluntas assentiens et non repugnans Verbo Dei*). And lest we yield to diffidence, we must consider that both preachings are universal, the preaching of repentance as well as the promise of grace. . . . Let us therefore not resist, but assent to the promise, and constantly repeat this prayer: I believe, O Lord, but come to the help of my weakness." (23, 15.) Finally in his *Opinion on the Weimar Book of Confutation*, March 9, 1559, Melanchthon remarks: "Again, if the will is able to turn from the consolation, it must be inferred that it works something and follows the Holy Spirit when it accepts the consolation. *Item, so sich der Wille vom Trost abwenden mag, so ist dagegen zu verstehen, dass er etwas wirket und folget dem Heiligen Geist, so er den Trost annimmt.*" (9, 768.)

W. Preger is right when he says: "According to Melanchthon's view, natural man is able to do the following [when the Word of God is preached to him]: he is able not to resist; he is able to take pains with respect to obedience; he is able to comfort himself with the Word. . . . This [according to Melanchthon] is a germ of the positive good will still found in natural man which prevenient grace arouses." (*Flacius Illyricus* 2, 189 f.) Schmauk writes: Melanchthon found "the cause for the actual variation in the working of God's grace in man, its object. This subtle synergistic spirit attacks the very foundation of Lutheranism, flows out into almost every doctrine, and weakens the Church at every point. And it was particularly this weakness which the great multitude of Melanchthon's scholars, who became the leaders of the generation of which we are speaking, absorbed, and which rendered it difficult to return, finally, after years of struggle, to the solid ground, once more recovered in the *Formula of Concord.*" (*Conf. Principle*, 601.)

R. Seeberg characterizes Melanchthon's doctrine as follows: "A synergistic trait therefore appears in his doctrine. In the last analysis, God merely grants the outer and inner possibility of obtaining salvation. Without man's cooperation this possibility would not become reality; and he is able to refuse this cooperation. It is, therefore, in conversion equally a cause with the others. *Sie* [*die Mitwirkung des Menschen*] *ist also freilich eine den andern Ursachen gleichberechtigte Ursache in der Bekehrung.*" God makes conversion possible, but only the decision of man's free will makes it actual, — such, according to Seeberg, was the "synergism" of Melanchthon. (Seeberg, *Dogg.*, 4, 444. 446.)

Frank says of Melanchthon's way of solving the question why some are converted and saved while others are lost: "The road chosen by Melanchthon has indeed led to the goal. The contradictions are solved. But let us look where we have landed. We are standing — in the Roman camp!" After quoting a passage from the *Tridentinum*, which speaks of conversion in terms similar to those employed by Melanchthon, Frank continues: "The foundation stone of Luther's original Reformation doctrine of salvation by grace alone; *viz.*, that nothing in us, not even our will moved and assisted by God, is the *causa meritoria* of salvation, is subverted by these propositions; and it is immaterial to the contrite heart whether much or little is demanded from free will as the faculty of applying oneself to grace." Frank adds: "What the Philippists, synchronously [with Melanchthon] and later, propounded regarding this matter [of free will] are but variations of the theme struck by Melanchthon. Everywhere the sequence of thought is the same, with but this difference, that here the faults of the Melanchthonian theory together with its consequences come out more clearly." (1, 134 f.) The same is true of modern synergistic theories. Without exception they are but variations of notes struck by Melanchthon, — the father of all the synergists that have raised their heads within the Lutheran Church.

156. Pfeffinger Champions Synergistic Doctrine.

Prior to 1556 references to the unsound position of the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians are met with but occasionally. (Planck 4, 568.) The unmistakably synergistic doctrine embodied in the *Loci* of 1548, as well as in the Leipzig Interim, did not cause alarm and attract attention immediately. But when, in 1555, John Pfeffinger [born 1493; 1539 superintendent, and 1543 professor in Leipzig; assisted 1548 in framing the Leipzig Interim; died January 1, 1573] published his "Five Questions Concerning the Liberty of the Human Will — *De Libertate Voluntatis Humanae, Quaestiones Quinque.* D. Johannes Pfeffinger Lipsiae Editae in Officina Georgii

Hantschi 1555," the controversy flared up instantly. It was a little booklet containing, besides a brief introduction, only 41 paragraphs, or theses. In these Pfeffinger discussed and defended the synergistic doctrine of Melanchthon, maintaining that in conversion man, too, must contribute his share, though it be ever so little.

Early in the next year Pfeffinger was already opposed by the theologians of Thuringia, the stanch opponents of the Philippists, John Stolz, court-preacher at Weimar, composing 110 theses for this purpose. In 1558 Amsdorf published his *Public Confession of the True Doctrine of the Gospel and Confutation of the Fanatics of the Present Time*, in which he, quoting from memory, charged Pfeffinger with teaching that man is able to prepare himself for grace by the natural powers of his free will, just as the godless sophists, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and their disciples, had held. (Planck 4, 573. 568.) About the same time Stolz published the 110 theses just referred to with a preface by Aurifaber (*Refutatio Propositionum Pfeffingeri de Libero Arbitrio*). Flacius, then professor in Jena, added his *Refutation of Pfeffinger's Propositions on Free Will* and *Jena Disputation on Free Will.*

In the same year, 1558, Pfeffinger, in turn, published his *Answer to the Public Confession of Amsdorf*, charging the latter with falsification, and denouncing Flacius as the "originator and father of all the lies which have troubled the Lutheran Church during the last ten years." But at the same time Pfeffinger showed unmistakably that the charges of his opponents were but too well founded. Says Planck: "Whatever may have moved Pfeffinger to do so, he could not (even if Flacius himself had said it for him) have confessed synergism more clearly and more definitely than he did spontaneously and unasked in this treatise." (4, 574.) Frank: "Pfeffinger goes beyond Melanchthon and Strigel; for the action here demanded of, and ascribed to, the natural will is, according to him, not even in need of liberation by prevenient grace. . . . His doctrine may without more ado be designated as Semi-Pelagianism." (1, 137.)

At Wittenberg, Pfeffinger was supported by George Major, Paul Eber, and Paul Crell; and before long his cause was espoused also by Victorin Strigel in Jena. Disputations by the Wittenberg and Leipzig synergists (whom Schluesselburg, 5, 16, calls "cooperators" and "die freiwilligen Herren") and by their opponents in Jena increased the animosity. Both parties cast moderation to the winds. In a public letter of 1558 the Wittenberg professors, for example, maligned Flacius in every possible way, and branded him as "der verloffene undeutsche Flacius Illyricus" and as the sole author of all the dissensions in the churches of Germany. (Planck 4, 583.)

157. Statements of Pfeffinger.

Following are some of the synergistic deliverances made by Pfeffinger in his *Five Questions Concerning the Liberty of the Human Will.* § 11 reads: "Thirdly, when we inquire concerning the spiritual actions, it is correct to answer that the human will has not such a liberty as to be able to effect the spiritual motions without the help of the Holy Spirit (*humanam voluntatem non habere eiusmodi libertatem, ut motus spirituales* SINE AUXILIO *Spiritus Sancti efficere possit*)." § 14: "Therefore some assent or apprehension on our part must concur (*oportet igitur nostram aliquam assensionem seu apprehensionem concurrere*) when the Holy Spirit has aroused (*accenderit*) the mind, the will, and the heart. Hence Basil says: Only will, and God anticipates; and Chrysostom: He who draws, draws him who is willing; and Augustine: He assists those who have received the gift of the call with becoming piety, and preserve the gifts of God as far as man is able. Again: When grace precedes, the will follows — *praeeunte gratia, comitante voluntate.*" In § 16 we read: "The will, therefore, is not idle, but assents faintly. *Voluntas igitur non est otiosa, sed languide assentitur.*"

Paragraph 17 runs: "If the will were idle or purely passive, there would be no difference between the pious and the wicked, or between the elect and the damned, as, between Saul and David, between Judas and Peter. God would also become a respecter of persons and the author of contumacy in the wicked and damned; and to God would be ascribed contradictory wills, — which conflicts with the entire Scripture. Hence it follows that there is in us a cause why some assent while others do not. *Sequitur ergo in nobis esse aliquam causam, cur alii assentiantur, alii non assentiantur.*" § 24: "Him [the Holy Spirit], therefore, we must not resist; but on the part of our will, which is certainly not like a stone or block, some assent must be added — *sed aliquam etiam assensionem accedere nostrae voluntatis, quam non sicut saxum aut incudem se habere certum est.*" § 30: "But apprehension on our part must concur. For, since the promise of grace is universal, and since we must obey this promise, some difference between the elect and the rejected must be inferred from our will (*sequitur, aliquod discrimen inter electos et reiectos a voluntate nostra sumendum esse*), *viz.*, that those who resist the promise are rejected, while those who embrace the promise are received. . . . All this clearly shows that our will is not idle in conversion or like a stone or block in its conduct. *Ex quibus omnibus manifestissimum apparet, voluntatem nostram non esse otiosam in conversione, aut se ut saxum aut incudem habere.*"

§ 34 reads: "Some persons, however, shout that the assistance of the Holy Spirit is extenuated and diminished if even the least particle be attributed to the human will. Though this argument may appear specious and plausible, yet pious minds understand that by our doctrine — according to which we ascribe some cooperation to our will; *viz.*, some assent and apprehension (*qua tribuimus aliquam* SYNERGIAM *voluntati nostrae, videlicet qualemcumque assensionem et apprehensionem*) — abso-

lutely nothing is taken away from the assistance rendered by the Holy Spirit. For we affirm that the first acts (*primas partes*) must be assigned and attributed to Him who first and primarily, through the Word or the voice of the Gospel, moves our hearts to believe, to which thereupon we, too, ought to assent as much as we are able (*cui deinde et* NOS, QUANTUM IN NOBIS EST, ASSENTIRI *oportet*), and not resist the Holy Spirit, but submit to the Word, ponder, learn, and hear it, as Christ says: 'Whosoever hath heard of the Father and learned, cometh to Me.'" § 36: "And although original sin has brought upon our nature a ruin so sad and horrible that we can hardly imagine it, yet we must not think that absolutely all the knowledge (*notitiae*) which was found in the minds of our first parents before the Fall has on that account been destroyed and extinguished after the Fall, or that the human will does not in any way differ from a stone or a block; for we are, as St. Paul has said most seriously, *coworkers with God*, which *coworking*, indeed, is assisted and strengthened by the Holy Spirit — *sumus synergi Dei, quae quidem synergia adiuvatur a Spiritu Sancto et confirmatur.*" Evidently no comment is necessary to show that the passages cited from Pfeffinger are conceived, born, and bred in Semi-Pelagianism and rationalism.

Planck furthermore quotes from Pfeffinger's *Answer* to Amsdorf, 1558: "And there is no other reason why some are saved and some are damned than this one alone, that some, when incited by the Holy Spirit, do not resist, but obey Him and accept the grace and salvation offered, while others will not accept it, but resist the Holy Spirit, and despise the grace." (4, 578.) Again: "Although the will cannot awaken or incite itself to spiritually good works, but must be awakened and incited thereto by the Holy Ghost, yet man is *not altogether excluded* from such works of the Holy Ghost, as if he were not engaged in it and were not to contribute his share to it — *dass er nicht auch dabei sein und das Seine nicht auch dabei tun muesse.*" (576.) Again: In the hands of the Holy Spirit man is not like a block or stone in the hands of a sculptor, which do not and cannot "know, understand, or feel what is done with them, nor *in the least further* or hinder what the artist endeavors to make of them." (576.) "But when the heart of man is touched, awakened, and moved by the Holy Ghost, man must not be like a dead stone or block, . . . but must obey and follow Him. And although he perceives his great weakness, and, on the other hand, how powerfully sin in his flesh opposes, he must nevertheless not desist, but ask and pray God for grace and assistance against sin and flesh." (577.) Planck remarks: According to Pfeffinger, the powers for all this are still found in natural man, and the only thing required is, not to recreate them, but merely to incite them to action. (579.)

In 1558, in an appendix to his disputation of 1555, Pfeffinger explained and illustrated his position, in substance, as follows: I was to prove nothing else than that some use of the will [in spiritual matters] was left, and that our nature is not annihilated or extinguished, but corrupted and marvelously depraved after the Fall. Now, to be sure, free will cannot by its own natural powers regain its integrity nor rise after being ruined; yet, as the doctrine [the Gospel] can be understood by paying attention to it, so it can also in a manner (*aliquo modo*) be obeyed by assenting to it. But it is necessary for all who would dwell in the splendor of the eternal light and in the sight of God *to look up to*, and not turn away from, the light. Schluesselburg adds: "*Haec certe est synergia* — This is certainly synergism." (*Catalogus* 5, 161.)

Tschackert summarizes Pfeffinger's doctrine as follows: "When the Holy Spirit, through the Word of God, influences a man, then the assenting will becomes operative as a factor of conversion. The reason why some assent while others do not must lie in themselves. . . . Evidently Pfeffinger's opinion was that not only the regenerate, but even the natural will of man possesses the ability either to obey the divine Spirit or to resist Him." (521.) According to W. Preger, Pfeffinger taught "that the Holy Spirit must awaken and incite our nature that it may understand, think, will, and do what is right and pleasing to God," but that natural free will is able "to obey and follow" the motions of the Spirit. (2, 192. 195.)

No doubt, Pfeffinger advocated, and was a candid exponent and champion of, nothing but the three-concurring-causes doctrine of Melanchthon, according to which God never fails to do His share in conversion, while we must beware (*sed nos viderimus, C. R.* 21, 658) lest we fail to do our share. Pfeffinger himself made it a special point to cite Melanchthon as his authority in this matter. The last (41st) paragraph in his *Five Questions* begins as follows: "We have briefly set forth the doctrine concerning the liberty of the human will, agreeing with the testimonies of the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, a fuller explanation of which students may find in the writings of our preceptor, Mr. Philip (*prolixiorem explicationem requirant studiosi in scriptis D. Philippi, praeceptoris nostri*)." And when, in the subsequent controversy, Pfeffinger was publicly assailed by Amsdorf, Flacius, and others, everybody knew that their real target was none other than — Master Philip. Melanchthon, too, was well aware of this fact. In his *Opinion on the Weimar Confutation*, of March 9, 1559, in which the synergism of the Philippists is extensively treated, he said: "As to free will, it is apparent that they attack me, Philip, in particular." (*C. R.* 9, 763.)

158. Strigel and Huegel Entering Controversy.

The synergistic controversy received new zest and a new impetus when, in 1559, Victorin Strigel and Huegel (Hugelius), respectively professor and pastor at Jena, the stronghold of the opponents of the Wittenberg

Philippists, opposed Flacius, espoused the cause of Pfeffinger, championed the doctrine of Melanchthon, and refused to endorse the so-called *Book of Confutation* which Flacius had caused to be drafted particularly against the Wittenberg Philippists and Synergists, and to be introduced. The situation thus created was all the more sensational, because, in the preceding controversies, Strigel had, at least apparently, always sided with the opponents of the Philippists.

The "*Konfutationsbuch* — Book of Confutation and Condemnations of the Chief Corruptions, Sects, and Errors Breaking in and Spreading at this Time" was published in 1559 by Duke John Frederick II as a doctrinal norm of his duchy. In nine chapters this Book, a sort of forerunner of the *Formula of Concord*, dealt with the errors 1. of Servetus, 2. of Schwenckfeld, 3. of the Antinomians, 4. of the Anabaptists, 5. of the Zwinglians, 6. of the Synergists, 7. of Osiander and Stancarus, 8. of the Majorists, 9. of the Adiaphorists. Its chief object, as expressly stated in the Preface, was to warn against the errors introduced by the Philippists, whose doctrines, as also Planck admits, were not in any way misrepresented in this document. (4, 597. 595.) The sixth part, directed against synergism, bore the title: "*Confutatio Corruptelarum in Articulo de Libero Arbitrio sive de Viribus Humanis* — Confutation of the Corruptions in the Article Concerning Free Will or Concerning the Human Powers." The *Confutation* was framed by the Jena theologians, Strigel and Huegel also participating in its composition. However, some of the references to the corruptions of the Philippists must have been rather vague and ambiguous in the first draft of the book; for when it was revised at the convention in Weimar, Flacius secured the adoption of additions and changes dealing particularly with the synergism of the Wittenbergers, which were energetically opposed by Strigel.

Even before the adoption of the *Book of Confutation*, Strigel had been polemicizing against Flacius. But now (as Flacius reports) he began to denounce him at every occasion as the "architect of a new theology" and an "enemy of the *Augsburg Confession*." At the same time he also endeavored to incite the students in Jena against him. Flacius, in turn, charged Strigel with scheming to establish a Philippistic party in Ducal Saxony. The public breach came when the *Book of Confutation* was submitted for adoption and publication in the churches and schools. Pastor Huegel refused to read and explain it from the pulpit, and Strigel presented his objections to the Duke, and asked that his conscience be spared. But when Strigel failed to maintain silence in the matter, he as well as Pastor Huegel were summarily dealt with by the Duke. On March 27, 1559, at two o'clock in the morning, both were suddenly arrested and imprisoned. Flacius, who was generally regarded as the secret instigator of this act of violence, declared publicly that the arrest had been made without his counsel and knowledge. About six months later (September 5, 1569) Strigel and Huegel, after making some doctrinal concessions and promising not to enter into any disputation on the Confutation, were set at liberty. (Planck 4, 591. 604.)

159. Weimar Disputation.

In order to settle the differences, Flacius and his colleagues (Wigand, Judex, Simon Musaeus), as well as Strigel, asked for a public disputation, which John Frederick, too, was all the more willing to arrange because dissatisfaction with his drastic procedure against Strigel and Huegel was openly displayed everywhere outside of Ducal Saxony. The disputation was held at Weimar, August 2 to 8, 1560. It was attended by the Saxon Dukes and their entire courts, as well as by a large number of other spectators, not only from Jena, but also from Erfurt, Wittenberg, and Leipzig. The subjects of discussion, for which both parties had submitted theses, were: Free Will, Gospel, Majorism, Adiaphorism, and Indifferentism (*academica epoche*, toleration of error). The disputing parties (Flacius and Strigel) agreed that "the only rule should be the Word of God, and that a clear, plain text of the Holy Scriptures was to weigh more than all the inferences and authorities of interpreters." (Planck 4, 606.)

According to the proceedings of the Weimar Disputation, written by Wigand and published by Simon Musaeus 1562 and 1563 under the title: "*Disputatio de Originali Peccato et Libero Arbitrio* inter M. Flacium Illyr. et Vict. Strigelium Publice Vinariae Anno 1560 Habita," the only questions discussed were free will and, incidentally, original sin. Strigel defended the Melanchthonian doctrine, according to which the causes of conversion are the Holy Spirit, the Word of God, and the will of man feebly assenting to the Gospel and, at the same time, seeking strength from God. He repeated the formula: "Concurrunt in conversione haec tria: Spiritus Sanctus movens corda, vox Dei, voluntas hominis, quae voci divinae assentitur." Flacius, on the other hand, defended the *mere passive* of Luther, according to which man, before he is converted and endowed with faith, does not in any way cooperate with the Holy Spirit, but merely suffers and experiences His operations. At the same time, however, he seriously damaged and discredited himself as well as the sacred cause of divine truth by maintaining that original sin is not a mere accident, such as Strigel maintained, but the very substance of man. The discussions were discontinued after the thirteenth session. The Duke announced that the disputation would be reopened later, charging both parties in the mean time to maintain silence in public, — a compromise to which Flacius and his adherents were loath to consent.

John Wigand and Matthias Judex, however, continued to enforce the *Book of Confutation*, demanding an unqualified adoption in every point, *per omnia*. When the jurist Matthew

Wesenbecius declined to accept the book in this categorical way, he was not permitted to serve as sponsor at a baptism. John Frederick was dissatisfied with this procedure and action of the ministers; and when they persisted in their demands, the autocratic Duke deprived them of the right to excommunicate, vesting this power in a consistory established at Weimar. Flacius and his adherents protested against this measure as tyranny exercised over the Church and a suppression of the pure doctrine. As a result Musaeus, Judex, Wigand, and Flacius were suspended and expelled from Jena, December, 1561. (Gieseler 3, 2, 244. 247.) Their vacant chairs at the university were filled by Freihub, Salmuth, and Selneccer, who had been recommended by the Wittenberg Philippists at the request of the Duke, who now evidently favored a compromise with the Synergists. Strigel, too, was reinstated at Jena after signing an ambiguous declaration.

Amsdorf, Gallus, Hesshusius, Flacius, and the other exiled theologians denounced Strigel's declaration as insincere and in conflict with Luther's book *De Servo Arbitrio*, and demanded a public retraction of his synergistic statements. When the ministers of Ducal Saxony also declined to acknowledge Strigel's orthodoxy, a more definite "Superdeclaration," framed by Moerlin and Stoessel (but not signed by Strigel), was added as an interpretation of Strigel's declaration. But even now a minority refused to submit to the demands of the Duke, because they felt that they were being deceived by ambiguous terms, such as "capacity" and "aptitude," which the wily Strigel and the Synergists used in the active or positive, and not in the passive sense. These conscientious Lutherans, whom the rationalist Planck brands as "almost insane, *beinahe verrueckt*," were also deposed and banished, 1562. Strigel's declaration of March, 1562, however, maintaining that "the will is passive in so far as God alone works all good, but active in so far as it must be present in its conversion, must consent, and not resist, but accept," showed that he had not abandoned his synergism. In the same year he applied for, and accepted, a professorship in Leipzig. Later on he occupied a chair at the Reformed university in Heidelberg, where he died 1569, at the age of only forty-five years.

In 1567, when John William became ruler of Ducal Saxony, the Philippists were dismissed, and the banished Lutheran pastors and professors (with the exception of Flacius) were recalled and reinstated. While this rehabilitation of the loyal Lutherans formally ended the synergistic controversy in Ducal Saxony, occasional echoes of it still lingered, due especially to the fact that some ministers had considered Strigel's ambiguous declaration a satisfactory presentation of the Lutheran truth with regard to the questions involved. That the synergistic teaching of Melanchthon was continued in Wittenberg appears, for example, from the *Confessio Wittenbergica* of 1570.

160. Strigel's Rationalistic Principle.

Although at the opening of the disputation the debaters had agreed to decide all questions by clear Scripture-passages alone, Strigel's guiding principle was in reality not the Bible, but philosophy and reason. His real concern was not, What does Scripture teach concerning the causes of conversion? but, How may we harmonize the universal grace of God with the fact that only some are converted and saved? Self-evidently Strigel, too, quoted Bible-passages. Among others, he appealed to such texts as John 6, 29; Rom. 1, 16; 10, 17; Luke 8, 18; Heb. 4, 2; Rev. 3, 20; Luke 11, 13; Mark 9, 24; 1 Thess. 2, 13; Jas. 1, 18. But as we shall show later, his deductions were philosophical and sophistical rather than exegetical and Scriptural. Preger remarks: In his disputation Strigel was not able to advance a single decisive passage of Scripture for the presence and cooperation of a good will at the moment when it is approached and influenced (*ergriffen*) by grace. (2, 211.) And the clear, irrefutable Bible-texts on which Flacius founded his doctrine of the inability of natural will to cooperate in conversion, Strigel endeavored to invalidate by philosophical reasoning, indirect arguing, and alleged necessary logical consequences.

At Weimar and in his *Confession* of December 5, 1560, delivered to the Duke soon after the disputation, Strigel argued: Whoever denies that man, in a way and measure, is able to cooperate in his own conversion is logically compelled also to deny that the rejection of grace may be imputed to man; compelled to make God responsible for man's damnation; to surrender the universality of God's grace and call; to admit contradictory wills in God; and to take recourse to an absolute decree of election and reprobation in order to account for the fact that some reject the grace of God and are lost while others are converted and saved. At Weimar Strigel declared: "I do not say that the will is able to assent to the Word without the Holy Spirit, but that, being moved and assisted by the Spirit, it assents with trepidation. If we were unable to do this, we would not be responsible for not having received the Word. *Si hoc [utcumque assentiri inter trepidationes] non possemus, non essemus rei propter Verbum non receptum.*" Again, also at Weimar: "If the will is not able to assent in some way, even when assisted, then we cannot be responsible for rejecting the Word, but the blame must be transferred to another, and others may judge how religious that is. *Si voluntas ne quidem adiuta potest aliquo modo annuere, non possumus esse rei propter Verbum reiectum, sed culpa est in alium transferenda, quod quam sit religiosum, alii iudicent.*" (Planck 4, 689. 719; Luthardt, *Lehre vom freien Willen*, 222.)

Over against this rationalistic method of Strigel and the Synergists generally, the Lutherans adhered to the principle that nothing but a clear passage of the Bible can decide a theological question. They rejected as false philosophy and rationalism every argument

directed against the clear sense of a clear Word of God. They emphatically objected to the employment of reason for establishing a Christian doctrine or subverting a statement of the Bible. At Weimar, Flacius protested again and again that human reason is not an authority in theological matters. "Let us hear the Scriptures! *Audiamus Scripturam!*" "Let the woman be silent in the Church! *Mulier taceat in ecclesia!*" With such slogans he brushed aside the alleged necessary logical inferences and deductions of Strigel. "You take your arguments from philosophy," he said in the second session, "which ought not to be given a place in matters of religion. *Disputas ex philosophia, cui locus in rebus religionis esse non debet.*" Again, at Weimar: "It is against the nature of inquiring truth to insist on arguing from blind philosophy. What else corrupted such ancient theologians as Clement, Origen, Chrysostom, and afterwards also the Sophists [scholastic theologians] but that they endeavored to decide spiritual things by philosophy, which does not understand the secret and hidden mysteries of God. *Est contra naturam inquirendae veritatis, si velimus ex caeca philosophia loqui. Quid aliud corrupit theologos veteres, ut Clementem, Originem, Chrysosthomum et postea etiam Sophistas, nisi quod de rebus divinis ex philosophia voluerunt statuere, quae non intelligit abstrusissima et occultissima mysteria Dei.*" "May we therefore observe the rule of Luther: Let the woman be silent in the Church! For what a miserable thing would it be if we had to judge ecclesiastical matters from logic! *Itaque observemus legem Lutheri: Taceat mulier in ecclesia! Quae enim miseria, si ex dialectica diiudicandae nobis essent res ecclesiae!*" (Planck 4, 709.)

In an antisynergistic confession published by Schluesselburg, we read: "This doctrine [of conversion by God's grace alone] is simple, clear, certain, and irrefutable if one looks to God's Word alone and derives the *Nosce teipsum*, Know thyself, from the wisdom of God. But since poor men are blind, they love their darkness more than the light, as Christ says John 3, and insist on criticizing and falsifying God's truth by means of blind philosophy, which, forsooth, is a shame and a palpable sin, if we but had eyes to see and know. . . . Whatsoever blind reason produces in such articles of faith against the Word of God is false and wrong. For it is said: *Mulier in ecclesia taceat!* Let philosophy and human wisdom be silent in the Church." (*Catalogus* 5, 665 f.) Here, too, the sophistical objections of the Synergists are disposed of with such remarks as: "In the first place, this is but spun from reason, which thus acts wise in these matters. *Denn fuers erste ist solches nur aus der Vernunft gesponnen, die weiss also hierin zu kluegeln.*" (668.) "This is all spun from reason; but God's Word teaches us better. *Dies ist alles aus der Vernunft spintisiert; Gottes Wort aber lehrt es besser.*" (670.)

Evidently Strigel's rationalistic method was identical with that employed by Melanchthon in his *Loci*, by Pfeffinger, and the Synergists generally. Accordingly, his synergism also could not differ essentially from Melanchthon's. Planck pertinently remarks: "It is apparent from this [argument of Strigel that natural man must have power to cooperate in his conversion because otherwise God would be responsible for his resistance and damnation] that his synergism was none other than that of the Wittenberg school; for was not this the identical foundation upon which Melanchthon had reared his [synergism]?" (4, 690.) Like methods lead to the same results, and *vice versa*. Besides, Strigel had always appealed to the Wittenbergers; and in his *Opinion on the Weimar Confutation*, 1559, Melanchthon, in turn, identified himself with Strigel's arguments. (*C. R.* 9, 766.) The "Confession and Opinion of the Wittenbergers Concerning Free Will — *Confessio et Sententia Wittebergensium de Libero Arbitrio*" of 1561 also maintained the same attitude.

161. Strigel's Theory.

Strigel's views concerning the freedom of man's will in spiritual matters may be summarized as follows: Man, having a will, is a free agent, hence always able to decide for or against. This ability is the "mode of action" essential to man as long as he really is a man and in possession of a will. Even in matters pertaining to grace this freedom was not entirely lost in the Fall. It was impeded and weakened by original sin, but not annihilated. To be converted, man therefore requires that these residual or remaining powers be excited and strengthened rather than that new spiritual powers be imparted or a new will be created. Accordingly, persuasion through the Word is the method of conversion employed by the Holy Spirit. When the will is approached by the Word, incited and assisted by the Spirit, it is able to admit the operations of the Spirit and assent to the Word, though but feebly. Hence, no matter how much of the work of conversion must be ascribed to the Holy Spirit and the Word, the will itself, in the last analysis, decides for or against grace. Man is, therefore, not purely passive in his conversion, but cooperates with the Holy Spirit and the Word, not merely after, but also in his conversion, before he has received the gift of faith.

"God who, outside of His essence in external actions, is the freest agent," said Strigel, "created two kinds of natures, the one free, the other acting naturally (*naturaliter agentes*). The free natures are the angels and men. Those acting naturally embrace all the rest of the creatures. A natural agent is one that cannot do anything else [than it does], nor suspend its action; *e. g.*, fire. Men and angels were created differently, after the image of God, that they might be free agents. *Homines et angeli aliter conditi sunt ad imaginem Dei, ut sint liberum agens.*" (Planck 4, 669.) This freedom, which distinguishes man essentially from all other creatures, according to Strigel, always implies the power to will or not to will with respect

to any object. He says: The act of willing, be it good or evil, always belongs to the will, because the will is so created *that it can will or not,* without coercion. "*Ipsum velle, seu bonum seu malum, quod ad substantiam attinet, semper est voluntatis; quia voluntas sic est condita,* UT POSSIT VELLE AUT NON; *sed etiam hoc habet voluntas ex opere creationis, quod adhuc reliquum, et non prorsus abolitum et extinctum est,* UT POSSIT VELLE AUT NON, SINE COACTIONE." (674.) According to Strigel, the very essence of the will consists in being able, in every instance, to decide in either direction, for or against. Hence the very idea of will involves also a certain ability to cooperate in conversion. (689.)

This freedom or ability to decide *pro* or *con,* says Strigel, is the mode of action essential to man, his mode of action also in conversion. And in the controversy on free will he sought to maintain that this alleged mode of action was a part of the very essence of the human will and being. At Weimar Strigel declared: "I do not wish to detract from the will the mode of action which is different from other natural actions. *Nolo voluntati detrahi modum agendi, qui est dissimilis aliis actionibus naturalibus.*" (Planck 4, 668.) Again: "The will is not a natural, but a free agent; hence the will is converted not as a natural agent, but as a free agent. . . . In conversion the will acts in its own mode; it is not a statue or a log in conversion. Hence conversion does not occur in a purely passive manner. *Voluntas non est agens naturale, sed liberum; ergo convertitur voluntas non ut naturalitur agens, sed ut liberum agens. . . . Et voluntas suo modo agit in conversione, nec est statua vel truncus in conversione. Et per consequens non fit conversio pure passive.*" (Luthardt, 217. 219. 209.)

What Strigel means is that man, being a free agent, must, also in conversion, be accorded the ability somehow to decide for grace. According to the *Formula of Concord* the words, "man's mode of action," signify "a way of working something good and salutary in divine things." (905, 61.) The connection and the manner in which the phrase was employed by Strigel admitted of no other interpretation. Strigel added: This mode of action marks the difference between the will of man and the will of Satan; for the devil neither endeavors to assent, nor prays to God for assistance, while man does. (Luthardt, 220.) Natural man is by Strigel credited with the power of "endeavoring to assent, *conari assentiri,*" because he is endowed with a will. But shrewd as Strigel was, it did not occur to him that, logically, his argument compelled him to ascribe also to the devils everything he claimed for natural man, since they, too, have a will and are therefore endowed with the same *modus agendi,* which, according to Strigel, belongs to the very idea and essence of will. Yet this palpable truth, which overthrew his entire theory, failed to open the eyes of Strigel.

If, as Strigel maintained, the human will, by virtue of its nature as a free agent, is, in a way, *able* to cooperate in conversion, then the only question is how to elevate this ability to an actuality, in other words, how to influence the will and rouse its powers to move in the right direction. Strigel answered: Since the will cannot be forced, moral suasion is the true method required to convert a man. "The will," says he, "cannot be forced, hence it is by persuasion, *i. e.,* by pointing out something good or evil, that the will is moved to obey and to submit to the Gospel; not coerced, *but somehow willing. Voluntas non potest cogi, ergo voluntas persuadendo, id est, ostensione alicuius boni vel mali flectitur ad obediendum et obtemperandum evangelio, non coacta, sed* ALIQUO MODO VOLENS." (Seeberg 4, 491.) Again: "Although God is efficacious through the Word, drawing and leading us efficaciously, yet He does not make assenting necessary for such a nature as the will, — a nature so created that it is able not to assent, if it so wills, and to expel Him who dwells in us. This assent therefore is the work of God and the Holy Spirit, but in so far as it is a free assent, not coerced and pressed out by force, *it is also the work of the will. Etiamsi Deus est efficax per Verbum et efficaciter nos trahit et ducit, tamen non affert necessitatem assentiendi tali naturae, qualis est voluntas, id est, quae sic est condita, ut possit non assentiri, si velit, et excutere sessorem. Est igitur hic assensus opus Dei et Spiritus Sancti, sed quatenus est liber assensus, non coactus, expressus vi,* EST ETIAM VOLUNTATIS." (491.) Strigel evidently means: The fact that man is able not to assent to grace of necessity involves that somehow (*aliquo modo*) he is able also to assent; according to man's peculiar mode of action (freedom), he must himself actualize his conversion by previously (in the logical order) willing it, deciding for it, and assenting to it; he would be converted by coercion if his assent to grace were an act of the will engendered and created solely by God, rather than an act effected and produced by the powers of the will when incited and assisted by the Spirit. Man is converted by persuasion only, because God does not create assent and faith in him, but merely elicits these acts from man by liberating and appealing to the powers of his will to effect and produce them.

In defending this freedom of the will, Strigel appealed also to the statement of Luther: "The will cannot be coerced; . . . if the will could be coerced, it would not be volition, but rather nolition. *Voluntas non potest cogi; . . . si posset cogi voluntas, non esset voluntas, sed potius noluntas.*" However, what Luther said of the form or nature of the will, according to which it always really wills what it wills, and is therefore never coerced, was by Strigel transferred to the spiritual matters and objects of the will. According to Strigel's theory, says Seeberg, "the will must be free even in the first moment of conversion, free not only in the psychological, but also in the moral sense." (4, 492.) Tschackert, quoting Seeberg, remarks that Strigel transformed the natural formal liberty into an ethical

material liberty — *"indem die natuerliche formale Freiheit sich ihm unter der Hand [?] verwandelte in die ethische materiale Freiheit."* (524.)

162. Strigel's Semi-Pelagianism.

Strigel's entire position is based on the error that a remnant of spiritual ability still remains in natural man. True, he taught that in consequence of original sin the powers of man and the proper use and exercise of these powers are greatly impeded, weakened, checked, and insulated, as it were, and that this impediment can be removed solely by the operation of the Holy Spirit. "Through the Word the Holy Spirit restores to the will the power and faculty of believing," Strigel declared. (Luthardt, 250.) But this restoration, he said, was brought about by liberating, arousing, inciting, and strengthening the powers inherent in man rather than by divine impartation of new spiritual powers or by the creation of a new good volition.

Strigel plainly denied that natural man is truly spiritually dead. He declared: "The will is so created that it can expel the Holy Spirit and the Word, or, when assisted by the Holy Spirit, can in some manner will and obey — to receive is the act of the will; in this I cannot concede that man is simply *dead — accipere est hominis; in hoc non possum concedere simpliciter mortuum esse hominem.*" (Frank 1, 199.) Natural man, Strigel explained, is indeed not able to grasp the helping hand of God with his own hand; yet the latter is not dead, but still retains a minimum of power. (678.) Again: Man is like a new-born child, whose powers must first be strengthened with nourishment given it by its mother, and which, *though able to draw this nourishment out of its mother's breast,* is yet unable to lift itself up to it, or to take hold of the breast, unless it be given it. (Preger 2, 209.)

With special reference to the last illustration, Flacius declared: "Strigel, accordingly, holds that we have the faculty to desire and receive the food, *i. e.*, the benefits of God. Forsooth, you thereby attribute to corrupt man a very great power with respect to spiritual things. Now, then, deny that this opinion is Pelagian." (209.) "Your statements agree with those of Pelagius; yet I do not simply say that you are a Pelagian; for a good man may fall into an error which he does not see." Pelagius held that man, by his natural powers, is able to begin and complete his own conversion; Cassianus, the Semi-Pelagian, taught that man is able merely to begin this work; Strigel maintained that man can admit the liberating operation of the Holy Spirit, and that after such operation of the Spirit he is able to cooperate with his natural powers. Evidently, then, the verdict of Flacius was not much beside the mark. Planck, though unwilling to relegate Strigel to the Pelagians, does not hesitate to put him down as a thoroughgoing Synergist. (Planck 4, 683 f.) Synergism, however, always includes at least an element of Pelagianism.

Strigel illustrated his idea by the following analogy. When garlic-juice is applied to a magnet, it loses its power of attraction, but remains a true magnet, and, when goat's blood is applied, immediately regains its efficaciousness. So the will of man is hindered by original sin from beginning that which is good; but when the impediment has been removed through the operation of the Holy Spirit, the native powers of the will again become efficacious and active. (Tschackert, 524; Planck 4, 672; Preger 2, 198; Luthardt, 211.) Frank remarks: "The example of the temporarily impeded power of the magnet, which was repeated also at this juncture [in the disputation at Weimar], immediately points to the related papal doctrine; for the Catholic Andradius explains the dogma of the *Tridentinum* to this effect: The free will of natural man may be compared to a chained prisoner, who, though still in possession of his locomotive powers, is nevertheless impeded by his fetters." (1, 136.) Also the *Formula of Concord,* evidently with a squint at Strigel, rejects as a Pelagian error the teaching "that original sin is not a despoliation or deficiency, but only an external impediment to these spiritual good powers, as when a magnet is smeared with garlic-juice, whereby its natural power is not removed, but only hindered; or that this stain can be easily washed away, as a spot from the face or a pigment from the wall." (865, 22.)

163. Strigel's "Cooperation."

When the impediment caused by original sin has been removed, and the will liberated and aroused to activity, man, according to Strigel, is able also to cooperate in his conversion. At Weimar he formulated the point at issue as follows: "The question is whether [in conversion] the will is present idle, as an inactive, indolent subject, or, as the common saying is, in a purely passive way; or whether, when grace precedes, the will follows the efficacy of the Holy Spirit, and in some manner assents — *an vero praeeunte gratia voluntas comitetur efficaciam Spiritus Sancti et aliquo modo annuat.*" (Luthardt, 222.) Following are some of his answers to this question: When incited by the Spirit, the will is able to assent somewhat and to pray for assistance. *Inter trepidationem utcumque assentitur, simul petens auxilium.* Contrition and faith, as well as other virtues, are gifts of God, "but they are given to those only who hear and contemplate God's Word, embrace it by assenting to it, strive against their doubts, and in this conflict pray for the help of God." (230.) The Holy Ghost converts those "who hear the Word of God and do not resist stubbornly, but consent," and God assists such only "as follow His call and pray for assistance." (229.) "The will and heart do not resist altogether, but desire divine consolation, when, indeed, they are assisted by the Holy Ghost." "The will is neither idle nor contumacious; but, in a manner, desires to obey." (Planck 4, 682.) "Man is dead [spiritually] in as far as he is not able to heal his

wounds with his own powers; but when the remedy is offered him by the Holy Spirit and the Word, then he, at least in receiving the benefit, is not altogether dead; for otherwise a conversion could not occur. For I cannot conceive a conversion where the process is that of the flame consuming straw (*denn ich kann mir keine Bekehrung vorstellen, bei der es zugeht, wie wenn die Flamme das Stroh ergreift*). The nature of the will is such that it can reject the Holy Spirit and the Word; or, being supported by the Holy Spirit, can in a manner will and obey. The remedy is heavenly and divine; but the will — not the will alone, but the will supported by the Holy Spirit — is able to accept it. One must ascribe at least a feeble consent and an 'Aye' to the will, which is already supported by the Holy Spirit." (Preger 2, 208.) "In a betrothal, consent is necessary; conversion is a betrothal of Christ to the Church and its individual members; hence consent is required," which the will is able to give when assisted by the Holy Spirit. (Luthardt, 224.)

It is, however, only a languid, wavering, and weak consent which man is able to render (*qualiscumque assensio languida, trepida et imbecilla*). "Compared with the divine operation," Flacius reports Strigel as having said, "the cooperation of our powers in conversion is something extremely small (*quiddam pertenue prorsus*). If, after drinking with a rich man, he paying a *taler* and I a *heller*, I would afterwards boast that I had been drinking and paying with him — such is cooperation, *talis est synergia*." (Planck 4, 677; Luthardt, 220. 222.) According to Strigel, therefore, man is not purely passive, but plays an active part in his conversion. With Melanchthon and Pfeffinger he maintained: "These three concur in conversion: the Holy Spirit, who moves the hearts; the voice of God; the will of man, which assents to the divine voice. *Concurrunt in conversione haec tria: Spiritus Sanctus movens corda, vox Dei, voluntas hominis, quae voci divinae assentitur.*" (Tschackert, 524.)

Flacius declared with respect to the issue formulated by Strigel: "I explain my entire view as follows: "Man is purely passive (*homo se habet pure passive*). If you consider the native faculty of the will, its willing and its powers, then he is purely passive when he receives (*in accipiendo*). But if that divinely bestowed willing or spark of faith kindled by the Spirit is considered, then this imparted willing and this spark is not purely passive. But the Adamic will does not only not operate or cooperate, but, according to the inborn malice of the heart, even operates contrarily (*verum etiam pro nativa malitia cordis sui contra operatur*)." (Planck 4, 697.) Thus Flacius clearly distinguished between cooperation *before* conversion (which he rejected absolutely) and cooperation *after* conversion (which he allowed). And pressing this point, he said to Strigel: "I ask whether you say that the will cooperates *before* the gift of faith or *after* faith has been received; whether you say that the will cooperates from natural powers, or in so far as the good volition has been bestowed by the renovation of the Holy Spirit. *Quaero, an dicas, voluntatem cooperari ante donum fidei aut post acceptam fidem; an dicas, cooperari ex naturalibus viribus aut quatenus ex renovatione Spiritus Sancti datum est bene velle.*" (Seeberg 4, 492.) Again: I shall withdraw the charge of Pelagianism if you will declare it as your opinion "that only the regenerated, sanctified, renewed will cooperates, and not the other human, carnal, natural will." "Confess openly and expressly and say clearly: 'I affirm that man cooperates from faith and the good will bestowed by God, not from the will he brings with him from his natural Adam — *quod homo cooperetur ex fide et bono velle divinitus donato, non ex eo, quod attulit ex suo naturali Adamo.*'" "We say, Only the regenerate will cooperates; if you [Strigel] say the same, the controversy is at an end." Strigel, however, who, to use a phrase of Luther (St. L. 18, 1673), was just as hard to catch as Proteus of old, did not reply with a definite *yes* or *no*, but repeated that it was only a weak assent (*qualiscumque assensio languida trepida et imbecilla*) which man was able to render when his will was incited and supported by the prevenient grace of the Holy Spirit. (Preger 2, 217; Luthardt, 217. 222. 227; Frank 1, 115.)

164. Objections Answered.

At Weimar, Strigel insisted: The human will must not be eliminated as one of the causes of conversion; for without man's will and intellect no conversion is possible. Flacius replied: The will, indeed, is present in conversion, for it is the will that is converted and experiences conversion; but the inborn power of the natural will contributes nothing to conversion, and therefore the will "is purely passive in the reception of grace." (Preger 2, 217.) "We are pressed hard with the sophistical objection that man is not converted without his knowledge and will. But who doubts this? The entire question is: Whence does that good knowledge originate? Whence does that good volition originate?" (216.) "We certainly admit that in conversion there are many motions of the intellect and will, good and bad. But the dispute among us is not whether in conversion the intellect understands and the will wills; but whence is the capability to think right, and whence is that good willing of the will? Is it of us, as of ourselves, or is this sufficiency of willing and thinking of God alone?" (Planck 4, 711.) The fact that God alone converts man, said Flacius, "does not exclude the presence of the will; but it does exclude all efficaciousness and operation of the natural will in conversion (*non excludit voluntatem, ne adsit, sed excludit omnem efficaciam et operationem naturalis voluntatis in conversione*)." (Seeberg 4, 492.)

In order to prove man's cooperation in conversion, Strigel declared: "Both [to will and to perform] are in some way acts of God and of ourselves; for no willing and performing

takes place unless we will. *Utrumque* [*velle et perficere*] *aliquo modo Dei et nostrum est; non fit velle aut perficere nisi nobis volentibus.*" Charging Strigel with ambiguity, Flacius replied: "You speak of one kind of synergism and we of another. You cannot affirm with a good conscience that these questions are unknown to you." Strigel, protesting that he was unable to see the difference, answered: "For God's sake, have a little forbearance with me; I cannot see the difference. If that is to my discredit, let it be to my discredit. — *Bitte um Gottes willen, man wolle mir's zugut halten; ich kann's nicht ausmessen. Ist mir's eine Schand', so sei mir's eine Schand'.*" (Frank 1, 136.) Strigel, however, evidently meant that man, too, has a share in *producing* the good volition, while Flacius understood the phraseology as Luther and Augustine explained it, the latter, *e. g.*, writing in *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio:* "It is certain that we will when we will; but He who makes us will is He of whom it is written: It is God who worketh in us to will. *Certum est, nos velle cum volumus; sed ille facit, ut velimus, de quo dictum est: Deus est, qui operatur in nobis velle.*" (Frank 1, 238.)

In his objections to the doctrine that man is purely passive in his conversion, Strigel protested again and again that man is not like a block or stone when he is converted. "That is true," said Flacius, "for a block can neither love nor hate God, while man by nature hates God, and scoffs at Him. Rom. 8, 1; 1 Cor. 2. Thus God is dealing with one whose will and heart is altogether against Him. But here [in the denial that man is purely passive in conversion] is buried a popish *meritum de congruo* and a particle of free will." (Preger 2, 191.) Flacius furthermore explained that in his conversion man is able to cooperate just as little as a stone can contribute to its transformation into a statue. Indeed, man's condition is even more miserable than that of a stone or block (*miserior trunco*), because by his natural powers he resists, and cannot but resist, the operations of the Spirit. (Planck 4, 696 f.)

Strigel reasoned: If man is converted without his consent, and if he cannot but resist the operations of the Holy Spirit, conversion is an impossibility, a contradiction. He said: "If the will, even when assisted by the Holy Spirit, is unable to assent, it must of necessity resist Him perpetually, drive out, reject, and repudiate the Word and Holy Spirit; for it is impossible that motions extremely conflicting and contradictory, the one embracing, the other repudiating and persistently rejecting, should be in the same will. *Si voluntas etiam adiuta a Spiritu Sancto non potest assentiri, necesse est, ut perpetuo ei repugnet, ut excutiat, reiiciat et repudiet Verbum et Spiritum Sanctum. Nam impossibile est in eadem voluntate esse motus extreme pugnantes et contradictorios, quorum alter est amplecti, alter repudiare et quidem perstare in reiectione.*" Flacius replied: You need but distinguish between the sinful natural will inherited from Adam, which always resists, and the new consenting will implanted by God in conversion. "Man consents with the faith given by God, but he resists with the inborn wickedness of his Old Adam." Your error is that you acknowledge only an inciting grace, which mere incitation presupposes powers of one's own to do and to perform (*talis incitatio includit proprias vires ad perficiendum*). "I plead," said Flacius, "that by original sin man is not only wounded, but, as the Scriptures affirm, entirely dead, and his faculties to do that which is good have been destroyed; on the other hand, however, he is alive and vigorous toward evil (*hominem . . . penitus esse mortuum, extinctum et interfectum ad bonum et contra insuper vivum et vigentem ad malum*)." "The will is free with respect to things beneath itself, but not with respect to things above itself. In spiritual matters it is a servant of Satan." Hence, said Flacius, in order to cooperate, new spiritual life must first be imparted to, and created in, man by the grace of God. (Planck 4, 693 ff.; Frank 1, 224 ff.; Luthardt, 224; Preger 2, 216.)

Strigel argued: If man is able only to sin and to resist the grace of God, he cannot be held accountable for his actions. But Flacius replied: "Also the non-regenerate are justly accused [made responsible for their actions]; for with the remnant of the carnal liberty they are able at least to observe external decency (*Zucht*), which God earnestly demands of us, for example, to hear God's Word, to go to church more frequently than into the tavern." "Furthermore, there are many carnal transgressions in which natural man could have done something which he has not done." "God may justly hold us responsible also with respect to things which we are unable to do, because He has bestowed uninjured powers upon the human race, which, though forewarned, man has shamefully lost through his own fault." (Preger 2, 214 f.)

Time and again Strigel told Flacius that according to his doctrine man is coerced to sin and compelled to resist the grace of God. But the latter replied: As far as his own powers are concerned, the natural will of man indeed sins and resists inevitably and of necessity (*voluntas repugnat necessario et inevitabiliter*), but not by coercion or compulsion. Necessity to resist (*necessitas repugnandi*), Flacius explained, does not involve coercion to resist (*coactio repugnandi*), since there is such a thing as a necessity of immutability (*necessitas immutabilitatis*), that is to say, man may be unable to act otherwise and yet act willingly. The impossibility of being able to will otherwise than one really wills, does, according to Flacius, not at all involve coercion or compulsion. The holy angels are free from compulsion, although they cannot sin or fall any more. It is the highest degree of freedom and Christian perfection when, in the life to come, our will to remain in union with God is elevated to immutability of so willing. Again, though Satan cannot but sin, yet he is not coerced to sin. Thus, too, of his own powers, natural man is able only to resist grace, yet there is no compulsion

involved. The fact, therefore, that natural man cannot but sin and resist grace does not warrant the inference that he is compelled to sin; nor does the fact that natural man is not coerced to resist prove that he is able also to assent to grace. The fact, said Flacius, that the wicked *willingly* will, think, and do only what pleases Satan does not prove an ability to will in the opposite spiritual direction, but merely reveals the terrible extent of Satan's tyrannical power over natural man. (Luthardt, 224. 231.) According to Flacius, the will always wills willingly when it wills and what it wills. In brief: The categories "coercion" and "compulsion" cannot be applied to the will. This, however, does not imply that God is not able to *create* or restore a good will without coercion or compulsion. There was no coercion or compulsion involved when God, creating Adam, Eve, and the angels, endowed them with a good will. Nor is there any such thing as coercion or compulsion when God, in conversion, bestows faith and a good will upon man.

In his statements on the freedom of the will, Flacius merely repeated what Luther had written before him, in *De Servo Arbitrio:* "For if it is not we, but God alone, who works salvation in us, then nothing that we do previous to His work, whether we will or not, is salutary. But when I say, 'by necessity,' I do not mean by coercion, but, as they say, by the necessity of immutability, not by necessity of coercion, *i. e.*, man, destitute of the Spirit of God, does not sin perforce, as though seized by the neck [stretched upon the rack], nor unwillingly, as a thief or robber is led to his punishment, but spontaneously and willingly. And by his own strength he cannot omit, restrain, or change this desire or willingness to sin, but continues to will it and to find pleasure in it. For even if he is compelled by force, outwardly to do something else, within, the will nevertheless remains averse, and rages against him who compels or resists it. For if it were changed and willingly yielded to force, it would not be angry. And this we call the necessity of immutability, *i. e.*, the will cannot change itself and turn to something else, but is rather provoked to will more intensely by being resisted, as is proved by its indignation. *Si enim non nos, sed solus Deus operatur salutem in nobis, nihil ante opus eius operamur salutare, velimus nolimus. Necessario vero dico,* NON COACTE, *sed, ut illi dicunt, necessitate immutabilitatis,* NON COACTIONIS; *id est, homo cum vacat Spiritu Dei,* NON QUIDEM VIOLENTIA, *velut raptus obtorto collo,* NOLENS *facit peccatum, quemadmodum fur aut latro nolens ad poenam ducitur, sed sponte et libenti voluntate facit. Verum hanc libentiam seu voluntatem faciendi non potest suis viribus omittere, coercere aut mutare, sed pergit volendo et lubendo; etiamsi ad extra cogatur aliud facere per vim, tamen voluntas intus manet aversa et indignatur cogenti aut resistenti. Non enim indignaretur, si mutaretur ac volens vim sequeretur. Hoc vocamus modo necessitatem immutabilitatis, id est, quod voluntas sese mutare et vertere alio non possit, sed potius irritetur magis ad volendum, dum ei resistitur, quod probat eius indignatio.*" (E. v. a. 7, 155 f. 134. 157; St. L. 18, 1717. 1692. 1718.)

Flacius was also charged with teaching that "man is converted resisting (*hominem converti repugnantem*). "In their *Confession and Opinion Concerning Free Will,* of 1561, the Wittenberg theologians repeated the assertion that Flacius taught "*converti hominem . . . repugnantem et hostiliter Deo convertenti adversantem.*" (Planck 4, 688.) But Flacius protested: "I do not simply say that man is converted resisting (*hominem repugnantem converti*). But I say that he resists with respect to his natural and carnal free will." "It is not denied that God converts us as willing and understanding (*quin Deus nos convertat volentes et intelligentes*), but willing and understanding not from the Old Adam, but from the light given by God and from the good volition bestowed through the Word and the Holy Spirit." (692.) "Man is converted or drawn by the Father to the Son not as a thief is cast into prison, but in such a manner that his evil will is changed into a good will by the power of the Holy Spirit." (Preger 2, 218.) It is the very essence of conversion that by the grace of God unwilling men are made willing.

In support of his error that natural man is able to cooperate in his conversion Strigel appealed to Rom. 8, 26: "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities," etc.; and appealing to the *Augustana* for the correctness of his interpretation, he declared that this passage proves that one may speak of a languid and weak assent in man even before he is endowed with faith. Flacius replied that this Bible-passage referred to such only as are already converted, and that Strigel's interpretation was found not in the original *Augustana,* but in the *Variata.* — From the admonition 2 Cor. 5, 20: "Be ye reconciled to God," Strigel inferred that free will must to a certain extent be capable of accepting the grace offered by God. Flacius answered that it was a logical fallacy, conflicting also with the clear Word of God, to conclude that man by his own powers is able to perform something because God demands it and admonishes and urges us to do it. — From Acts 5, 32: ". . . the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey Him," Strigel argued that the will is able to consent to the Holy Spirit. But Flacius rejoined that this passage refers to special gifts bestowed upon such as are already converted. — In support of his synergism, Strigel also appealed to the Parable of the Prodigal Son, who himself repented and returned to his father. But Flacius answered: If every detail of this parable taken from every-day life were to be interpreted in such a manner, Strigel would have to abandon his own teaching concerning prevenient grace, since according to the parable the repentance and return of the son precedes the grace bestowed by the father. (Preger 2, 210 f.)

165. Teaching of the Anti-Synergists.

While the Philippists, also in the Synergistic Controversy, endeavored to supplant the authority and doctrine of Luther by that of Melanchthon, their opponents, Amsdorf, Flacius, Wigand, Hesshusius, and others (though not always fortunate in the choice of their phraseology), stood four-square on Luther's teaching of the *sola gratia*, which, they were fully convinced, was nothing but the pure truth of the Gospel itself. They maintained that, as a result of the Fall, man has lost his original holiness and righteousness, or the image of God; that both as to his intellect and will he is totally corrupt spiritually; that of his own powers he is utterly unable to think or will anything that is truly good; that not a spark of spiritual life is found in natural man by virtue of which he might assent to the Gospel or cooperate with the Holy Spirit in his conversion; that his carnal mind is enmity toward God; that of his own powers he is active only in resisting the work of the Holy Spirit, nor is he able to do otherwise; that such resistance continues until he is converted and a new will and heart have been created in him; that conversion consists in this, that men who by nature are unwilling and resist God's grace become such as willingly consent and obey the Gospel and the Holy Spirit; that this is done solely by God's grace, through Word and Sacrament; that man is purely passive in his conversion, inasmuch as he contributes nothing towards it, and merely suffers and experiences the work of the Holy Spirit; that only after his conversion man is able to cooperate with the Holy Spirit; that such cooperation, however, flows not from innate powers of the natural will, but from the new powers imparted in conversion; that also in the converted the natural sinful will continues to oppose whatever is truly good, thus causing a conflict between the flesh and the spirit which lasts till death; in brief, that man's conversion and salvation are due to grace alone and in no respect whatever to man and his natural powers.

The *Book of Confutation*, of 1559, drafted, as stated above, by the theologians of Jena, designates the synergistic dogma as a "rejection of grace." Here we also meet with statements such as the following: Human nature "is altogether turned aside from God, and is hostile toward Him and subject to the tyranny of sin and Satan (*naturam humanam prorsus a Deo aversam eique inimicam et tyrannidi peccati ac Satanae subiectam esse*)." It is impossible for the unregenerate man "to understand or to apprehend the will of God revealed in the Word, or by his own power to convert himself to God and to will or perform anything good (*homini non renato impossibile esse intelligere aut apprehendere voluntatem Dei in Verbo patefactam aut sua ipsius voluntate ad Deum se convertere, boni aliquid velle aut perficere*)." "Our will to obey God or to choose the good is utterly extinguished and corrupted. *Voluntas nostra ad Dei obedientiam aut ad bonum eligendum prorsus extincta et depravata est.*" (Tschackert, 523; Gieseler 3, 2, 229.)

The second of the Propositions prepared by Simon Musaeus and Flacius for the Disputation at Weimar, 1560, reads: "Corrupt man cannot operate or cooperate toward anything good by true motions, and such as proceed from the heart; for his heart is altogether dead spiritually, and has utterly lost the image of God, or all powers and inclinations toward that which is good. *Homo corruptus nihil boni potest veris ac ex corde proficiscentibus motibus operari aut cooperari, nam plane est spiritualiter mortuus et Dei imaginem seu omnes bonas vires et inclinationes prorsus amisit.*" The third: Not only "has he lost entirely all good powers, but, in addition, he has also acquired contrary and most evil powers, . . . so that, of necessity or inevitably, he constantly and vehemently opposes God and true piety (*ita ut necessario seu inevitabiliter Deo ac verae pietati semper et vehementer adversetur.*" The fourth thesis states that God alone, through His Word and the Holy Spirit, converts, draws, and illumines man, kindles faith, justifies, renews, and creates him unto good works, while natural or Adamic free will is of itself not only inactive, but resists (*non solum non cooperante ex se naturali aut Adamico libero arbitrio, sed etiam contra furente ac fremente*). (Planck 4, 692; Gieseler 3, 2, 245.)

The same position was occupied by the Mansfeld ministers in a statement of August 20, 1562, and by Hesshusius in his *Confutation of the Arguments by which the Synergists Endeavor to Defend Their Error Concerning the Powers of the Dead Free Will.* They held that in his conversion man is purely passive and has no mode of action whatever; that he is but the passive subject who is to be converted (*subiectum patiens, subiectum convertendum*); that he contributes no more to his conversion than an infant to its own formation in the womb of its mother; that he is passive, like a block, inasmuch as he does not in any way cooperate, but at the same time differs from, and is worse than, a block, because he is active in resisting the Holy Spirit until he has been converted. The *Confession* presented by the theologians of Ducal Saxony (Wigand, Coelestinus, Irenaeus, Rosinus, Kirchner, etc.) at the Altenburg Colloquy, March, 1569, occupies the same doctrinal position. As stated before, these theologians made it a special point also to declare their agreement with Luther's book *De Servo Arbitrio.* (Schluesselburg 5, 316. 133.)

166. Attitude of Formula of Concord.

The second article of the *Formula of Concord*, which decided the questions involved in the Synergistic Controversy, takes a clear, determined, and consistent stand against all forms and formulas of synergism. At the same time it avoids all extravagant, improper, offensive, and inadequate terms and phrases, as well as the numerous pitfalls lurking everywhere in the questions concerning free will, against which also some of the opponents of the Synergists had not always sufficiently been on their guard. Article II teaches "that origi-

nal sin is an unspeakable evil and such an entire corruption of human nature that in it and all its internal and external powers nothing pure or good remains, but everything is entirely corrupt, so that on account of original sin man is in God's sight truly spiritually dead, with all his powers dead to that which is good (*dass der Mensch durch die Erbsuende wahrhaftig vor Gott geistlich tot und zum Guten mit allen seinen Kraeften erstorben sei*)" (Conc. Trigl. 879, 60); "that in spiritual and divine things the intellect, heart, and will of the unregenerate man are utterly unable, by their own natural powers, to understand, believe, accept, think, will, begin, effect, work, or concur in working, anything, but they are entirely dead to what is good, and corrupt, so that in man's nature since the Fall, before regeneration, there is not the least spark of spiritual power remaining, nor present, by which, of himself, he can prepare himself for God's grace, or accept the offered grace, nor be capable of it for and of himself, or apply or accommodate himself thereto, or by his own powers be able of himself, as of himself, to aid, do, work, or concur in working anything towards his conversion, either wholly, or half, or in any, even the least or most inconsiderable part; but that he is the servant [and slave] of sin, John 8, 34, and a captive of the devil, by whom he is moved, Eph. 2, 2; 2 Tim. 2, 26. Hence natural free will according to its perverted disposition and nature is strong and active only with respect to what is displeasing and contrary to God" (883, 7; 887, 17); that "before man is enlightened, converted, regenerated, renewed, and drawn by the Holy Spirit, he can of himself and of his own natural powers begin, work, or concur in working in spiritual things and in his own conversion or regeneration just as little as a stone or a block or clay." (891, 24); that, moreover, "in this respect" [inasmuch as man resists the Holy Spirit] "it may well be said that man is not a stone or block, for a stone or block does not resist the person who moves it, nor does it understand and is sensible of what is being done with it, as man with his will so long resists God the Lord until he is converted (*donec ad Deum conversus fuerit*)" (905, 59); that "the Holy Scriptures ascribe conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renewal, and all that belongs to their efficacious beginning and completion, not to the human powers of the natural free will, neither entirely, nor half, nor in any, even the least or most inconsiderable part, but *in solidum*, that is, entirely and solely, to the divine working and the Holy Spirit" (891, 25); that "the preaching and hearing of God's Word are instruments of the Holy Ghost, by, with, and through which He desires to work efficaciously, and to convert men to God, and to work in them both to will and to do" (901, 52); that "as soon as the Holy Ghost . . . has begun in us this His work of regeneration and renewal, it is certain that through the power of the Holy Ghost we can and should cooperate (*mitwirken*), although still in great weakness" (907, 65); that this cooperation, however, "does not occur from our carnal natural powers, but from the new powers and gifts which the Holy Ghost has begun in us in conversion," and "is to be understood in no other way than that the converted man does good to such an extent and so long as God by His Holy Spirit rules, guides, and leads him, and that as soon as God would withdraw His gracious hand from him, he could not for a moment persevere in obedience to God," and that hence it is not a power independent from, and coordinated with, the Holy Spirit, as though "the converted man cooperated with the Holy Ghost in the manner as when two horses together draw a wagon" (907, 66); and finally, that as to the three-concurring-causes doctrine it is "manifest, from the explanations presented, that conversion to God is a work of God the Holy Ghost alone, who is the true Master that alone works this in us, for which He uses the preaching and hearing of His holy Word as His ordinary means and instrument. But the intellect and will of the unregenerate man are nothing else than *subiectum convertendum*, that is, that which is to be converted, it being the intellect and will of a spiritually dead man, in whom the Holy Ghost works conversion and renewal, towards which work man's will that is to be converted does nothing, but suffers God alone to work in him until he is regenerated and then he [cooperates] works also with the Holy Ghost that which is pleasing to God in other good works that follow, in the way and to the extent fully set forth above" (915, 90).

It has been said that originally also the *Formula of Concord* in its Torgau draft (*Das Torgausche Buch, i. e.*, the draft preceding the Bergic Book = *Formula of Concord*) contained the three-concurring-causes doctrine of Melanchthon and the Synergists. As a matter of fact, however, the Torgau Book does not speak of three causes of conversion, but of three causes in those who are already converted, — a doctrine entirely in agreement with the *Formula of Concord*, which, as shown, plainly teaches that *after* conversion the will of man also cooperates with the Holy Spirit. In the Torgau Book the passage in question reads: "Thus also three causes concur to effect this internal new obedience in the *converted*. The first and chief cause is God Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. . . . The second is God's Word. . . . The third is man's intellect, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, which ponders and understands God's command [threat and promise], and our new and regenerate will, which is governed by the Holy Spirit, and now desires with a glad and willing heart (*herzlich gern und willig*), though in great weakness, to submit to, and obey, the Word and will of God." In the same sense, at the colloquy in Altenburg, 1568 to 1569, the Jena theologians also mentioned as a "third cause" "the mind of man, which is regenerated and renewed, and yields to, and obeys, the Holy Spirit and the Word of God (*des Menschen Gemuet, so wiedergeboren und erneuert ist und dem Heiligen Geiste und Gottes Wort Folge tut und gehorsam ist*)." (Frank 1, 214 f.)

XV. The Flacian Controversy.

167. Flacius Entrapped by Strigel.

Matthias Flacius Illyricus, one of the most learned and capable theologians of his day and the most faithful, devoted, stanch, zealous, and able exponent and defender of genuine Lutheranism, was the author of the malignant controversy which bears his name. Flacius was born March 3, 1520, in Illyria, hence called Illyricus. He studied in Basel, Tuebingen, and Wittenberg. At Wittenberg he was convinced that the doctrine of the Lutheran Church is in complete agreement with the Word of God. Here, too, he was appointed Professor of Hebrew in 1544. In April, 1549, he left the city on account of the Interim. He removed to Magdeburg, where he became the energetic and successful leader of the opponents of the Interimists and Adiaphorists. He was appointed professor at the University of Jena, founded 1547, partly in opposition to Philippism. In December, 1561, he and his adherents were banished from Jena. When the latter returned in 1567, he was not recalled. Persecuted by his enemies (especially Elector August of Saxony) and forsaken by his friends, he now moved from one place to another: from Jena to Regensburg, thence to Antwerp, to Frankfort-on-the-Main, to Strassburg (from where he was expelled in the spring of 1573), and again to Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he found a last asylum for himself and his family (wife and eight children), and where he also died in a hospital, March 11, 1575.

In the Adiaphoristic Controversy Flacius had time and again urged the Lutherans to die rather than deny and surrender the truth. And when in the controversy about original sin all shunned him and turned against him, he gave ample proof of the fact that he himself was imbued with the spirit he had endeavored to kindle in others, being willing to suffer and to be banished and persecuted rather than sacrifice what he believed to be the truth. — The most important of his numerous books are: *Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, qui ante nostram aetatem reclamarunt Papae, 1556; *Ecclesiastica Historia*, or the so-called Magdeburg Centuries (*Centuriones*), comprising the history of the first thirteen centuries, and published 1559—1574; *Clavis Scripturae*, of 1567; and *Glossa Novi Testamenti*. Walther remarks: "It was a great pity that Flacius, who had hitherto been such a faithful champion of the pure doctrine, exposed himself to the enemies in such a manner. Henceforth the errorists were accustomed to brand all those as Flacianists who were zealous in defending the pure doctrine of Luther." (*Kern und Stern*, 34.)

The Flacian Controversy sprang from, and must be regarded as an episode of, the Synergistic Controversy, in which also some champions of Luther's theology (Amsdorf, Wigand, Hesshusius, and others) had occasionally employed unguarded, extreme, and inadequate expressions. Following are some of the immoderate and extravagant statements made by Flacius: God alone converts man, the Adamic free will not only not cooperating, "but also raging and roaring against it (*sed etiam contra furente ac fremente*)." (Preger 2, 212.) The malice of our free will is a "diabolical malice (*nostra diabolica malitia carnis aut liberi arbitrii*)." By original sin man is "transformed into the image of Satan (*ad imaginem Satanae transformatus, eiusque charactere* [*foeda Satanae imagine*] *signatus*)." (Gieseler 3, 2, 245.) By original sin "the substance of man is destroyed (*substantiam hominis ablatam esse*)"; after the Fall original sin is the substance of man; man's nature is identical with sin; in conversion a new substance is created by God. In particular, the assertions concerning the substantiality of original sin gave rise to the so-called Flacian Controversy. After Strigel, at the second session of the disputation in Weimar, had dilated on the philosophical definitions of the terms "substance" and "accident" (*"accidens, quod adest vel abest praeter subiecti corruptionem"*), and had declared that original sin was an accident which merely impeded free will in its activity, Flacius, in the heat of the controversy, exclaimed: *"Originale peccatum non est accidens.* Original sin is not an accident, for the Scriptures call it flesh, the evil heart," etc. Thus he fell into the pitfall which the wily Strigel had adroitly laid for him. Though Flacius seemed to be loath to enter upon the matter any further, and protested against the use of philosophical definitions in theology, Strigel now was eager to entangle him still further, plying him with the question: *"An negas peccatum originis esse accidens?* Do you deny that original sin is an accident?" Flacius answered: *"Lutherus diserte negat esse accidens.* Luther expressly denies that it is an accident." Strigel: *"Visne negare peccatum esse accidens?* Do you mean to deny that sin is an accident?" Flacius: *"Quod sit substantia, dixi Scripturam et Lutherum affirmare.* I have said that Scripture and Luther affirm that it is a substance." (Luthardt, 213. 216.)

After the session in which the fatal phrase had fallen from his lips, Wigand and Musaeus expostulated with Flacius, designating (according to later reports of theirs) his statement as "this new, perilous, and blasphemous proposition of the ancient Manicheans (*haec nova, periculosa et blasphema veterum Manichaeorum propositio*)." (Planck 4, 611.) Flacius declared that, "in the sudden and pressing exigency, in the interest of truth, and against Pelagian enthusiasm, he had taken this expression [concerning the substantiality of original sin] from Luther's doctrine and books." (Preger 2, 324.) In the following (third) session, however, he repeated his error, declaring: I must stand by my statement that original sin is not an accident, but a substance, "because the testimonies of the Holy Scriptures which employ terms denoting substance (*quae verbis substantialibus utuntur*) are so numerous." (Planck 4, 610; Lut-

hardt, 216.) Also later on Flacius always maintained that his doctrine was nothing but the teaching of the Bible and of Luther. As to Scripture-proofs, he referred to passages in which the Scriptures designate sin as "flesh," "stony heart," etc. Regarding the teaching of Luther, he quoted statements in which he describes original sin as "man's nature," "essence," "substantial sin," "all that is born of father and mother," etc. (Preger 2, 318.)

However, the palpable mistake of Flacius was that he took the substantial terms on which he based his theory in their original and proper sense, while the Bible and Luther employ them in a figurative meaning, as the *Formula of Concord* carefully explains in its first article, which decided and settled this controversy. (874, 50.) Here we read: "Also, to avoid strife about words, *aequivocationes vocabulorum*, that is, words and expressions which are applied and used in various meanings, should be carefully and distinctly explained; as when it is said: God creates the nature of men, there by the term *nature* the essence, body, and soul of men are understood. But often the disposition or vicious quality of a thing is called its nature, as when it is said: It is the nature of the serpent to bite and poison. Thus Luther says that sin and sinning are the disposition and nature of corrupt man. Therefore original sin properly signifies the deep corruption of our nature as it is described in the *Smalcald Articles*. But sometimes the concrete person or the subject, that is, man himself with body and soul, in which sin is and inheres, is also comprised under this term, for the reason that man is corrupted by sin, poisoned and sinful, as when Luther says: 'Thy birth, thy nature, and thy entire essence is sin,' that is, sinful and unclean. Luther himself explains that by nature-sin, person-sin, essential sin he means that not only the words, thoughts, and works are sin, but that the entire nature, person, and essence of man are altogether corrupted from the root by original sin." (875, 51 f.)

168. Context in which Statement was Made.

In making his statement concerning the substantiality of original sin, the purpose of Flacius was to wipe out the last vestige of spiritual powers ascribed to natural man by Strigel, and to emphasize the doctrine of total corruption, which Strigel denied. His fatal blunder was that he did so in terms which were universally regarded as savoring of Manicheism. As was fully explained in the chapter of the Synergistic Controversy, Strigel taught that free will, which belongs to the substance and essence of man, and hence cannot be lost without the annihilation of man himself, always includes the capacity to choose in both directions; that also with respect to divine grace and the operations of the Holy Spirit man is and always remains a *liberum agens* in the sense that he is able to decide *in utramque partem;* that this ability, constituting the very essence of free will, may be weakened and impeded in its activity, but never lost entirely. If it were lost, Strigel argued, the very substance of man and free will as such would have to be regarded as annihilated. But now man, also after the Fall, is still a real man, possessed of intellect and will. Hence original sin cannot have despoiled him of this liberty of choosing *pro* or *con* also in matters spiritual. The loss of original righteousness does not, according to Strigel, involve the total spiritual disability of the will and its sole tendency and activity toward what is spiritually evil. Moreover, despite original corruption, it is and remains an indestructible property of man to be able, at least in a measure, to assent to, and to admit, the operations of the Holy Spirit, and therefore and in this sense to be converted "*aliquo modo volens.*" (Planck 4, 667. 675. 681.)

It was in oppositon to this Semi-Pelagian teaching that Flacius declared original sin to be not a mere accident, but the substance of man. Entering upon the train of thought and the phraseology suggested by his opponent, he called substance what in reality was an accident, though not an accident such as Strigel contended. From his own standpoint it was therefore a shrewd move to hide his own synergism and to entrap his opponent, when Strigel plied Flacius with the question whether he denied that original sin was an accident. For in the context and the sense in which it was proposed the question involved a vicious dilemma. Answering with yes or no, Flacius was compelled either to affirm Strigel's synergism or to expose himself to the charge of Manicheism. Instead of replying as he did, Flacius should have cleared the sophistical atmosphere by explaining: "If I say, 'Original sin is an accident,' you [Strigel] will infer what I reject, *viz.*, that the corrupt will of man retains the power to decide also in favor of the operations of the Holy Spirit. And if I answer that original sin is not an accident (such as you have in mind), you will again infer what I disavow, *viz.*, that man, who by the Fall has lost the ability to will in the spiritual direction, has *eo ipso* lost the will and its freedom entirely and as such. As it was, however, Flacius, instead of adhering strictly to the real issue — the question concerning man's cooperation in conversion — and exposing the sophistry implied in the question put by Strigel, most unfortunately suffered himself to be caught on the horns of the dilemma. He blindly walked into the trap set for him by Strigel, from which also later on he never succeeded in fully extricating himself.

With all his soul Flacius rejected the synergism involved in Strigel's question. His blunder was, as stated, that he did so in terms universally regarded as Manichean. He was right when he maintained that original sin is the inherited tendency and motion of the human mind, will, and heart, not toward, but against God, — a direction, too, which man is utterly unable to change. But he erred fatally by identifying this inborn evil tendency with the substance of fallen man and the

essence of his will as such. It will always be regarded as a redeeming feature that it was in antagonizing synergism and championing the Lutheran *sola gratia* that Flacius coined his unhappy proposition. And in properly estimating his error, it must not be overlooked that he, as will be shown in the following, employed the terms "substance" and "accident" not in their generally accepted meaning, but in a sense, and according to a philosophical terminology, of his own.

169. Formal and Material Substance.

The terms "substance" and "accident" are defined in Melanchthon's *Erotemata Dialectices* as follows: "*Substantia est ens, quod revera proprium esse habet, nec est in alio, ut habens esse a subiecto.* Substance is something which in reality has a being of its own and is not in another as having its being from the subject." (*C. R.* 13, 528.) "*Accidens est, quod non per sese subsistit, nec est pars substantiae, sed in alio est mutabiliter.* Accident is something which does not exist as such nor is a part of the substance, but is changeable in something else." (522.) Melanchthon continues: "Accidentium alia sunt separabilia, ut frigus ab aqua, notitia a mente, laetitia, tristitia a corde. Alia accidentia sunt inseparabilia, ut quantitas seu magnitudo a substantia corporea, calor ab igni, humiditas ab aqua, non separantur. . . . Et quia separabilia accidentia magis conspicua sunt, ideo inde sumpta est puerilis descriptio: Accidens est, quod adest et abest praeter subiecti corruptionem. Whatever is present or absent without the corruption of the subject is an accident." (*C. R.* 13, 523; Preger 2, 396. 407; Seeberg 4, 494.)

Evidently this last definition, which was employed also by Strigel, is ambiguous, inasmuch as the word "corruption" may signify an annihilation, or merely a perversion, or a corruption in the ordinary meaning of the word. In the latter sense the term applied to original sin would be tantamount to a denial of the Lutheran doctrine of *total* corruption. When Jacob Andreae, in his disputation with Flacius, 1571, at Strassburg, declared that accident is something which is present or absent without *corruption* of the subject, he employed the term in the sense of destruction or annihilation. In the same year Hesshusius stated that by original sin "the whole nature, body and soul, substance as well as accidents, are defiled, corrupted, and dead," of course, spiritually. And what he understood by substance appears from his assertion: "The being itself, the substance and nature itself, in as far as it is nature, is not an evil conflicting with the Law of God. . . . Not even in the devil the substance itself, in as far as it is substance, is a bad thing, *i. e.*, a thing conflicting with the Law." (Preger 2, 397.)

The *Formula of Concord* carefully and correctly defines: "Everything that is must be either *substantia*, that is, a self-existent essence, or *accidens*, that is, an accidental matter, which does not exist by itself essentially, but is in another self-existent essence and can be distinguished from it." "Now, then, since it is the indisputable truth that everything that is, is either a substance or an *accidens*, that is, either a self-existing essence or something accidental in it (as has just been shown and proved by testimonies of the church-teachers, and no truly intelligent man has ever had any doubts concerning this), necessity here constrains, and no one can evade it, if the question be asked whether original sin is a substance, that is, such a thing as exists by itself, and is not in another, or whether it is an *accidens*, that is, such a thing as does not exist by itself, but is in another, and cannot exist or be by itself, he must confess straight and pat that original sin is no substance, but an accident." (877, 54. 57.)

Flacius, however, took the words "substance" and "accident" in a different sense. He distinguished between the material and formal substance, and the latter he regarded as man's true original essence. This essence, he explained, consisted in the original righteousness and holiness of man, in the image of God or the will as truly free and in proper relation toward God. He said: "Ipsum hominem *essentialiter* sic esse formatum, ut recta voluntas esset imago Dei, non tantum eius accidens." (Seeberg 4, 494.) He drew the conclusion that original sin, by which the image of God (not the human understanding and will as such) is lost, cannot be a mere accident, but constitutes the very essence and substance of fallen man. He argued: The image of God is the formal essence of man, or the soul itself according to its best part; by original sin this image is changed into its opposite: hence the change wrought by original sin is not accidental, but substantial, — just as substantial and essential as when wine is changed into vinegar or fire into frost. What man has lost, said Flacius, is not indeed his material substance (*substantia materialis*), but his true formal substance or substantial form (*substantia formalis* or *forma substantialis*). Hence also original sin, or the corruption resulting from the Fall, in reality is, and must be designated, the formal substance or substantial form of natural man. Not all gifts of creation were lost to man by his Fall; the most essential boon, however, the image of God, was destroyed and changed into the image of Satan. "In homine," said Flacius, "et mansit aliquid, et tamen quod optimum in ratione et essentia fuit, nempe imago Dei, non tantum evanuit, sed etiam in contrarium, nempe in imaginem diaboli, commutatum est." The devil, Flacius continued, has robbed man of his original form (*forma*), the image of God, and stamped him with his own diabolical form and nature. (Luthardt 215; Gieseler 3, 2, 253.)

170. Further Explanations of Flacius.

The manner in which Flacius distinguished between material and formal substance appears from the tract on original sin (*De Peccati Originalis aut Veteris Adami Appellationibus et Essentia*), which he appended to his *Clavis Scripturae* of 1567. There we read:

"In this disputation concerning the corruption of man I do not deny that this meaner matter (*illam viliorem materiam*) or mass of man created in the beginning has indeed remained until now, although it is exceedingly vitiated, as when in wine or aromas the spirituous (*airy*) or fiery substance escapes, and nothing remains but the earthy and watery substance; but I hold that the substantial form or the formal substance (*formam substantialem aut substantiam formalem*) has been lost, yea, changed into its opposite. But I do not speak of that external and coarse form (although it, too, is corrupted and weakened very much) which a girl admires in a youth, or philosophy also in the entire man, according to which he consists of body and soul, has an erect stature, two feet, hands, eyes, ears, and the like, is an animal laughing, counting, reasoning, etc.; but I speak of that most noble substantial form (*nobilissima substantialis forma*) according to which especially the heart itself, or rather the rational soul, was formed in such a manner that his very essence might be the image of God and represent Him, and that his substantial powers, intellect and will, and his affections might be conformed to the properties of God, represent, truly acknowledge, and most willingly embrace Him." (Preger 2, 314; Gieseler 3, 2, 254.)

Again: "In this manner, therefore, I believe and assert that original sin is a substance, because the rational soul (as united with God) and especially its noblest substantial powers, namely, the intellect and will, which before had been formed so gloriously that they were the true image of God and the fountain of all justice, uprightness, and piety, and altogether essentially like unto gold and gems, are now, by deceit of Satan, so utterly perverted that they are the true and living image of Satan, and, as it were, filthy or rather consisting of an infernal flame, not otherwise than when the sweetest and purest mass, infected with the most venomous ferment, is altogether and substantially changed and transformed into a lump of the same ferment." (Gieseler 3, 2, 254.) Original sin "is not a mere accident in man, but his inverted and transformed essence or new form itself, just as when a most wholesome medicine is changed into the most baneful poison." "The matter remains, but it receives a new form, namely, the image of Satan." "Man, who in his essential form was the image of God, has in his essential form become the image of Satan." "This change may be compared to the change which the golden image of a beautiful man undergoes when it is transformed into the image of a dragon, the matter at the same time being corrupted." (Preger 2, 214. 217. 325.)

Dilating on the substantiality of original sin, Flacius furthermore declared: "Original malice in man is not something different from the evil mind or stony heart itself, not something that destroys him spiritually as a disease consumes him bodily, but it is ruined and destroyed nature itself (*sed est tantum ipsa perditissima et iam destructissima natura*). Original malice was not, as many now think, infused from without into Adam in such a way as when poison or some other bad substance is thrown or poured into good liquor, so that by reason of the added bad substance also the rest becomes noxious, but in such a way as when good liquor or bread itself is perverted so that now it is bad as such and poisonous or rather poison (*ut illud per se iam malum ac venenatum aut potius venenum sit*)." (Preger 2, 313.)

Also concerning the body and soul of fallen man Flacius does not hesitate to affirm that, since they are permeated and corrupted by original sin, "these parts themselves are sin, *eas ipsas* [*partes, corpus et animam*] *esse illud nativum malum, quod cum Deo pugnat.*" "Some object," says Flacius, "that the creature of God must be distinguished from sin, which is not of God. I answer: Now do separate, if you can, the devil from his inherent wickedness! . . . How can the same thing be separated from itself! We therefore cannot distinguish them in any other way than by stating that with respect to his first creation and also his present preservation, man, even as the devil himself, is of God, but that with respect to this horrible transformation (*ratione istius horrendae metamorphoseos*) he is of the devil, who, by the force of the efficacious sentence and punishment of angry God: 'Thou shalt die,' not only captured us to be his vilest slaves, but also recast, rebaked, and changed, or, so to speak, metamorphosed us into another man, as the Scripture says, even as he [the devil] himself is inverted." All parts, talents, and abilities of man, Flacius contends, are "evil and mere sins," because they all oppose God. "What else are they than armed unrighteousness!" he exclaims. Even the natural knowledge of God "is nothing but the abominable source of idolatry and of all superstitions." (Preger 316 f.; Gieseler 3, 2, 255.)

That the fundamental view of Flacius, however, was much farther apart from Manicheism than some of his radical phrases imply, appears from his „*Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, De Essentia Originalis Iustitiae*," of 1568. After admitting that Augustine, Luther, and the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* are correct when they define original sin as an inordinate disposition, a disorder (*ἀταξία*), perversion, and confusion of the parts of man, Flacius proceeds: "The substantial form of a certain thing, for the most part, consists in the right position and disposition of the parts; as, for example, if a human body were born which had its eyes, ears, and mouth on the belly or feet, and, *vice versa*, the toes on the head, no one would say that it was properly a man, but rather a monster. . . . It appears, therefore, that the inordinate disposition of the parts produces an altogether new body or thing. Thus, forsooth, the horrible perturbation of the soul has also produced, as it were, a new kind of monster fighting against God." (Preger 2, 409.) Accordingly, it was not man's body and soul as such, but the alteration of the relation of his powers toward one

another and the consequent corruption of these powers, that Flacius had in mind when he designated original sin as the new substantial form, or substance, of sinful man.

Flacius expressly denied that the fall of man or his conversion involved a physical change. "I do not teach a physical regeneration," he declared, "nor do I say that two hearts are created, but I say that this most excellent part of the soul or of man is once more established, or that the image of God is recast and transformed out of the image of Satan, even as before the image of God was transformed into the image of Satan. *Physicam renascentiam non assero nec dico duo corda creari, sed dico istam praestantissimam animae aut hominis partem denuo condi aut ex imagine Satanae refundi aut transformari imaginem Dei, sicut antea imago Dei fuit transformata in imaginem Satanae.*" (Seeberg 4, 495.) Gieseler pertinently remarks: "It is apparent that Flacius did not deviate from the common concept of original sin, but from the concepts of substance and accident, but that here, too, he was uncertain, inasmuch as he employed the terms *substantia, forma substantialis,* and *substantia formalis* promiscuously." (3, 2, 255.)

If not necessarily involved in, it was at least in keeping with his extreme position and extravagant phraseology concerning original sin when Flacius, in his *De Primo et Secundo Capite ad Romanos, quatenus Libero Arbitrio Patrocinari Videntur,* rejected the doctrine of an inborn idea of God and of His Law inscribed in the heart of natural man. On Rom. 1, 19 he comments: It is only from the effects in the world that man infers the existence of a supreme cause. And with respect to Rom. 2, 15 he maintains that Paul's statements were to be understood, not of a law written in the heart of man, but of a knowledge which the heathen had derived by inference, from experience, or from tradition of the fathers. On this point Strigel, no doubt, was correct when he objected: If the knowledge of God's existence were really extinguished from the heart, there could be no discipline among men; and if man had no inborn knowledge of the Law, then there could be no such thing as conscience which condemns him when he sins. The fact that man fears punishments even when there is no government to fear, as was the case with Alexander when he had murdered Clitus, proves that in the heart there is a certain knowledge both of God and of His Law. (Preger 2, 213.) However, Flacius did not, as Strigel seems to insinuate, deny that natural man has an obscure knowledge of God's existence and Law, but merely maintained that this knowledge was not inborn or inherited, but acquired from without.

171. Controversy Precipitated by Flacius.

Though Flacius, when he first made his statement concerning the substantiality of original sin may not have felt absolutely sure of the exact meaning, bearing, and correctness of his position, yet the facts do not warrant the assumption that afterwards he was in any way diffident or wavering in his attitude. Whatever his views on this subject may have been before 1560 — after the fatal phrase had fallen from his lips, he never flinched nor flagged in zealously defending it. Nor was he ever disposed to compromise the matter as far as the substance of his doctrine was concerned. In 1570 Spangenberg of Mansfeld, who sided with Flacius, suggested that he retain his meaning, but change his language: "*Teneat Illyricus mentem, mutet linguam.*" To this Flacius consented. On September 28, 1570, he published his *Brief Confession,* in which he agreed to abstain from the use of the term "substance." However, what he suggested as a substitute, *viz.,* that original sin be defined as the nature of man (the word "nature," as he particularly emphasized, to be taken not in a figurative, but in its proper meaning), was in reality but another way of repeating his error.

The same was the case in 1572, when Flacius, opposed and sorely pressed by the ministerium of Strassburg (whence he was banished the following year), offered to substitute for the word "substance" the phrase "essential powers." (Preger 2, 371.) Two years later, at the public disputation in Langenau, Silesia, where Flacius defended his doctrine with favorable results for himself against Jacob Coler [born 1537; studied in Frankfort-on-the-Oder; 1564 pastor in Lauban, Upper Lausatia (Oberlausitz); 1573 in Neukirch; 1574 he opposed Leonard Crentzheim and Flacius; 1575 professor in Frankfort; afterwards active first as Praepositus in Berlin and later on as Superintendent in Mecklenburg; published *Disputatio De Libero Arbitrio;* died March 7, 1612], he declared that he did not insist on his phrase as long as the doctrine itself was adopted and original sin was not declared to be a mere accident. But this, too, was no real retraction of his error. (Preger 2, 387.) In a similar way Flacius repeatedly declared himself willing to abstain from the use of the word "substance" in connection with his doctrine concerning original sin, but with conditions and limitations which made his concessions illusory, and neither did nor could satisfy his opponents.

At the disputation in Weimar, 1560, Wigand and Musaeus, as stated, warned Flacius immediately after the session in which he had made his statement. Schluesselburg relates: "Immediately during the disputation, as I frequently heard from their own lips, Dr. Wigand, Dr. Simon Musaeus, and other colleagues of his who attended the disputation . . . admonished Illyricus in a brotherly and faithful manner to abstain from this new, perilous, and blasphemous proposition of the ancient Manicheans, which would cause great turmoil in the Church of God, and to refute the error of Victorin [Strigel] concerning free will not by means of a false proposition, but with the Word of God. However, intoxicated with ambition, and relying, in the heat of the conflict, too much on the acumen and sagacity of his own mind, Illyricus haughtily spurned the

brotherly and faithful admonitions of all his colleagues." (*Catalogus* 2, 4.) In his book *De Manichaeismo Renovato* Wigand himself reports: "Illyricus answered [to the admonition of his colleagues to abstain from the Manichean phrase] that he had been drawn into this discussion by his opponent against his own will. But what happened? Contrary to the expectations of his colleagues, Illyricus in the following session continued, as he had begun, to defend this insanity." (Preger 2, 324; Planck 4, 611.) However, it does not appear that after the disputation his friends pressed the matter any further, or that they made any efforts publicly to disavow the Flacian proposition.

In 1567 Flacius published his tract *De Peccati Originalis aut Veteris Adami Appellationibus et Essentia*, "On the Appellations and Essence of Original Sin or the Old Adam," appending it to his famous *Clavis Scripturae* of the same year. He had written this tract probably even before 1564. In 1566 he sent it to Simon Musaeus, requesting his opinion and the opinion of Hesshusius, who at that time was celebrating his marriage with the daughter of Musaeus. In his answer, Musaeus approved the tract, but desired that the term "substance" be explained as meaning not the matter, but the form of the substance, to which Hesshusius also agreed. After the tract had appeared, Musaeus again wrote to Flacius, June 21, 1568, saying that he agreed with his presentation of original sin. At the same time, however, he expressed the fear that the bold statement which Flacius had retained, "Sin is substance," would be dangerously misinterpreted. (Preger 2, 327.) And before long a storm was brewing, in which animosity registered its highest point, and a veritable flood of controversial literature (one publication following the other in rapid succession) was poured out upon the Church, which was already distracted and divided by numerous and serious theological conflicts.

By the publication of this treatise Flacius, who before long also was harassed and ostracized everywhere, had himself made a public controversy unavoidable. In the conflict which it precipitated, he was opposed by all parties, not only by his old enemies, the Philippists, but also by his former friends. According to the maxim: *Amicus Plato, amicus Socrates, sed magis amica veritas*, they now felt constrained, in the interest of truth, to turn their weapons against their former comrade and leader. Flacius himself had made it impossible for his friends to spare him any longer. Nor did he deceive himself as to the real situation. In a letter written to Wigand he reveals his fear that the Lutherans and Philippists, then assembled at the Colloquium in Altenburg (held from October 21, 1568, to March, 1569, between the theologians of Thuringia and those of Electoral Saxony), would unite in a public declaration against his teaching. Wigand, whose warning Flacius had disregarded at Weimar, wrote to Gallus: Flacius has forfeited the right to request that nothing be published against him, because he himself has already spread his views in print. And before long Wigand began to denounce publicly the Flacian doctrine as "new and prolific monsters, *monstra nova et fecunda*."

172. Publications Pro and Con.

According to Preger the first decided opposition to the Flacian teaching came from Moerlin and Chemnitz, in Brunswick, to whom Flacius had also submitted his tract for approval. Chemnitz closed his criticism by saying: It is enough if we are able to retain what Luther has won (*parta tueri*); let us abandon all desires to go beyond (*ulterius quaerere*) and to improve upon him. (Preger 2, 328.) Moerlin characterized Flacius as a vain man, and dangerous in many respects. Flacius answered in an objective manner, betraying no irritation whatever. (332.) In a letter of August 10, 1568, Hesshusius, who now had read the tract more carefully, charged Flacius with teaching that Satan was a creator of substance, and before long refused to treat with him any further. In September of the same year Flacius published his *Γνῶθι σεαυτόν* against the attacks of the Synergists and Philippists, notably Christopher Lasius [who studied at Strassburg and Wittenberg; was active in Goerlitz, Greussen, Spandau, Kuestrin, Cottbus, and Senftenberg; wrote *Praelibationes Dogmatis Flaciani de Prodigiosa Hominis Conversione;* died 1572]. In the same year Hesshusius prepared his *Analysis*, which was approved by Gallus and the Jena theologians.

Realizing that all his former friends had broken with him entirely, Flacius, in January, 1570, *published* his *Demonstrations Concerning the Essence of the Image of God and the Devil*, in which he attacked his opponents, but without mentioning their names. His request for a private discussion was bluntly rejected by the Jena theologians. Wigand, in his *Propositions on Sin* of May 5, 1570, was the first publicly to attack Flacius by name. About the same time Moerlin's *Themata de Imagine Dei* and Chemnitz's *Resolutio* appeared. The former was directed "against the impious and absurd proposition that sin is a substance"; the latter, against the assertion "that original sin is the very substance of man, and that the soul of man itself is original sin." Hesshusius also published his *Letter to M. Flacius Illyricus in the Controversy whether Original Sin is a Substance.* Flacius answered in his *Defense of the Sound Doctrine Concerning Original Righteousness and Unrighteousness, or Sin*, of September 1, 1570. Hesshusius published his *Analysis*, in which he repeated the charge that Flacius made the devil a creator of substance.

In his *Brief Confession*, of September 28, 1570, Flacius now offered to abstain from the use of the term "substance" in the manner indicated above. A colloquium, however, requested by Flacius and his friends on the basis of this *Confession*, was declined by the theologians of Jena. Moreover, in answer to the *Brief Confession*, Hesshusius published

(April 21, 1571) his *True Counter-Report*, in which he again repeated his accusation that Flacius made the devil a creator of substance. He summarized his arguments as follows: "I have therefore proved from one book [Flacius's tract of 1567] more than six times that Illyricus says: *Satan condidit, fabricavit, transformavit veterem hominem, Satan est figulus*, that is: The devil created and made man, the devil is man's potter." The idea of a creation out of nothing, however, was not taught in the statements to which Hesshusius referred. (Preger 2, 348.)

Further publications by Andrew Schoppe [died after 1615], Wigand, Moerlin, Hesshusius, and Chemnitz, which destroyed all hopes of a peaceful settlement, caused Flacius to write his *Orthodox Confession Concerning Original Sin.* In this comprehensive answer, which appeared August 1, 1571, he declares "that either image, the image of God as well as of Satan, is an essence, and that the opposite opinion diminishes the merit of Christ." At the same time he complained that his statements were garbled and misinterpreted by his opponents; that his was the position of the man who asked concerning garlic and received an answer concerning onions; that his opponents were but disputing with imaginations of their own. (349 f.)

In the same year, 1571, Wigand published a voluminous book, *On Original Sin*, in which he charged Flacius with teaching that original sin is the entire carnal substance of man according to both his body and soul. In his description of the Flacian doctrine we read: "Original sin is a substance, as they teach. Accordingly, original sin is an animal, and that, too, an intelligent animal. You must also add ears, eyes, mouth, nose, arms, belly, and feet. Original sin laughs, talks, sews, sows, works, reads, writes, preaches, baptizes, administers the Lord's Supper, etc. For it is the substance of man that does such things. Behold, where such men end!" Flacius replied in his *Christian and Reliable Answer to All Manner of Sophistries of the Pelagian Accident*, 1572, protesting that the doctrine ascribed to him was a misrepresentation of his teaching. In the same year Wigand published *Reasons Why This Proposition, in Controversy with the Manicheans: "Original Sin Is the Corrupt Nature," Cannot Stand.* Here Wigand truly says: "Evil of the substance and evil substance are not identical. *Malum substantiae et mala substantia non sunt idem.*" (Preger 2, 353. 410.)

In several publications of the same year Hesshusius asserted (quoting testimonies to this effect from Augustine), that the Flacian doctrine was identical with the tenets of the Manicheans, in substance as well as terms. Flacius answered in *De Augustini et Manichaeorum Sententia, in Controversia Peccati*, 1572, in which he declared: "I most solemnly condemn the Manichean insanity concerning two creators. I have always denied that original sin is something, or has ever been something, outside of man; I have never ascribed to this sin any materiality of its own." (355.) This book was followed by another attack by Hesshusius and an answer, in turn, by Flacius.

In the same year Hesshusius, in order to prevent further accessions to Flacianism, published his *Antidote* (*Antidoton*) *against the Impious and Blasphemous Dogma of Matthias Flacius Illyricus by which He Asserts that Original Sin Is Substance.* In this book, which was republished in 1576 and again in 1579, Hesshusius correctly argued: "If original sin is the substance of the soul, then we are compelled to assert one of two things, *viz.*, either that Satan is the creator of substances, or that God is the creator and preserver of sin. *Si substantia animae est peccatum originis, alterum a duobus necesse est poni, videlicet, aut Satanam esse conditorem substantiarum, aut Deum esse peccati creatorem et sustentatorem.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 256.) At this late hour, 1572, Simon Musaeus, too, entered the arena with his *Opinion Concerning Original Sin, Sententia de Peccato Originali.* In it he taught "that original sin is not a substance, but the utmost corruption of it, in matter as well as form," and that therefore "Pelagianism no less than Manicheism is to be excluded and condemned."

When the ministerium of Strassburg turned against Flacius, he again published several books defending his position on the controverted questions, which resulted in his expulsion from the city. In 1573 Flacius published an answer to Hesshusius's *Antidote* entitled, *Solid Refutation of the Groundless Sophistries, Calumnies, and Figments, as also of the Most Corrupt Errors of the "Antidote" and of Other Neopelagian Writers.* Flacius charged Hesshusius with misrepresentation, and demanded that he swear whether he really believed to have found the alleged errors in his writings. (Preger 2, 364 ff.)

Till his death, on March 11, 1575, at Frankfort-on-the-Main, Flacius consistently adhered to his false terminology as well as teaching, apparently never for a moment doubting that he was but defending Luther's doctrine. One of his last books was entitled, *Some Clear and Splendid Testimonies of Martin Luther Concerning the Evil Essence, Image, Form, or Shape* (Wesen, essentia, Bild, Form oder Gestalt) *of the Earthly Dead Adam and Concerning the Essential Transformation of Man.* (389.) As stated above, the mistake of Flacius was that he took literally terms denoting substance which the Bible and Luther employ in a figurative sense.

173. Adherents of Flacius.

The chief supporters of Flacius were the Mansfeldians, Count Vollrath and Cyriacus Spangenberg [born 1528; studied in Wittenberg; served in Eisleben, then in Mansfeld; died in Strassburg February 10, 1604]. In the serious dissensions which arose in Mansfeld in consequence of the controversy on original sin, the Count and Spangenberg were opposed by the Jena theologians and Superintendent Menzel [Jerome Menzel, born 1517; studied in Wittenberg; wrote against Spangenberg; died 1590]. As stated above, it was

Spangenberg who endeavored to bring about an understanding between the contending parties on the principle: *"Teneat Illyricus mentem, mutet linguam."* A colloquy was held 1572 at Castle Mansfeld, in which Flacius and his adherents were pitted against Menzel, Rhode, Fabricius, and others. When Fabricius declared in the discussions: "Only in so far as our nature is not in conformity with the Law of God is it corrupt," Flacius exclaimed: *"Non quantum*, not in as far; but I say it is not in conformity *because* it is corrupt, *quia corrupta est."* (Preger 2, 375.) Count Vollrath and his adviser, Caspar Pflug, gave Flacius a written testimony that at the colloquy he had not been convinced, but found to be correct in the controversy on original sin. The publication of this testimony by Flacius as also of the minutes of the Colloquy by Count Vollrath, in 1573, resulted in a number of further publications by Flacius and his friends as well as his opponents. At Mansfeld the animosity against the Flacians did not subside even after the death of Flacius in 1575. They were punished with excommunication, incarceration, and the refusal of a Christian burial. Count Vollrath left 1577, and died at Strassburg 1578. Spangenberg, who also had secretly fled from Mansfeld, defended the doctrine of Flacius in a tract, *De Peccato Originali, Concerning Original Sin*, which he published 1586 under a pseudonym. He died without retracting or changing his views.

Another adherent of Flacius was F. Coelestinus, professor at Jena. After his suspension he left the city and participated in the controversy. He published *Colloquium inter Se et Tilem. Hesshusium.* He died 1572. In August, 1571, Court-preacher Christopher Irenaeus and Pastors Guenther and Reinecker were dismissed in Weimar because of Flacianism. Irenaeus published *Examen Libri Concordiae* and many other books, in which he contends that original sin is a substance. Pastors Wolf in Kahla, Schneider in Altendorf, and Franke in Oberrosla were dismissed in 1572 for the same reason. They, too, entered the public arena in favor of Flacius. At Lindau four preachers, who had identified themselves with Flacius, were also deposed. One of them, Tobias Rupp, held a public disputation with Andreae. In Antwerp the elders forbade their ministers to indulge in any public polemics against Flacius. Among the supporters of Flacius were also his son, Matthias Flacius, and Caspar Heldelin. It may be noted here that Saliger (Beatus) and Fredeland, who were deposed at Luebeck in 1568, also taught "that original sin is the very substance of the body and soul of man," and that Christ had assumed "the flesh of another species" than ours. (Gieseler 3, 2, 257.)

In Regensburg four adherents of Flacius were dismissed in 1574, among them Joshua Opitz [born 1543; died 1585]. These and others emigrated to the Archduchy of Austria, where the Lutherans were numerous and influential, Opitz frequently preaching to an audience of 7,000. No less than 40 of the Lutheran ministers of Austria are said to have shared the views of Flacius. (Preger 2, 393.) Only a few of them revealed symptoms of fanaticism, which resulted in their dismissal. Among the latter was Joachim Magdeburgius, then an exile at Efferding. He taught "that the bodies of believing Christians after their death were still essential original sin, and that God's wrath remained over them till the Day of Judgment." (Joecher, *Lexicon* 3, 32.) At the same time he branded as errorists Spangenberg, Opitz, and Irenaeus, who declared their dissent. In 1581 the Flacians in Austria issued a declaration against the *Formula of Concord*, charging its teaching to be inconsistent with Luther's doctrine on original sin. As late as 1604 there were numerous Flacianists in German Austria.

174. Decision of Formula of Concord.

Seeberg remarks: "Flacius was not a heretic, but in the wrangle of his day he was branded as such, and this has been frequently repeated." (4, 2, 495.) A similar verdict is passed by Gieseler and other historians. But whatever may be said in extenuation of his error, it cannot be disputed that the unfortunate phrases of Flacius produced, and were bound to produce, most serious religious offense, as well as theological strife, and hopeless doctrinal confusion. Even when viewed in the light of his distinction between formal substance (man as endowed with the image of God) and material substance (man as possessed of body and soul, together with will and intellect), the odiousness of his terminology is not entirely removed. It was and remained a form of doctrine and trope or mode of teaching which the Lutherans were no more minded to tolerate than the error of Strigel.

Accordingly, the first article of the *Formula of Concord* rejects both the synergistic as well as the Manichean aberrations in the doctrine of original sin. In its Thorough Declaration we read: "Now this doctrine [of original sin] must be so maintained and guarded that it may not deflect either to the Pelagian or the Manichean side. For this reason the contrary doctrine . . . should also be briefly stated." (865, 16.) Accordingly, in a series of arguments, the Flacian error is thoroughly refuted and decidedly rejected. At the same time the *Formula of Concord* points out the offensiveness of the Flacian phraseology. It refers to the controversy regarding this question as "scandalous and very mischievous," and declares: "Therefore it is unchristian and horrible to hear that original sin is baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, sanctified, and saved, and other similar expressions found in the writings of the recent Manicheans, with which we will not offend simple-minded people." (873, 45. 59.)

On the other hand, the *Formula of Concord* is just as determined in opposing every effort at extenuating the corruption wrought by original sin. It is solicitous to explain that, in designating original sin as an accident, its

corruption is not minimized in the least, if the answer concerning the nature of this accident is not derived from philosophy or human reason, but from the Holy Scriptures. "For the Scriptures," says the *Formula*, "testify that original sin is an unspeakable evil and such an entire corruption of human nature that in it and all its internal and external powers nothing pure or good remains, but everything is entirely corrupt, so that on account of original sin man in God's sight is truly spiritually dead (*plane sit emortuus*), with all his powers dead to that which is good." (879, 60.)

Accordingly, the *Formula of Concord* rejects the errors of Strigel and the Semi-Pelagians, "that original sin is only external, a slight, insignificant spot sprinkled, or a stain dashed upon the nature of man . . . along with and beneath which the nature nevertheless possesses and retains its integrity and power even in spiritual things. Or that original sin is not a despoliation or deficiency, but only an external impediment to these spiritual good powers. . . . They are rebuked and rejected likewise who teach that the nature has indeed been greatly weakened and corrupted through the Fall, but that nevertheless it has not entirely lost all good with respect to divine, spiritual things, and that what is sung in our churches, *'Through Adam's fall is all corrupt, nature and essence human,'* is not true, but from natural birth it still has something good, small, little, and inconsiderable though it be, namely, capacity, skill, aptness, or ability to begin, to effect, or to help effect something in spiritual things." (865, 21 ff.)

While the *Formula of Concord* does not deny the capacity of fallen man for salvation, it is careful in defining that this is not an active, but a passive capacity. That is to say: Man is utterly incapable of qualifying himself for, or of contributing in the least toward, his own spiritual restoration; but what is impossible for man is not impossible with God, who, indeed, is able to convert man, endow him with new spiritual powers, and lead him to eternal salvation, — a goal for the attainment of which, in contradistinction from inanimate and other creatures, man, being a rational creature, endowed with intellect and will, was created by God and redeemed by Christ. In the *Formula of Concord* we read: "And although God, according to His just, strict sentence, has utterly cast away the fallen evil spirits forever, He has nevertheless, out of special, pure mercy, willed that poor fallen human nature might again become and be capable and participant of conversion, the grace of God, and eternal life; not from its own natural, active [or effective] skill, aptness, or capacity (for the nature of man is obstinate enmity against God), but from pure grace, through the gracious efficacious working of the Holy Ghost. And this Dr. Luther calls *capacitatem* (*non activam, sed passivam*), which he explains thus: *Quando patres liberum arbitrium defendunt, capacitatem libertâtis eius praedicant, quod scilicet verti potest ad bonum per gratiam Dei et fieri revera liberum, ad quod creatum est.* That is: When the Fathers defend the free will, they are speaking of this, that it is capable of freedom in this sense, that by God's grace it can be converted to good, and become truly free, for which it was created in the beginning." (889, 20.)

This accords with Luther's words in *De Servo Arbitrio:* "It would be correct if we should designate as the power of free will that [power] by which man, who is created for life or eternal death, is apt to be moved by the Spirit and imbued with the grace of God. For we, too, confess this power, *i. e.*, aptitude or, as the Sophists [Scholastic theologians] say, disposition and passive aptitude. And who does not know that trees and animals are not endowed with it? For, as the saying goes, heaven is not created for geese. *Hanc enim vim, hoc est, aptitudinem, seu, ut Sophistae loquuntur, dispositivam qualitatem et passivam aptitudinem, et nos confitemur; quam non arboribus neque bestiis inditam esse, quis est, qui nesciat? Neque enim pro anseribus, ut dicitur, coelum creavit.*" (E. v. a. 158; St. L. 18, 1720.)

XVI. The Osiandrian and Stancarian Controversies.

175. Osiander in Nuernberg and in Koenigsberg.

In the writings of Luther we often find passages foreboding a future corruption of the doctrine of justification, concerning which he declared in the *Smalcald Articles:* "Of this article nothing can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth, and whatever will not abide, should sink to ruin. . . . And upon this article all things depend which we teach and practise in opposition to the Pope, the devil, and the world. Therefore we must be sure concerning this doctrine, and not doubt; for otherwise all is lost, and the Pope and devil and all things gain the victory and suit over us." (461, 5.) Martin Chemnitz remarks: "I frequently shudder, because Luther — I do not know by what kind of presentiment — in his commentaries on the Letter to the Galatians and on the First Book of Moses so often repeats the statement: "This doctrine [of justification] will be obscured again after my death." (Walther, *Kern und Stern*, 26.)

Andrew Osiander was the first to fulfil Luther's prophecy. In 1549 he began publicly to propound a doctrine in which he abandoned the forensic conception of justification by imputation of the merits of Christ, and returned to the Roman view of justification by infusion, *i. e.*, by infusion of the eternal essential righteousness of the divine nature of Christ. According to his own statement, he had harbored these views ever since about 1522. He is said also to have presented them in a sermon delivered at the convention in Smalcald, 1537.

(Planck 4, 257.) Yet he made no special effort to develop and publicly to disseminate his ideas during the life of Luther. After the death of the Reformer, however, Osiander is reported to have said: "Now that the lion is dead, I shall easily dispose of the foxes and hares" — *i. e.*, Melanchthon and the other Lutheran theologians. (257.) Osiander was the originator of the controversy "Concerning the Righteousness of Faith before God," which was finally settled in Article III of the *Formula of Concord*.

Osiander, lauded by modern historians as the only real "systematizer" among the Lutherans of the first generation, was a man as proud, overbearing, and passionate as he was gifted, keen, sagacious, learned, eloquent, and energetic. He was born December 19, 1498, at Gunzenhausen, Franconia, and died October 17, 1552, at Koenigsberg, where he was also buried with high honors in the Old City Church. In 1522 he was appointed priest at St. Lawrence's Church in the Free City of Nuernberg. Here he immediately acted the part of a determined champion of the Reformation. Subsequently he also participated in some of the most important transactions of his day. He was present at the Marburg Colloquy, 1529, where he made the personal acquaintance of Luther and the Wittenbergers. He also took part in the discussions at the Diet in Augsburg, 1530; at Smalcald, 1537; at Hagenau and Worms, 1540. Nor were his interests confined to theological questions. When, at Nuernberg, 1543, the work of Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, "Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies," was published for the first time, Osiander read the proof-sheets and wrote the Preface, in which he designated the new theory as "hypotheses," thus facilitating its circulation also among the Catholics, until in the 17th century the book was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, where it remained till the 18th century.

When the Augsburg Interim was introduced in Nuernberg, Osiander resigned, and with words of deep emotion (in a letter of November 22, 1548, addressed to the city council), he left the place where he had labored more than a quarter of a century. January 27, 1549, he arrived in Koenigsberg. Here he was joyously received by Count Albrecht of Prussia, whom he had gained for the Reformation in 1523. Moved by gratitude toward Osiander, whom he honored as his "spiritual father," Count Albrecht appointed him pastor of the Old City Church and, soon after, first professor of theology at the University of Koenigsberg, with a double salary, though Osiander had never received an academic degree. The dissatisfaction which this unusual preferment caused among his colleagues, Briessman, Hegemon, Isinder, and Moerlin, soon developed into decided antipathy against Osiander, especially because of his overbearing, domineering ways as well as his intriguing methods. No doubt, this personal element added largely to the animosity and violence of the controversy that was soon to follow, and during which the professors in Koenigsberg are said to have carried firearms into their academic sessions. (Schaff, *Creeds* 1, 273.) Yet it cannot be regarded as the real cause, or even as the immediate occasion, of the conflict, which was really brought about by the unsound, speculative, and mystical views of Osiander on the image of God and, particularly, on justification and the righteousness of faith, — doctrinal points on which he deviated from the Lutheran teaching to such an extent that a controversy was unavoidable. Evidently, his was either a case of relapse into Romanism, or, what seems to be the more probable alternative, Osiander never attained to a clear apprehension of the Lutheran truth, nor ever fully freed himself from the Roman doctrine, especially in its finer and more veiled form of mysticism.

176. Opposed by Moerlin and Lutherans Generally.

Osiander, as stated, had conceived the fundamental thoughts of his system long before he reached Koenigsberg. In 1524, when only twenty-six years of age, he laid down the outlines of his theory in a publication entitled: "*A Good Instruction* (*Ein gut Unterricht*) *and Faithful Advice from the Holy Divine Scriptures What Attitude to Take in These Dissensions Concerning Our Holy Faith and Christian Doctrine*, dealing especially with the questions what is God's Word and what human doctrine, what Christ and what Antichrist." Here he says: "Whoever hears, retains, and believes the Word, receives God Himself, for God is the Word. If, therefore, the Word of God, Christ, our Lord, dwells in us by faith and we are one with Him, we may say with Paul: 'I live, though not I, but Christ lives in me,' and then we are justified by faith." (Gieseler 3, 2, 270.) In the following year, 1525, he wrote in his *Action of the Honorable Wise Council in Nuernberg with their Preachers* (*Handlung eines ehrsamen weisen Rats zu Nuernberg mit ihren Praedikanten*): "The one and only righteousness availing before God is God Himself. But Christ is the Word which we apprehend by faith, and thus Christ in us, God Himself, is our Righteousness which avails before God." "The Gospel has two parts; the first, that Christ has satisfied the justice of God; the other, that He has cleansed us from sin, and justifies us by dwelling in us (*und uns rechtfertigt, so er in uns wohnet*)." (271.) The embryonic ideas of these early publications concerning the image of God and justification were fully developed by Osiander in his book of 1550, *Whether the Son of God would have had to be Incarnated* (*An Filius Dei fuerit Incarnandus*), *if Sin had Not Entered the World;* and especially in his confession of September, 1551, *Concerning the Only Mediator Jesus Christ* (*Von dem einigen Mittler Jesu Christo*) *and Justification of Faith*, which appeared also in Latin under the title, *De Unico Mediatore*, in October of the same year.

The public conflict began immediately after Osiander had entered upon his duties at the university. In his inaugural disputation of April 5, 1549, "Concerning the Law and Gospel (De Lege et Evangelio)," Osiander's vanity prompted him at least to hint at his peculiar views, which he well knew were not in agreement with the doctrine taught at Wittenberg and in the Lutheran Church at large. His colleague, Matthias Lauterwald, a Wittenberg master, who died 1555, immediately took issue with him. On the day following the disputation, he published theses in which he declared: "Osiander denied that faith is a part of repentance." October 24 of the following year Osiander held a second disputation ("On Justification, De Iustificatione"), in which he came out clearly against the doctrine hitherto taught in the Lutheran Church. But now also a much more able and determined combatant appeared in the arena, Joachim Moerlin, who henceforth devoted his entire life to defeat Osiandrism and to vindicate Luther's forensic view of justification.

Moerlin (Moehrlein) was born at Wittenberg April 6, 1514; he studied under Luther, and was made Master in 1537 and Doctor in 1540; till 1543 he was superintendent in Arnstadt, Thuringia, and superintendent in Goettingen till 1549, when he was compelled to leave because of his opposition to the Augsburg Interim. Recommended by Elizabeth, Duchess of Braunschweig-Lueneburg, the mother-in-law of Duke Albrecht, he was appointed preacher at the Dome of Koenigsberg in 1550. Clearly understanding that solid comfort in life and death is possible only as long as our faith rests solely on the *aliena iustitia*, on the objective righteousness of Christ, which is without us, and is offered in the Gospel and received by faith; and fully realizing also that Christian assurance is incompatible with such a doctrine as Osiander taught, according to which our faith is to rely on a righteous condition within ourselves, Moerlin publicly attacked Osiander from his pulpit, and in every way emphasized the fact that his teaching could never be tolerated in the Lutheran Church. Osiander replied in his lectures. The situation thus created was most intolerable. At the command of the Duke discussions were held between Moerlin and Osiander, but without result.

In order to settle the dispute, Duke Albrecht, accordingly, on October 5, 1551, placed the entire matter before the evangelical princes and cities with the request that the points involved be discussed at the various synods and their verdicts forwarded to Koenigsberg. This aroused the general interest and the deepest concern of the entire Lutheran Church in Germany. Numerous opinions of the various synods and theologians arrived during the winter of 1551 to 1552. With the exception of the Wuerttemberg *Response* (*Responsum*), written by John Brenz, and the *Opinion* of Matthew Vogel, both of whom regarded Osiander's teaching as differing from the doctrine received by the Lutheran Church in terms and phrases rather than in substance, they were unfavorable to Osiander. At the same time all, including the opinions of Brenz and Vogel, revealed the fact that the Lutherans, the theologians of Wittenberg as well as those of Jena, Brandenburg, Pomerania, Hamburg, etc., were firmly united in maintaining Luther's doctrine, *viz.*, that the righteousness of faith is not the essential righteousness of the Son of God, as Osiander held, but the obedience of Christ the God-man imputed by grace to all true believers as their sole righteousness before God.

Feeling safe under the protection of Duke Albrecht, and apparently not in the least impressed by the general opposition which his innovations met with at the hands of the Lutherans, Osiander continued the controversy by publishing his *Proof* (*Beweisung*) *that for Thirty Years I have Always Taught the Same Doctrine.* And irritated by an opinion of Melanchthon (whom Osiander denounced as a pestilential heretic), published with offensive explanations added by the Wittenbergers, he in the same year (April, 1552) wrote his *Refutation* (*Widerlegung*) *of the Unfounded, Unprofitable Answer of Philip Melanchthon.* In this immoderate publication Osiander boasted that only the Philippian rabble, dancing according to the piping of Melanchthon, was opposed to him.

Before long, however, also such opponents of the Philippists as Flacius, Gallus, Amsdorf, and Wigand were prominently arraigned against Osiander. Meanwhile (May 23, 1552) Moerlin published a large volume entitled: *Concerning the Justification of Faith.* Osiander replied in his *Schmeckbier* of June 24, 1552, a book as keen as it was coarse. In 1552 and 1553 Flacius issued no less than twelve publications against Osiander, one of them bearing the title: *Zwo fuernehmliche Gruende Osiandri verlegt, zu einem Schmeckbier;* another: *Antidotum auf Osiandri giftiges Schmeckbier.* (Preger 2, 551.)

When the controversy had just about reached its climax, Osiander died, October 17, 1552. Soon after, the Duke enjoined silence on both parties, and Moerlin was banished. He accepted a position as superintendent in Brunswick, where he zealously continued his opposition to Osiandrism as well as to other corruptions of genuine Lutheranism. At Koenigsberg the Osiandrists continued to enjoy the protection and favor of Duke Albrecht, and gradually developed into a quasi-political party. The leader of the small band was John Funck, the son-in-law of Osiander and the chaplain of the Duke. In 1566, however, the king of Poland intervened, and Funck was executed as a disturber of the public peace. Moerlin was recalled and served as bishop of Samland at Koenigsberg from 1567 till his death in 1571. The *Corpus Doctrinae Pruthenicum*, or *Borussicum*, framed by Moerlin and Chemnitz and adopted 1567 at Koenigsberg, rejected the doctrines of Osiander. Moerlin also wrote a history of Osiandrism entitled: *Historia, welchergestalt sich die Osiandrische Schwaermerei im Lande zu Preussen erhaben.*

177. Corruptions Involved in Osiander's Teaching.

Osiander's theory of justification, according to which the righteousness of faith is the eternal, essential holiness of the divine nature of Christ inhering and dwelling in man, consistently compelled him to maintain that justification is not an act by which God declares a man just, but an act by which He actually makes him inherently just and righteous; that it is not an imputation of a righteousness existing outside of man, but an actual infusion of a righteousness dwelling in man; that it is not a mere acquittal from sin and guilt, but regeneration, renewal, sanctification, and internal, physical cleansing from sin; that it is not a forensic or judicial act outside of man or a declaration concerning man's standing before God and his relation to Him, but a sort of medicinal process within man; that the righteousness of faith is not the alien (strange, foreign) righteousness, *aliena iustitia* (a term employed also by Luther), consisting in the obedience of Christ, but a quality, condition, or change effected in believers by the essential righteousness of the divine nature dwelling in them through faith in Christ; that faith does not justify on account of the thing outside of man in which it trusts and upon which it relies, but by reason of the thing which it introduces and produces in man; that, accordingly, justification is never instantaneous and complete, but gradual and progressive.

Osiander plainly teaches that the righteousness of faith (our righteousness before God) is not the obedience rendered by Christ to the divine Law, but the indwelling righteousness of God (*iustitia Dei inhabitans*),—essentially the same original righteousness or image that inhered in Adam and Eve before the Fall. It consists, not indeed in good works or in "doing and suffering," but in a quality (*Art*) which renders him who receives it just, and moves him to do and to suffer what is right. It is the holiness (*Frommbkeit*) which consists in the renewal of man, in the gifts of grace, in the new spiritual life, in the regenerated nature of man. By His suffering and death, said Osiander, Christ made satisfaction and acquired forgiveness for us, but He did not thereby effect our justification. His obedience as such does not constitute our righteousness before God, but merely serves to restore it. It was necessary that God might be able to dwell in us, and so become our life and righteousness. Faith justifies, not inasmuch as it apprehends the merits of Christ, but inasmuch as it unites us with the divine nature, the infinite essential righteousness of God, in which our sins are diluted, as it were, and lost, as an impure drop disappears when poured into an ocean of liquid purity.

According to the teaching of Osiander, therefore, also the assurance that we are justified and accepted by God does not rest exclusively on the merits of Christ and the pardon offered in the Gospel, but must be based on the righteous quality inhering in us. Our assurance is conditioned not alone upon what Christ has done outside of us and for us, but rather upon what He is in us and produces in us. The satisfaction rendered by Christ many centuries ago is neither the only ground on which God regards us as just, nor a sufficient basis of our certainty that we are accepted by God. Not the Christ for us, but rather the Christ in us, is the basis both of our justification and assurance. Accordingly, in order to satisfy an alarmed sinner, it is not sufficient to proclaim the Gospel-promise of divine absolution. In addition, an investigation is required whether the righteousness and holiness of God is also really found dwelling in him. While Luther had urged alarmed consciences to trust in the merits of Christ alone for their justification and salvation, Osiander led them to rely on the new life of divine wisdom, holiness, and righteousness dwelling in their own hearts. From the very beginning of the controversy, Moerlin, Melanchthon, and the Lutherans generally were solicitous to point out that Osiander's doctrine robs Christians of this glorious and only solid comfort, that it is not a subjective quality in their own hearts, but solely and only the objective and absolutely perfect obedience rendered by Christ many hundred years ago, which God regards when He justifies the wicked, and upon which man must rely for the assurance of his acceptance and salvation.

Consistently developed, therefore, the innovation of Osiander was bound to vitiate in every particular the doctrine of justification restored once more by Luther. In fact, his theory was but a revamping of just such teaching as had driven the Lutherans out of the Church of Rome. True, Osiander denied that by our own works we merit justification; that our righteousness consists in our good works; that our good works are imputed to us as righteousness. But the fact that he held a subjective condition to be our righteousness before God gives to his doctrine an essentially Roman stamp, no matter how widely it may differ from it in other respects. Moehler, the renowned Catholic apologist, declared that, properly interpreted and illucidated, Osiander's doctrine was "identical with the Roman Catholic doctrine." (Frank 2, 5. 91.) As stated before, his teaching was Romanism in its finer and more veiled form of mysticism.

178. Excerpts from Osiander's Writings.

In his publication of January 10, 1552, *Wider den lichtfluechtigen Nachtraben*, Osiander endeavors to prove that he is in complete doctrinal agreement with Luther. In it he gives the following summary, but guarded, presentation of his views. "I understand it this way," says he. "1. It flowed from His pure grace and mercy that God sacrificed His only Son for us. 2. The Son became man and was made under the Law, and He has redeemed us from the Law and from the curse of the Law. 3. He took upon Himself the sins of the whole world, for which He suffered, died, shed His blood, descended into hell, rose again, and thus overcame sin, death, and hell, and merited for us forgiveness of sin,

reconciliation with God, the grace and gift of justification, and eternal life. 4. This is to be preached in all the world. 5. Whoever believes this and is baptized, is justified and blessed (*selig*) by virtue of such faith. 6. Faith apprehends Christ so that He dwells in our hearts through faith, Eph. 3, 17. 7. Christ, living in us through faith, is our Wisdom, Righteousness, Holiness, and Redemption, 1 Cor. 1, 30; Jer. 23, 6; 33, 16. 8. Christ, true God and man, dwelling in us through faith, is our Righteousness according to His divine nature, as Dr. Luther says: 'I rely on the righteousness which is God Himself; this He cannot reject. Such is, says Luther, the simple, correct understanding; do not suffer yourself to be led away from it.'" (Frank 2, 7 f.) Seeberg cites the following passage: "But if the question be asked what is righteousness, one must answer: Christ dwelling in us by faith is our Righteousness according to His divinity; and the forgiveness of sins, which is not Christ Himself, but merited by Christ, is a preparation and cause that God offers us His righteousness, which He is Himself." (*Dogg.* 4, 498.) Incidentally, Osiander's appeal to Luther is unwarranted. For according to him Christ is our Righteousness because His obedience is God's obedience, the work not only of His human nature, but, at the same time, also of His divine nature, while according to Osiander everything that Christ did for us merely serves to bring about the indwelling of the divine nature of Christ, whose essential holiness is our righteousness before God. That Osiander was not in agreement with Luther, as he claimed, appears also from his assertion that such statements of Luther as: Christ's death is our life, forgiveness of sins is our righteousness, etc., must be explained figuratively, as words flowing from a joyous heart. (2, 23.)

The manner in which Osiander maintained that Christ is our Righteousness only according to His divine nature appears from the following excerpts: "If the question be asked according to what nature Christ, His whole undivided person, is our Righteousness, then, just as when one asks according to what nature He is the Creator of heaven and earth, the clear, correct, and plain answer is that He is our Righteousness according to His divine, and not according to His human nature, although we are unable to find, obtain, or apprehend such divine righteousness apart from His humanity." (Frank 2, 12.) Again: "When we say: Christ is our Righteousness, we must understand His deity, which enters us through His humanity. When Christ says: I am the Bread of Life, we must understand His deity which comes into us through His humanity and is our life. When He says: My flesh is meat indeed, and My blood is drink indeed, we must take it to mean His deity which is in the flesh and blood and is meat and drink for us. Thus, too, when John says, 1 John 1, 7: The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin, we must understand the deity of Christ which is in the blood; for John does not speak of the blood of Christ as it was shed on the cross, but as it, united with the flesh of Christ, is our heavenly meat and drink by faith." (23.) Osiander, therefore, is but consistent when he reiterates that the Son of God, the Holy Spirit, and the Father are our Righteousness, because their divine essence, which by faith dwells in Christians, is one and the same.

Osiander emphasizes that the essential righteousness of the divine nature of Christ alone is able to save us. He says: "For of what help would it be to you if you had all the righteousness which men and angels can imagine, but lacked this eternal righteousness which is itself the Son of God, according to His divine nature, with the Father and the Holy Ghost? For no other righteousness can lift you up to heaven and bring you to the Father. But when you apprehend this righteousness through faith, and Christ is in you, what can you then be lacking which you do not possess richly, superabundantly, and infinitely in His deity?" Again: "Since Christ is ours and is in us, God Himself and all His angels behold nothing in us but righteousness on account of the highest, eternal, and infinite righteousness of Christ, which is His deity itself dwelling in us. And although sin still remains in, and clings to, our flesh, it is like an impure little drop compared with a great pure ocean, and on account of the righteousness of Christ which is in us God does not want to see it." (Frank 2, 100. 102.)

To this peculiarity of Osiander, according to which he seems to have had in mind a justification by a sort of mystico-physical dilution rather than by imputation, the *Formula of Concord* refers as follows: "For one side has contended that the righteousness of faith, which the apostle calls the righteousness of God, is God's essential righteousness, which is Christ Himself as the true, natural, and essential Son of God, who dwells in the elect by faith and impels them to do right, and thus is their righteousness, compared with which righteousness the sins of all men are as a drop of water compared with the great ocean." (917, 2; 790, 2.)

In his confession *Concerning the Only Mediator*, of 1551, Osiander expatiates on justification, and defines it as an act by which righteousness is "infused" into believers. We read: "It is apparent that whatever part Christ, as the faithful Mediator, acted with regard to God, His heavenly Father, for our sakes, by fulfilling the Law and by His suffering and death, was accomplished more than 1,500 years ago, when we were not in existence. For this reason it cannot, properly speaking, have been, nor be called, our justification, but only our redemption and the atonement for us and our sins. For whoever would be justified must believe; but if he is to believe, he must already be born and live. Therefore Christ has not justified us who *now* live and die; but we are redeemed by it [His work 1,500 years ago] from God's wrath, death, and hell. . . . This, however, is true and undoubted that by the fulfilment of the Law and

by His suffering and death He merited and earned from God, His heavenly Father, this great and superabounding grace, namely, that He not only has forgiven our sin and taken from us the unbearable burden of the Law, but that He also *wishes to justify us by faith in Christ, to infuse justification or the righteousness* (*sondern auch uns durch den Glauben an Christum will rechtfertigen, die Gerechtmachung eingiessen*), and, if only we obey, through the operation of His Holy Spirit and through the death of Christ, in which we are embodied by the baptism of Christ, *to mortify, purge out, and entirely destroy sin* which is already forgiven us, but nevertheless still dwells in our flesh and adheres to us. Therefore the *other part* of the office of our dear faithful Lord and Mediator Jesus Christ is now to turn toward us in order to deal also with us poor sinners, as with the guilty party, that we acknowledge such great grace and gratefully receive it by faith, *in order that He by faith may make us alive and just from the death of sin, and that sin, which is already forgiven, but nevertheless still dwells and inheres in our flesh, may be altogether mortified and destroyed in us. And this, first of all, is the act of our justification.*" (Tschackert, 492 f.; Planck 4, 268.)

That Osiander practically identified justification with regeneration, renewal, and gradual sanctification appears from the following quotations. To justify, says he, means "to make a just man out of an unjust one, that is to recall a dead man to life — *ex impio iustum facere, hoc est, mortuum ad vitam revocare.*" (Seeberg 4, 499.) Again: "Thus the Gospel further shows its power and also justifies us, *i. e.*, it makes us just, even as, and in the same degree as, He also makes us alive (*eben und in aller Masse, wie er uns auch lebendig macht*)." (Frank 2, 18.) "And here you see again how terribly those err who endeavor to prove by this passage of David and Paul that our righteousness is nothing else than forgiveness of sin; for they have overlooked the covering of sin with the [essential] righteousness of Christ whom we put on in Baptism; *they have also removed from justification the renewal of the inner man effected by regeneration.*" (102.)

Osiander was fanatical in denouncing those who identified justification with the forgiveness of sins. In his Disputation of October 24, 1550, he declared: "The entire fulness of the deity dwells in Christ bodily, hence in those also in whom Christ dwells. . . . Therefore we are just by His essential righteousness. . . . Whoever does not hold this manner of our justification is certainly a Zwinglian at heart, no matter what he may confess with his mouth. . . . They also teach things colder than ice [who hold] that we are regarded as righteous only on account of the forgiveness of sins, and not on account of the [essential] righteousness of Christ who dwells in us through faith. *Glacie frigidiora docent nos tantum propter remissionem peccatorum reputari iustos, et non etiam propter iustitiam Christi per fidem in nobis inhabitantis. Non enim tam iniquus Deus est, ut eum pro iusto habeat, in quo verae iustitiae prorsus nil est.*" (Frank 2, 97; Tschackert, 494; Seeberg 4, 497.) They are errorists, Osiander declared, "who say, teach, and write that the righteousness is outside of us." (Frank 2, 100.) "The [essential] righteousness of Christ is, indeed, imputed to us, but only when it is in us." "For God is not so unrighteous, nor such a lover of unrighteousness that He regards him as just in whom there is absolutely nothing of the true righteousness; as it is written, Ps. 5, 4: 'For Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness; neither shall evil dwell with Thee.'" (Planck 4, 273.) Evidently, Osiander rejected or had never fully grasped Paul's clear statement and teaching concerning the God who justifies the ungodly, Rom. 4, 5: "But to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness."

179. Attitude of Brenz and Melanchthon.

With the exception of Brenz and Vogel, who, as stated before, regarded Osiander's doctrine as differing from the generally received view in phraseology and mode of presentation rather than in substance, the Lutherans everywhere were unanimous in rejecting Osiander's theory as a recrudescence of the Romish justification not by imputation, but by infusion. And as to Brenz, who put a milder construction on the statements of Osiander, Melanchthon wrote October 1, 1557: "Concerning the affair with Osiander, my writings are publicly known, which I hope will be of benefit to many. Brenz also is agreed with us doctrinally. He said he had advised peace, for he did not take Osiander's expressions to be as dangerous as the opponents did, and for this reason could not as yet condemn his person; but in doctrine he was agreed with us and would unite in condemning Osiander if the charges made against him were proved." Melanchthon himself fully realized the viciousness of Osiander's error, although at the colloquy in Worms, 1557, he, too, was opposed to condemning Osiandrism together with Zwinglianism, Majorism, and Adiaphorism, as the theologians of Ducal Saxony demanded. (*C. R.* 9, 311. 402.)

In May, 1551, Melanchthon wrote to Osiander that by the essential righteousness of Christ renewal is effected in us, but that we have forgiveness of sins and are reputed to be righteous on account of the merit of Christ, whose blood and death appeased the wrath of God. In his confutation of the Osiandric doctrine, written in September, 1555, we read: "Osiander's definition of righteousness is: Righteousness is that which makes us do what is righteous. . . . Hence man is righteous by doing what is righteous. . . . Thereupon Osiander, in order to say something also concerning forgiveness of sins, tears remission of sins from righteousness. He expressly declares that the sins are forgiven to all men; Nero, however, is damned because he does not possess the essential righteousness; and this, he

says, is God Himself, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. . . . Osiander contends that man is just on account of the indwelling of God, or on account of the indwelling God, not on account of the obedience of the Mediator, not by the imputed righteousness of the Mediator through grace. And he corrupts the proposition, 'By faith we are justified,' into, By faith we are prepared that we may become just by something else, *viz.*, the inhabiting God. Thus he in reality says what the Papists say: 'We are righteous by our renewal,' except that he mentions the cause where the Papists mention the effect. *Ita re ipsa dicit, quod Papistae dicunt, sumus iusti novitate, nisi quod nominat causam, ubi nominant Papistae effectum.* We are just when God renews us. He therefore detracts from the honor due to the Mediator, obscures the greatness of sin, destroys the chief consolation of the pious, and leads them into perpetual doubt. For faith cannot exist unless it looks upon the promise of mercy concerning the Mediator. Nor is there an inhabitation unless the consolation is received by this faith. And it is a preposterous way of teaching that one is to believe first the inhabitation, afterwards forgiveness of sins (*prius credere inhabitationem, postea remissionem peccatorum*). Since therefore this dogma of Osiander is both false and pernicious to consciences, it must be shunned and damned." (*C. R.* 7, 781; 8, 579 ff.)

In another essay, of September, 1555, signed also by Melanchthon, the following propositions are rejected: 1. Man becomes righteous on account of the essential righteousness. 2. Man becomes righteous on account of the essential righteousness of God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. 3. Man becomes righteous before God on account of the indwelling of God. 4. Righteousness consists in the indwelling of Christ, on account of which God imputes righteousness to us. . . . 5. Nor must one say there are two or more parts of justification: faith, inhabitation, good works, etc. For justification before God is to receive forgiveness of sins and to become acceptable to God on account of Christ. . . . 6. This proposition, too, is false: The regenerate after the Fall are righteous in the same manner as Adam was before the Fall, namely, not by imputation, but by inhabitation or original righteousness. . . . 8. It is also false when some say we are righteous by faith, namely, in a preparative way in order afterwards to be righteous by the essential righteousness. At bottom this is Popish and destructive of faith. . . . 9. The following propositions must be rejected altogether: The obedience of Christ is called righteousness in a tropical sense; Christ justifies accidentally (*per accidens*). (*C. R.* 8, 561 f.; 9, 319. 451. 455. 457.)

180. Osiander's Views on Image of God.

Osiander's corruption of the doctrine of justification was closely connected with his peculiar view concerning the image of God (the central idea of his entire system), of which, however, he declared that he did not consider it essential, and would not contend with anybody about it. Nor were the questions involved disputed to any extent or dealt with in the *Formula of Concord*. As to Osiander, however, the train of his thoughts runs as follows: —

The Logos, the divine Word, is the image of God, into whom His entire essence flows in a manner and process eternal. In a temporal and historical way the same image is destined to be realized in the nature of man. Divine essential righteousness indwelling and efficacious in humanity — such was the eternal plan of God. For the realization of this purpose the Logos, God's image, was to become man, even if the human race should not have fallen. This was necessary because in finite man there is absolutely no similarity with the infinite essence of the non-incarnate Logos. Without the incarnation, therefore, this infinite dissimilarity would have remained forever (*esset et maneret simpliciter infinita dissimilitudo inter hominem et Verbum Dei*). And in order that man might be capable of God and share His divine nature (*capax Dei et divinae naturae consors*), God created him according to His image; *i. e.*, according to the idea of the incarnate Logos. "God formed the body of man," said Osiander, "that it should be altogether like unto the future body of Christ. Thereupon He breathed into it the breath of life, *i. e.*, a rational soul together with the human spirit, adorned with the proper powers, in such a manner that it, too, should be like unto the future soul of Christ in everything." (Frank 2, 104.)

In the incarnate Logos, however, according to whom man was created, humanity and divinity are personally united. When the Word was made flesh, the divine essence was imparted to His human nature. And Christ, in turn, imparts the same essence to all who by faith are one with Him. From eternity the incarnate Word was destined to be the head of the congregation in order that the essential righteousness of God might flow from Him into His body, the believers. Before the Fall the Son of God dwelled in Adam, making him just by God's essential righteousness. By the Fall this righteousness was lost. Hence the redemption and atonement of Christ were required in order again to pave the way for the renewal of the lost image or the indwelling of God's essential righteousness in man. The real source of this righteousness and divine life in man, however, is not the human, but the divine nature of Christ. In the process of justification or of making man righteous, the human nature of Christ merely serves as a medium, or, as it were, a canal, through which the eternal essential wisdom, holiness, and righteousness of Christ's divine nature flows into our hearts.

Christ, the "inner Word" (John 1), says Osiander, approaches man in the "external Word" (the words spoken by Jesus and His apostles), and through it enters the believing soul. For through Word, Sacrament, and faith we are united with His humanity. In

the Lord's Supper, for instance, we become the flesh and blood of Christ, just as we draw the nourishment out of natural food and transform it into our flesh and blood. And since the humanity of Christ, with which we become one in the manner described, is personally united with the deity, it imparts to us also the divine essence, and, as a result, we, too, are the abode of the essential righteousness of God. "We cannot receive the divine nature from Christ," says Osiander, "if we are not embodied in Him by faith and Baptism, thus becoming flesh and blood and bone of His flesh, blood, and bone." As the branches could not partake of the nature of the vine if they were not of the wood of the vine, even so we could not share the divine nature of Christ if we had not, incorporated in Him by faith and Baptism, become flesh, blood, and bone of His flesh, blood, and bone. Accordingly, as Christ's humanity became righteous through the union with God, the essential righteousness which moved Him to obedience toward God, thus we also become righteous through our union with Christ and in Him with God. (Frank 2, 104. 20 ff.; Seeberg 4, 497 f.)

In view of such speculative teaching, in which justification is transformed into a sort of mystico-physical process, it is not surprising that the charge of pantheism was also raised against Osiander. The theologians of Brandenburg asserted that he inferred from his doctrine that the believers in Christ are also divine persons, because the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost dwell in them essentially. But Osiander protested: "Creatures we are and creatures we remain, no matter how wonderfully we are renewed; but the seed of God and the entire divine essence which is in us by grace in the same manner as it is in Christ by nature and remains eternally in us (*das also aus Gnaden in uns ist wie in Christo von Natur und bleibt ewiglich in uns*) is God Himself, and no creature, and will not become a creature in us or on account of us, but will eternally remain in us true God." Frank says concerning the doctrine of Osiander: It is not pantheism or a mixture of the divine and human nature, "but it is a subjectivism by which the objective foundation of salvation as taught by the Lutheran Church is rent to the very bottom. It is a mysticism which transforms the Christ *for us* into the Christ *in us*, and, though unintentionally, makes the consciousness of the *inhabitatio essentialis iustitiae* (indwelling of the essential righteousness) the basis of peace with God." (2, 19. 10. 13. 95. 103.) In his teaching concerning the image of God and justification, Osiander replaced the comforting doctrine of the Bible concerning the substitutionary and atoning work of Christ in His active and passive obedience unto death with vain philosophical speculations concerning divinity and humanity or the two natures of Christ. It was not so very far beside the mark, therefore, when Justus Menius characterized his theory as "a new alchemistic theology." (Planck 4, 257.)

181. Error of Stancarus.

The Stancarian dispute was incidental to the Osiandric conflict. Its author was Francesco Stancaro (born in Mantua, 1501), an Italian ex-priest, who had emigrated from Italy on account of his Protestant views. Vain, opinionated, haughty, stubborn, and insolent as he was, he roamed about, creating trouble wherever he appeared, first in Cracow as professor of Hebrew, 1551 in Koenigsberg, then in Frankfort-on-the-Oder, next at various places in Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania. He died at Stobnitz, Poland, November 12, 1574. Stancarus treated all of his opponents as ignoramuses and spoke contemptuously of Luther and Melanchthon, branding the latter as an antichrist. In Koenigsberg he immediately felt called upon to interfere in the controversy which had just flared up. He opposed Osiander in a fanatical manner, declaring him to be the personal antichrist. The opponents of Osiander at Koenigsberg, however, were not elated over his comradeship, particularly because he fell into an opposite error. They were glad when he resigned and left for Frankfort the same year he had arrived at Koenigsberg. In Frankfort, Stancarus continued the controversy, publishing, 1552, his *Apology against Osiander — Apologia contra Osiandrum*. But he was ignored rather than opposed by the Lutheran theologians. In 1553 Melanchthon wrote his *Answer* (*Responsio*) *Concerning Stancar's Controversy*. Later on, 1561, when Stancarus was spreading his errors in Poland, Hungary, and Transylvania, Calvin and the ministers of Zurich also wrote against him. The chief publication in which Stancarus set forth and defended his views appeared 1562, at Cracow, under the title: *Concerning the Trinity* (*De Trinitate*) *and the Mediator, Our Lord Jesus Christ*. As late as 1585 Wigand published his book *Concerning Stancarism — De Stancarismo*.

Stancarus had been trained in scholastic theology and was a great admirer of Peter Lombard. In his book *De Trinitate et Mediatore* he says: "One Peter Lombard is worth more than a hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bullingers, four hundred Peter Martyrs, five hundred Calvins, out of whom, if they were all brayed in a mortar, not one drop of true theology would be squeezed. *Plus valet unus Petrus Lombardus quam centum Lutheri, ducenti Melanchthones, trecenti Bullingeri, quadringenti Petri Martyres et quingenti Calvini, qui omnes, si in mortario contunderentur, non exprimeretur una mica verae theologiae.*" (J. G. Walch, *Religionsstreitigkeiten* 4, 177.)

Concerning Christ's obedience Peter Lombard taught: "*Christus Mediator dicitur secundum humanitatem, non secundum divinitatem. . . . Mediator est ergo, in quantum homo, et non in quantum Deus.* Christ is called Mediator according to His humanity, not according to His divinity. . . . He is therefore Mediator inasmuch as He is man, and not inasmuch as He is God." (Planck 4, 451; Seeberg 4, 507.) In accordance with this teaching, Stancarus maintained, in pointed opposi-

tion to Osiander, that Christ is our Righteousness only according to His human nature, and not according to His divine nature. The divine nature of Christ, Stancarus declared, must be excluded from the office of Christ's mediation and priesthood; for if God the Son were Mediator and would do something which the Father and the Holy Spirit could not do, then He would have a will and an operation and hence also a nature and essence different from that of the Father and the Holy Spirit. He wrote: "Christ, God and man, is Mediator [and Redeemer] only according to the other nature, namely, the human, not according to the divine; Christ made satisfaction for us according to His human nature, but not according to His divine nature; according to His divine nature Christ was not under the Law, was not obedient unto death, etc." (Frank 2, 111.) Stancarus argued: "Christ is one God with the Father and the Holy Spirit. Apart from the three personal properties of '*paternitas, filiatio,* and *spiratio passiva*' the three divine persons are absolutely identical in their being and operation. Their work is the sending of the Mediator, whose divine nature itself, in an active way, participates in this sending; hence only the human nature of the God-man *is* sent, and only the human nature of the Mediator acts in a reconciling way. Men are reconciled by Christ's death on the cross; but the blood shed on the cross and death are peculiar to the human nature, not to the divine nature; hence we are reconciled by the human nature of Christ only, and not by His divine nature (*ergo per naturam humanam Christi tantum sumus reconciliati et non per divinam*)." (Schluesselburg 9, 216 ff.)

Consistently, the Stancarian doctrine destroys both the unity of the person of Christ and the sufficiency of His atonement. It not only corrupts the doctrine of the infinite and truly redeeming value of the obedience of the God-man, but also denies the personal union of the divine and human natures in Christ. For if the divine nature is excluded from the work of Christ, then it must be excluded also from His person, since works are always acts of a person. And if it was a mere human nature that died for us, then the price of our redemption is altogether inadequate, and we are not redeemed, as Luther so earnestly emphasized against Zwingli. (Conc. Trigl. 1028, 44.) True, Stancarus protested: "Christ is Mediator according to the human nature *only;* this exclusive 'only' does not exclude the divine nature from the person of Christ, but from His office as Mediator." (Frank 2, 111.) However, just this was Luther's contention, that Christ is our Mediator also according to His divine nature, and that the denial of this truth both invalidates His satisfaction and divides His person.

The Third Article of the *Formula of Concord,* therefore, rejects the error of Stancarus as well as that of Osiander. Against the latter it maintains that the active and passive obedience of Christ is our righteousness before God; and over against the former, that this obedience was the act of the entire person of Christ, and not of His human nature alone. We read: "In opposition to both these parties [Osiander and Stancarus] it has been unanimously taught by the other teachers of the *Augsburg Confession* that Christ is our Righteousness not according to His divine nature alone, nor according to His human nature alone, but according to both natures; for He has redeemed, justified, and saved us from our sins as God and man, through His complete obedience; that therefore the righteousness of faith is the forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, and our adoption as God's children only on account of the obedience of Christ, which through faith alone, out of pure grace, is imputed for righteousness to all true believers, and on account of it they are absolved from all their unrighteousness." (916, 4.)

182. Deviations of Parsimonius and Hamburg Ministers.

In 1563 a collateral controversy concerning the obedience of Christ was raised by Parsimonius (George Karg). He was born 1512; studied under Luther in Wittenberg; 1547 he became pastor in Schwabach, and 1556 superintendent in Ansbach; 1563 he was deposed because of erroneous theses published in that year; he was opposed by Hesshusius and Ketzmann in Ansbach; 1570, having discussed his difference with the theologians in Wittenberg, Karg retracted and was restored to his office; he died 1576. In his theses on justification Parsimonius deviated from the Lutheran doctrine by teaching that Christ redeemed us by His passive obedience only, and by denying that His active obedience had any vicarious merit, since as man He Himself owed such obedience to the Law of God, — a view afterwards defended also by such Reformed divines as John Piscator, John Camero, and perhaps Ursinus. (Schaff 1, 274.)

Over against this error the *Formula of Concord* explains and declares: "Therefore the righteousness which is imputed to faith or to the believer out of pure grace is the obedience, suffering, and resurrection of Christ, since He has made satisfaction for us to the Law, and paid for our sins. For since Christ is not man alone, but God and man in one undivided person, He was as little subject to the Law (because He is the Lord of the Law) as He had to suffer and die as far as His person is concerned. For this reason, then, His obedience, not only in suffering and dying, but also in this, that He in our stead was voluntarily made under the Law and fulfilled it by this obedience, is imputed to us for righteousness, so that, on account of this complete obedience, which He rendered His heavenly Father for us, by doing and suffering, in living and dying, God forgives our sins, regards us as godly and righteous, and eternally saves us." (919, 16.) —

In their zealous opposition to the doctrine of Osiander, according to which the indwelling essential holiness of the divine nature of Christ is our righteousness before God, also

the Hamburg ministers went a step too far in the opposite direction. They denied, or at any rate seemed to deny, the indwelling of the Holy Trinity as such in believers. In their *Response* (*Responsio*) of 1552 they declared: "God is said to dwell where He is present by His grace and benevolence, where He gives the Word of His grace, and reveals His promises concerning His mercy and the remission of sins, where He works by His Spirit, etc." (Frank 2, 107.) Again: "That His indwelling pertains to His efficacy and operation appears from many passages which describe without a figure the efficacy and operation of Christ and of the Holy Spirit dwelling in believers." "The dwelling of the Holy Spirit in believers signifies that they are led by the Spirit of God." "But it cannot be proved by the Scripture that the fulness of God dwells bodily in us as it dwells in Christ Jesus. The inhabitation of God in us is a matter of grace, not of nature; of gift, not of property." (107.)

In 1551 Melanchthon had written: "It must be admitted that God dwells in our hearts, not only in such a manner that He there is efficacious, though not present with His own essence, but that He is both present and efficacious. A personal union, however, does not take place in us, but God is present in us in a separable manner as in a separable domicile." (*C. R.* 7, 781.) This was the view of the Lutheran theologians generally. Article III of the *Formula of Concord*, too, is emphatic in disavowing a personal union of the deity and humanity in believers, as well as in asserting that God Himself, not merely His gifts, dwell in Christians. (935, 54; 937, 65.) In addition to the aberrations enumerated, Article III rejects also some of the Roman and the Romanizing errors concerning justification in the Leipzig Interim, and some views entertained by Majorists which are extensively and *ex professo* dealt with in Article IV. (Conc. Trigl. 917, 5.)

XVII. The Antinomistic Controversy.

183. Distinction between Law and Gospel of Paramount Import.

Zwingli, who was a moralist and a Humanist rather than a truly evangelical reformer, taught: "In itself the Law is nothing else than a Gospel; that is, a good, certain message from God by means of which He instructs us concerning His will." (Frank 2, 312.) While Zwingli thus practically identified Law and Gospel, Luther, throughout his life, held that the difference between both is as great as that between life and death or the merits of Christ and our own sinful works; and that no one can be a true minister of the Christian Church who is unable properly to distinguish and apply them. For, according to Luther, a commingling of the Law and the Gospel necessarily leads to a corruption of the doctrine of justification, the very heart of Christianity. And as both must be carefully distinguished, so both must also be upheld and preached in the Church; for the Gospel presupposes the Law and is rendered meaningless without it. Wherever the Law is despised, disparaged, and corrupted, the Gospel, too, cannot be kept intact. Whenever the Law is assailed, even if this be done in the name of the Gospel, the latter is, in reality, hit harder than the former. The cocoon of antinomianism always bursts into antigospelism.

Majorism, the mingling of sanctification and justification, and synergism, the mingling of nature and grace, were but veiled efforts to open once more the doors of the Lutheran Church to the Roman work-righteousness, which Luther had expelled. The same is true of antinomianism in all its forms. It amounts to nothing less than apostasy from true Evangelicalism and a return to Romanism. When Luther opposed Agricola, the father of the Antinomians in the days of the Reformation, he did so with the clear knowledge that the Gospel of Jesus Christ with its doctrine of justification by grace and faith alone was at stake and in need of defense. "By these spirits," said he, "the devil does not intend to rob us of the Law, but of Christ, who fulfilled the Law." (St. L. 20, 1614; Pieper, *Dogm.* 3, 279; Frank 2, 268. 325.)

With the same interest in view, to save the Gospel from corruption, the *Formula of Concord* opposes antinomianism and urges that the distinction between the Law and the Gospel be carefully preserved. The opening paragraph of Article V, "Of the Law and the Gospel," reads: "As the distinction between the Law and Gospel *is a special brilliant light* which serves to the end that God's Word may be rightly divided, and the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles may be properly explained and understood, we must guard it with especial care, in order that these two doctrines may not be mingled with one another, or a Law be made out of the Gospel, whereby the merit of Christ is obscured and troubled consciences are robbed of their comfort, which they otherwise have in the holy Gospel when it is preached genuinely and in its purity, and by which they can support themselves in their most grievous trials against the terrors of the Law." (951, 1.) The concluding paragraph of this article declares that the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel must be preserved, "in order that both doctrines, that of the Law and that of the Gospel, be not mingled and confounded with one another, and what belongs to the one may not be ascribed to the other, *whereby the merit and benefits of Christ are easily obscured and the Gospel is again turned into a doctrine of the Law*, as has occurred in the Papacy, and thus Christians are deprived of the true comfort which they have in the Gospel against the terrors of the Law, and the door is again opened in the Church of God to the Papacy." (961, 27.) The blessed Gospel, our only com-

fort and consolation against the terrors of the Law, will be corrupted wherever the Law and the Gospel are not properly distinguished, — such, then, was the view also of the *Formula of Concord*.

Articles V and VI of the *Formula* treat and dispose of the issues raised by the Antinomians. In both Luther's doctrine is maintained and reaffirmed. Article V, "Of the Law and Gospel," teaches that, in the proper sense of the term, everything is Law that reveals and rebukes sin, the sin of unbelief in Christ and the Gospel included; that Gospel, in the proper and narrow sense, is nothing but a proclamation and preaching of grace and forgiveness of sin; that, accordingly, the Law as well as the Gospel are needed and must be retained and preached in the Church. This was precisely what Luther had taught. In one of his theses against Agricola he says: "Whatever discloses sin, wrath, or death exercises the office of the Law; Law and the disclosing of sin or the revelation of wrath are convertible terms. *Quidquid ostendit peccatum, iram seu mortem, id exercet officium legis; lex et ostensio peccati seu revelatio irae sunt termini convertibiles.*" Article VI, "Of the Third Use of the Law," teaches that, although Christians, in as far as they are regenerate, do the will of God spontaneously, the Law must nevertheless be preached to them on account of their Old Adam, not only as a mirror revealing their sins and as a check on the lusts of the flesh, but also as a rule of their lives. This, too, is precisely what Luther had maintained against Agricola: "The Law," said he, "must be retained [in the Church], that the saints may know which are the works God requires." (Drews, *Disputationen Dr. Martin Luthers*, 418; *Herzog R.* 1, 588; Frank 2, 272; Tschackert, 482.)

184. Agricola Breeding Trouble.

In the Lutheran Church antinomianism appeared in a double form: one chiefly before, the other after the death of Luther. The first of these conflicts was originated by Agricola, who spoke most contemptuously and disparagingly of the Law of God, teaching, in particular, that true knowledge of sin and genuine contrition is produced, not by the Law, but by the Gospel only, and that hence there is in the Church no use whatever for the Law of God. After Luther's death similar antinomistic errors were entertained and defended by the Philippists in Wittenberg, who maintained that the sin of unbelief is rebuked not by the Law, but by the Gospel. Poach, Otto, and others denied that, with respect to good works, the Law was of any service whatever to Christians after their conversion.

Barring Carlstadt and similar spirits, John Agricola (Schnitter, Kornschneider, Magister Islebius — Luther called him Grickel) was the first to strike a discordant note and breed trouble within the Lutheran Church. Born April 20, 1492, at Eisleben, he studied at Leipzig, and from 1515 to 1516 at Wittenberg. Here he became an enthusiastic adherent and a close friend of Luther and also of Melanchthon, after the latter's arrival in 1518. In 1539 Luther himself declared that Agricola had been "one of his best and closest friends." (St. L. 20, 1612.) In 1519 he accompanied both to the great debate in Leipzig. In 1525 he became teacher of the Latin school and, though never ordained, pastor of the church in Eisleben. Being a speaker of some renown, he was frequently engaged by the Elector of Saxony, especially on his journeys—to Speyer 1526 and 1529, to Augsburg 1530, to Vienna 1535. At Eisleben, Agricola was active also in a literary way, publishing sermons, a catechism, and, 1526, a famous collection of 300 German proverbs (the Wittenberg edition of 1592 contains 750 proverbs).

When the new theological professorship, created 1526 at Wittenberg, was given to Melanchthon, Agricola felt slighted and much disappointed. In the following year he made his first antinomian attack upon Melanchthon. The dispute was settled by Luther, but only for a time. In 1536 Agricola, through the influence of Luther (whose hospitality also he and his large family on their arrival in Wittenberg enjoyed for more than six weeks), received an appointment at the university. He rewarded his generous friend with intrigues and repeated renewals of the antinomian quarrels, now directing his attacks also against his benefactor. By 1540 matters had come to such a pass that the Elector felt constrained to institute a formal trial against the secret plotter, which Agricola escaped only by accepting a call of Joachim II as court-preacher and superintendent at Berlin. After Luther's death, Agricola, as described in a preceding chapter, degraded and discredited himself by helping Pflug and Sidonius to prepare the Augsburg Interim (1547), and by endeavoring to enforce this infamous document in Brandenburg. He died September 22, 1566.

Vanity, ambition, conceit, insincerity, impudence, arrogance, and ungratefulness were the outstanding traits of Agricola's character. Luther said that Agricola, swelled with vanity and ambition, was more vexatious to him than any pope; that he was fit only for the profession of a jester, etc. December 6, 1540, Luther wrote to Jacob Stratner, court-preacher in Berlin: "Master Grickel is not, nor ever will be, the man that he may appear, or the Margrave may consider him to be. For if you wish to know what vanity itself is, you can recognize it in no surer image than that of Eisleben. *Si enim velis scire, quidnam ipsa vanitas sit, nulla certiore imagine cognosces quam Islebii.*" (St. L. 21b, 2536.) Flacius reports that shortly before Luther's death, when some endeavored to excuse Agricola, the former answered angrily: "Why endeavor to excuse Eisleben? Eisleben is incited by the devil, who has taken possession of him entirely. You will see what a stir he will make after my death! *Ihr werdet wohl erfahren, was er nach meinem Tod fuer einen Laerm wird anrichten!*" (Preger 1, 119.)

185. Agricola's Conflict with Melanchthon.

The antinomian views that repentance (contrition) is not wrought by the Law, but by the Gospel, and that hence there is no room for the Law and its preaching in the Christian Church, were uttered by Agricola as early as 1525. In his *Annotations to the Gospel of St. Luke* of that year he had written: "The Decalog belongs in the courthouse, not in the pulpit. All those who are occupied with Moses are bound to go to the devil. To the gallows with Moses!" (Tschackert, 481; *Herzog R.* 1, 588; E. 4, 423.) The public dispute began two years later when Agricola criticized Melanchthon because in the latter's "Instructions to the Visitors of the Churches of Saxony" (Articles of Visitation, *Articuli, de quibus Egerunt per Visitatores in Regione Saxoniae*, 1527) the ministers were urged first to preach the Law to their spiritually callous people in order to produce repentance (contrition), and thus to prepare them for saving faith in the Gospel, the only source of truly good works. Melanchthon had written: "Pastors must follow the example of Christ. Since He taught repentance and remission of sins, pastors also must teach these to their churches. At present it is common to vociferate concerning faith, and yet one cannot understand what faith is, unless repentance is preached. Plainly they pour new wine into old bottles who preach faith without repentance, without the doctrine of the fear of God, without the doctrine of the Law, and accustom the people to a certain carnal security, which is worse than all former errors under the Pope have been." (*C. R.* 26, 9.) Agricola considered these and similar exhortations of Melanchthon unfriendly and Romanizing, and published his dissent in his *130 Questions for Young Children*, where he displayed a shocking contempt for the Old Testament and the Law of God. In particular, he stressed the doctrine that genuine repentance (contrition) is wrought, not by the Law, but by the Gospel only. In letters to his friends, Agricola at the same time charged Melanchthon with corrupting the evangelical doctrine. (Frank 2, 252.)

At a meeting held at Torgau, November 26 to 28, 1527, the differences were discussed by Agricola and Melanchthon in the presence of Luther and Bugenhagen. The exact issue was: Does faith presuppose contrition? Melanchthon affirmed the question, and Agricola denied it. Luther finally effected an agreement by distinguishing between general and justifying faith, and by explaining that repentance (contrition), indeed, presupposes a general faith in God, but that justifying faith presupposes the terrors of conscience (contrition) wrought by the Law. His decision ran "that the term faith should be applied to justifying faith which consoles us in these terrors [produced by the threats of the Law], but that the word repentance correctly includes a general faith," *viz.*, that there is a God who threatens transgressors, etc. (*C. R.* 1, 916.)

In agreement herewith Melanchthon wrote in the German *Unterricht der Visitatoren*, published 1528 at Wittenberg, that, in the wider and more general sense, the term "faith" embraces contrition and the Law, but that in the interest of the common people the word "faith" should be reserved for the special Christian or justifying faith in Christ. We read: "Denn wiewohl etliche achten, man solle nichts lehren vor dem Glauben, sondern die Busse aus und nach dem Glauben folgend lehren, auf dass die Widersacher [Papisten] nicht sagen moegen, man widerrufe unsere vorige Lehre, so ist aber doch anzusehen, weil [dass] die Busse und Gesetz auch zu dem gemeinen Glauben gehoeren. Denn man muss ja zuvor glauben, dass Gott sei, der da drohe, gebiete, schrecke usw. So sei es fuer den gemeinen, groben Mann, dass man solche Stuecke des Glaubens lasse bleiben unter dem Namen Busse, Gebot, Gesetz, Furcht usw., auf dass sie desto unterschiedlicher den Glauben Christi verstehen, welchen die Apostel *iustificantem fidem*, das ist, der da gerecht macht und Suende vertilgt, nennen, welches der Glaube von dem Gebot und Busse nicht tut, und doch der gemeine Mann ueber dem Wort Glauben irre wird und Fragen aufbringt ohne Nutzen." (*C. R.* 26, 51 f.)

186. Luther's First Disputation against the Antinomians.

At Wittenberg, in 1537, Agricola renewed his antinomianism by secretly and anonymously circulating a number of propositions (*Positiones inter Fratres Sparsae*) directed against both Luther and Melanchthon, whom he branded as "contortors of the words of Christ," urging all to resist them in order to preserve the pure doctrine. Quotations from Luther and Melanchthon were appended to the theses in order to show that their teaching concerning the "mode of justification (*modus iustificationis*)" was sometimes "pure," sometimes "impure." Agricola wrote: "Impure [among the statements of Melanchthon and Luther] are: 1. In the *Saxon Visitation:* 'Since Christ commands that repentance and remission of sins is to be preached in His name, hence the Decalog is to be taught.' 2. Again . . .: 'As the Gospel therefore teaches that the Law has been given to humiliate us, in order that we may seek Christ,' etc. 3. In his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* Luther says that it is the office of the Law to torment and to terrify the conscience, that it may know Christ more readily. Many similar passages are found in this commentary, which we reject as false, in order to maintain the purity of the doctrine." (E., v. a. 4, 422 f.; St. L. 20, 1627.)

Luther answered by publishing, December 1, 1537, the theses of Agricola together with *Other Antinomian Articles* (*Alii Articuli Antinomi*), compiled from written and verbal expressions of Agricola and his followers. In his introductory remarks Luther not only disowned and emphatically condemned (*nos ab eiusmodi portentis prorsus abhorrere*) Agricola's *Positiones inter Fratres Sparsae*, but

also announced a number of disputations against antinomianism. (E. 4, 420.) The first was held December 18, 1537, in which Luther maintained: Contrition is wrought by the preaching of the Law; but a man is able to make a good resolution and to hate sin out of love toward God only after the Gospel has comforted his alarmed conscience.

Following are some of the 39 theses discussed by Luther in his first disputation against the Antinomians: "4. The first part of repentance, contrition, is [wrought] by the Law alone. The other part, the good purpose, cannot be [wrought] by the Law. 24. And they [the Antinomians] teach perniciously that the Law of God is simply to be removed from the church, which is blasphemous and sacrilegious. 25. For the entire Scripture teaches that repentance must begin from the Law, which also the order of the matter itself as well as experience shows. 31. Necessarily, then, sin and death cannot be revealed by the Word of Grace and Solace, but by the Law. 32. Experience teaches that Adam is first reproved as a transgressor of the Law, and afterwards cheered by the promised Seed of the woman. 33. Also David is first killed by the Law through Nathan, saying: 'Thou art the man,' etc.; afterwards he is saved by the Gospel, declaring: 'Thou shalt not die,' etc. [2 Sam. 12, 7. 13.] 34. Paul, prostrated by the Law, first hears: 'Why persecutest thou Me?' Afterwards he is revived by the Gospel: 'Arise,' etc. [Acts 9, 4. 6.] 35. And Christ Himself says, Mark 1, 15: 'Repent ye and believe the Gospel, for the kingdom of God is at hand.' 36. Again: 'Repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name.' [Luke 24, 47.] 37. Likewise the Spirit first reproves the world of sin, in order to teach faith in Christ, *i. e.*, forgiveness of sin. [John 16, 8.] 38. In the Epistle to the Romans Paul observes this method, first to teach that all are sinners, and thereupon, that they are to be justified solely through Christ." (Drews, 253 ff.; St. L. 20, 1628 ff.)

187. Luther's Second Disputation against the Antinomians.

Since Agricola did not appear at the first public disputation against the Antinomians, moreover secretly ["*im Winkel*"] continued his opposition and intrigues, Luther insisted that his privilege of lecturing at the university be withdrawn. Thus brought to terms, Agricola, through his wife, sued for reconciliation. Luther demanded a retraction to be made at his next disputation, which was held January 12, 1538. (Drews, 248. 334 f.; *C. R.* 25, 64; 3, 482 f.) Here Luther explained that, though not necessary to justification, the Law must not be cast out of the church, its chief object being to reveal the guilt of sin; moreover, that the Law must be taught to maintain outward discipline, to reveal sin, and to show Christians what works are pleasing to God. (Drews, 418.)

Following are some of the 48 theses discussed by Luther in his second disputation: "3. When treating of justification, one cannot say too much against the inability of the Law [to save] and against the most pernicious trust in the Law. 4. For the Law was not given to justify or vivify or help in any way toward righteousness. 5. But to reveal sin and work wrath, *i. e.*, to render the conscience guilty. [Rom. 3, 20; 4, 15.] 8. In brief, as far as heaven is from the earth, so far must the Law be separated from justification. 9. And nothing is to be taught, said, or thought in the matter of justification but only the word of the grace exhibited in Christ. 10. From this, however, it does not follow that the Law is to be abolished and excluded from the preaching of [done in] the church. 11. Indeed, just for the reason that not only is it not necessary to justification, but also cannot effect it, it is the more necessary to teach and urge it. 12. In order that man, who is proud and trusts in his own powers, may be instructed that he cannot be justified by the Law. 18. Whatever reveals sin, wrath, or death exercises the office of the Law, whether it be in the Old or in the New Testament. 19. For to reveal sin is nothing else, nor can it be anything else, than the Law or an effect and the peculiar power of the Law. 20. Law and revelation of sin or of wrath are convertible terms. 24. So that it is impossible for sin to be, or to be known, without the Law, written or inscribed [in the heart]. 27. And since the Law of God requires our obedience toward God, these Antinomians (*nomomachi*) abolish also obedience toward God. 28. From this it is manifest that Satan through these his instruments teaches about sin, repentance, and Christ in words only (*verbaliter tantum*). 29. But in reality he takes away Christ, repentance, sin, and the entire Scripture, together with God, its Author. 45. For the Law, as it was before Christ, did indeed accuse us; but under Christ it is appeased through the forgiveness of sins, and thereafter it is to be fulfilled through the Spirit. 47. Therefore the Law will never, in all eternity, be abolished, but will remain, either to be fulfilled by the damned, or already fulfilled by the blessed. 48. These pupils of the devil, however, seem to think that the Law is temporary only, which ceased under Christ even as circumcision did." (Drews, 336 ff.; St. L. 20, 1632 ff.)

Following is a summary of the views expressed by Luther in his second disputation: "Why is the Law to be taught? The Law is to be taught on account of discipline, according to the word of Paul, 1 Tim. 1, 9: 'The Law is made for the lawless,' and that by this pedagogy men might come to Christ as Paul says to the Galatians (3, 24): 'The Law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ.' In the second place, the Law is to be taught to reveal sin, to accuse, terrify, and damn the consciences, Rom. 3, 20: 'By the Law is the knowledge of sin'; again, chapter 4, 15: 'The Law worketh wrath.' In the third place, the Law is to be retained that the saints may know what kind of works God requires in which they may exercise their obedience

toward God. *Lex est retinenda, ut sciant sancti, quaenam opera requirat Deus, in quibus obedientiam exercere erga Deum possint.*" (Drews, 418; *Herzog R.* 1, 588.)

188. Third and Fourth Series of Luther's Theses against Antinomianism.

Having complied with the conditions, and publicly (also in two sermons delivered April 23) retracted his error, and declared his assent to the views expressed in Luther's second disputation, Agricola was again permitted to preach and teach. As a result, Luther also, though he had no faith in the sincerity of Agricola's retraction, did not carry out his original plan of discussing a third and fourth series of theses which he had prepared against antinomianism. (Drews, 419 ff.; E. 4, 430 ff.)

From the third series, comprising 40 theses, we quote the following: "1. The repentance of the Papists, Turks, Jews, and of all unbelievers and hypocrites is alike in every respect. 2. It consists in this, that they are sorry and make satisfaction for one or several sins, and afterwards are secure as to other sins or original sin. 5. The repentance of believers in Christ goes beyond the actual sins, and continues throughout life, till death. 8. For the sin in our flesh remains during the entire time of our life, warring against the Spirit, who resists it. [Rom. 7, 23.] 9. Therefore all works after justification are nothing else than a continuous repentance, or a good purpose against sin. 10. For nothing else is done than that sin, revealed by the Law and forgiven in Christ, is swept out. 17. The Lord's Prayer, taught by the Lord Himself to the saints and believers, is a part of repentance, containing much of the doctrine of the Law. 18. For whoever prays it aright confesses with his own mouth that he sins against the Law and repents. 27. Therefore also the Lord's Prayer itself teaches that the Law is before, below, and after the Gospel (*legem esse ante, sub et post evangelium*), and that from it repentance must begin. 30. From this it follows that these enemies of the Law [Antinomians] must abolish also the Lord's Prayer if they abolish the Law. 31. Indeed, they are compelled to expunge the greatest part of the sermons of Christ Himself from the Gospel-story. 32. For Matt. 5, 17 ff. He does not only recite the Law of Moses, but explains it perfectly, and teaches that it must not be destroyed. 34. Everywhere throughout the Gospel He also reproves, rebukes, threatens, and exercises similar offices of the Law. 35. So that there never has been nor ever will be more impudent men than those who teach that the Law should be abolished." (St. L. 20, 1636 ff.; E. 4, 430 ff.)

From the fourth series of 41 theses directed by Luther against the Antinomians we quote: "12. Therefore we must beware of the doctrine of the Papists concerning repentance as of hell and the devil himself. 13. Much more, however, must we avoid those who leave no repentance whatever in the Church. 14. For those who deny that the Law is to be taught in reality simply wish that there be no repentance. 15. The argument: 'Whatever is not necessary to justification, neither in the beginning, nor in the middle, nor in the end, must not be taught,' etc., amounts to nothing. 17. It is the same as though you would argue: The truth that man is dead in sin is not necessary to justification, neither in the beginning, nor in the middle, nor in the end; hence it must not be taught. 18. To honor parents, to live chaste, to abstain from murders, adulteries, and thefts is not necessary to justification; hence such things must not be taught. 22. Although the Law helps nothing toward justification, it does not follow therefrom that it ought to be abolished and not to be taught. 26. Everywhere in Paul [the phrase] 'without the Law' must be understood (as Augustine correctly explains) 'without the assistance of the Law,' as we have always done. 27. For the Law demands fulfilment, but helps nothing toward its own fulfilment. 35. But faith in Christ alone justifies, alone fulfils the Law, alone does good works, without the Law. 37. It is true that after justification good works follow spontaneously, without the Law, *i. e.*, without the help or coercion of the Law. 38. In brief, the Law is neither useful nor necessary for justification, nor for any good works, much less for salvation. 39. On the contrary, justification, good works, and salvation are necessary for the fulfilment of the Law. 40. For Christ came to save that which was lost [Luke 19, 10], and for the restitution of all things, as St. Peter says [Acts 3, 21]. 41. Therefore the Law is not destroyed by Christ, but established, in order that Adam may become such as he was, and even better." (St. L. 20, 1639 ff.; E. 4, 433.)

189. Luther's Third Public Disputation against the Antinomians.

Soon after his second disputation Luther obtained evidence of Agricola's relapse into his former errors and ways. The upshot was another disputation on a fifth series of theses, held September 13, 1538, in which Luther denounced the Antinomians as deceivers, who lulled their hearers into carnal security. He also explained that the passages culled from his own writings were torn from their historical context, and hence misinterpreted. His former statements, said Luther, had been addressed to consciences already alarmed, and therefore in immediate need of the consolation of the Gospel; while now the Antinomians applied them to secure consciences, who, first of all, were in need of the terrifying power of the Law. (Drews, 421 f.; Tschackert, 482.)

From the 70 theses treated by Luther in his third disputation, we submit the following: "1. The Law has dominion over man as long as he lives. [Rom. 7, 1.] 2. But he is freed from the Law when he dies. 3. Necessarily, therefore, man must die if he would be free from the Law. 7. These three: Law, sin, and death, are inseparable. 8. Accordingly, so far as death is still in man, in so far sin and the Law are in man. 9. Indeed, in Christ the Law is fulfilled, sin abolished, and death destroyed. 11. That is, when, through faith

we are crucified and have died in Christ, such things [the Law fulfilled, sin abolished, and death destroyed] are true also in us. 13. But the fact itself and experience testify that the just are still daily delivered to death. 14. Necessarily, therefore, in as far as they are under death, they are still also under the Law and sin. 15. They [the Antinomians] are altogether inexperienced men and deceivers of souls who endeavor to abolish the Law from the church. 16. For this is not only foolish and wicked, but also absolutely impossible. 17. For if you would abolish the Law, you will be compelled to abolish also sin and death. 18. For death and sin are present by virtue of the Law, as Paul says [2 Cor. 3, 6]: 'The letter killeth,' and [1 Cor. 15, 56]: 'The strength of sin is the Law.' 19. But since you see that the just die daily, what a folly is it to imagine that they are without the Law! 20. For if there were no Law, there would be neither sin nor death. 21. Hence they should have first proved that the just are altogether without sin and death. 22. Or that they no longer live in the flesh, but are removed from the world. 23. Then it might justly be taught that also the Law is altogether removed from them and must not be taught in any way. 24. This they cannot prove, but experience itself shows the contrary to their very faces. 25. So, then, the impudence of the teachers who wish to remove the Law from the church is extraordinary. 26. Yet it is a much greater impudence, or rather insanity, when they assert that even the wicked should be freed from the Law, and that it should not be preached to them. 29. If, however, they pretend that their church or their hearers simply are all pious men and Christians, without the Law, 30. Then it is evident that they are altogether of unsound mind and do not know what they say or affirm. 31. For this is nothing else than to imagine that all their hearers have been removed from this life. 35. Thus it [the Law] is also given to the pious, in so far as they are not yet dead and still live in the flesh. 40. Now, in as far as Christ is raised in us, in so far we are without Law, sin, and death. 41. But in as far as He is not yet raised in us, in so far we are under the Law, sin, and death. 42. Therefore the Law (as also the Gospel) must be preached, without discrimination, to the righteous as well as to the wicked. 44. To the pious, that they may thereby be reminded to crucify their flesh with its affections and lusts, lest they become secure. [Gal. 5, 24.] 45. For security abolishes faith and the fear of God, and renders the latter end worse than the beginning. [2 Pet. 2, 20.] 46. It appears very clearly that the Antinomians imagine sin to have been removed through Christ essentially and philosophically or juridically (*formaliter et philosophice seu iuridice*). 47. And that they do not at all know that sin is removed only inasmuch as the merciful God does not impute it [Ps. 32, 2], and forgives it (*solum reputatione et ignoscentia Dei miserentis*). 61. For if the Law is removed, no one knows what Christ is, or what He did when He fulfilled the Law for us. 66. The doctrine of the Law, therefore, is necessary in the churches, and by all means is to be retained, as without it Christ cannot be retained. 67. For what will you retain of Christ when (the Law having been removed which He fulfilled) you do not know what He has fulfilled? 69. In brief, to remove the Law and to let sin and death remain, is to hide the disease of sin and death to men unto their perdition. 70. When death and sin are abolished (as was done by Christ), then the Law would be removed happily; moreover, it would be established, Rom. 3, 31." (Drews, 423 ff.; St. L. 20, 1642 ff.; E. 4, 436 ff.)

190. Agricola's Retraction Written and Published by Luther.

Seeing his position in the Wittenberg University endangered, Agricola was again ready to submit. And when a *public* retraction was demanded, he even left it to Luther to formulate the recantation. Luther did so in a public letter to Caspar Guettel in Eisleben, entitled, *Against the Antinomians — Wider die Antinomer*, which he published in the beginning of January, 1539. (St. L. 20, 1610.) In a crushing manner Luther here denounced "the specter of the new spirits who dare thrust the Law or the Ten Commandments out of the church and relegate it to the courthouse."

Complaining of "false brethren," Luther here says: "And I fear that, if I had died at Smalcald [1537], I should forever have been called the patron of such [antinomian] spirits, because they appeal to my books. And all this they do behind my back, without my knowledge and against my will, not even considering it worth while to inform me with as much as a word or syllable, or at least to ask me regarding the matter. Thus I am compelled to proceed against Magister John Agricola," etc. (1611.) "But since he was afraid that he might not express it in a manner such as would be considered satisfactory, he has fully authorized and also requested me to do it [write the retraction for Agricola] as well as I could, which, he being satisfied, I agreed to do, and herewith have done, especially for the reason that after my death neither Master Eisleben himself nor anybody else might be able to pretend that I had done nothing in this matter and simply allowed everything to pass and go on as fully satisfactory to me." (1612.)

Referring to his former statements appealed to by Agricola, Luther continues: "I have indeed taught, and still teach, that sinners should be led to repentance by the preaching of, and meditation upon, the suffering of Christ, so that they may realize how great God's wrath is over sin, seeing that there is no other help against it than that God's Son must die for it. . . . But how does it follow from this that the Law must be abandoned? I am unable to discover such an inference in my logic, and would like to see and hear the master who would be able to prove it. When Isaiah says, chap. 53, 8: 'For the transgres-

sion of My people was He stricken,' tell me, dear friend, is the Law abandoned when here the suffering of Christ is preached? What does 'for the transgression of My people' mean? Does it not mean: because My people have sinned against, and not kept, My Law? Or can any one imagine that sin is something where there is no law? Whoever abolishes the Law must with it also abolish sins. If he would allow sins to remain, he must much more allow the Law to remain. For Rom. 5, 13 [4, 15] we read: 'Sin is not imputed where there is no law.' If there is no sin, Christ is nothing. For why does He die if there be neither Law nor sin for which He was to die? From this we see that by this spiritism [*Geisterei*] the devil does not mean to take away the Law, but Christ, who fulfilled the Law. [Matt. 5, 17.] For he well knows that Christ may well and easily be taken away, but not so the Law, which is written in the heart." (1613 f.) "Therefore I request of you, my dear Doctor [Guettel], that, as you have done heretofore, you would continue in the pure doctrine and preach that sinners should and must be led to repentance not only by the sweet grace and suffering of Christ, who has died for us, but also by the terrors of the Law." (1615.) "For whence do we know what sin is if there is no Law and conscience? And whence shall we learn what Christ is, what He has done for us, if we are not to know what the Law is which He has fulfilled for us, or what sin is, for which He has atoned? And even if we did not need the Law for us and were able to tear it out of our hearts (which is impossible), we nevertheless must preach it for the sake of Christ (as also is done and must be done), in order that we may know what He has done and suffered for us. For who could know what and for what purpose Christ has suffered for us if no one were to know what sin or the Law is? Therefore the Law must certainly be preached if we would preach Christ." (1616.) "This, too, is a peculiar blindness and folly, that they imagine the revelation of wrath to be something else than the Law (which is impossible); for the revelation of wrath is the Law when realized and felt, as Paul says [Rom. 4, 15]: '*Lex iram operatur.* The Law worketh wrath.'" (1618.)

By way of conclusion Luther remarked: "Let this suffice at present, for I hope that, since Master Eisleben is converted and retracts, the others, too, who received it [the antinomian error] from him, will abandon it, which God may help them to do! Amen." (1619.) At the same time, however, he did not withhold the opinion that Agricola's self-humiliation would hardly be of long duration. "If he continues in such humility," said Luther, "God certainly can and will exalt him; if he abandons it, then God is able to hurl him down again." (1612.)

191. Luther's Fourth Disputation against the Antinomians.

Luther's distrust was not unfounded, for Agricola continued secretly to teach his antinomianism, abetted in his sentiments among others also by Jacob Schenck [since 1536 first Lutheran pastor in Freiberg, Saxony; 1538 dismissed on account of his antinomianism; 1540 professor in Leipzig; later on deposed, and finally banished from Saxony]. Indeed, in March, 1540, Agricola even lodged a complaint with the Elector, charging Luther with "calumnies." In the first part of the following month Luther answered these charges in a *Report to Doctor Brueck Concerning Magister John Eisleben's Doctrine and Intrigues.* (St. L. 20, 1648 ff.) About the same time, Count Albrecht of Mansfeld denounced Agricola to the Elector as a dangerous, troublesome man. Hereupon the Elector, on June 15, 1540, opened formal legal proceedings against Agricola, who, as stated above, removed to Berlin in August without awaiting the trial, although he had promised with an oath not to leave before a legal decision had been rendered. (Drews, 611.) Incensed by the treacherous conduct of Agricola, Luther, September 10, 1540, held a final disputation on a sixth series of theses against the Antinomians, charging them with destroying all order, human as well as divine. (St. L. 20, 1647; E. 4, 441.)

Regarding Agricola's duplicity, Luther, in his *Report* to Brueck, said in substance: According to the statements of Caspar Guettel and Wendelin Faber, Agricola had for years secretly agitated against the Wittenbergers and founded a sect at Eisleben calling themselves Minorish [Minorists]; he had branded and slandered their doctrine as false and impure, and this, too, without conferring with them or previously admonishing them; he had come to Wittenberg for the purpose of corrupting and distracting the Church; his adherents had made the statement that Eisleben would teach the Wittenbergers theology and logic; he had inveigled Hans Lufft into printing his Postil by falsely stating that it had been read and approved by Luther; in his dealings with the Wittenbergers he had acted, not as an honest man, let alone a pious Christian and theologian, but treacherously and in keeping with his antinomian principles; parading as a loyal Lutheran at public conventions and laughing and dining with them, he had misled "his old, faithful friend" [Luther] to confide in him, while secretly he was acting the traitor by maligning him and undermining his work. In the *Report* we read: "Agricola blasphemes and damns our doctrine as impure and false (*i. e.*, the Holy Spirit Himself in His holy Law); he slanders and defames us Wittenbergers most infamously wherever he can; and all this he does treacherously and secretly, although we have done him no harm, but only did well by him, as he himself must admit. He deceives and attacks us [me], his best friend and father, making me believe that he is our true friend. Nor does he warn me, but, like a desperate treacherous villain, secretly works behind our back to cause the people to forsake our doctrine and to adhere to him, thus treating us with an ungratefulness, pride, and haughtiness such as I have not frequently met with before." (1656.)

In his charge against Luther, Agricola had said that it was dangerous to preach the Law without the Gospel, because it was a ministry of death (*ministerium mortis*). Luther answered in his *Report* to Brueck: "Behold now what the mad fool does. God has given His Law for the very purpose that it should bite, cut, strike, kill, and sacrifice the old man. For it should terrify and punish the proud, ignorant, secure Old Adam and show him his sin and death, so that, being humiliated, he may despair of himself, and thus become desirous of grace, as St. Paul says: 'The strength of sin is the Law; the sting of death is sin.' [1 Cor. 15, 56.] For this reason he also calls it *bonam, iustam, sanctam* — good, just, holy. Again, Jeremiah [23, 29]: 'My Word is like a hammer that breaketh the rock to pieces.' Again: *'Ego ignis consumens,* etc. — I am a consuming fire.' Ps. 9, 21 [20]: *'Constitue legislatorem super eos, ut sciant gentes, se esse homines, non deos, nec Deo similes* — Put them in fear, O Lord, that the nations may know themselves to be but men.' Thus St. Paul does Rom. 1 and 2 and 3, making all the world sinners by the Law, casting them under the wrath of God, and entirely killing them before God. But here our dear Master Grickel appears on the scene and invents a new theology out of his own mad and reckless fool's head and teaches: One must not kill and reprove the people, *i. e.,* one must not preach the Law. Here he himself confesses publicly in his suit [against Luther] that he has condemned and prohibited the preaching of the Law." (St. L. 20, 1657.)

The *Report* continues: "Since, now, the little angry devil who rides Master Grickel will not tolerate the Law, *i. e., mortificantem, irascentem, accusantem, terrentem, occidentem legem,* — the mortifying, raging, accusing, terrifying, killing Law, — it is quite evident what he intends to do through Master Grickel's folly (for he nevertheless wishes to be praised as preaching the Law after and under the Gospel, etc.), *viz.,* to hide original sin and to teach the Law no further than against future actual sins, for such is the manner of his entire Postil; even as the Turks, Jews, philosophers, and Papists teach, who regard our nature as sound; but Master Grickel does not see that it is just this which his little spirit [devil] aims at by his bragging and boasting, that he, too, is preaching the Law. . . . Thus Christ and God are altogether vain and lost. And is not this blindness beyond all blindness that he does not want to preach the Law without and before the Gospel? For are these not impossible things? How is it possible to preach of forgiveness of sins if previously there have been no sins? How can one proclaim life if previously there is no death? Are we to preach to angels who have neither sin nor death concerning forgiveness of sins and redemption from death? But how can one preach of sins, or know that there are sins, if the Law does not reveal them? For according to its proper office the Gospel does not say who [is a sinner] and what is sin; it does, however, indicate that there must be some great hurt, since so great a remedy is required; but it does not say how the sin is called, or what it is. The Law must do this. Thus Master Eisleben must in fact (*re ipsa*) allow the Law to perform its duty (*occidere,* to kill, etc.) prior to the [preaching of the] Gospel, no matter how decidedly he, with words only, denies it, to spite the Wittenbergers, in order that he also, as *novus autor* (new author), may produce something of his own and confuse the people and separate the churches." (1658.)

From the 20 theses which Luther treated in his last disputation against the Antinomians we cull the following: "1. The inference of St. Paul: 'For where no law is, there is no transgression' [Rom. 4, 15] is valid not only theologically, but also politically and naturally (*non solum theologice, sed etiam politice et naturaliter*). 2. Likewise this too: Where there is no sin, there is neither punishment nor remission. 3. Likewise this too: Where there is neither punishment nor remission, there is neither wrath nor grace. 4. Likewise this too: Where there is neither wrath nor grace, there is neither divine nor human government. 5. Likewise this too: Where there is neither divine nor human government, there is neither God nor man. 6. Likewise this too: Where there is neither God nor man, there is nothing except perhaps the devil. 7. Hence it is that the Antinomians, the enemies of the Law, evidently are either devils themselves or the brothers of the devil. 8. It avails the Antinomians nothing to boast that they teach very much of God, Christ, grace, Law, etc. 10. This confession of the Antinomians is like the one when the devils cried: 'Thou art the Son of the living God.' [Luke 4, 34; 8, 28.] 12. Whoever denies that the damning Law must be taught, in reality simply denies the Law. 14. A law which does not damn is an imagined and painted law as the chimera or tragelaphus. 15. Nor is the political or natural law anything unless it damns and terrifies sinners, Rom. 13, 1. 5; 1 Pet. 2, 13 ff. 17. What the Antinomians say concerning God, Christ, faith, Law, grace, etc., they say without any meaning as the parrot says its *'χαῖρε,* Good day!' 18. Hence it is impossible to learn theology or civil polity (*theologiam aut politiam*) from the Antinomians. 19. Therefore they must be avoided as most pestilential teachers of licentious living who permit the perpetration of all crimes. 20. For they serve not Christ, but their own belly [Rom. 16, 18], and, madmen that they are, seek to please men, in order that from them, as a man's judgment, they may gain glory." (Drews, 613; St. L. 20, 1647; E. 4, 441.) — Regarding Luther's disputations against the Antinomians Planck pertinently remarks that they compel admiration for his clear and penetrating mind, and rank among the very best of his writings. (1, 18; Frank 2, 311.)

192. "Grickel" Remained Grickel.

At the instance of Elector Joachim, negotiations were begun with Luther, which finally led to a sort of peaceful settlement. Agricola was required to send (which he also did)

a revocation to the preachers, the council, and the congregation at Eisleben. However, the new and enlarged edition (1541) of the catechism which Agricola had published in 1527 revealed the fact that also this last recantation was insincere; for in it he repeated his antinomistic teaching, though not in the original defiant manner. Little wonder, then, that, despite the formal settlement, cordial relations were not restored between Luther and Agricola. When the latter visited Wittenberg in 1545, Luther refused to see the man whom he regarded incurably dishonest. "Grickel," said he, "will remain Grickel to all eternity, *Grickel wird in alle Ewigkeit Grickel bleiben.*"

And "Grickel" he did remain; for in 1565 he published a sermon in which he said: "Every one who is to be appointed as teacher and preacher shall be asked: What do you intend to teach in the church? He shall answer: The Gospel of Jesus Christ. But when further asked: What does the Gospel preach? he shall answer: The Gospel preaches repentance and forgiveness of sins." Considering this a further evidence that Agricola still adhered to, and was now ready once more to champion, his old errors, the preachers of Mansfeld registered their protest in a publication of the same year. A controversy, however, did not materialize, for Agricola died the following year. (Planck 5, 1, 47; Frank 2, 267.)

193. False Propositions of Agricola.

Following are some of Agricola's radical statements concerning the Law and the Gospel. The first thesis of his *Positions* of 1537 reads: "Repentance is to be taught not from the Decalog or from any law of Moses, but from the violation of the Son through the Gospel. *Poenitentia docenda est non ex decalogo aut ulla lege Mosis, sed ex violatione Filii per evangelium.*" (E. 4. 420.) Thesis 13: "In order to keep the Christian doctrine pure, we must resist those [Luther and Melanchthon] who teach that the Gospel must be preached only to such whose hearts have previously been terrified and broken by the Law. *Quare pro conservanda puritate doctrinae resistendum est iis, qui docent, evangelium non praedicandum nisi animis prius quassatis et contritis per legem.*" (421.) Thesis 16: "The Law merely rebukes sin, and that, too, without the Holy Spirit; hence it rebukes to damnation." Thesis 17: "But there is need of a doctrine which does not only condemn with great efficacy, but which saves at the same time; this, however, is the Gospel, a doctrine which teaches conjointly repentance and remission of sins." (421.) In his *Brief Summary of the Gospel*, Agricola says: "In the New Testament and among Christians or in the Gospel we must not preach the violation of the Law when a man breaks or transgresses the Law, but the violation of the Son, to wit, that he who does not for the sake of the kingdom of heaven willingly omit what he should omit, and does not do what he should do, crucifies Christ anew." (St. L. 20, 1622 ff.; Frank 2, 313; Gieseler 3, 2, 137; Pieper, *Dogm.* 3, 265 ff.)

A commingling of the Law and Gospel always results in a corruption of the doctrines of conversion, faith, and justification. Such was the case also with respect to Agricola, who taught that justification follows a contrition which flows from, and hence is preceded by, love toward God. Turning matters topsy-turvy, he taught: Repentance consists in this, that the heart of man, experiencing the kindness of God which calls us to Christ and presents us with His grace, turns about, apprehends God's grace, thanks Him heartily for having spared it so graciously, begins to repent, and to grieve heartily and sorrowfully on account of its sins, wishes to abstain from them, and renounces its former sinful life. "This," says Agricola, "is repentance (*poenitentia, Buessen*) and the first stage of the new birth, the true breathing and afflation of the Holy Spirit. After this he acquires a hearty confidence in God, believing that He will condone his folly and not blame him for it, since he did not know any better, although he is much ashamed of it and wishes that it had never happened; he also resolves, since he has fared so well, never to sin any more or to do anything that might make him unworthy of the benefit received as if he were ungrateful and forgetful; he furthermore learns to work out, confirm, and preserve his salvation in fear and trembling . . .: this is forgiveness of sins." (Frank 2, 247.) These confused ideas plainly show that Agricola had a false conception, not only of the Law and Gospel, but also of original sin, repentance, faith, regeneration, and justification. Essentially, his was the Roman doctrine, which makes an antecedent of what in reality is an effect and a consequence of conversion and justification. Viewed from this angle, it occasions little surprise that Agricola consented to help formulate and introduce the Augsburg Interim, in which the essentials of Lutheranism were denied.

194. Poach, Otto, Musculus, Neander.

The antinomistic doctrines rejected, in particular, by Article VI of the *Formula of Concord*, were represented chiefly by Andrew Poach, Anton Otto, Andrew Musculus, and Michael Neander. Poach, born 1516, studied under Luther and was an opponent of the Philippists; he became pastor in Halle in 1541; in Nordhausen, 1547; in Erfurt, 1550; in Uttenbach, near Jena, 1572, where he died 1585. At Erfurt, Poach was deposed in 1572 on account of dissensions due to the antinomistic controversies. He signed the *Book of Concord.* — Otto [Otho; also called Herzberger, because he was born in Herzberg, 1505] studied under Luther; served as pastor in Graefenthal, and from 1543 in Nordhausen, where he was deposed in 1568 for adherence to Flacius. However, when Otto, while antagonizing Majorism and synergism, in sermons on the Letter to the Galatians of 1565, rejected the Third Use of the Law, he was opposed also by Flacius, who reminded him of

the fact that here on earth the new man resembles a child, aye, an embryo, rather than a full-fledged man.

In his zealous opposition to the Majorists, Andrew Musculus (Meusel, born 1514; studied at Leipzig 1532—1538, then at Wittenberg; became a zealous and passionate adherent of Luther, whom he considered the greatest man since the days of the apostles; from 1540 till his death, September 29, 1581, professor and pastor, later on, General Superintendent, in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder) also made some extreme statements. Later on, however, he cooperated in preparing and revising the *Formula of Concord*. Musculus wrote of Luther: "There is as great a difference between the dear old teachers and Luther as there is between the light of the sun and that of the moon; and beyond all doubt, the ancient fathers, even the best and foremost among them, as Hilary and Augustine, had they lived contemporaneously with him, would not have hesitated to deliver the lamp to him, as the saying is." (Meusel, *Handl.* 4, 709; Richard, 450.)

The most prominent opponents of these Antinomians were the well-known theologians Moerlin, Flacius, Wigand, and Westphal (chiefly in letters to Poach). The controversy was carried on with moderation, and without any special efforts to cause trouble among the people. The main issue was not — as in the conflict with Agricola — whether the Law is necessary in order to effect contrition and prepare men for the Gospel, but the so-called Third Use of the Law (*tertius usus legis*), *i. e.*, whether the Law is, and is intended to be, of service to Christians after their regeneration; in particular, whether the regenerate still need the Law with respect to their new obedience.

The conflict with Poach arose from the Majoristic controversy. Dealing in particular with the aberrations of Menius, the Synod at Eisenach, 1556, adopted seven theses which Menius was required to subscribe. The first declared: "Although the proposition, Good works are necessary to salvation, may be tolerated hypothetically and in an abstract way in the doctrine of the Law (*in doctrina legis abstractive et de idea tolerari potest*), nevertheless there are many weighty reasons why it ought and should be avoided no less than this one: Christ is a creature." (Preger 1, 383.) While Flacius, Wigand, and Moerlin defended the thesis, Amsdorf (who first, too, adopted it, but later on withdrew his assent; Seeberg 4, 488), Aurifaber, and especially Poach rejected it. This marked the beginning of the so-called Second Antinomistic Controversy. Poach denied that the Law has any promise of salvation. Even the most perfect fulfilment of the Law, said he, is but the fulfilment of a duty which merits no reward. The only thing one may acquire by a perfect fulfilment is freedom from guilt and punishment. Fulfilment of our duty (*solutio debiti*) does not warrant any claim on salvation. Yet Poach was careful to declare that this did not aply to the fulfilment of the Law which Christ rendered for us. Why? Poach answered: Because Christ, being the Son of God, was not obliged to fulfil the Law. When, therefore, He did fulfil it in our stead, He rendered satisfaction to divine justice, so that righteousness can now be imputed to us and we become partakers of eternal life.

Poach wrote: "It would not be correct to say: In the doctrine of the Law all the works commanded in the Law are necessary to salvation. *In doctrina legis omnia opera mandata in lege sunt necessaria ad salutem.*" (Schluesselburg 4, 343.) Again: "The works of Christ, which are the fulfilment of the Law, are the merit of our salvation. Our works, which ought to have been the fulfilment of the Law, do not merit salvation, even though they were most perfect, as the Law requires, — which, however, is impossible. The reason is that we are debtors to the Law. Christ, however, is not a debtor to the Law. Even if we most perfectly fulfilled all the commandments of God and completely satisfied the righteousness of God, we would not be worthy of grace and salvation on that account, nor would God be obliged to give us grace and salvation as a debt. He justly demands the fulfilment of His Law from us as obedience due Him from His creature, which is bound to obey its Creator. *Etiamsi nos omnia mandata Dei perfectissime impleremus et iustitiae Dei penitus satisfaceremus, tamen non ideo digni essemus gratia et salute, nec Deus obligatus esset, ut nobis gratiam et salutem daret ex debito. Sed iure requirit impletionem legis suae a nobis, ut debitam obedientiam a sua creatura, quae conditori suo obedire tenetur.*" (274.) Again: "The Law has not the necessity of salvation, but the necessity of obligation (*non habet lex necessitatem salutis, sed necessitatem debiti*). For, as said, even though a man would most perfectly do the works of the Law, he would not obtain salvation on account of these works. Nor is God under obligation to man, but man is under obligation to God. And in the Law God requires of man the obedience he owes; He does not require an obedience with the promise of salvation." (276.)

As to Otto, he distinguished, in a series of Latin theses, a double office of the Law, the ecclesiastical and political — *officium ecclesiasticum* and *officium politicum*. The former is to give knowledge of sin; the latter, to coerce the old man and maintain order among the obstinate. He denied that the Law in any way serves Christians with respect to good works. Otto declared: "The Law is useful and necessary neither for justification nor for any good works. But faith in Christ the Mediator alone is useful and necessary both for justification and the good works themselves. *Lex enim non modo ad iustificationem sed neque ad ulla bona opera utilis et necessaria est. Sed sola fides in Christum mediatorem utilis et necessaria est tam ad iustificationem quam ad ipsa bona opera.*" Quoting Luther, he said: "The highest art of Christians is to know nothing of the Law, to ignore works. *Summa ars Christianorum est nescire legem, ignorare opera,*" *i. e.*, in the article of

justification, as Otto did not fail to add by way of explanation. (Luther, Weimar 40, 1, 43; Tschackert, 485.) Seeberg remarks that, in reality, Poach and Otto were merely opposed to such an interpretation of the Third Use of the Law as made the Law a motive of good works, and hence could not be charged with antinomianism proper. (4, 488 f.)

Planck, Frank, and other historians have fathered upon Otto also a series of radical German theses, which, however, were composed, not by Otto, but probably by some of his adherents. These theses, in which all of the errors of Agricola are revamped, were discussed at the Altenburg colloquy, 1568 to 1569; their author, however, was not mentioned. We submit the following: "1. The Law does not teach good works, nor should it be preached in order that we may do good works. 3. Moses knew nothing of our faith and religion. 5. Evangelical preachers are to preach the Gospel only, and no Law. 7. A Christian who believes should do absolutely nothing, neither what is good nor what is evil. 10. We should pray God that we may remain steadfast in faith till our end, without all works. 14. The Holy Spirit does not work according to the norm or rule of the Law, but by Himself, without the assistance of the Law. 16. A believing Christian is *supra omnem obedientiam*, above all Law and all obedience. 17. The rebuking sermons of the prophets do not at all pertain to Christians. 21. The Law, good works, and new obedience have no place in the kingdom of Christ, but in the world, just as Moses and the government of the Pope. 25. The Law has no place in the Church or in the pulpit, but in the court-house (*Rathaus*). 28. The Third Use of the Law is a blasphemy in theology and a monstrosity in the realm of nature (*portentum in rerum natura*). 29. No man can be saved if the Third Use of the Law is true and is to be taught in the Church. The Holy Spirit in man knows nothing of the Law; the flesh, however, is betimes in need of the Law." (Tschackert, 485; Planck 5, 1, 62.) Frank also quotes: "The Christians or the regenerate are deified (*vergoettert*); yea, they are themselves God and cannot sin. God has not given you His Word that you should be saved thereby (*dass du dadurch sollst selig werden*); and whoever seeks no more from God than salvation (*Seligkeit*) seeks just as much as a louse in a scab. Such Christians are the devil's own, together with all their good works." (2, 326. 275.)

Also Musculus is numbered among the theologians who were not always sufficiently discreet and guarded in their statements concerning the necessity of good works and the use of the Law. All expressions of the Apostle Paul regarding the spiritual use of the Law, said Musculus, must be understood as referring to such only as are to be justified, not to those who are justified (*de iustificandis, non de iustificatis*). But he added: "For these, in as far as they remain in Christ, are far outside of and above every law. *Hi enim, quatenus in Christo manent, longe extra et supra omnem legem sunt.*" (Tschackert, 486.)

Michael Neander of Ilfeld, a friend of Otto, was also suspected of antinomianism. He denied that there is any relation whatever between the Law and a regenerate Christian. But he, too, was careful enough to add: "in as far as he is just or lives by the spirit, *quatenus est iustus seu spiritu vivit.*" In a letter, Neander said: "I adhere to the opinion that the Law is not given to the just in any use or office whatsoever, in so far as he is just or lives by the spirit. . . . 'For the Law,' as Luther says in his marginal note to Jeremiah, chap. 31, 'is no longer over us, but under us, and does not surround us any more.' Love rules and governs all laws, and frequently something is true according to the Law, but false according to love (*saepeque aliquid lege verum, dilectione tamen falsum est*). For love is the statute, measure, norm, and rule of all things on earth. . . . The Law only accuses and damns, and apart from this it has no other use or office, *i. e.*, the Law remains the norm of good works to all eternity, also in hell after the Last Day, but for the unjust and reprobate, and for the flesh in every man. To the just, regenerated, and new man, however, it is not the norm of good works; *i. e.*, the Law does not govern, regulate, and teach the just man; *i. e.*, it is not active with respect to him as it is with respect to an unjust man, but is rather regulated and governed and taught by the just man. It no longer drives the just (as it did before conversion and as it still drives the flesh), but is now driven and suffers, since as just men we are no longer under the Law, but above the Law and lords of the Law. How, therefore, can the Law be a norm to the just man when he is the lord of the Law, commands the Law, and frequently does what is contrary to the Law (*cum iustus legis sit dominus, legi imperet et saepe legi contraria faciat*)? . . . When the just man meditates in the Law of the Lord day and night, when he establishes the Law by faith, when he loves the Law and admires the inexhaustible wisdom of the divine Law, when he does good works written and prescribed in the Law (as indeed he alone can), when he uses the Law aright, — all these are neither the third, nor the fourth, nor the twelfth, nor the fiftieth use or office of the Law, . . . but fruits of faith, of the Spirit, or regeneration. . . . But the Old Man, who is not yet new, or a part of him which is not as yet regenerated, has need of this Law, and he is to be commanded: 'Put on the new man; put off the old.'" (Schluesselburg 4, 61; Tschackert, 484.)

195. Melanchthon and the Philippists.

A further controversy concerning the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel was caused by the Philippists in Wittenberg, whose teaching was somewhat akin to that of Agricola. They held that the Gospel, in the narrow sense of the term, and as distinguished from the Law, is "the most powerful preaching of repentance." (Frank 2, 327.) Taking his cue from Luther, Melanchthon, in his *Loci*

of 1521 as well as in later writings, clearly distinguished between Law and Gospel. (*C. R.* 21, 139; 23, 49; 12, 576.) True, he had taught, also in the *Apology*, that, in the wider sense, the Gospel is both a preaching of repentance and forgiveness of sin. But this, as the *Formula of Concord* explains, was perfectly correct and in keeping with the Scriptures. However, in repeating the statement that the Gospel embraces both the preaching of repentance and forgiveness of sins, Melanchthon was not always sufficiently careful to preclude misapprehension and misunderstanding. Indeed, some of the statements he made after Luther's death are misleading, and did not escape the challenge of loyal Lutherans.

During a disputation in 1548, at which Melanchthon presided, Flacius criticized the unqualified assertion that the Gospel was a preaching of repentance, but was satisfied when Melanchthon explained that the term Gospel was here used in the wider sense, as comprising the entire doctrine of Christ. However, when Melanchthon, during another disputation, 1556, declared: The ministry of the Gospel "rebukes the other sins which the Law shows, as well as the saddest of sins which is revealed by the Gospel (*hoc tristissimum peccatum, quod in Evangelio ostenditur*), *viz.*, that the world ignores and despises the Son of God," Flacius considered it his plain duty to register a public protest. It was a teaching which was, at least in part, the same error that Luther, and formerly also Melanchthon himself, had denounced when espoused by Agricola, *viz.*, that genuine contrition is wrought, not by the Law, but by the Gospel; by the preaching, not of the violation of the Law, but of the violation of the Son. (*C. R.* 12, 634. 640.)

These misleading statements of Melanchthon were religiously cultivated and zealously defended by the Wittenberg Philippists. With a good deal of animosity they emphasized that the Gospel in its most proper sense is also a preaching of repentance (*praedicatio poenitentiae, Busspredigt*), inasmuch as it revealed the baseness of sin and the greatness of its offense against God, and, in particular, inasmuch as the Gospel alone uncovered, rebuked, and condemned the hidden sin (*arcanum peccatum*) and the chief sin of all, the sin of unbelief (*incredulitas et neglectio Filii*), which alone condemns a man. These views, which evidently involved a commingling of the Law and the Gospel, were set forth by Paul Crell in his Disputation against John Wigand, 1571, and were defended in the *Propositions Concerning the Chief Controversies of These Times* (also of 1571), by Pezel and other Wittenberg theologians. (Frank 2, 277. 323.)

As a consequence, the Philippists, too, were charged with antinomianism, and were strenuously opposed by such theologians as Flacius, Amsdorf, and Wigand. Wigand attacked the Wittenberg *Propositions* in his book of 1571, *Concerning Antinomianism, Old and New.* Pezel answered in his *Apology of the True Doctrine on the Definition of the Gospel*, 1571; and Paul Crell, in *Spongia, or 150 Propositions Concerning the Definition of the Gospel, Opposed to the Stupid Accusation of John Wigand*, 1571. The teaching of the Philippists was formulated by Paul Crell as follows: "Since this greatest and chief sin [unbelief] is revealed, rebuked, and condemned by the Gospel alone, therefore also the Gospel alone is expressly and particularly, truly and properly, a preaching and a voice of repentance or conversion in its true and proper sense. *A solo evangelio, cum peccatum hoc summum et praecipuum monstretur, arguatur et damnetur, expresse ac nominatim solum etiam evangelium vere ac proprie praedicatio ac vox est poenitentiae sive conversionis vere et proprie ita dictae.*" (277. 327.)

This doctrine of the Philippists, according to which the Gospel in the narrow and proper sense, and as distinguished from the Law, is a preaching of repentance, was rejected by Article V of the *Formula of Concord* as follows: "But if the Law and the Gospel, likewise also Moses himself as a teacher of the Law and Christ as a preacher of the Gospel, are contrasted with one another, we believe, teach, and confess that the Gospel is not a preaching of repentance or reproof, but properly nothing else than a preaching of consolation, and a joyful message which does not reprove or terrify, but comforts consciences against the terrors of the Law, points alone to the merit of Christ, and raises them up again by the lovely preaching of the grace and favor of God, obtained through Christ's merit." (803, 7.)

XVIII. The Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy.

196. Contents and Purpose of Articles VII and VIII.

In all of its articles the *Formula of Concord* is but a reaffirmation of the doctrines taught and defended by Luther. The fire of prolonged and hot controversies through which these doctrines passed after his death had but strengthened the Lutherans in their conviction that in every point Luther's teaching was indeed nothing but the pure Word of God itself. It had increased the consciousness that, in believing and teaching as they did, they were not following mere human authorities, such as Luther and the Lutheran Confessions, but the Holy Scriptures, by which alone their consciences were bound. Articles VII and VIII of the *Formula of Concord*, too, reassert Luther's doctrines on the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ as being in every particular the clear and unmistakable teaching of the divine Word, — two doctrines, by the way, which perhaps more than any other serve as the acid test whether the fundamental attitude of a church or a theologian is truly Scriptural and fully free from every rationalistic and enthusiastic infection.

The Seventh Article teaches the real and substantial presence of the true body and blood of Christ; their sacramental union in, with, and under the elements of bread and wine; the oral manducation, or eating and drinking of both substances by unbelieving as well as believing communicants. It maintains that this presence of the body and blood of Christ, though real, is neither an impanation nor a companation, neither a local inclusion nor a mixture of the two substances, but illocal and transcendent. It holds that the eating of the body and the drinking of the blood of Christ, though truly done with the mouth of the body, is not Capernaitic, or natural, but supernatural. It affirms that this real presence is effected, not by any human power, but by the omnipotent power of Christ in accordance with the words of the institution of the Sacrament.

The Eighth Article treats of the person of Christ, of the personal union of His two natures, of the communication of these natures as well as of their attributes, and, in particular, of the impartation of the truly divine majesty to His human nature and the terminology resulting therefrom. One particular object of Article VIII is also to show that the doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, as taught by the Lutheran Church, does not, as was contended by her Zwinglian and Calvinistic adversaries, conflict in any way with what the Scriptures teach concerning the person of Christ, His human nature, His ascension, and His sitting at the right hand of God the Father Almighty. The so-called Appendix, or Catalogus, a collection of passages from the Bible and from the fathers of the ancient Church, prepared by Andreae and Chemnitz, was added to the *Formula of Concord* (though not as an authoritative part of it) in further support of the Lutheran doctrine particularly concerning the divine majesty of the human nature of Christ.

Both articles, the seventh as well as the eighth, were incorporated in the *Formula of Concord* in order thoroughly to purify the Lutheran Church from Reformed errors concerning the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ, which after Luther's death had wormed their way into some of her schools and churches, especially those of Electoral Saxony, and to make her forever immune against the infection of Calvinism (Crypto-Calvinism) — a term which, during the controversies preceding the *Formula of Concord*, did not, as is generally the case to-day, refer to Calvin's absolute decree of election and reprobation, but to his doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper, as formulated by himself in the *Consensus Tigurinus* (Zurich Consensus), issued 1549. The subtitle of this confession reads: "Consensio Mutua in Re Sacramentaria Ministrorum Tigurinae Ecclesiae, et D. Iohannis Calvini Ministri Genevensis Ecclesiae, iam nunc ab ipsis autoribus edita." In this confession, therefore, Calvin declares his agreement with the teaching of Zwingli as represented by his followers in Zurich, notably Bullinger. Strenuous efforts were made by the Calvinists and Reformed everywhere to make the *Consensus Tigurinus* the basis of a pan-Protestant union, and at the same time the banner under which to conquer all Protestant countries, Lutheran Germany included, for what must be regarded as being essentially Zwinglianism. The *Consensus* was adopted in Switzerland, England, France, and Holland. In Lutheran territories, too, its teaching was rapidly gaining friends, notably in Southern Germany, where Bucer had prepared the way for it, and in Electoral Saxony, where the Philippists offered no resistance. Garnished as it was with glittering and seemingly orthodox phrases, the *Consensus Tigurinus* lent itself admirably for such Reformed propaganda. "The consequence was," says the *Formula of Concord*, "that many great men were deceived by these fine, plausible words — *splendidis et magnificis verbis.*" (973, 6.) To counteract this deception, to establish Luther's doctrine of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, and to defend it against the sophistries of the Sacramentarians: Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Crypto-Calvinists — such was the object of Articles VII and VIII of the *Formula of Concord.*

197. John Calvin.

Calvin was born July 10, 1509, in Noyon, France. He began his studies in Paris, 1523, preparing for theology. In 1529 his father induced him to take up law in Orleans and Bourges. In 1531 he returned to his theological studies in Paris. Here he experienced what he himself describes as a "sudden conversion." He joined the Reformed congregation, and before long was its acknowledged leader. In 1533 he was compelled to leave France because of his anti-Roman testimony. In Basel, 1535, he wrote the first draft of his *Institutio Religionis Christianae.* In Geneva, where he was constrained to remain by William Farel [born 1489; active as a fiery Protestant preacher in Meaux, Strassburg, Zurich, Bern, Basel, Moempelgard, Geneva, Metz, etc.; died 1565], Calvin developed and endeavored to put into practise his legalistic ideal of a theocratic and rigorous puritanical government. As a result he was banished, 1538. He removed to Strassburg, where he was held and engaged by Bucer. He attended the conventions in Frankfort, 1539; Hagenau, 1540; Worms, 1540; and Regensburg, 1541. Here he got acquainted with the Lutherans, notably Melanchthon. September 13, 1541, he returned to Geneva, where, woefully mixing State and Church, he continued his reformatory and puritanical efforts. One of the victims of his theocratic government was the anti-Trinitarian Michael Servetus, who, at the instance of Calvin, was burned at the stake, October 27, 1553. In 1559 Calvin established the Geneva School, which exercised a far-reaching theological influence. He died May 27, 1564.

Calvin repeatedly expressed his unbounded admiration for Luther as a "preeminent servant of Christ — *praeclarus Christi servus.*"

(*C. R.* 37, 54.) In his *Answer* of 1543 against the Romanist Pighius he said: "Concerning Luther we testify without dissimulation now as heretofore that we esteem him as a distinguished apostle of Christ, by whose labor and service, above all, the purity of the Gospel has been restored at this time. *De Luthero nunc quoque sicut hactenus non dissimulanter testamur, eum nos habere pro insigni Christi apostolo, cuius maxime opera et ministerio restituta hoc tempore fuerit Evangelii puritas.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 169.) Even after Luther had published his *Brief Confession*, in which he unsparingly denounces the Sacramentarians (deniers of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper), and severs all connection with them, Calvin admonished Bullinger in a letter dated November 25, 1544, to bear in mind what a great and wonderfully gifted man Luther was, and with what fortitude, ability, and powerful teaching he had shattered the kingdom of Antichrist and propagated the salutary doctrine. "I am frequently accustomed to say," he declared, "that, even if he should call me a devil, I would accord him the honor of acknowledging him to be an eminent servant of God." In the original the remarkable words of Calvin read as follows: "*Sed haec cupio vobis in mentem venire, primum quantus sit vir Lutherus, et quantis dotibus excellat, quanta animi fortitudine et constantia, quanta dexteritate, quanta doctrinae efficacia hactenus ad profligandum Antichristi regnum et simul propagandam salutis doctrinam incubuerit. Saepe dicere solitus sum, etiamsi me diabolum vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut insignem Dei servum agnoscam, qui tamen, ut pollet eximiis virtutibus, ita magnis vitiis laboret.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 169; *C. R.* 39 [*Calvini Opp.* 11], 774.)

However, though he admired the personality of Luther, Calvin, like Zwingli and Oecolampadius at Marburg 1529, revealed a theological spirit which was altogether different from Luther's. In particular, he was violently opposed to Luther's doctrines of the real presence in the Lord's Supper and of the majesty of the human nature of Christ. Revealing his animus, Calvin branded the staunch and earnest defenders of these doctrines as the "apes" of Luther. In his *Second Defense* against Westphal, 1556, he exclaimed: "O Luther, how few imitators of your excellences, but how many apes of your pious ostentation have you left behind! *O Luthere, quam paucos tuae praestantiae imitatores, quam multas vero sanctae tuae iactantiae simias reliquisti!*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 209.)

True, when in Strassburg, Calvin signed the *Augsburg Confession* (1539 or 1540), and was generally considered a Lutheran. However, in his *Last Admonition* to Westphal, of 1557, and in a letter of the same year to Martin Schalling, Calvin wrote: "Nor do I repudiate the *Augsburg Confession*, to which I have previously subscribed, *in the sense in which the author himself* [Melanchthon in the *Variata* of 1540] *has interpreted it. Nec vero Augustanam Confessionem repudio, cui pridem volens ac libens subscripsi, sicut eam auctor ipse interpretatus est.*" (*C. R.* 37, 148.) According to his own confession, therefore, Calvin's subscription to the *Augustana*, at least as far as the article of the Lord's Supper is concerned, was insincere and nugatory. In fact, Calvin must be regarded as the real originator of the second controversy on the Lord's Supper between the Lutherans and the Reformed, even as the first conflict on this question was begun, not by Luther, but by his opponents, Carlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius. For the adoption of the *Consensus Tigurinus* in 1549, referred to above, cannot but be viewed as an overt act by which the Wittenberg Concord, signed 1536 by representative Lutheran and Reformed theologians, was publicly repudiated and abandoned by Calvin and his adherents, and whereby an anti-Lutheran propaganda on an essentially Zwinglian basis was inaugurated. Calvin confirmed the schism between the Lutherans and the Reformed which Carlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius had originated.

198. Calvin's Zwinglianism.

The doctrine of Calvin and his adherents concerning the Lord's Supper is frequently characterized as a materially modified Zwinglianism. Schaff maintains that "Calvin's theory took a middle course, retaining, on the basis of Zwingli's exegesis, the religious substance of Luther's faith, and giving it a more intellectual and spiritual form, triumphed in Switzerland, gained much favor in Germany, and opened a fair prospect for union." (*Creeds* 1, 280.) As a matter of fact, however, a fact admitted also by such Calvinists as Hodge and Shedd, Calvin's doctrine was a denial *in toto* of the real presence as taught by Luther. (Pieper, *Dogm.* 3, 354.) Calvin held that after His ascension Christ, according to His human nature, was locally enclosed in heaven, far away from the earth. Hence he denied also the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Holy Supper. In fact, Calvin's doctrine was nothing but a polished form of Zwingli's crude teaching, couched in phrases approaching the Lutheran terminology as closely as possible. Even where he paraded as Luther, Calvin was but Zwingli disguised (and poorly at that) in a seemingly orthodox garb and promenading with several imitation Lutheran feathers in his hat.

In the *Formula of Concord* we read: "Although some Sacramentarians strive to employ words that come as close as possible to the *Augsburg Confession* and the form and mode of speech in its churches, and confess that in the Holy Supper the body of Christ is truly received by believers, still, when we insist that they state their meaning properly, sincerely, and clearly, they all declare themselves unanimously thus: that the true essential body and blood of Christ is absent from the consecrated bread and wine in the Holy Supper as far as the highest heaven is from the earth. . . . Therefore they understand this presence of the body of Christ not as a presence here upon earth, but only *respectu fidei*

(with respect to faith), that is, that our faith, reminded and excited by the visible signs, just as by the Word preached, elevates itself and ascends above all heavens, and receives and enjoys the body of Christ, which is there in heaven present, yea, Christ Himself, together with all His benefits, in a manner true and essential, but nevertheless *spiritual only;* . . . consequently nothing else is received by the mouth in the Holy Supper than bread and wine." (971, 2 f.) This is, and was intended to be, a presentation of Calvinism as being nothing but Zwinglianism clothed in seemingly orthodox phrases.

That this picture drawn by the *Formula of Concord* is not a caricature or in any point a misrepresentation of Calvinism appears from the *Consensus Tigurinus* itself, where we read: "In as far as Christ is a man, He is to be sought nowhere else than in heaven and in no other manner than with the mind and the understanding of faith. Therefore it is a perverse and impious superstition to include Him under elements of this world. *Christus, quatenus homo est, non alibi quam in coelo nec aliter quam mente et fidei intelligentia quaerendus est. Quare perversa et impia superstitio est, ipsum sub elementis huius mundi includere.*" Again: "We repudiate those [who urge the literal interpretation of the words of institution] as preposterous interpreters." "For beyond controversy, they are to be taken figuratively, . . . as when by metonymy the name of the symbolized thing is transferred to the sign — *ut per metonymiam ad signum transferatur rei figuratae nomen.*" Again: "Nor do we regard it as less absurd to place Christ under, and to unite Him with, the bread than to change the bread into His body. *Neque enim minus absurdum iudicamus, Christum sub pane locare vel cum pane copulare, quam panem transsubstantiare in corpus eius.*" Again: "When we say that Christ is to be sought in heaven, this mode of speech expresses a distance of place, . . . because the body of Christ, . . . being finite and contained in heaven, as in a place, must of necessity be removed from us by as great a distance as the heaven is removed from the earth — *necesse est, a nobis tanto locorum intervallo distare, quanto caelum abest a terra.*" (Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 196.) Such was the teaching cunningly advocated by Calvin and his adherents, the Crypto-Calvinists in Germany included, but boldly and firmly opposed by the loyal Lutherans, and finally disposed of by Articles VII and VIII of the *Formula of Concord.*

199. Melanchthon's Public Attitude.

As stated, Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper was received with increasing favor also in Lutheran territories, notably in Southern Germany and Electoral Saxony, where the number of theologians and laymen who secretly adopted and began to spread it was rapidly increasing. They were called Crypto-Calvinists (secret or masked Calvinists) because, while they subscribed to the *Augsburg Confession,* claimed to be loyal Lutherans, and occupied most important positions in the Lutheran Church, they in reality were propagandists of Calvinism, zealously endeavoring to suppress Luther's books and doctrines, and to substitute for them the views of Calvin. Indeed, Calvin claimed both privately and publicly that Melanchthon himself was his ally. And, entirely apart from what the latter may privately have confided to him, there can be little doubt that Calvin's assertions were not altogether without foundation. In fact, theologically as well as ethically, Melanchthon must be regarded as the spiritual father also of the Crypto-Calvinists.

True, originally Melanchthon fully shared Luther's views on the Lord's Supper. At Marburg, 1529, he was still violently opposed to the Zwinglians and their "profane" teaching. In an *Opinion* on Carlstadt's doctrine, of October 9, 1525, he affirms that Christ, both as God and man, *i. e.*, with His body and blood, is present in the Supper. (*C. R.* 1, 760.) In September of the following year he wrote to Philip Eberbach: "Know that Luther's teaching [concerning the Lord's Supper] is very old in the Church. *Hoc scito, Lutheri sententiam perveterem in ecclesia esse.*" (823.) This he repeats in a letter of November 11, also to Eberbach. In an *Opinion* of May 15, 1529: "I am satisfied that I shall not agree with the Strassburgers all my life, and I know that Zwingli and his compeers write falsely concerning the Sacrament." (1067.) June 20, 1529, to Jerome Baumgaertner: "I would rather die than see our people become contaminated by the society of the Zwinglian cause. *Nam mori malim, quam societate Cinglianae causae nostros contaminari.* My dear Jerome, it is a great cause, but few consider it. I shall be lashed to death on account of this matter." (*C. R.* 1, 1077; 2, 18.) November 2, 1529, to John Fesel: "I admonish you most earnestly to avoid the Zwinglian dogmas. Your Judimagister [Eberbach], I fear, loves these profane disputations too much. I know that the teaching of Zwingli can be upheld neither with the Scriptures nor with the authority of the ancients. Concerning the Lord's Supper, therefore, teach as Luther does." (1, 1109.) In February, 1530, he wrote: "The testimonies of ancient writers concerning the Lord's Supper which I have compiled are now being printed." (2, 18.) In this publication Melanchthon endeavored to show by quotations from Cyril, Chrysostom, Vulgarius, Hilary, Cyprian, Irenaeus, and Augustine that Zwingli's interpretation of the words of institution does not agree with that of the ancient Church. (23, 732.) According to his own statement, Melanchthon embodied Luther's doctrine in the *Augsburg Confession* and rejected that of the Zwinglians. (2, 142. 212.)

At Augsburg, Melanchthon was much provoked also when he heard that Bucer claimed to be in doctrinal agreement with the Lutherans. In his *Opinion Concerning the Doctrine of the Sacramentarians,* written in August, 1530, we read: "1. The Zwinglians believe that the body of the Lord can be

present in but one place. 2. Likewise that the body of Christ cannot be anywhere except locally only. They vehemently contend that it is contrary to the nature of a body to be anywhere in a manner not local; also, that it is inconsistent with the nature of a body to be in different places at the same time. 3. For this reason they conclude that the body of Christ is circumscribed in heaven in a certain place, so that it can in no way be elsewhere at the same time, and that in truth and reality it is far away from the bread, and not in the bread and with the bread. 4. Bucer is therefore manifestly wrong in contending that they [the Zwinglians] are in agreement with us. For we say that it is not necessary for the body of Christ to be in but one place. We say that it can be in different places, whether this occurs locally or in some other secret way by which different places are as one point present at the same time to the person of Christ. We, therefore, affirm a true and real presence of the body of Christ with the bread. 5. If Bucer wishes to accept the opinion of Zwingli and Oecolampadius, he will never dare to say that the body of Christ is really with the bread without geometric distance. 9. Here they [the Zwinglians] wish the word 'presence' to be understood only concerning efficacy and the Holy Spirit. 10. We, however, require not only the presence of power, but of the body. This Bucer purposely disguises. 11. They simply hold that the body of Christ is in heaven, and that in reality it is neither with the bread nor in the bread. 12. Nevertheless they say that the body of Christ is truly present, but by contemplation of faith, *i. e.*, by imagination. 13. Such is simply their opinion. They deceive men by saying that the body is truly present, yet adding afterwards, 'by contemplation of faith,' *i. e.*, by imagination. 14. We teach that Christ's body is truly and really present with the bread or in the bread. 15. . . . Although we say that the body of Christ is really present, Luther does not say that it is present locally, namely, in some mass, by circumscription; but in the manner by which Christ's person or the entire Christ is present to all creatures. . . . We deny transubstantiation, and that the body is locally in the bread," etc. (2, 222. 311. 315.)

Such were the views of Melanchthon in and before 1530. And publicly and formally he continued to adhere to Luther's teaching. In an *Opinion* written 1534, prior to his convention with Bucer at Cassel, he said: "If Christ were a mere creature and not God, He would not be with us essentially, even if He had the government; but since He is God, He gives His body as a testimony that He is essentially with us always. This sense of the Sacrament is both simple and comforting. . . . Therefore I conclude that Christ's body and blood are truly with the bread and wine, that is to say, Christ essentially, not figuratively. But here we must cast aside the thoughts proffered by reason, *viz.*, how Christ ascends and descends, hides Himself in the bread, and is nowhere else." (2, 801.) In 1536 Melanchthon signed the Wittenberg Concord, which plainly taught that the body and blood of Christ are received also by unworthy guests. (Conc. Trigl. 977, 12 ff.) In 1537 he subscribed to the *Smalcald Articles*, in which Luther brought out his doctrine of the real presence in most unequivocal terms, declaring that "bread and wine in the Supper *are* the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by the godly, but also by wicked Christians." (Conc. Trigl, 493, 1.) In his letter to Flacius of September 5, 1556, Melanchthon solemnly declared: "I have never changed the doctrine of the Confession." (*C. R.* 8, 841.) September 6, 1557, he wrote: "We all embrace and retain the Confession together with the *Apology* and the confession of Luther written previous to the Synod at Mantua." (9, 260.) Again, in November of the same year: "Regarding the Lord's Supper, we retain the *Augsburg Confession* and *Apology*." (9, 371.) In an *Opinion* of March 4, 1558, Melanchthon declared that in the Holy Supper the Son of God is truly and substantially present in such a manner that when we use it, He gives us with the bread and wine His body," etc., and that Zwingli was wrong when he declared "that it is a mere outward sign, and that Christ is not essentially present in it, and that it is a mere sign by which Christians know each other." (9, 472 f.) Several months before his death, in his preface to the *Corpus Philippicum*, Melanchthon declared that in the Holy Supper "Christ is truly and substantially present and truly administered to those who take the body and blood of Christ," and that in it "He gives His body and blood to him who eats and drinks." (Richard, 389.)

200. Melanchthon's Private Views.

While Melanchthon, in a public and formal way, continued, in the manner indicated, to maintain orthodox appearances till his death, he had inwardly and in reality since 1530 come to be more and more of a stranger to Luther's firmness of conviction, also with respect to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Influenced by an undue respect for the authority of the ancient fathers and misled by his reason or, as Luther put it, by his philosophy, he gradually lost his firm hold on the clear words of the institution of the Holy Supper. As a result he became a wavering reed, driven to and fro with the wind, now verging toward Luther, now toward Calvin. Always oscillating between truth and error, he was unable to rise to the certainty of firm doctrinal conviction, and the immovable stand which characterized Luther. In a letter dated May 24, 1538, in which he revealed the torments of his distracted and doubting soul, he wrote to Veit Dietrich: "Know that for ten years neither a night nor a day has passed in which I did not reflect on this matter," the Lord's Supper. (*C. R.* 3, 537.) And his doubts led to a departure from his own former position, — a fact for which also sufficient evidences are not wholly lacking. "Already in 1531," says Seeberg, "Melanchthon secretly

expressed his opinion plainly enough to the effect that it was sufficient to acknowledge a presence of the divinity of Christ in the Lord's Supper, but not a union of the body and the bread. *Ep.*, p. 85." (*Dogg.* 4, 2, 447.)

That Melanchthon's later public statements and protestations concerning his faithful adherence to the doctrine of the *Augsburg Confession* must be more or less discounted, appears, apart from other considerations, from his own admission that he was wont to dissimulate in these and other matters; from his private letters, in which he favorably refers to the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution; from his communication to Philip of Hesse with regard to Luther's article on the Lord's Supper at Smalcald, referred to in a previous chapter; from the changes which he made 1540 in Article X of the *Augsburg Confession;* from his later indefinite statements concerning the real presence in the Holy Supper; from his intimate relations and his cordial correspondence with Calvin; from his public indifference and neutrality during the eucharistic controversy with the Calvinists; and from his unfriendly attitude toward the champions of Luther in this conflict.

201. Misled by Oecolampadius and Bucer.

That Melanchthon permitted himself to be guided by human authorities rather than by the clear Word of God alone, appears from the fact that Oecolampadius's *Dialogus* of 1530 — which endeavored to show that the symbolical interpretation of the words of institution is found also in the writings of the Church Fathers, notably in those of St. Augustine, and which Melanchthon, in a letter to Luther (*C. R.* 2, 217), says, was written "with greater exactness (*accuratius*) than he is otherwise wont to write" — made such a profound impression on him that ever since, as is shown by some of his private letters, to which we shall presently refer, he looked with increasing favor on the figurative interpretation.

As a result, Melanchthon's attitude toward the Southern Germans and the Zwinglians also underwent a marked change. When he left to attend the conference with Bucer at Cassel, in December, 1534, Luther in strong terms enjoined him to defend the sacramental union and the oral eating and drinking; namely, that in and with the bread the body of Christ is truly present, distributed, and eaten. Luther's *Opinion* in this matter, dated December 17, 1534, concludes as follows: "Und ist Summa das unsere Meinung, dass wahrhaftig in und mit dem Brot der Leib Christi gegessen wird, also dass alles, was das Brot wirkt und leidet, der Leib Christi wirke und leide, dass er ausgeteilt [ge]gessen und mit den Zaehnen zerbissen werde." (St. L. 17, 2052.) Self-evidently, when writing thus, Luther had no Capernaitic eating and drinking in mind, his object merely being, as stated, to emphasize the reality of the sacramental union. January 10, 1535, however, the day after his return from Cassel, Melanchthon wrote to his intimate friend Camerarius that at Cassel he had been the messenger, not of his own, but of a foreign opinion. (*C. R.* 2, 822.)

As a matter of fact, Melanchthon returned to Wittenberg a convert to the compromise formula of Bucer, according to which Christ's body and blood are truly and substantially received in the Sacrament, but are not really connected with the bread and wine, the signs or *signa exhibitiva,* as Bucer called them. Stating the difference between Luther and Bucer, as he now saw it, Melanchthon said: The only remaining question therefore is the one concerning the physical union of the bread and body, — and of what need is this question? *Tantum igitur reliqua est quaestio de physica coniunctione panis et corporis, qua quaestione quid opus est?*" (*C. R.* 2, 827. 842; St. L. 17, 2057.) To Erhard Schnepf he had written: "He [Bucer] confesses that, when these things, bread and wine, are given, Christ is truly and substantially present. As for me, I would not demand anything further." (*C. R.* 2, 787.) In February he wrote to Brenz: "I plainly judge that they [Bucer, etc.] are not far from the view of our men; indeed, in the matter itself they agree with us (*reipsa convenire*); nor do I condemn them." (2, 843; St. L. 17, 2065.) This, however, was not Luther's view. In a following letter Melanchthon said: "Although Luther does not openly condemn it [the formula of Bucer], yet he did not wish to give his opinion upon it as yet. *Lutherus, etsi non plane damnat, tamen nondum voluit pronuntiare.*" (*C. R.* 2, 843; St. L. 17, 2062.) A letter of February 1, 1535, to Philip of Hesse and another of February 3, to Bucer, also both reveal, on the one hand, Melanchthon's desire for a union on Bucer's platform and, on the other, Luther's attitude of aloofness and distrust. (*C. R.* 2, 836. 841.)

202. Secret Letters and the Variata of 1540.

In the letter to Camerarius of January 10, 1535, referred to in the preceding paragraph, Melanchthon plainly indicates that his views of the Holy Supper no longer agreed with Luther's. "Do not ask for my opinion now," says he, "for I was the messenger of an opinion foreign to me, although, forsooth, I will not hide what I think when I shall have heard what our men answer. But concerning this entire matter either personally, or when I shall have more reliable messengers. *Meam sententiam noli nunc requirere; fui enim nuntius alienae, etsi profecto non dissimulabo, quid sentiam, ubi audiero, quid respondeant nostri. Ac de hac re tota aut coram, aut cum habebo certiores tabellarios.*" (2, 822.) Two days later, January 12, 1535, Melanchthon wrote a letter to Brenz (partly in Greek, which language he employed when he imparted thoughts which he regarded as dangerous, as, *e. g.*, in his defamatory letter to Camerarius, July 24, 1525, on Luther's marriage; *C. R.* 1, 754), in which he lifted the

veil still more and gave a clear glimpse of his own true inwardness. From this letter it plainly appears that Melanchthon was no longer sure of the correctness of the literal interpretation of the words of institution, the very foundation of Luther's entire doctrine concerning the Holy Supper.

The letter reads, in part, as follows: "You have written several times concerning the Sacramentarians, and you disadvise the Concord, even though they should incline towards Luther's opinion. My dear Brenz, if there are any who differ from us regarding the Trinity or other articles, I will have no alliance with them, but regard them as such who are to be execrated. . . . Concerning the Concord, however, no action whatever has as yet been taken. I have only brought Bucer's opinions here [to Wittenberg]. But I wish that I could talk to you personally concerning the controversy. I do not constitute myself a judge, and readily yield to you, who govern the Church, and I affirm the real presence of Christ in the Supper. I do not desire to be the author or defender of a new dogma in the Church, but I see that there are many testimonies of the ancient writers who without any ambiguity explain the mystery typically and tropically [*περὶ τύπου καὶ τροπικῶς*], while the opposing testimonies are either more modern or spurious. You, too, will have to investigate whether you defend the ancient opinion. But I do wish earnestly that the pious Church would decide this case without sophistry and tyranny. In France and at other places many are killed on account of this opinion. And many applaud such judgments without any good reason, and strengthen the fury of the tyrants. To tell the truth, this matter pains me not a little. Therefore my only request is that you do not pass on this matter rashly, but consult also the ancient Church. I most fervently desire that a concord be effected without any sophistry. But I desire also that good men may be able to confer on this great matter in a friendly manner. Thus a concord might be established without sophistry. For I do not doubt that the adversaries would gladly abandon the entire dogma if they believed that it was new. You know that among them are many very good men. Now they incline toward Luther, being moved by a few testimonies of ecclesiastical writers. What, then, do you think, ought to be done? Will you forbid also that we confer together? As for me, I desire that we may be able frequently to confer together on this matter as well as on many others. You see that in other articles they as well as we now explain many things more skilfully (*dexterius*) since they have begun to be agitated among us more diligently. However, I conclude and ask you to put the best construction on this letter, and, after reading it, to tear it up immediately, and to show it to nobody." (*C. R.* 2, 823 f.; Luther, St. L. 17, 2060.)

In a letter to Veit Dietrich, dated April 23, 1538, Melanchthon declares: "In order not to deviate too far from the ancients, I have maintained a sacramental presence in the use, and said that, when these things are given, Christ is truly present and efficacious. That is certainly enough. I have not added an inclusion or a connection by which the body is affixed to, concatenated or mixed with, the bread. Sacraments are covenants [assuring us] that something else is present when the things are received. *Nec addidi inclusionem aut coniunctionem talem, qua affigeretur τῷ ἄρτῳ τὸ σῶμα, aut ferruminaretur, aut misceretur. Sacramenta pacta sunt, ut rebus sumptis adsit aliud.* . . . What more do you desire? And this will have to be resorted to lest you defend what some even now are saying, *viz.*, that the body and blood are tendered separately — *separatim tradi corpus et sanguinem.* This, too, is new and will not even please the Papists. Error is fruitful, as the saying goes. That physical connection (*illa physica coniunctio*) breeds many questions: Whether the parts are separate; whether included; when [in what moment] they are present; whether [they are present] apart from the use. Of this nothing is read among the ancients. Nor do I, my dear Veit, carry these disputations into the Church; and in the *Loci* I have spoken so sparingly on this matter in order to lead the youth away from these questions. Such is in brief and categorically what I think. But I wish that the two most cruel tyrants, animosity and sophistry, would be removed for a while, and a just deliberation held concerning the entire matter. If I have not satisfied you by this simple answer, I shall expect of you a longer discussion. I judge that in this manner I am speaking piously, carefully, and modestly concerning the symbols, and approach as closely as possible to the opinion of the ancients." (*C. R.* 3, 514 f.) A month later, May 24, Melanchthon again added: "I have simply written you what I think, nor do I detract anything from the words. For I know that Christ is truly and substantially present and efficacious when we use the symbols. You also admit a synecdoche. But to add a division and separation of the body and blood, that is something altogether new and unheard of in the universal ancient Church." (3, 536; 7, 882.)

Evidently, then, Melanchthon's attitude toward the Reformed and his views concerning the Lord's Supper had undergone remarkable changes since 1530. And in order to clear the track for his own changed sentiments and to enable the Reformed, in the interest of an ultimate union, to subscribe the *Augsburg Confession,* Melanchthon, in 1540, altered its Tenth Article in the manner set forth in a previous chapter. Schaff remarks: Calvin's view of the Lord's Supper "was in various ways officially recognized in the *Augsburg Confession* of 1540." (1, 280.) Such at any rate was the construction the Reformed everywhere put on the alteration. It was generally regarded by them to be an essential concession to Calvinism. Melanchthon, too, was well aware of this; but he did absolutely nothing to obviate this interpretation — no doubt, because it certainly was not very far from the truth.

203. Not in Sympathy with Lutheran Champions.

When Westphal, in 1552, pointed out the Calvinistic menace and sounded the tocsin, loyal Lutherans everywhere enlisted in the controversy to defend Luther's doctrine concerning the real presence and the divine majesty of Christ's human nature. But Melanchthon again utterly failed the Lutheran Church both as a leader and a private. For although Lutheranism in this controversy was fighting for its very existence, Master Philip remained silent, non-committal, neutral. Viewed in the light of the conditions then prevailing, it was impossible to construe this attitude as pro-Lutheran. Moreover, whenever and wherever Melanchthon, in his letters and opinions written during this controversy, did show his colors to some extent, it was but too apparent that his mind and heart was with the enemies rather than with the champions of Lutheranism. For while his letters abound with flings and thrusts against the men who defended the doctrines of the sacramental union and the omnipresence of the human nature of Christ, he led Calvin and his adherents to believe that he was in sympathy with them and their cause.

Melanchthon's animosity ran high not only against such extremists as Saliger (Beatus) and Fredeland (both were deposed in Luebeck 1568, and Saliger again in Rostock 1569), who taught that in virtue of the consecration before the use (*ante usum*) bread and wine are the body and blood of Christ, denouncing all who denied this as Sacramentarians (Gieseler 3, 2, 257), but also against all those who faithfully adhered to, and defended, Luther's phraseology concerning the Lord's Supper. He rejected the teaching of Westphal and the Hamburg ministers, according to which, in the Lord's Supper, the bread is properly called the body of Christ and the wine the blood of Christ, and stigmatized their doctrine as "bread-worship, *ἀρτολατρεία*." (*C. R.* 8, 362. 660. 791; 9, 470. 962.)

In a similar manner Melanchthon ridiculed the old Lutheran teaching of the omnipresence of Christ according to His human nature as a new and foolish doctrine. Concerning the *Confession and Report of the Wuerttemberg Theologians*, framed by Brenz and adopted 1559, which emphatically asserted the real presence, as well as the omnipresence of Christ also according to His human nature, Melanchthon remarked contemptuously in a letter to Jacob Runge, dated February 1, 1560, and in a letter to G. Cracow, dated February 3, 1560, that he could not characterize "the decree of the Wuerttemberg Fathers (*Abbates Wirtebergenses*) more aptly than as Hechinger Latin (*Hechingense Latinum, Hechinger Latein*)," *i. e.*, as absurd and insipid teaching. (9, 1035 f.; 7, 780. 884.)

204. Melanchthon Claimed by Calvin.

In 1554 Nicholas Gallus of Regensburg republished, with a preface of his own, *Philip Melanchthon's Opinions of Some Ancient Writers Concerning the Lord's Supper.* The timely reappearance of this book, which Melanchthon, in 1530, had directed against the Zwinglians, was most embarrassing to him as well as to his friend Calvin. The latter, therefore, now urged him to break his silence and come out openly against his public assailants. But Melanchthon did not consider it expedient to comply with this request. Privately, however, he answered, October 14, 1554: "As regards your admonition in your last letter that I repress the ignorant clamors of those who renew the strife concerning the bread-worship, know that some of them carry on this disputation out of hatred toward me in order to have a plausible reason for oppressing me. *Quod me hortaris, ut reprimam ineruditos clamores illorum, qui renovant certamen περὶ ἀρτολατρείας, scito, quosdam praecipue odio mei eam disputationem movere, ut habeant plausibilem causam ad me opprimendum.*" (8, 362.)

Fully persuaded that he was in complete doctrinal agreement with his Wittenberg friend on the controverted questions, Calvin finally, in his *Last Admonition* (*Ultima Admonitio*) *to Westphal*, 1557, publicly claimed Melanchthon as his ally, and implored him to give public testimony "that they [the Calvinists and Zwinglians] teach nothing foreign to the *Augsburg Confession, nihil alienum nos tradere a Confessione Augustana.*" "I confirm," Calvin here declared, "that in this cause [concerning the Lord's Supper] Philip can no more be torn from me than from his own bowels. *Confirmo, non magis a me Philippum quam a propriis visceribus in hac causa posse divelli.*" (*C. R.* 37 [*Calvini Opp.* 9], 148. 149. 193. 466; Gieseler 3, 2, 219; Tschackert, 536.) Melanchthon, however, continued to preserve his sphinxlike silence, which indeed declared as loud as words could have done that he favored the Calvinists, and was opposed to those who defended Luther's doctrine. To Mordeisen he wrote, November 15, 1557: "If you will permit me to live at a different place, I shall reply, both truthfully and earnestly, to these unlearned sycophants, and say things that are useful to the Church." (*C. R.* 9, 374.)

After the death of Melanchthon, Calvin wrote in his *Dilucida Explicatio* against Hesshusius, 1561: "O Philip Melanchthon! For it is to you that I appeal, who art living with Christ in the presence of God and there waiting for us until we shall be assembled with you into blessed rest. A hundred times you have said, when, fatigued with labor and overwhelmed with cares, you, as an intimate friend, familiarly laid your head upon my breast: Would to God I might die on this bosom! But afterwards I have wished a thousand times that we might be granted to be together. You would certainly have been more courageous to engage in battle and stronger to despise envy, and disregard false accusations. In this way, too, the wickedness of many would have been restrained whose audacity to revile grew from your pliability, as they called it. *O Philippe Melanchthon! Te enim appello, qui apud Deum cum Christo vivis,*

nosque illic exspectas, donec tecum in beatam quietem colligamur. Dixisti centies, quum fessus laboribus et molestiis oppressus caput familiariter in sinum meum deponeres: Utinam, utinam moriar in hoc sinu! Ego vero millies postea optavi nobis contingere, ut simul essemus. Certe animosior fuisses ad obeunda certamina et ad spernendam invidiam falsasque criminationes pro nihilo ducendas fortior. Hoc quoque modo cohibita fuisset multorum improbitas, quibus ex tua mollitie, quam vocabant, crevit insultandi audacia." (*C. R.* 37 [*Calvini Opp.* 9], 461 f.) It was not Melanchthon, but Westphal, who disputed Calvin's claim by publishing (1557) extracts from Melanchthon's former writings under the title: *Clarissimi Viri Ph. Melanchthonis Sententia de Coena Domini, ex scriptis eius collecta.* But, alas, the voice of the later Melanchthon was not that of the former!

205. Advising the Crypto-Calvinists.

In various other ways Melanchthon showed his impatience with the defenders of Luther's doctrine and his sympathy with their Calvinistic opponents. When Timann of Bremen, who sided with Westphal, opposed Hardenberg, a secret, but decided Calvinist, Melanchthon admonished the latter not to rush into a conflict with his colleagues, but to dissimulate. He says in a letter of April 23, 1556: "*Te autem oro, ne properes ad certamen cum collegis. Oro etiam, ut multa dissimules.*" (*C. R.* 8, 736.) Another letter (May 9, 1557), in which he advises Hardenberg how to proceed against his opponents, begins as follows: "Reverend Sir and Dear Brother. As you see, not only the controversy, but also the madness (*rabies*) of the writers who establish the bread-worship is growing." (9, 154.) He meant theologians who, like Timann and Westphal, defended Luther's doctrine that in the Lord's Supper the bread is truly the body of Christ and the wine truly the blood of Christ, and that Christ is truly present also according to His human nature. Again, when at Heidelberg, in 1559, Hesshusius refused to acknowledge the Calvinist Klebitz (who had publicly defended the Reformed doctrine) as his assistant in the distribution of the Lord's Supper, and Elector Frederick III, the patron of the Crypto-Calvinists, who soon after joined the Reformed Church, demanded that Hesshusius come to an agreement with Klebitz, and finally deposed the former and dismissed the latter, Melanchthon approved of the unionistic methods of the Elector, and prepared ambiguous formulas to satisfy both parties.

In the *Opinion* requested by the Elector, dated November 1, 1559, Melanchthon said: "To answer is not difficult, but dangerous. . . . Therefore I approve of the measure of the illustrious Elector, commanding silence to the disputants on both sides [Hesshusius and the Calvinist Klebitz], lest dissension occur in the weak church. . . . The contentious men having been removed, it will be profitable that the rest agree on one form of words. It would be best in this controversy to retain the words of Paul: 'The bread which we break is the communion (*κοινωνία*) of Christ.' Much ought to be said concerning the fruit of the Supper to invite men to love this pledge and to use it frequently. And the word 'communion' must be explained: Paul does not say that the nature of the bread is changed, as the Papists say; He does not say, as those of Bremen do, that the bread is the substantial body of Christ; he does not say that the bread is the true body of Christ, as Hesshusius does; but that it is the communion, *i. e.*, that by which the union occurs (*consociatio fit*) with the body of Christ, which occurs in the use, and certainly not without thinking, as when mice gnaw the bread. . . . The Son of God is present in the ministry of the Gospel, and there He is certainly efficacious in the believers, and He is present not on account of the bread, but on account of man, as He says, 'Abide in Me and I in you.' Again: 'I am in My Father, and you in Me, and I in you.' And in these true consolations He makes us members of His, and testifies that He will raise our bodies. Thus the ancients explain the Lord's Supper." (*C. R.* 9, 961.) No doubt, Calvin, too, would readily have subscribed to these ambiguous and indefinite statements. C. P. Krauth pertinently remarks: "Whatever may be the meaning of Melanchthon's words in the disputed cases, this much is certain, that they practically operated as if the worse sense were the real one, and their mischievousness was not diminished, but aggravated, by their obscurity and double meaning. They did the work of avowed error, and yet could not be reached as candid error might." (*Cons. Ref.*, 291.)

206. Historians on Melanchthon's Doctrinal Departures.

Modern historians are generally agreed that also with respect to the Lord's Supper the later Melanchthon was not identical with the earlier. Tschackert: "Melanchthon had long ago [before the outbreak of the second controversy on the Lord's Supper] receded from the peculiarities of the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper; he was satisfied with maintaining the personal presence of Christ during the Supper, leaving the mode of His presence and efficacy in doubt." (532.) Seeberg, who maintains that Melanchthon as early as 1531 departed from Luther's teaching concerning the Lord's Supper, declares: "Melanchthon merely does not want to admit that the body of Christ is really eaten in the Supper, and that it is omnipresent as such." (4, 2, 449.) Theo. Kolde: "It should never have been denied that these alterations in Article X of the *Augustana* involved real changes. . . . In view of his gradually changed conception of the Lord's Supper, there can be no doubt that he sought to leave open for himself and others the possibility of associating also with the Swiss." (25.) Schaff: "Melanchthon's later view of the Lord's Supper agreed essentially with that of Calvin." (1, 280.)

Such, then, being the attitude of Melanchthon as to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper,

it was but natural and consistent that his pupils, who looked up to Master Philip with unbounded admiration, should become decided Calvinists. Melanchthon, chiefly, must be held responsible for the Calvinistic menace which threatened the Lutheran Church after the death of Luther. In the interest of fraternal relations with the Swiss, he was ready to compromise and modify the Lutheran truth. Had he had his way, and had not the tendency which he inaugurated been checked, the Lutheran Church would have lost its character and been transformed into a Reformed or, at least, a unionistic body. In a degree, this guilt was shared also by his older Wittenberg colleagues: Caspar Cruciger, Sr., Paul Eber, John Foerster, and others, who evidently inclined toward Melanchthon's view and attitude also in the matter concerning the Lord's Supper. Caspar Cruciger, for example, as appears from his letter to Veit Dietrich, dated April 18, 1538, taught the bodily presence of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper, but not "the division or separation of the body and blood." (*C. R.* 3, 510.) Shortly before his death, as related in a previous chapter, Luther had charged these men with culpable silence with regard to the truth, declaring: "If you believe as you speak in my presence, then speak the same way in church, in public lectures, in sermons, and in private discussions, and strengthen your brethren, and lead the erring back to the right way, and contradict the wilful spirits; otherwise your confession is a mere sham and will be of no value whatever." (Walther, 40.) Refusal to confess the truth will ultimately always result in rejection of the truth. Silence here is the first step to open denial.

207. Westphal First to Sound Tocsin.

Foremost among the men who saw through Calvin's plan of propagating the Reformed doctrine of the Lord's Supper under phrases coming as close as possible to the Lutheran terminology, and who boldly, determinedly, and ably opposed the Calvinistic propaganda, was Joachim Westphal of Hamburg [born 1510; 1527 in Wittenberg; since 1541 pastor in Hamburg; died January 16, 1574]. Fully realizing the danger which threatened the entire Lutheran Church, he regarded it as his sacred duty to raise his voice and warn the Lutherans against the Calvinistic menace. He did so in a publication entitled: "*Farrago Confusanearum et inter se Dissidentium Opinionum de Coena Domini* — Medley of Confused and Mutually Dissenting Opinions on the Lord's Supper, compiled from the books of the Sacramentarians," 1552. In it he proved that in reality Calvin and his adherents, despite their seemingly orthodox phrases, denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper just as emphatically and decidedly as Zwingli had done. At the same time he refuted in strong terms the Reformed doctrine in the manner indicated by the title, and maintained the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence, the oral eating and drinking (*manducatio oralis*), also of unbelievers. Finally he appealed to the Lutheran theologians and magistrates everywhere to guard their churches against the Calvinistic peril. "The *Farrago*," says Kruske, "signified the beginning of the end of Calvin's domination in Germany." Schaff: "The controversy of Westphal against Calvin and the subsequent overthrow of Melanchthonianism completed and consolidated the separation of the two Confessions," Lutheran and Reformed. (*Creeds* 1, 280.)

Thus Westphal stands preeminent among the men who saved the Lutheran Church from the Calvinistic peril. To add fuel to the anti-Calvinistic movement, Westphal, in the year following, published a second book: "*Correct Faith* (*Recta Fides*) *Concerning the Lord's Supper*, demonstrated and confirmed from the words of the Apostle Paul and the Evangelists," 1553. Here he again called upon all true disciples of Luther to save his doctrine from the onslaughts of the Calvinists, who, he declared, stooped to every method in order to conquer Germany for Zwinglianism.

Westphal's fiery appeals for Lutheran loyalty received a special emphasis and wide publicity when the Pole, John of Lasco (Laski), who in 1553, together with 175 members of his London congregation, had been driven from England by Bloody Mary, reached the Continent. The liberty which Lasco, who in 1552 had publicly adopted the *Consensus Tigurinus*, requested in Lutheran territories for himself and his Reformed congregation, was refused in Denmark, Wismar, Luebeck, and Hamburg, but finally granted in Frankfort-on-the-Main. Soon after, in 1554, the Calvinistic preacher Micronius, who also sought refuge in Hamburg, was forbidden to make that city the seat of Reformed activity and propaganda. As a result, Calvin decided to enter the arena against Westphal. In 1555 he published his *Defensio Sanae et Orthodoxae Doctrinae de Sacramentis*, "Defense of the Sound and Orthodox Doctrine Concerning the Sacraments and Their Nature, Power, Purpose, Use, and Fruit, which the pastors and ministers of the churches in Zurich and Geneva before this have comprised into a brief formula of the mutual Agreement" (*Consensus Tigurinus*). In it he attacked Westphal in such an insulting and overbearing manner (comparing him, *e. g.*, with "a mad dog") that from the very beginning the controversy was bound to assume a personal and acrimonious character.

208. Controversial Publications.

After Calvin had entered the controversy, Westphal was joined by such Lutherans as John Timann, Paul v. Eitzen, Erhard Schnepf, Alber, Gallus, Flacius, Judex, Brenz, Andreae, and others. Calvin, on the other hand, was supported by Lasco, Bullinger, Ochino, Valerandus Polanus, Beza (the most scurrilous of all the opponents of Lutheranism), and Bibliander. In 1555 Westphal published three additional books: *Collection* (*Collectanea*) *of Opinions of Aurelius Augustine Concerning the Lord's Supper*, and *Faith* (*Fides*) *of Cyril*,

Bishop of Alexandria, Concerning the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, and *Adversus cuiusdam Sacramentarii Falsam Criminationem Iusta Defensio,* "Just Defense against the False Accusation of a Certain Sacramentarian." The last publication was a personal defense against the insults and invectives of Calvin and a further proof of the claim that the Calvinists were united only in their denial of the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Coming to the support of Westphal, John Timann, Pastor in Bremen, published in 1555: "*Medley* (*Farrago*) *of Opinions Agreeing in the True and Catholic Doctrine Concerning the Lord's Supper,* which the churches of the Augsburg Confession have embraced with firm assent and in one spirit according to the divine Word."

In the following year Calvin wrote his *Secunda Defensio . . . contra J. Westphali Calumnias,* "Second Defense of the Pious and Orthodox Faith, against the Calumnies of J. Westphal," a vitriolic book, dedicated to the Crypto-Calvinists, *viz.,* "to all ministers of Christ who cultivate and follow the pure doctrine of the Gospel in the churches of Saxony and Lower Germany." In it Calvin declared: "I teach that Christ, though absent according to His body, is nevertheless not only present with us according to His divine power, but also makes His flesh vivifying for us." (*C. R.* 37 [*Calvini Opp.* 9], 79.) Lasco also wrote two books against Westphal and Timann, defending his congregation at Frankfort, and endeavoring to show the agreement between the Calvinian doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the *Augsburg Confession.* In 1556 Henry Bullinger appeared on the battlefield with his *Apologetical Exposition, Apologetica Expositio,* in which he endeavored to show that the ministers of the churches in Zurich do not follow any heretical dogma in the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper.

In the same year, 1556, Westphal published *Epistola, qua Breviter Respondet ad Convicia I. Calvini* — "Letter in which He [Westphal] Answers Briefly to the Invectives of J. Calvin," and "*Answer* (*Responsum*) *to the Writing of John of Lasco,* in which he transforms the *Augsburg Confession* into Zwinglianism." In the same year Westphal published "*Confession of Faith* (*Confessio Fidei*) *Concerning the Sacrament of the Eucharist,* in which the ministers of the churches of Saxony maintain the presence of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in the Holy Supper, and answer regarding the book of Calvin dedicated to them." This publication contained opinions which Westphal had secured from the ministeriums of Magdeburg (including Wigand and Flacius), of Mansfeld, Bremen, Hildesheim, Hamburg, Luebeck, Lueneburg, Brunswick (Moerlin and Chemnitz), Hannover, Wismar, Schwerin, etc. All of these ministeriums declared themselves unanimously and definitely in favor of Luther's doctrine, appealing to the words of institution as they read. In 1557 Erhard Schnepf [born 1595; active in Nassau, Marburg, Speier, Augsburg; attended convents in Smalcald 1537; in Regensburg 1546; in Worms 1557; died 1558], then in Jena, published his *Confession Concerning the Supper.* In the same year Paul von Eitzen [born 1522; died 1598; refused to sign *Formula of Concord*] published his *Defense of the True Doctrine Concerning the Supper of Our Lord Jesus Christ.* Westphal also made a second attack on Lasco in his "*Just Defense against the Manifest Falsehoods of J. A. Lasco* which he spread in his letter to the King of Poland against the Saxon Churches," 1557. In it he denounces Lasco and his congregation of foreigners, and calls upon the magistrates to institute proceedings against them.

Calvin now published his *Ultima Admonitio,* "Last Admonition of John Calvin to J. Westphal, who, if he does not obey (*obtemperet*), must thenceforth be held in the manner as Paul commands us to hold obstinate heretics; in this writing the vain censures of the Magdeburgians and others, by which they endeavored to wreck heaven and earth, are also refuted," 1557. Here Calvin plainly reveals his Zwinglianism and says: "This is the summary of our doctrine, that the flesh of Christ is a vivifying bread because it truly nourishes and feeds our souls when by faith we coalesce with it. This, we teach, occurs spiritually only, because the bond of this sacred unity is the secret and incomprehensible power of the Holy Spirit." (*C. R.* 37 [*Calvini Opp.* 9], 162.) In this book Calvin also, as stated above, appeals to Melanchthon to add his testimony that "we [the Calvinists] teach nothing that conflicts with the *Augsburg Confession.*"

Though Calvin had withdrawn from the arena, Westphal continued to give public testimony to the truth. In 1558 he wrote several books against the Calvinists. One of them bears the title: "*Apologetical Writings* (*Apologetica Scripta*) *of J. W.,* in which he both defends the sound doctrine concerning the Eucharist and refutes the vile slanders of the Sacramentarians," etc. Another is entitled: *Apology of the Confession Concerning the Lord's Supper against the Corruptions and Calumnies of John Calvin.* In 1559 Theodore Beza donned the armor of Calvin and entered the controversy with his "*Treatise* (*Tractatio*) *Concerning the Lord's Supper,* in which the calumnies of J. Westphal are refuted." Lasco's *Reply to the Virulent Letter of That Furious Man J. Westphal,* of 1560, appeared posthumously, he having died shortly before in Poland.

209. Brenz and Chemnitz.

Foremost among the influential theologians who, besides Westphal, took a decided stand against the Calvinists and their secret abettors in Lutheran territories were John Brenz in Wuerttemberg and Martin Chemnitz in Brunswick. John Brenz [born 1499, persecuted during the Interim, since 1553 Provost at Stuttgart, died 1570], the most influential theologian in Wuerttemberg, was unanimously supported in his anti-Calvinistic attitude by the whole ministerium of the Duchy. He is the author of the *Confession and Report* (*Bekenntnis und Bericht*) *of the Theologians in*

Wuerttemberg Concerning the True Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, adopted at the behest of Duke Christopher by the synod assembled in Stuttgart, 1559. The occasion for drafting and adopting this *Confession* had been furnished by Bartholomew Hagen, a Calvinist. At the synod in Stuttgart he was required to dispute on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper with Jacob Andreae, with the result that Hagen admitted that he was now convinced of his error, and promised to return to the Lutheran teaching.

The *Confession* thereupon adopted teaches in plain and unmistakable terms that the body and blood of Christ are orally received by all who partake of the Sacrament, and that Christ, by reason of the personal union, is omnipresent also according to His human nature, and hence well able to fulfil the promise He gave at the institution of the Holy Supper. It teaches the real presence (*praesentia realis*), the sacramental union (*unio sacramentalis*), the oral eating and drinking (*manducatio oralis*), also of the wicked (*manducatio impiorum*). It holds "that in the Lord's Supper the true body and the true blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are, through the power of the word [of institution], truly and essentially tendered and given with the bread and wine to all men who partake of the Supper of Christ; and that, even as they are tendered by the hand of the minister, they are at the same time also received with the mouth of him who eats and drinks it." Furthermore, "that even as the substance and the essence of the bread and wine are present in the Lord's Supper, so also the substance and the essence of the body and blood of Christ are present and truly tendered and received with the signs of bread and wine." (Tschackert, 541.) It protests: "We do not assert any mixture of His body and blood with the bread and wine, nor any local inclusion in the bread." Again: "We do not imagine any diffusion of the human nature or expansion of the members of Christ (*ullam humanae naturae diffusionem aut membrorum Christi distractionem*), but we explain the majesty of the man Christ by which He, being placed at the right hand of God, fills all things not only by His divinity, but also as the man Christ, in a celestial manner and in a way that to human reason is past finding out, by virtue of which majesty His presence in the Supper is not abolished, but confirmed." (Gieseler 3, 2, 239 f.) Thus, without employing the term "ubiquity," this *Confession* prepared by Brenz restored, in substance, the doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ which Luther had maintained over against Zwingli, Carlstadt, and the Sacramentarians generally.

As stated above, Melanchthon ridiculed this *Confession* as "Hechinger Latin." In 1561 Brenz was attacked by Bullinger in his *Treatise* (*Tractatio*) *on the Words of St. John 14.* In the same year Brenz replied to this attack in two writings: *Opinion* (*Sententia*) *on the Book of Bullinger* and *On the Personal Union* (*De Personali Unione*) *of the Two Natures in Christ and on the Ascension of Christ into Heaven and His Sitting at the Right Hand of the Father,* etc. This called forth renewed assaults by Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and Beza. Bullinger wrote: "*Answer* (*Responsio*), by which is shown that the meaning concerning 'heaven' and the 'right hand of God' still stands firm," 1562. Peter Martyr: *Dialogs* (*Dialogi*) *Concerning the Humanity of Christ, the Property of the Natures, and Ubiquity,* 1562. Beza: *Answers* (*Responsiones*) *to the Arguments of Brenz,* 1564. Brenz answered in two of his greatest writings, *Concerning the Divine Majesty of Christ* (*De Divina Maiestate Christi*), 1562, and *Recognition* (*Recognitio*) *of the Doctrine Concerning the True Majesty of Christ,* 1564. In the *Dresden Consensus* (*Consensus Dresdensis*) of 1571 the Philippists of Electoral Saxony also rejected the omnipresence (which they termed ubiquity) of the human nature of Christ.

In order to reclaim the Palatinate (which, as will be explained later, had turned Reformed) for Lutheranism, the Duke of Wuerttemberg, in April, 1564, arranged for the Religious Discussion at Maulbronn between the theologians of Wuerttemberg and the Palatinate. But the only result was a further exchange of polemical publications. In 1564 Brenz published *Epitome of the Maulbronn Colloquium . . . Concerning the Lord's Supper and the Majesty of Christ.* And in the following year the Wuerttemberg theologians published *Declaration and Confession* (*Declaratio et Confessio*) *of the Tuebingen Theologians Concerning the Majesty of the Man Christ.* Both of these writings were answered by the theologians of the Palatinate. After the death of Brenz, Jacob Andreae was the chief champion in Wuerttemberg of the doctrines set forth by Brenz.

In his various publications against the Calvinists, Brenz, appealing to Luther, taught concerning the majesty of Christ that by reason of the personal union the humanity of Christ is not only omnipotent and omniscient, but also omnipresent, and that the human nature of Christ received these as well as other divine attributes from the first moment of the incarnation of the Logos. Following are some of his statements: "Although the divine substance [in Christ] is not changed into the human, and each has its own properties, nevertheless these two substances are united in one person in Christ in such a manner that the one is never in reality separated from the other." "Wherever the deity is, there is also the humanity of Christ." "We do not ascribe to Christ many and various bodies, nor do we ascribe to His body local extension or diffusion; but we exalt Him beyond this corporeal world, outside of every creature and place, and place Him in accordance with the condition of the hypostatic union in celestial majesty, which He never lacked, though at the time of His flesh in this world He hid it or, as Paul says, He humbled Himself (*quam etsi tempore carnis suae in hoc saeculo dissimulavit, seu ea sese, ut Paulus loquitur, exinanivit, tamen numquam ea caruit*)." Ac-

cording to Brenz the man Christ was omnipotent, almighty, omniscient while He lay in the manger. In His majesty He darkened the sun, and kept alive all the living while in His humiliation He was dying on the cross. When dead in the grave, He at the same time was filling and ruling heaven and earth with His power. (Gieseler 3, 2, 240 f.)

In Brunswick, Martin Chemnitz (born 1522; died 1586), the Second Martin (*alter Martinus*) of the Lutheran Church, entered the controversy against the Calvinists in 1560 with his *Repetition* (*Repetitio*) *of the Sound Doctrine Concerning the True Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Supper*, in which he based his arguments for the real presence on the words of institution. Ten years later he published his famous book, *Concerning the Two Natures in Christ* (*De Duabus Naturis in Christo*), etc., — preeminently the Lutheran classic on the subject it treats. Appealing also to Luther, he teaches that Christ, according to His human nature, was anointed with all divine gifts; that, in consequence of the personal union, the human nature of Christ can be and is present where, when, and in whatever way Christ will; that therefore, in accordance with His promise, He is in reality present in His Church and in His Supper. Chemnitz says: "This presence of the assumed nature in Christ of which we now treat is not natural or essential [flowing from the nature and essence of Christ's humanity], but voluntary and most free, depending on the will and power of the Son of God (*non est vel naturalis vel essentialis, sed voluntaria et liberrima, dependens a voluntate et potentia Filii Dei*); that is to say, when by a definite word He has told, promised, and asseverated that He would be present with His human nature, . . . let us retain this, which is most certainly true, that Christ can be with His body wherever, whenever, and in whatever manner He wills (*Christum suo corpore esse posse, ubicunque, quandocunque et quomodocunque vult*). But we must judge of His will from a definite, revealed word." (Tschackert, 544; Gieseler 3, 2, 259.)

The *Formula of Concord* plainly teaches, both that, in virtue of the personal union by His incarnation, Christ according to His human nature possesses also the divine attribute of omnipresence, and that He can be and is present wherever He will. In the Epitome we read: This majesty Christ always had according to the personal union, and yet He abstained from it in the state of His humiliation until His resurrection, "so that now not only as God, but also as man He knows all things, can do all things, *is present with all creatures*, and has under His feet and in His hand everything that is in heaven and on earth and under the earth. . . . And this His power He, *being present*, can exercise everywhere, and to Him everything is possible and everything is known." (821, 16. 27. 30.) The Thorough Declaration declares that Christ "truly fills all things, and, being present everywhere, not only as God, but also as man, rules from sea to sea and to the ends of the earth." (1025, 27 ff.) Again: "We hold . . . that also according to His assumed human nature and with the same He [Christ] *can be, and also is, present where He will*, and especially that in His Church and congregation on earth He is present as Mediator, Head, King, and High Priest, not in part, or one-half of Him only, but the entire person of Christ, to which both natures, the divine and the human, belong, is present not only according to His divinity, but also according to, and with, His assumed human nature, according to which He is our Brother, and we are flesh of His flesh and bone of His bone." (1043, 78 f.) In virtue of the personal union Christ is present everywhere also according to His human nature; while the peculiarly gracious manner of His presence in the Gospel, in the Church, and in the Lord's Supper depends upon His will and is based upon His definite promises.

210. Bremen and the Palatinate Lost for Lutheranism.

The indignation of the Lutherans against the Calvinistic propaganda, roused by Westphal and his comrades in their conflict with Calvin and his followers, was materially increased by the success of the crafty Calvinists in Bremen and in the Palatinate. In 1547 Hardenberg [Albert Rizaeus from Hardenberg, Holland, born 1510] was appointed Dome-preacher in Bremen. He was a former priest whom Lasco had won for the Reformation. Regarding the doctrine of the Lord's Supper he inclined towards Zwingli. Self-evidently, when his views became known, the situation in Bremen became intolerable for his Lutheran colleagues. How could they associate with, and fellowship, a Calvinist! To acknowledge him would have been nothing short of surrendering their own views and the character of the Lutheran Church. The result was that John Timann [pastor in Bremen; wrote a tract against the Interim; died February 17, 1557], in order to compel Hardenberg to unmask and reveal his true inwardness, demanded that all the ministers of Bremen subscribe to the *Farrago Sententiarum Consentientium in Vera Doctrina et Coena Domini*, which he had published in 1555 against the Calvinists. Hardenberg and two other ministers refused to comply with the demand. In particular, Hardenberg objected to the omnipresence of the human nature of Christ taught in Timann's *Farrago*. In his *Doctrinal Summary* (*Summaria Doctrina*) Hardenberg taught: "St. Augustine and many other fathers write that the body of Christ is circumscribed by a certain space in heaven, and I regard this as the true doctrine of the Church." (Tschackert, 191.) Hardenberg also published the fable hatched at Heidelberg (*Heidelberger Landluege*, indirectly referred to also in the *Formula of Concord*, 981, 28), but immediately refuted by Joachim Moerlin, according to which Luther is said, toward the end of his life, to have confessed to Melanchthon that he had gone too far and overdone the matter in his controversy against the

Sacramentarians; that he, however, did not want to retract his doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper himself, because that would cast suspicion on his whole teaching; that therefore after his death the younger theologians might make amends for it and settle this matter. . . . In 1556 Timann began to preach against Hardenberg, but died the following year. The Lower Saxon Diet, however, decided February 8, 1561, that Hardenberg be dismissed within fourteen days, yet "without infamy or condemnation, *citra infamiam et condemnationem.*" Hardenberg submitted under protest and left Bremen February 18, 1561 (he died as a Reformed preacher at Emden, 1574). Simon Musaeus, who had just been expelled from Jena, was called as Superintendent to purge Bremen of Calvinism. Before long, however, the burgomaster of the city, Daniel von Bueren, whom Hardenberg had secretly won for the Reformed doctrine, succeeded in expelling the Lutheran ministers from the city and in filling their places with Philippists, who before long joined the Reformed Church. Thus ever since 1562 Bremen has been a Reformed city.

A much severer blow was dealt Lutheranism when the Palatinate, the home of Melanchthon, where the Philippists were largely represented, was Calvinized by Elector Frederick III. Tileman Hesshusius [Hesshusen, born 1527; 1553 superintendent at Goslar; 1556 professor and pastor at Rostock; 1557 at Heidelberg; 1560 pastor at Magdeburg; 1562 court-preacher at Neuburg; 1569 professor at Jena; 1573 bishop of Samland, at Koenigsberg; 1577 professor at Helmstedt, where he died 1588] was called in 1557 by Elector Otto Henry to Heidelberg both as professor and pastor and as superintendent of the Palatinate. Here the Calvinists and Crypto-Calvinists had already done much to undermine Lutheranism; and after the death of Otto Henry, February 12, 1559, Hesshusius, who endeavored to stem the Crypto-Calvinistic tide, was no longer able to hold his own. Under Elector Frederick III, who succeeded Otto Henry, the Calvinists came out into the open. This led to scandalous clashes, of which the Klebitz affair was a typical and consequential instance. In order to obtain the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, William Klebitz, the deacon of Hesshusius, published, in 1560, a number of Calvinistic theses. As a result, Hesshusius most emphatically forbade him henceforth to assist at the distribution of the Holy Supper. When Klebitz nevertheless appeared at the altar, Hesshusius endeavored to wrest the cup from his hands. Elector Frederick ordered both Hesshusius and Klebitz to settle their trouble in accordance with the *Augustana* (Variata). Failing to comply with this unionistic demand, Hesshusius was deposed, September 16, 1559, and Klebitz, too, was dismissed. In a theological opinion, referred to above, Melanchthon approved of the action. Hereupon Hesshusius entered the public controversy against Calvinism. In 1560 he published *Concerning the Presence* (*De Praesentia*) *of the Body of Christ in the Lord's Supper* and his *Answer* (*Responsio*) *to the Prejudicial Judgment* (*Praeiudicium*) *of Philip Melanchthon on the Controversy Concerning the Lord's Supper* [with Klebitz].

After the dismissal of Hesshusius, Elector Frederick III, who had shortly before played a conspicuous rôle in endeavoring to win the day for Melanchthonianism at the Lutheran Assembly of Naumburg, immediately began to Calvinize his territory. In reading the controversial books published on the Lord's Supper, he suffered himself to be guided by the renowned physician Thomas Erastus [died 1583], who was a Calvinist and had himself published Calvinistic books concerning the Lord's Supper and the person and natures of Christ. As a result the Elector, having become a decided Reformedist, determined to de-Lutheranize the Palatinate in every particular, regarding practise and divine service as well as with respect to confessional books, doctrines, and teachers. The large number of Philippists, who had been secret Calvinists before, was increased by such Reformed theologians as Caspar Olevianus (1560), Zacharias Ursinus (1561), and Tremellius (1561). Images, baptismal fonts, and altars were removed from the churches; wafers were replaced by bread, which was broken; the organs were closed; the festivals of Mary, the apostles, and saints were abolished. Ministers refusing to submit to the new order of things were deposed and their charges filled with Reformed men from the Netherlands. The Calvinistic *Heidelberg Catechism*, composed by Olevianus and Ursinus and published 1563 in German and Latin, took the place of Luther's Catechism. This process of Calvinization was completed by the introduction of the new Church Order of November 15, 1563. At the behest of Frederick III the *Swiss Confession* (*Confessio Helvetica*) was published in 1566, in order to prove by this out-and-out Zwinglian document, framed by Bullinger, "that he [the Elector of the Palatinate] entertained no separate doctrine, but the very same that was preached also in many other and populous churches, and that the charge was untrue that the Reformed disagreed among themselves and were divided into sects." Thus the Palatinate was lost to the Lutheran Confession, for though Ludwig VI (1576—1583), the successor of Frederick III, temporarily restored Lutheranism, Frederick IV (1583 to 1610) returned to Calvinism.

211. Saxony in the Grip of Crypto-Calvinists.

It was a severe blow to the Lutheran Church when Bremen and the Palatinate fell a prey to Calvinism. And the fears were not unfounded that before long the Electorate of Saxony would follow in their wake, and Wittenberg, the citadel of the Lutheran Reformation, be captured by Calvin. That this misfortune, which, no doubt, would have dealt a final and fatal blow to Lutheranism, was warded off, must be regarded as a special providence of God. For the men (Melanchthon, Major, etc.) whom Luther had accused

of culpable silence regarding the true doctrine of the Lord's Supper, were, naturally enough, succeeded by theologians who, while claiming to be true Lutherans adhering to the *Augsburg Confession* and, in a shameful manner, deceiving and misleading Elector August, zealously championed and developed the Melanchthonian aberrations, in particular with respect to the doctrines concerning the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ, and sedulously propagated the views of Calvin, at first secretly and guardedly, but finally with boldness and *abandon*. Gieseler says of these Philippists in Wittenberg: "Inwardly they were out-and-out Calvinists, although they endeavored to appear as genuine Lutherans before their master," Elector August. (3, 2, 250.)

The most prominent and influential of these so-called Philippists or Crypto-Calvinists were Dr. Caspar Cruciger, Jr., Dr. Christopher Pezel, Dr. Frederick Widebram, and Dr. Henry Moeller. The schemes of these men were aided and abetted by a number of non-theological professors: Wolfgang Crell, professor of ethics; Esrom Ruedinger, professor of philosophy; George Cracow, professor of jurisprudence and, later, privy councilor of Elector August; Melanchthon's son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, professor of medicine and physician in ordinary of the Elector, who naturally had a great influence on August and the ecclesiastical affairs of the Electorate. He held that Luther's doctrine of the real presence had no more foundation in the Bible than did the Roman transubstantiation. To these must be added John Stoessel, confessor to the Elector and superintendent at Pirna; Christian Schuetze, court-preacher at Dresden; Andrew Freyhub and Wolfgang Harder, professors in Leipzig; and others. The real leaders of these Philippists were Peucer and Cracow. Their scheme was to prepossess the Elector against the loyal adherents of Luther, especially Flacius, gradually to win him over to their liberal views, and, at the proper moment, to surrender and deliver Electoral Saxony to the Calvinists. In prosecuting this sinister plan, they were unscrupulous also in the choice of their means. Thus Wittenberg, during Luther's days the fountainhead of the pure Gospel and the stronghold of uncompromising fidelity to the truth, had become a veritable nest of fanatical Crypto-Calvinistic schemers and dishonest anti-Lutheran plotters, who also controlled the situation in the entire Electorate.

The first public step to accomplish their purpose was the publication of the *Corpus Doctrinae Christianae*, or *Corpus Doctrinae Misnicum*, or *Philippicum*, as it was also called. This collection of symbolical books was published 1560 at Leipzig by Caspar Peucer, Melanchthon's son-in-law, with a preface to both the German and Latin editions written by Melanchthon and dated September 29, 1559, and February 16, 1560, respectively, — an act by which, perhaps without sufficiently realizing it, Melanchthon immodestly assumed for himself and his views the place within the Lutheran Church which belonged not to him, but to Luther. The title, which reveals the insincerity and the purpose of this publication, runs as follows: "*Corpus Doctrinae, i. e.*, the entire sum of the true and Christian doctrine . . . as a testimony of the steadfast and unanimous confession of the pure and true religion in which the schools and churches of these Electoral Saxon and Meissen territories have remained and persevered in all points according to the *Augsburg Confession* for now almost thirty years against the unfounded false charges and accusations of all lying spirits, 1560." As a matter of fact, however, this *Corpus* contained, besides the Ecumenical Symbols, only writings of Melanchthon, notably the altered *Augsburg Confession* and the altered *Apology* of 1542, the Saxon Confession of 1551, the changed *Loci*, the *Examen Ordinandorum* of 1554, and the *Responsiones ad Impios Articulos Inquisitionis Bavaricae*.

Evidently this *Corpus Philippicum*, which was introduced also in churches outside of Electoral Saxony, particularly where the princes or leading theologians were Melanchthonians, was intended to alienate the Electorate from the old teaching of Luther, to sanction and further the Melanchthonian tendency, and thus to pave the way for Calvinism. It was foisted upon, and rigorously enforced in, all the churches of Electoral Saxony. All professors, ministers, and teachers were pledged by an oath to teach according to it. Such as refused to subscribe were deposed, imprisoned, or banished. Among the persecuted pastors we find the following names: Tettelbach, superintendent in Chemnitz; George Herbst, deacon in Chemnitz and later superintendent in Eisleben; Graf, superintendent in Sangerhausen; Schade, Heine, and Schuetz, pastors in Freiberg. When ministers who refused their signatures appealed to Luther's writings, they were told that Luther's books must be understood and explained according to Melanchthon's *Corpus*. At Wittenberg the opposition to Luther and his teaching bordered on fanaticism. When, for example, in 1568 Conrad Schluesselburg and Albert Schirmer, two Wittenberg students, entered a complaint against Professors Pezel and Peucer because of their deviations from Luther in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and refused to admit that Peucer and his colleagues represented the pure doctrine in this matter, they were expelled from the university, anathematized, and driven from the city. (Schluesselburg 13, 609. 730; Gieseler 3, 2, 250.)

Immediately after its appearance, the *Corpus Philippicum* was denounced by loyal Lutherans, notably those of Reuss, Schoenfeld, and Jena. When the charges of false teaching against the Wittenberg theologians increased in number and force, Elector August arranged a colloquy between the theologians of Jena and Wittenberg. It was held at Altenburg and lasted from October, 1568, to March, 1569, because the Wittenbergers, evidently afraid of compromising themselves, insisted on

its being conducted in writing only. The result of this colloquy was a public declaration on the part of Wigand, Coelestinus, Kirchner, Rosinus, and others to the effect that the Wittenberg and Leipzig theologians had unmistakably revealed themselves as false teachers. At the colloquy the Jena theologians objected in particular also to the *Corpus Misnicum* because it contained the altered *Augustana*, concerning which they declared: Melanchthon "has changed the said *Augsburg Confession* so often that finally he has opened a window through which the Sacramentarians and Calvinists can sneak into it. One must watch carefully, lest in course of time the Papists also find such a loophole to twist themselves into it." (Gieseler 3, 2, 252.)

The Philippists of Leipzig and Wittenberg, in turn, denounced the Jena theologians as Flacian fighting cocks (*Flacianische Haderkatzen*). They also succeeded in persuading Elector August to adopt more rigorous measures against the malcontents in his territories. For in addition to the adoption of the *Corpus Philippicum* the ministers were now required to subscribe to a declaration which was tantamount to an endorsement of all of the false doctrines entertained by the Wittenbergers. The declaration read: "I do not adhere to the dangerous Flacian Illyrian errors, contentions, poisonous backbitings, and fanaticism (*zaenkischem Geschmeiss, giftigem Gebeiss und Schwaermerei*) with which the schools and churches of this country are burdened [by Flacius] concerning the imagined adiaphorism, synergism, and Majorism and other false accusations, nor have I any pleasure in it [the quarreling], and in the future I intend, by the help of God, to abstain from it altogether, to damn, flee, and avoid it, and, as much as I am able, to prevent it." (Gieseler 3, 2, 253; Walther, 49.)

212. Bold Strides Forward.

Feeling themselves firm and safe in the saddle, the Wittenberg Philippists now decided on further public steps in the direction of Calvinism. In 1570 they published *Propositions* (*Propositiones*) *Concerning the Chief Controversies of This Time*, in which the Lutheran doctrine regarding the majesty of the human nature of Christ was repudiated. In the following year they added a new Catechism, entitled: "*Catechesis* continens explicationem simplicem et brevem decalogi, Symboli Apostolici, orationis dominicae, doctrinae Christianae, quod amplectuntur ac tuentur Ecclesiae regionum Saxonicarum et Misnicarum, quae sunt subiectae ditioni Ducis Electoris Saxoniae, edita in Academia Witebergensi et accommodata ad usum scholarum puerilium. 1571."

This Catechism, written, according to Wigand, by Pezel, appeared anonymously. Its preface, signed by the Wittenberg theological faculty, explains that the new Catechism was an epitome of the *Corpus Doctrinae Misnicum* and merely intended as a supplement of Luther's Catechism for progressed scholars who were in need of additional instruction. As a matter of fact, however, its doctrine concerning the person of Christ and the Lord's Supper was in substantial agreement with the teaching of Calvin. Under the odious name of "ubiquity" it rejected the omnipresence of Christ according to His human nature, and sanctioned Calvin's teaching concerning the local inclusion of Christ in heaven. Acts 3, 21 was rendered in Beza's translation: "*Quem oportet coelo capi.* Who must be received by the heaven."

The Catechism declares: "The ascension was visible and corporeal; the entire Antiquity has always written that Christ's body is restricted to a certain place, wherever He wishes it to be; and a bodily ascension was made upwards. *Ascensio fuit visibilis et corporalis, et semper ita scripsit tota antiquitas, Christum corporali locatione in aliquo loco esse, ubicumque vult, et ascensio corporalis facta est sursum.*" Concerning the real presence, the Catechism merely states: "The Lord's Supper is the communication of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ as it is instituted in the words of the Gospel; in which eating (*sumptione*) the Son of God is truly and substantially present, and testifies that He applies His benefits to the believers. He also testifies that He has assumed the human nature for the purpose of making us, who are ingrafted into Him by faith, His members. He finally testifies that He wishes to be in the believers, to teach, quicken and govern them." (Gieseler 3, 2, 263.) The sacramental union, oral eating and drinking, and the eating and drinking of the wicked are not mentioned. Tschackert remarks that every Calvinist would readily have subscribed to the teaching of this Catechism. (545.)

When the Wittenberg Catechism was warned against and designated as Calvinistic by Chemnitz, Moerlin, and other theologians of Brunswick, Lueneburg, Mansfeld, Jena, and Halle, the Wittenbergers answered and endeavored to defend their position in the so-called *Grundfeste*, Firm Foundation, of 1571. It was a coarse and slanderous publication, as even the title indicates, which reads: "Firm Foundation of the True Christian Church Concerning the Person and Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ against the Modern Marcionites, Samosatenes, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites among the Flacian Rabble Published by the Theologians in Wittenberg." In this *Grundfeste* the Wittenbergers present the matter as though the real issue were not the Lord's Supper, but Christology. They enumerate as heretics also the "Ubiquitists," including Brenz, Andreae, and Chemnitz. With respect to their own agreement with Calvin, they remark that their teaching is the doctrine of the early Church, in which point, they said, also Calvin agreed. (Tschackert, 546.)

This daring Calvinistic publication again resulted in numerous protests against the Wittenbergers on the part of alarmed Lutherans everywhere outside of Electoral Saxony, which induced Elector August to require his theologians to deliver at Dresden, Octo-

ber 10, 1571, a definite statement of their faith. The confession which they presented was entitled: *Brief Christian and Simple Repetition of the Confession of the Churches of God in the Territories of the Elector of Saxony Concerning the Holy Supper,*" etc. The *Consensus Dresdensis,* as the document was called, satisfied the Elector at least temporarily, and was published also in Latin and Low German. Essentially, however, the indefinite and dubious language of the Catechism was here but repeated. Concerning the majesty of Christ the *Dresden Consensus* declares that after the resurrection and ascension the human nature of Christ "was adorned with higher gifts than all angels and men." In His ascension, the *Consensus* continues, Christ "passed through the visible heavens and occupied the heavenly dwelling, where He in glory and splendor retains the essence, property, form, and shape of His true body, and from there He, at the last day, will come again unto Judgment in great splendor, visibly."

In a similar vague, ambiguous, and misleading manner Christ's sitting at the right hand of God is spoken of. Omitting the oral eating and drinking and the eating and drinking of the wicked, the *Consensus* states concerning the Lord's Supper that "in this Sacrament Christ gives us with the bread and wine His true body sacrificed for us on the cross, and His true blood shed for us, and thereby testifies that He receives us, makes us members of His body, washes us with His blood, presents forgiveness of sins, and wishes truly to dwell and to be efficacious in us." (Tschackert, 546.) The opponents of the Wittenbergers are branded as unruly men, who, seeking neither truth nor peace, excite offensive disputations concerning the real presence in the Lord's Supper as well as with regard to other articles. Their doctrine of the real communication (*"realis seu physica communicatio"*) is characterized as a corruption of the article of the two natures in Christ and as a revamping of the heresies of the Marcionites, Valentinians, Manicheans, Samosatenes, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians, Eutychians, and Monothelites. (Gieseler 3, 2, 264 f.)

213. Apparently Victorious.

All the Crypto-Calvinistic publications of the Wittenberg and Leipzig Philippists were duly unmasked by the Lutherans outside of Electoral Saxony, especially in Northern Germany. Their various opinions were published at Jena, 1572, under the title: *"Unanimous Confession (Einhelliges Bekenntnis) of Many Highly Learned Theologians and Prominent Churches* 1. concerning the New Catechism of the New Wittenbergers, and 2. concerning their *New Foundation (Grundfeste),* also 3. concerning their *New Confession (Consensus Dresdensis),* thereupon adopted." However, all this and the repeated warnings that came from every quarter outside of his own territories, from Lutheran princes as well as theologians, do not seem to have made the least impression on Elector August. Yet he evidently was, and always intended to be, a sincere, devoted, true-hearted, and single-minded Lutheran. When, for example, in 1572 Beza, at the instance of the Wittenberg Philippists, dedicated his book against Selneccer to Elector August, the latter advised him not to trouble him any further with such writings, as he would never allow any other doctrine in his territory than that of the *Augsburg Confession.*

However, blind and credulous as he was, and filled with prejudice and suspicion against Flacius and the Jena theologians generally, whom he, being the brother of the usurper Maurice, instinctively feared as possibly also political enemies, Elector August was easily duped and completely hypnotized, as it were, by the men surrounding him, who led him to believe that they, too, were in entire agreement with Luther and merely opposed the trouble-breeding Flacians, whom they never tired of denouncing as zealots, fanatics, bigots, wranglers, barkers, alarmists, etc. While in reality they rejected the doctrine that the true body and blood of Christ is truly and essentially present in the Holy Supper, these Crypto-Calvinists pretended (and Elector August believed them) that they merely objected to a *local* presence and to a Capernaitic eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper. And while in reality they clearly repudiated Luther's teaching, according to which the divine attributes (omnipotence, omnipresence, etc.) are communicated to the human nature of Christ, they caused the Elector to believe that they merely opposed a delusion of the "Ubiquitists," who, they said, taught that the body of Christ was *locally extended* over the entire universe. This crass localism, they maintained, was the teaching of their opponents, while they themselves faithfully adhered to the teachings of Luther and Philip, and, in general, were opposed only to the exaggerations and excrescences advocated by the bigoted Flacians. (Walther, 43.)

Such was the manner in which the Elector allowed himself to be duped by the Philippists who surrounded him, — men who gradually developed the art of dissimulation to premeditated deceit, falsehood, and perjury. Even the Reformed theologian Simon Stenius, a student at Wittenberg during the Crypto-Calvinistic period, charges the Wittenbergers with dishonesty and systematic dissimulation. The same accusation was raised 1561 by the jurist Justus Jonas in his letters to Duke Albrecht of Prussia. (Gieseler 3, 2, 249.) And evidently believing that Elector August could be fooled all the time, they became increasingly bold in their theological publications, and in their intrigues as well.

To all practical purposes the University of Wittenberg was already Calvinized. Calvinistic books appeared and were popular. Even the work of a Jesuit against the book of Jacob Andreae on the Majesty of the Person of Christ was published at Wittenberg. The same was done with a treatise of Beza, although, in order to deceive the public, the

title-page gave Geneva as the place of publication. Hans Lufft, the Wittenberg printer, later declared that during this time he did not know how to dispose of the books of Luther which he still had in stock, but that, if he had printed twenty or thirty times as many Calvinistic books, he would have sold all of them very rapidly.

Even Providence seemed to bless and favor the plans of the plotters. For when on March 3, 1573, Duke John William, the patron and protector of the faithful Lutherans, died, Elector August became the guardian of his two sons. And fanaticized by his advisers, the Elector, immediately upon taking hold of the government in Ducal Saxony, banished Wigand, Hesshusius, Caspar Melissander [born 1540; 1571 professor of theology in Jena; 1578 superintendent in Altenburg; died 1591], Rosinus [born 1520; 1559 superintendent in Weimar; 1574 superintendent in Regensburg; died 1586], Gernhard, courtpreacher in Weimar, and more than 100 preachers and teachers of Ducal Saxony. The reason for this cruel procedure was their refusal to adopt the *Corpus Philippicum*, and because they declined to promise silence with respect to the Philippists.

214. "Exegesis Perspicua."

In 1573, the Calvinization of Electoral and Ducal Saxony was, apparently, an accomplished fact. But the very next year marked the ignominious downfall and the unmasking of the dishonest Philippists. For in this year appeared the infamous *Exegesis*, which finally opened the eyes of Elector August. Its complete title ran: "*Exegesis Perspicua et ferme Integra Controversiae de Sacra Coena* — Perspicuous and Almost Complete Explanation of the Controversy Concerning the Holy Supper." The contents and make-up of the book as well as the secret methods adopted for its circulation clearly revealed that its purpose was to deal a final blow to Lutheranism in order to banish it forever from Saxony. Neither the author, nor the publisher, nor the place and date of publication were anywhere indicated in the book. The paper bore Geneva mark and the lettering was French. The *prima facie* impression was that it came from abroad.

Before long, however, it was established that the *Exegesis* had been published in Leipzig by the printer Voegelin, who at first also claimed its authorship. But when the impossibility of this was shown, Voegelin, in a public hearing, stated that Joachim Curaeus of Silesia, a physician who had left Saxony and died 1573, was the author of the book. Valentin Loescher, however, relates (*Historia Motuum* 3, 195) that probably Pezel and the son-in-law of Melanchthon, Peucer, had a hand in it; that the Crypto-Calvinist Esram Ruedinger [born 1523, son-in-law of Camerarius, professor of physics in Wittenberg, died 1591] was its real author; that it was printed at Leipzig in order to keep the real originators of it hidden; and that, for the same purpose, the Silesian Candidate of Medicine Curaeus had taken the responsibility of its authorship upon himself. (Tschackert, 547.)

Self-evidently, the Wittenberg theologians disclaimed any knowledge of, or any connection with, the origin of the *Exegesis*. However, they were everywhere believed to share its radical teachings, and known to have spread it among the students of the university, and suspected also of having before this resorted to tactics similar to those employed in the *Exegesis*. As early as 1561, for example, rhymes had secretly been circulated in Wittenberg, the burden of which was that faith alone effects the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and that the mouth receives nothing but natural bread. One of these ran as follows: "Allein der Glaub' an Jesum Christ Schafft, dass er gegenwaertig ist, Und speist uns mit sei'm Fleisch und Blut Und sich mit uns einigen tut. Der Mund empfaeht natuerlich Brot, Die Seel' aber speist selber Gott." (Walther, 46.) Of course, the purpose of such dodgers was to prepare the way for Calvinism. And on the very face of it, the *Exegesis Perspicua* was intended to serve similar secret propaganda.

The chief difference between the preceding publications of the Philippists and the *Exegesis* was that here they came out in clear and unmistakable language. The sacramental union, the oral eating and drinking (*manducatio oralis*), and the eating and drinking of the wicked, which before were passed by in silence, are dealt with extensively and repudiated. The *Exegesis* teaches: The body of Christ is inclosed in heaven; in the Holy Supper it is present only according to its efficacy; there is no union of the body of Christ with the bread and wine; hence, there neither is nor can be such a thing as oral eating and drinking or eating and drinking of unbelievers. The "ubiquity," as the *Exegesis* terms the omnipresence of Christ's human nature, is condemned as Eutychian heresy. The *Exegesis* declared: "In the use of the bread and wine the believers by faith become true and living members of the body of Christ, who is present and efficacious through these symbols, as through a ministry inflaming and renewing our hearts by His Holy Spirit. The unbelieving, however, do not become partakers, or *κοινωνοί*, but because of their contempt are guilty of the body of Christ." (Seeberg, *Grundriss* 146.)

After fulsome praise of the Reformed, whose doctrine, the *Exegesis* says, is in agreement with the symbols of the ancient Church, and who as to martyrdom surpass the Lutherans, and after a corresponding depreciation of Luther, who in the heat of the controversy was said frequently to have gone too far, the *Exegesis* recommends that the wisest thing would be to follow the men whom God had placed at the side of Luther, and who had spoken more correctly than Luther. Following Melanchthon, all might unite in the neutral formula, "The bread is the communion of the body of Christ," avoiding all further definition regarding the ubiquity [the omnipresence of Christ's human nature] and the eating of the true

body of Christ, until a synod had definitely decided these matters. (Tschackert, 547.)

All purified churches (all churches in Germany, Switzerland, etc., purified from Roman errors), the *Exegesis* urges, "ought to be in accord with one another; and this pious concord should not be disturbed on account of this difference [regarding the Holy Supper]. Let us be united in Christ and discontinue those dangerous teachings concerning the ubiquity, the eating of the true body on the part of the wicked, and similar things. The teachers should agree on a formula which could not create offense. They should employ the modes of speech found in the writings of Melanchthon. It is best to suppress public disputations, and when contentious men create strife and disquiet among the people, the proper thing to do, as Philip advised [in his opinion to the Elector of the Palatinate], is to depose such persons of either party, and to fill their places with more modest men. The teachers must promote unity, and recommend the churches and teachers of the opposite party." (Walther, 51.) Such was the teaching and the theological attitude of the *Exegesis*. It advocated a union of the Lutherans and the Reformed based on indifferentism, and a surrender in all important doctrinal points to Calvinism, the Lutherans merely retaining their name. This unionistic attitude of the *Exegesis* has been generally, also in America, termed Melanchthonianism.

215. Plotters Unmasked.

The plain and unmistakable language of the *Exegesis* cleared the atmosphere, and everywhere dispelled all doubts as to the real nature of the theological trend at Wittenberg and Leipzig. Now it was plain to everybody beyond the shadow of a doubt that Electoral Saxony was indeed infested with decided Calvinists. And before long also the web of deceit and falsehood which they had spun around the Elector was torn into shreds. The appearance of the *Exegesis* resulted in a cry of indignation throughout Lutheran Germany against the Wittenberg and Leipzig Philippists. Yet, in 1574, only few books appeared against the document, which, indeed, was not in need of a special refutation. Wigand published *Analysis of the New Exegesis*, and Hesshusius: *Assertion* (*Assertio*) *of the True Doctrine Concerning the Supper, against the Calvinian Exegesis.* At the same time Elector August was again urged by Lutheran princes, notably the King of Denmark and Duke Ludwig of Wuerttemberg, also by private persons, to proceed against the Calvinists in his country and not to spare them any longer. (Gieseler 3, 2, 267.) The aged Count of Henneberg made it a point to see the Elector personally in this matter. But there was little need for further admonitions, for the *Exegesis* had opened the Elector's eyes. And soon after its publication discoveries were made which filled August with deep humiliation and burning indignation at the base deception practised on him by the very men whom he had trusted implicitly and placed in most important positions. By lying and deceit the Philippists had for a long period succeeded in holding the confidence of Elector August; but now the time for their complete and inglorious unmasking had arrived.

Shortly after the *Exegesis* had appeared, Peucer wrote a letter to the Crypto-Calvinist Christian Schuetze, then court-preacher in Dresden [who studied at Leipzig; became superintendent at Chemnitz in 1550; court-preacher of Elector August in 1554; when he was buried, boys threw a black hen over his coffin, crying, 'Here flies the Calvinistic devil'; Joecher, *Lexicon* 4, 372], which he had addressed to the wife of the court-preacher in order to avoid suspicion. By mistake the letter was delivered to the wife of the court-preacher Lysthenius [born 1532; studied in Wittenberg; became court-preacher of Elector August in 1572 and later on his confessor; opposed Crypto-Calvinism; was dismissed 1590 by Chancellor Crell; 1591 restored to his position in Dresden; died 1596]. After opening the letter and finding it to be written in Latin, she gave it to her husband, who, in turn, delivered it to the Elector. In it Peucer requested Schuetze dexterously to slip into the hands of Anna, the wife of the Elector, a Calvinistic prayer-book which he had sent with the letter. Peucer added: "If first we have Mother Anna on our side, there will be no difficulty in winning His Lordship [her husband] too."

Additional implicating material was discovered when Augustus now confiscated the correspondence of Peucer, Schuetze, Stoessel, and Cracow. The letters found revealed the consummate perfidy, dishonesty, cunning, and treachery of the men who had been the trusted advisers of the Elector, who had enjoyed his implicit confidence, and who by their falsehoods had caused him to persecute hundreds of innocent and faithful Lutheran ministers. The fact was clearly established that these Philippists had been systematically plotting to Calvinize Saxony. The very arguments with which Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper and the Person of Christ might best be refuted were enumerated in these letters. However, when asked by the Elector whether they were Calvinists, these self-convicted deceivers are said to have answered that "they would not see the face of God in eternity if in any point they were addicted to the doctrines of the Sacramentarians or deviated in the least from Dr. Luther's teaching." (Walther, 56.) The leaders of the conspiracy were incarcerated. Cracow died in prison, 1575; Stoessel, 1576. It was as late as 1586 that Peucer regained his liberty, Schuetze in 1589.

216. Lutheranism Restored.

In all the churches of Saxony thanksgiving services were held to praise God for the final triumph of genuine Lutheranism. A memorial coin celebrating the victory over the Crypto-Calvinists, bearing the date 1574, was struck at Torgau. The obverse exhibits Elector August handing a book to Elector John George of Brandenburg. The inscription above reads:

"*Conserva Apud Nos Verbum Tuum, Domine.* Preserve Thy Word among Us, O Lord." Below, the inscription runs: "*Augustus, Dei Gratia Dux Saxoniae et Elector.* Augustus, by the Grace of God Duke of Saxony and Elector." The reverse represents Torgau and its surroundings, with Wittenberg in the distance. The Elector, clad in his armor, is standing on a rock bearing the inscription: "*Schloss Hartenfels*" (castle at Torgau). In his right hand he is holding a sword, in his left a balance, whose falling scale, in which the Child Jesus is sitting, bears the inscription: "*Die Allmacht,* Omnipotence." The lighter and rising pan, in which four Wittenberg Crypto-Calvinists are vainly exerting themselves to the utmost in pulling on the chains of their pan in order to increase its weight, and on the beam of which also the devil is sitting, is inscribed: "*Die Vernunft,* Reason." Above, God appears, saying to the Elector, "Joshua 1, 5. 6: *Confide, Non Derelinquam Te.* Trust, I will not forsake thee." Below we read: "*Apud Deum Non Est Impossibile Verbum Ullum,* Lucae 1. *Conserva Apud Nos Verbum Tuum, Domine.* 1574. Nothing is impossible with God, Luke 1. Preserve Thy Word among us, Lord. 1574."

The obverse of a smaller medal, also of 1574, shows the bust of Elector August with the inscription: "*Augustus, Dei Gratia Dux Saxoniae Et Elector.*" The reverse exhibits a ship in troubled waters with the crucified Christ in her expanded sails, and the Elector, in his armor and with the sword on his shoulder, standing at the foot of the mast. In the roaring ocean are enemies, shooting with arrows and striking with swords, making an assault upon the ship. The fearlessness of the Elector is expressed in the inscription: "*Te Gubernatore,* Thou [Christ] being the pilot." Among the jubilee medals of 1617 there is one which evidently, too, celebrates the victory over Zwinglianism and Calvinism. Its obverse exhibits Frederick in his electoral garb pointing with two fingers of his right hand to the name Jehovah at the head of the medal. At his left Luther is standing with a burning light in his right hand and pointing with the forefinger of his left hand to a book lying on a table and bearing the title: "*Biblia Sacra: V[erbum] D[ei] M[anet] I[n] Ae[ternum].*" The reverse represents the Elector standing on a rock inscribed: "*Schloss Hartenfels,* Castle Hartenfels." In his right hand he is holding the sword and in his left a balance. Under the falling scale, containing the Child Jesus, we read: "*Die Allmacht,* Omnipotence," and under the rising pan, in which the serpent is lying: "*Die Vernunft,* Reason." The marginal inscription runs: "*Iosua 1: Confide. Non Derelinquam Te.* Joshua 1: Trust. I will not forsake thee." (Ch. Junker, *Ehrengedaechtnis Dr. M. Luthers,* 353. 383.)

Self-evidently, Elector August immediately took measures also to reestablish in his territories Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The beginning was made by introducing a confession prepared by reliable superintendents, and discussed, adopted, and subscribed at the Diet of Torgau, September, 1574, and published simultaneously in German and Latin. Its German title ran: "*Brief Confession* (*Kurz Bekenntnis*) *and Articles Concerning the Holy Supper of the Body and Blood of Christ,* from which may clearly be seen what heretofore has been publicly taught, believed, and confessed concerning it in both universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg, and elsewhere in all churches and schools of the Elector of Saxony; also what has been rebuked and is still rebuked as Sacramentarian error and enthusiasm." The Torgau Confession, therefore, does not reject the *Corpus Doctrinae Misnicum* of 1560 nor even the *Consensus Dresdensis* of 1571, and pretends that Melanchthon was in doctrinal agreement with Luther, and that only a few Crypto-Calvinists had of late been discovered in the Electorate. This pretense was the chief reason why the Confession did not escape criticism. In 1575 Wigand published: "Whether the New Wittenbergers had hitherto always taught harmoniously and agreeably with the Old, and whether Luther's and Philip's writings were throughout in entire harmony and agreement."

As for its doctrine, however, the Torgau Confession plainly upholds the Lutheran teaching. Article VII contends that in the distribution of the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ "are truly received also by the unworthy." Article VIII maintains the "oral eating and drinking, *oris manducatio.*" Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, and the Heidelberg theologians are rejected, and their names expressly mentioned. On the other hand, the "ubiquity [local extension] of the flesh of Christ" is disavowed and a discussion of the mode and possibility of the presence of the body and blood of Christ is declined as something inscrutable. The Latin passage reads: "*Ac ne carnis quidem ubiquitatem, aut quidquam, quod vel veritatem corporis Christi tollat, vel ulli fidei articulo repugnet, propter praesentiam in Coena fingimus aut probamus. Denique de modo et possibilitate praesentiae corporis et sanguinis Domini plane nihil disputamus. Nam omnia haec imperscrutabilia statuimus.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 268.)

Caspar Cruciger, Jr., Henry Moeller, Christopher Pezel, and Frederick Widebram, who refused to subscribe the *Brief Confession,* were first arrested, then, after subscribing with a qualification, released, but finally (1574) banished. Widebram and Pezel removed to Nassau, Moeller to Hamburg, and Cruciger to Hesse. At Leipzig, Andrew Freyhub, who, appealing to the *Consensus Dresdensis,* taught that Christ was exalted according to both natures, that divine properties were not communicated to His humanity, and that His body was inclosed in a certain place in heaven, was deposed in 1576.

Thus ended the Crypto-Calvinistic drama in Electoral Saxony. Henceforth such men as Andreae, Chemnitz, and Selneccer were the trusted advisers of August, who now became the enthusiastic, devoted, and self-sacrificing

leader of the larger movement for settling all of the controversies distracting the Lutheran Church, which finally resulted in the adoption of the *Formula of Concord.*

217. Visitation Articles.

Elector August, the stanch defender of genuine Lutheranism, died 1586. Under his successor, Christian I, and Chancellor Nicholas Crell, Crypto-Calvinism once more raised its head in Electoral Saxony. But it was for a short period only, for Christian I died September 25, 1591, and during the regency of Duke Frederick William, who acted as guardian of Christian II, Lutheranism was reestablished. In order effectually and permanently to suppress the Crypto-Calvinistic intrigues, the Duke, in February of 1592, ordered a general visitation of all the churches in the entire Electorate. For this purpose Aegidius Hunnius [born 1550; 1576 professor in Marburg and later superintendent and professor in Wittenberg; attended colloquy at Regensburg 1601; wrote numerous books, particularly against Papists and Calvinists; died 1603], Martin Mirus [born 1532, died 1593], George Mylius [born 1544; 1584 expelled from Augsburg because he was opposed to the Gregorian almanac; since 1585 professor in Wittenberg and Jena; died 1607], Wolfgang Mamphrasius [born 1557; superintendent in Wurtzen; died 1616], and others, who were to conduct the visitation, composed the so-called *Visitation Articles,* which were printed in 1593. The complete title of these articles runs: "*Visitation Articles in the Entire Electorate of Saxony,* together with the Negative and Contrary Doctrines of the Calvinists, and the Form of Subscription, as Presented to be Signed by Both Parties."

As a result of the visitation, the Crypto-Calvinistic professors in Wittenberg and Leipzig were exiled. John Salmuth [born 1575; court-preacher in Dresden since 1584; died 1592] and Prierius, also a minister in Dresden, were imprisoned. As a bloody *finale* of the Crypto-Calvinistic drama enacted in Electoral Saxony, Chancellor Crell was beheaded, October 9, 1601, after an imprisonment of ten years. Crell was punished, according to his epitaph, as "an enemy of peace and a disturber of the public quiet — *hostis pacis et quietis publicae turbator,*" or, as Hutter remarks in his *Concordia Concors,* "not on account of his religion, but on account of his manifold perfidy — *non ob religionem, sed ob perfidiam multiplicem.*" (448. 1258.) For a long period (till 1836) all teachers and ministers in Electoral Saxony were required to subscribe also to the Visitation Articles as a doctrinal norm. Self-evidently they are not an integral part of the *Book of Concord.*

XIX. Controversy on Christ's Descent into Hell.

218. Luther's Doctrine.

While according to medieval theologians the descent into hell was regarded as an act by which Christ, with His soul only, entered the abode of the dead; and while according to Calvin and the Reformed generally the descent into hell is but a figurative expression for the sufferings of Christ, particularly of His soul, on the cross, Luther, especially in a sermon delivered 1533 at Torgau, taught in accordance with the Scriptures that Christ, the God-man, body and soul, descended into hell as Victor over Satan and his host. With special reference to Ps. 16, 10 and Acts 2, 24. 27, Luther explained: After His burial the whole person of Christ, the God-man, descended into hell, conquered the devil, and destroyed the power of hell and Satan. The mode and manner, however, in which this was done can no more be comprehended by human reason than His sitting at the right hand of the Father, and must therefore not be investigated, but believed and accepted in simple faith. It is sufficient if we retain the consolation that neither hell nor devil are any longer able to harm us. Accordingly, Luther did not regard the descent into hell as an act belonging to the state of humiliation, by which He paid the penalty for our sins, but as an act of exaltation, in which Christ, as it were, plucked for us the fruits of His sufferings which were finished when He died upon the cross.

Luther's sermon at Torgau graphically describes the descent as a triumphant march of our victorious Savior into the stronghold of the dismayed infernal hosts. From it we quote the following: "Before Christ arose and ascended into heaven, and while yet lying in the grave, He also descended into hell in order to deliver also us from it, who were to be held in it as prisoners. . . . However, I shall not discuss this article in a profound and subtle manner, as to how it was done or what it means to 'descend into hell,' but adhere to the simplest meaning conveyed by these words, as we must represent it to children and uneducated people." "Therefore, whoever would not go wrong or stumble had best adhere to the words and understand them in a simple way as well as he can. Accordingly, it is customary to represent Christ in paintings on walls, as He descends, appears before hell, clad in a priestly robe and with a banner in His hand, with which He beats the devil and puts him to flight, takes hell by storm, and rescues those that are His. Thus it was also acted the night before Easter as a play for children. And I am well pleased with the fact that it is painted, played, sung, and said in this manner for the benefit of simple people. We, too, should let it go at that, and not trouble ourselves with profound and subtle thoughts as to how it may have happened, since it surely did not occur bodily, inasmuch as He remained in the grave three days."

Luther continues: "However, since we cannot but conceive thoughts and images of what is presented to us in words, and are unable to

think of or understand anything without such images, it is appropriate and right that we view it literally, just as it is painted, that He descends with the banner, shattering and destroying the gates of hell; and we should put aside thoughts that are too deep and incomprehensible for us." "But we ought . . . simply to fix and fasten our hearts and thoughts on the words of the Creed, which says: 'I believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, dead, buried, and descended into hell,' that is, in the entire person, God and man, with body and soul, undivided, 'born of the Virgin, suffered, died, and buried'; *in like manner I must not divide it here either, but believe and say that the same Christ, God and man in one person, descended into hell,* but did not remain in it; as Ps. 16, 10 says of Him: 'Thou wilt not leave My soul in hell, nor suffer Thine Holy One to see corruption.' By the word 'soul,' He, in accordance with the language of the Scripture, does not mean, as we do, a being separated from the body, but the entire man, the Holy One of God, as He here calls Himself. But how it may have occurred that the man lies there in the grave, and yet descends into hell — that, indeed, we shall and must leave unexplained and uncomprehended; for it certainly did not take place in a bodily and tangible manner, although we can only paint and conceive it in a coarse and bodily way and speak of it in pictures." "Such, therefore is the plainest manner to speak of this article, that we may adhere to the words and cling to this main point, that for us, through Christ, hell has been torn to pieces and the devil's kingdom and power utterly destroyed, for which purpose He died, was buried, and descended, — so that it should no longer harm or overwhelm us, as He Himself says, Matt. 16, 18. . . ." (CONC. TRIGL., 1050.)

219. Aepinus in Hamburg.

The two outstanding features of Luther's sermon are that Christ descended into hell, body and soul, and that He descended as a triumphant Victor, and not in order to complete His suffering and the work of atonement. The denial of these two points, in particular, caused a new controversy, which, however, was of brief duration only, and practically confined to the city of Hamburg, hence also called the Hamburg Church Controversy, *der Hamburger Kirchenstreit.* Its author was John Aepinus [Huck or Hoeck; born 1499; studied under Luther; persecuted in Brandenburg and banished; rector in Stralsund; 1532 pastor and later superintendent in Hamburg; wrote 1547 against the Interim; sided with Flacius against the Philippists; published books in Latin and Low German; dealt with Christ's descent to hell especially in his *Commentary on Psalm 16,* of 1544, and in his *Explanation of Psalm 68,* of 1553; died May 13, 1553].

Aepinus taught that Christ's descent is a part of His suffering and atonement. While the body was lying in the grave, His soul descended into hell in order to suffer the qualms and pangs required to satisfy the wrath of God, complete the work of redemption, and render a plenary satisfaction, *satisfactio plenaria.* The descent is the last stage of Christ's humiliation and suffering, His triumph first beginning with the resurrection. Though we know His sufferings in hell to have been most sad and bitter, yet we are unable to say and define what they were in particular, or to describe them concretely, because Scripture is silent on this question.

But while Aepinus originally held that the soul of Christ suffered in hell the punishment of *eternal* death, he later on distinguished between the first and the second death (eternal damnation), asserting the suffering Christ endured in hell to have been a part of the punishment of the first death, and that He did not suffer the *cruciatus* ÆTERNI *tartarei ignis.* — Such were the views advocated, developed, and variously modified by Aepinus in his theological lectures and publications. From the Latin *"Consummatum est,* It is finished," the teaching that Christ finished His suffering and the work of atonement by His death on the cross was stigmatized by Aepinus as *"error consummaticus,"* and its advocates as "Consummatists," while these, in turn, dubbed Aepinus and his adherents "Infernalists." (Frank 3, 440.)

Among the statements of Aepinus are the following: "I believe that hell is a place prepared by divine justice to punish the devils and wicked men according to the quality of their sins." (437.) "On account of our redemption Christ descended to hell, just as He suffered and died for us." (437.) "Theologians who either deny that the soul of Christ descended into hell, or say that Christ was present in hell only in effect and power, and not by His presence, deprive the Church of faith in the sufficient, complete, and perfect satisfaction and redemption of Christ, and leave to Satan the right over pious souls after their separation from the body. For by denying that Christ sustained and bore those punishments of death and hell which the souls were obliged to bear after their separation from the body, they assert that complete satisfaction has not been made for them." (439.) "I believe that the descent of the soul of Christ to hell is a part of the Passion of Christ, *i. e.,* of the struggles, dangers, anguish, pains, and punishments which He took upon Himself and bore in our behalf; for, in the Scriptures, to descend to hell signifies to be involved in the highest struggles, pain, and distress. I believe that the descent of Christ to hell is a part of His obedience foretold by the prophets and imposed on Him because of our sins." (440.) "I believe that the descent of Christ pertains to His humiliation, not to His glorification and triumph." (441.) "The descent to hell was by God's judgment laid upon Christ as the last degree of His humiliation and exinanition and as the extreme part of His obedience and satisfaction." (441.) "Peter clearly teaches, Acts 2, that the soul of

Christ felt the pangs of hell and death while His body was resting in the sepulcher." (441.) "What Christ experienced when He descended into hell is known to Himself, not to us; may we acknowledge and accept with grateful minds that He descended into hell for us. But let us not inquire what it was that He experienced for us in His descent, for we may piously remain ignorant of matters which God did not reveal to His Church, and which He does not demand that she know." (444.)

220. Opposed by His Colleagues.

The views of Aepinus, first presented in lectures delivered 1544 before the ministers of Hamburg, called forth dissent and opposition on the part of his colleagues. Before long, however (1549), the controversy began to assume a virulent character. While the conduct of Aepinus was always marked by dignity, moderation, and mildness, his opponents, Tileman Epping, John Gartz, and Caspar Hackrott, ventilated and assailed his teaching in their pulpits.

The chief argument against Aepinus was that his doctrine conflicted with, and invalidated, the words of Christ, "It is finished," "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise." Aepinus rejoined that the word "to-day" is an ambiguous term, denoting both the immediate presence and the indefinite near future (*pro praesenti et imminente tempore indefinito*). (414.) However, it was not in every respect Luther's position which was occupied by some of the opponents of Aepinus. Gratz is reported to have taught that the article concerning the descent of Christ was not necessary to salvation; that *descendere* (descend) was identical with *sepeliri* (to be buried); that the descent to hell referred to the anguish and temptation of Christ during His life; that Christ immediately after His death entered paradise together with the malefactor; that the work of atonement and satisfaction was completed with His death. (446.)

In 1550 the city council of Hamburg asked Melanchthon for his opinion. But Melanchthon's answer of September, 1550, signed also by Bugenhagen, was rather indefinite, vague, and evasive. He said, in substance: Although we have frequently heard the Reverend Doctor Luther speak on this matter and read his writings, yet, since a controversy has now been raised, we have written also to others for their views, in order to present a unanimous opinion, and thus avoid dissensions later on. In his *Commentary on Genesis* and in his Torgau sermon, Luther referred Descent only to the victory of the Son of God, indicating that the rest must not be searched out. The Son of God did indeed overcome the torments of hell; but the Psalms show that the pains of hell are not to be restricted only to the time after the separation of the soul (*dolores inferorum non restringendos esse tantum ad tempus post animae separationem*). Luther, said Melanchthon, expressed it as his opinion "that this article concerning the Descent must be retained even when referred only to the victory of Christ, confessing that the tyranny of the devil and hell is destroyed, *i. e.*, that all who believe in Christ are liberated from the power of the devil and hell, according to the word: 'No one shall pluck My sheep out of My hands.' And in a certain way the Son of God manifested this victory to the devils, and, no doubt, the devils felt that their power was broken by this Victor, and that the head of the serpent was truly bruised by the Seed of the Woman, by Christ, God and man. And among the signs of His victory was the resurrection of many dead." With respect to the controverted point, concerning the sufferings of the soul of Christ after its separation from the body, Melanchthon advised that the council of Hamburg "enjoin both parties to await the opinions of others also, and in the mean time to avoid mentioning this question in sermons, schools, or other public meetings." Not the article concerning the Descent itself, but "only the investigation of this particular point, concerning the suffering of His departed soul in hell, is to be omitted, an inquiry which also Dr. Luther did not consider necessary." (*C. R.* 7, 667.)

Before this Melanchthon had written in a similar vein of compromise to Aepinus and his colleague, John Gartz. "I wish," said he in a letter of April 4, 1550, "that there would be an amnesty between you in this entire strife" about the descent of Christ. "Let us cultivate peace with one another, and cover up certain wounds of ours, lest sadder disputations originate." (7, 569; compare 6, 116.) In the following year the Hamburg Council, acting on the advice of Melanchthon, deposed and expelled the leaders of the opposition to Aepinus, which, however, was not intended as a decision in favor of the doctrine of Aepinus, but merely as a measure to restore peace and silence in the city.

221. Other Participants in This Controversy.

Though the controversy was suppressed in Hamburg, and Aepinus died May 13, 1553, the theological questions involved were not settled, nor had all of the advocates of the views set forth by Aepinus disappeared from the scene. Even such theologians as Westphal, Flacius, Gallus, and Osiander were partly agreed with him. Osiander says in an opinion: "I am asked whether the descent of Christ pertains to the satisfaction made for us or only to His triumph over the enemies. I answer briefly that the descent of Christ into hell pertained to the satisfaction He merited for us as well as to the triumph over the enemies, just as His death on the cross does not belong to the one only, but to both. . . . Thus by descending into hell He rendered satisfaction for us who merited hell, according to Ps. 16." On the other hand, a synod held July 11, 1554, at Greifswald made it a point expressly to deny that the descent of Christ involved any suffering of His soul, or that it was of an expiatory nature, or that this article referred to the anguish of His soul before His death,

or that it was identical with His burial. They affirmed the teaching of Luther, *viz.*, that the entire Christ, God and man, body and soul, descended into hell after His burial and before His resurrection, etc. (Frank, 446 f.; 416.)

Furthermore, in a letter to John Parsimonius, court-preacher in Stuttgart, dated February 1, 1565, John Matsperger of Augsburg taught that, in the article of the descent of Christ, the word "hell" must not be taken figuratively for torments, death, burial, etc., but literally, as the kingdom of Satan and the place of the damned spirits and souls, wherever that might be; that the entire Christ descended into this place according to both divinity and humanity, with His body and soul, and not only with the latter, while the former remained in the grave; that this occurred immediately after His vivification or the reunion of body and soul in the grave and before His resurrection; that the Descent was accomplished in an instant, *viz.*, in the moment after His vivification and before His resurrection; and that Christ descended, not to suffer, but, as a triumphant Victor, to destroy the portals of hell for all believers. Parsimonius, too, maintained that Christ did not in any way suffer after His death, but denied emphatically that "hell" was a definite physical locality or place in space, and that the descent involved a local motion of the body. Brenz assented to the views of Parsimonius, and the preachers of Augsburg also assented to them. In order to check his zeal against his opponents, Matsperger was deposed and imprisoned. (Frank, 450 f.)

Such being the situation within the Lutheran Church concerning the questions involved in the Hamburg Controversy, which, by the way, had been mentioned also in the Imperial Instruction for the Diet at Augsburg, 1555, the *Formula of Concord* considered it advisable to pass also on this matter. It did so, in Article IX, by simply reproducing what Luther had taught in the sermon referred to above. Here we read: "We simply believe that the entire person, God and man, after the burial, descended into hell, conquered the devil, destroyed the power of hell, and took from the devil all his might." (1051, 3.) "But how this occurred we should [not curiously investigate, but] reserve until the other world, where not only this point [this mystery], but also still others will be revealed, which we here simply believe, and cannot comprehend with our blind reason." (827, 4.) Tschackert remarks: "Ever since [the adoption of the Ninth Article of the *Formula of Concord*] Lutheran theology has regarded the Descent of Christ as the beginning of the state of exaltation of the human nature of the God-man." (559.)

XX. The Eleventh Article of the Formula of Concord: On Predestination.

222. Why Article XI was Embodied in the Formula.

The reason why Article XI was embodied in the *Formula of Concord* is stated in the opening paragraph of this article: "Although among the theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* there has not occurred as yet any public dissension whatever concerning the eternal election of the children of God that has caused offense, and has become wide-spread, yet since this article has been brought into very painful controversy in other places, and even among our theologians there has been some agitation concerning it; moreover, since the same expressions were not always employed concerning it by the theologians: therefore, in order, by the aid of divine grace, to prevent disagreement and separation on its account in the future among our successors, we, as much as in us lies, have desired also to present an explanation of the same here, so that every one may know what is our unanimous doctrine, faith, and confession also concerning this article." (1063, 1.)

The statements contained in these introductory remarks are in agreement with the historical facts. For, while serious dissensions pertaining to election did occur in Reformed countries, the Lutheran Church, ever since the great conflict with Erasmus on free will, in 1525, had not been disturbed by any general, public, and offensive controversy on this question, neither *ad intra* among themselves, nor *ad extra* with the Calvinists. Hence the chief purpose for embodying Article XI in the *Formula* was not to settle past or present disputes, but rather, as stated in the paragraph quoted, to be of service in avoiding future differences and conflicts.

This earnest concern for the future peace of our Church, as well as for the maintenance of its doctrinal purity, was partly due to apprehensions, which, indeed, were not without foundation. As a matter of fact, long before the *Formula* was drafted, the theological atmosphere was surcharged with polemical possibilities and probabilities regarding predestination, — a doctrine which is simple enough as long as faith adheres to the plain Word of God, without making rationalistic and sophistical inferences, but which in public controversies has always proved to be a most intricate, crucial, and dangerous question.

Calvin and his adherents boldly rejected the universality of God's grace, of Christ's redemption, and of the Spirit's efficacious operation through the means of grace, and taught that, in the last analysis, also the eternal doom of the damned was solely due to an absolute decree of divine reprobation (in their estimation the logical complement of election), and this at the very time when they pretended adherence to the *Augsburg Confession* and were making heavy inroads into Lutheran territory with their doctrine concern-

ing the Lord's Supper and the person of Christ, — which in itself was sufficient reason for a public discussion and determined resentment of their absolute predestinarianism. The Synergists, on the other hand, had long ago been busy explaining that the only way to escape the Stoic dogma of Calvinism, and to account for the difference why some are accepted and elected, while the rest are rejected, was to assume a different conduct in man — *aliqua actio dissimilis in homine.* And as for their Lutheran opponents, it cannot be denied that some of their statements were not always sufficiently guarded to preclude all misapprehensions and false inferences.

Thus controversial material had been everywhere heaped up in considerable quantities. Considering these factors, which for decades had been making for a theological storm, one may feel rather surprised that a controversy on predestination had not arisen long ago. Tschackert says: "They [the Lutheran theologians] evidently feared an endless debate if the intricate question concerning predestination were made a subject of discussion." (559.) Sooner or later, however, the conflict was bound to come with dire results for the Church, unless provisions were made to escape it, or to meet it in the proper way. Well aware of this entire critical situation and the imminent dangers lurking therein, the framers of the *Formula of Concord* wisely resolved to embody in it also an article on election in order to clear the theological atmosphere, maintain the divine truth, ward off a future controversy, and insure the peace of our Church.

223. Unguarded Statements of Anti-Synergists.

That the occasional dissimilar and inadequate references to eternal election and related subjects made by some opponents of the Synergists were a matter of grave concern to the authors of the *Formula of Concord* appears from the passage quoted from Article XI, enumerating, among the reasons why the article on predestination was embodied in the *Formula*, also the fact that "the same expressions were not always employed concerning it [eternal election] by the theologians." These theologians had stanchly defended the *sola gratia* doctrine, but not always without some stumbling in their language. In their expositions they had occasionally employed phrases which, especially when torn from their context, admitted a synergistic or Calvinistic interpretation. The framers of the *Formula* probably had in mind such inadequate and unguarded statements of Bucer, Amsdorf, and others as the following.

Bucer had written: "The Scriptures do not hesitate to say that God delivers some men into a reprobate mind and drives them to perdition. Why, then, is it improper to say that God has afore-determined to deliver these into a reprobate mind and to drive them to perdition? *Scriptura non veretur dicere, Deum tradere quosdam homines in sensum reprobum et agere in perniciem. Quid igitur indignum Deo, dicere, etiam statuisse antea, ut illos in sensum reprobum traderet et ageret in perniciem?*" (Frank 4, 264.) The *Formula of Concord,* however, is careful to explain: "Moreover, it is to be diligently considered that when God punishes sin with sins, that is, when He afterwards punishes with obduracy and blindness those who had been converted, because of their subsequent security, impenitence, and wilful sins, this should not be interpreted to mean *that it never had been God's good pleasure* that such persons should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved." (1001, 83.)

Brenz had said: 'To the one of the entire mass of the human race God gives faith in Christ, whereby he is justified and saved, while He leaves the other in his incredulity that he may perish. *Deus ex universa generis humani massa alteri quidem donat fidem in Christum, qua iustificetur et salvetur, alterum autem relinquit in sua incredulitate, ut pereat.*" (Frank 4, 256.) Again: It was God's will to elect Jacob and to leave Esau in his sin. What is said of these two must be understood of the election and rejection of all men in general. "*Potuisset Deus optimo iure ambos abiicere; . . . sed sic proposuerat Deus, sic visum est Deo, sic erat voluntas Dei, sic erat bene placitum Dei, ut Iacobum eligeret, Esau autem in peccato suo relinqueret; quod de his duobus dictum est, hoc intelligendum erit generaliter de omnium hominum electione et abiectione.*" (256.) Hesshusius: "In this respect God does not will that all be saved, for He has not elected all. *Hoc respectu Deus non vult, ut omnes salventur; non enim omnes elegit.*" (Schluesselburg 5, 320. 548.) Such statements, when torn from their context, gave color to the inference that God's grace was not universal. The *Formula of Concord,* therefore, carefully urges that God earnestly endeavors to save all men, also those who are finally lost, and that man alone is the cause of his damnation.

In his *Sententia de Declaratione Victorini* of 1562 Nicholas Amsdorf said: "God has but one mode of working in all creatures. . . . Therefore God works in the same way in man who has a will and intellect as in all other creatures, rocks and blocks included, *viz.,* through His willing and saying alone. . . . As rocks and blocks are in the power of God, so and in the same manner man's will and intellect are in the will of God, so that man can will and choose absolutely nothing else than what God wills and says, be it from grace or from wrath. *Non est nisi unus modus agendi Dei cum omnibus creaturis. . . . Quare eodem modo cum homine volente et intelligente agit Deus, quemadmodum cum omnibus creaturis reliquis, lapide et trunco, per solum suum velle et dicere. . . . Sicut lapides et trunci sunt in potestate Dei, ita et eodem modo voluntas et intellectus hominis sunt in voluntate Dei, ut homo nihil prorsus velle et eligere possit nisi id, quod vult et dicit Deus, sive ex gratia, sive ex ira, derelinquens eum in manu consilii eius.*" (Schlb. 5, 547; Gieseler 3, 2, 230; Frank

4, 259.) This, too, was not embodied in the *Formula of Concord,* which teaches that, although man before his conversion has no mode of working anything good in spiritual things, God nevertheless has a different way of working in rational creatures than in irrational, and that man is not coerced, neither in his sinning nor in his conversion. (905, 60 ff.)

224. Synergistic Predestination.

The connection between the doctrines of conversion and election is most intimate. A correct presentation of the former naturally leads to a correct presentation of the latter, and *vice versa.* Hence Melanchthon, the father of synergism in conversion, was also the author of a synergistic predestination. In his first period he speaks of predestination as Luther did, but, as Frank puts it, "with less of mysticism, conformably to reason, following the same line of thought as Zwingli (*mit weniger Mystik, auf verstandesmaessige, Zwinglis Ausfuehrungen aehnliche Weise.*" (1, 125; *C. R.* 21, 88. 93.) In reality he probably had never fully grasped the truly religious and evangelical view of Luther, which, indeed, would account for his later synergistic deviations as well as for the charges of Stoicism he preferred against Luther. After abandoning his former doctrine, he, as a rule, was noncommittal as to his exact views on election. But whenever he ventured an opinion, it savored of synergism. September 30, 1531, he wrote to Brenz: "But in the entire *Apology* I have avoided that long and inexplicable disputation concerning predestination. Everywhere I speak as though predestination follows our faith and works. And this I do intentionally; for I do not wish to perturb consciences with these inexplicable labyrinths. *Sed ego in tota Apologia fugi illam longam et inexplicabilem disputationem de praedestinatione. Ubique sic loquor, quasi praedestinatio sequatur nostram fidem et opera. Ac facio hoc certo consilio; non enim volo conscientias perturbare illis inexplicabilibus labyrinthis.* (*C. R.* 2, 547.)

In the third, revised edition of his *Explanation of the Epistle to the Romans,* 1532, he suggests "that divine compassion is truly the cause of election, but that there is some cause also in him who accepts, namely, in as far as he does not repudiate the grace offered. *Verecundius est, quod aliquamdiu placuit Augustino, misericordiam Dei vere causam electionis esse, sed tamen catenus aliquam causam in accipiente esse, quatenus promissionem oblatam non repudiat, quia malum ex nobis est.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 192; Seeberg 4, 2, 442.) In an addition to his *Loci* in 1533, Melanchthon again speaks of a cause of justification and election residing in man, in order to harmonize the statements that the promise of the Gospel is both gratis and universal. (*C. R.* 21, 332.) In the *Loci* edition of 1543 we read: "God elected because He had decreed to call us to the knowledge of His Son, and desires His will and benefits to be known to the human race. He therefore approves and elected those who obey the call. *Elegit Deus, quia vocare nos ad Filii agnitionem decrevit et vult generi humano suam voluntatem et sua beneficia innotescere. Approbat igitur ac elegit obtemperantes vocationi.*" (21, 917.)

The bold synergistic views concerning conversion later on developed by Melanchthon plainly involve the doctrine that there must be in man a cause of discrimination why some are elected while others are rejected. In his *Loci* of 1548 he had written: "Since the promise is universal, and since there are no contradictory wills in God, some cause of discrimination must be in us why Saul is rejected and David accepted (*cur Saul abiiciatur, David recipiatur*), that is, there must be some dissimilar action in these two." (21, 659.) Self-evidently Melanchthon would not have hesitated to replace the phrase, "why Saul was rejected and David accepted," with, "why Saul was rejected and David elected."

Melanchthon held that the sole alternative of, and hence the only escape from, the doctrine of absolute necessity (*Stoica ἀνάγκη*) and from the absolute decree, which makes God responsible also for sin and eternal damnation, was the synergistic assumption of man's "ability to apply himself to grace — *facultas applicandi se ad gratiam.*" Accordingly, as he dubbed those who opposed his Calvinizing views on the Lord's Supper as "bread-worshipers," so he stigmatized as Stoics all Lutherans who opposed his synergistic tendencies. (*C. R.* 8, 782. 783. 916; 9, 100. 565. 733; 23, 392.) Seeberg summarizes Melanchthon's doctrine as follows: "Grace alone saves, but it saves by imparting to man the freedom to decide for himself. This synergistic element reappears in his doctrine of election." (4, 2, 446.) "God elects all men who desire to believe." (*Grundriss,* 144.)

Naturally the Synergists of Wittenberg and other places followed Master Philip also in the doctrine of election. In 1555, John Pfeffinger declared in his *Quaestiones Quinque* (extensively quoted from in the chapter on the Synergistic Controversy), thesis 17: "If the will were idle or purely passive [in conversion], there would be no distinction between the pious and the impious, or the elect and the damned, as between Saul and David, between Judas and Peter. God would become a respecter of persons and the author of contumacy in the wicked and damned. Moreover, contradictory wills would be ascribed to God, which conflicts with the entire Scripture. Hence it follows that there is in us some cause why some assent while others do not assent." Thesis 23: "For we are elected and received *because* we believe in the Son. (*Ideo enim electi sumus et recepti, quia credimus in Filium.*) But our apprehension must concur. For since the promise of grace is universal, and we must obey the promise, it follows that between the elect and the rejected some difference must be inferred from our will, *viz.*, that those are rejected who resist the promise, while contrariwise those are accepted who embrace the promise."

The Synergists argued: If in every respect

grace alone is the cause of our salvation, conversion, and election, grace cannot be universal. Or, since man's contempt of God's Word is the cause of his reprobation, man's acceptance of God's grace must be regarded as a cause of his election. Joachim Ernest of Anhalt, for instance, in a letter to Landgrave William of Hesse, dated April 20, 1577, criticized the *Formula of Concord* for not allowing and admitting this argument. (Frank 4, 135. 267.)

225. Calvinistic Predestination.

While the Synergists, in answering the question why only some are saved, denied the *sola gratia* and taught a conversion and predestination conditioned by the conduct of man, John Calvin and his adherents, on the other hand, made rapid progress in the opposite direction, developing with increasing clearness and boldness an absolute, bifurcated predestination, *i. e.*, a capricious election to eternal damnation as well as to salvation, and in accordance therewith denied the universality of God's grace, of Christ's redemption, and of the efficacious operation of the Holy Spirit through the means of grace. In his "*Institutio Religionis Christianae*, Instruction in the Christian Religion," of which the first edition appeared 1535, the second in 1539, and the third in 1559, Calvin taught that God created and foreordained some to eternal life, others to eternal damnation. Man's election means that he has been created for eternal life; man's reprobation, that he has been created for eternal damnation. We read (*Lib.* 3, cap. 21, 5): "*Praedestinationem vocamus aeternum Dei decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit, quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non enim pari conditione creantur omnes; sed aliis vita aeterna, aliis damnatio aeterna praeordinatur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam, vel ad mortem praedestinatum dicimus.*" (Tholuck, *Calvini Institutio* 2, 133.) In the edition of 1559 Calvin says that eternal election illustrates the grace of God by showing "that He does not adopt all promiscuously unto the hope of salvation, but bestows on some what He denies to others — *quod non omnes promiscue adoptat in spem salutis, sed dat aliis, quod aliis negat.*" (Gieseler 3, 2, 172.) Again: "I certainly admit that all the sons of Adam have fallen by the will of God into the miserable condition of bondage, in which they are now fettered; for, as I said in the beginning, one must always finally go back to the decision of the divine will alone, whose cause is hidden in itself. *Fateor sane, in hanc qua nunc illigati sunt conditionis miseriam Dei voluntate cecidisse universos filios Adam; atque id est, quod principio dicebam, redeundum tandem semper esse ad solum divinae voluntatis arbitrium, cuius causa sit in ipso abscondita.*" (173.) Calvin's successor in Geneva, Theodore Beza, was also a strict supralapsarian. At the colloquy of Moempelgard (Montbeliard), 1586, in disputing with Andreae, he defended the proposition "that Adam had indeed of his own accord fallen into these calamities, yet, nevertheless, not only according to the prescience, but also according to the ordination and decree of God — *sponte quidem, sed tamen non modo praesciente, sed etiam iuste ordinante et decernente Deo.*" (186.) "There never has been, nor is, nor will be a time," said he, "when God has wished, wishes, or will wish to have compassion on every individual person. *Nullum tempus fuit vel est vel erit, quo voluerit, velit aut voliturus sit Deus singulorum misereri.*" (Pieper, *Dogm.* 2, 25. 50.)

In foisting his doctrine of election on the Reformed churches, Calvin met with at least some opposition. The words in the paragraph of the *Formula of Concord* quoted above: "Yet, since this article [of predestination] has been brought into very painful controversy in other places," probably refer to the conflicts in Geneva and Switzerland. October 16, 1551, Jerome Bolsec [a Carmelite in Paris; secretly spread Pelagianism in Geneva; sided with the Protestants in Paris and Orleans after his banishment from Geneva; reembraced Romanism when persecution set in; wrote against Calvin and Beza; died 1584] was imprisoned in Geneva because of his opposition to Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Melanchthon remarks in a letter of February 1, 1552: "Laelius [Socinus] wrote me that in Geneva the struggle concerning the Stoic necessity is so great that a certain one who dissented from Zeno [Calvin] was incarcerated. What a miserable affair! The doctrine of salvation is obscured by disputations foreign to it." (*C. R.* 7, 932.) Although the German cantons (Zurich, Bern, Basel) advised moderation, Bolsec was banished from Geneva, with the result, however, that he continued his agitation against Calvin in other parts of Switzerland. In Bern all discussions on predestination were prohibited by the city council. Calvin complained in a letter of September 18, 1554: "The preachers of Bern publicly declare that I am a heretic worse than all the Papists." (Gieseler 3, 2, 178.) January 26, 1555, the council of Bern renewed its decree against public doctrinal discussions, notably those on predestination — "*principalement touchant la matière de la divine prédestination, qui nous semble non être nécessaire,*" etc. (179.) Later on the doctrine of Calvin was opposed by the Arminians from Semi-Pelagian principles.

226. Calvinistic Confessions.

The essential features of Calvin's doctrine of predestination were embodied in most of the Reformed confessions. The *Consensus Genevensis* of January 1, 1552, written by Calvin against Albert Pighius [a fanatical defender of Popery against Luther, Bucer, Calvin; died December 26, 1542] and adopted by the pastors of Geneva, is entitled: "*Concerning God's Eternal Predestination*, by which He has elected some to salvation and left the others to their perdition — *qua in salutem alios ex hominibus elegit, alios suo exitio reliquit.*" (Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 218. 221.) The *Confessio Belgica*, of 1559, and

the *Confessio Gallicana*, of 1561, teach the same absolute predestinarianism. In Article XVI of the Belgic Confession we read: In predestination God proved Himself to be what He is in reality, *viz.*, merciful and just. "Merciful by liberating and saving from damnation and perdition those whom . . . He elected; just, by leaving the others in their fall and in the perdition into which they precipitated themselves. *Iustum vero, alios in illo suo lapsu et perditione relinquendo, in quam sese ipsi praecipites dederunt.*" (Niemeyer, 370.) The *Gallic Confession* [prepared by Calvin and his pupil, De Chandieu; approved by a synod at Paris 1559; delivered by Beza to Charles IX, 1561; translated into German, 1562, and into Latin, 1566; adopted 1571 by the Synod of La Rochelle] maintains that God elected some, but left the others in their corruption and damnation. In Article XII we read: "We believe that from this corruption and general damnation in which all men are plunged, God, according to His eternal and immutable counsel, calls those whom He has chosen by His goodness and mercy alone in our Lord Jesus Christ, without consideration of their works, to display in them the riches of His mercy, leaving the rest in this same corruption and condemnation to show in them His justice. *Credimus ex hac corruptione et damnatione universali, in qua omnes homines natura sunt submersi, Deum alios quidem eripere, quos videlicet aeterno et immutabili suo consilio sola sua bonitate et misericordia, nulloque operum ipsorum respectu in Iesu Christo elegit; alios vero in ea corruptione et damnatione relinquere, in quibus nimirum iuste suo tempore damnandis iustitiam suam demonstret, sicut in aliis divitias misericordiae suae declarat.*" (Niemeyer, 332; Schaff 3, 366.)

The *Formula Consensus Helveticae* of 1675 says, canon 13: "As from eternity Christ was elected Head, Leader, and Heir of all those who in time are saved by His grace, thus also in the time of the New Covenant He has been the Bondsman *for those only* who by eternal election were given to Him to be His peculiar people, seed, and heredity. *Sicut Christus ab aeterno electus est ut Caput, Princeps et Haeres omnium eorum, qui in tempore per gratiam eius salvantur, ita etiam in tempore Novi Foederis Sponsor factus est pro iis solis, qui per aeternam electionem dati ipsi sunt ut populus peculii, semen et haereditas eius,*" etc. (Niemeyer, 733.)

The same Calvinistic doctrines were subsequently embodied in the *Canons of the Synod of Dort*, promulgated May 6, 1619, and in the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, published 1647. In the former we read: "That some receive the gift of faith from God, and others do not receive it, proceeds from God's eternal election. . . . According to His just judgment He leaves the non-elect to their own wickedness and obduracy." (Schaff 3, 582.) "The elect, in due time, though in various degrees and in different measures, attain the assurance of this eternal and unchangeable election, not by inquisitively prying into the secret and deep things of God, but by observing in themselves, with a spiritual joy and holy pleasure, the infallible fruits of election pointed out in the Word of God, such as a true faith in Christ, filial fear, a godly sorrow for sin, a hungering and thirsting after righteousness, etc." (583.) "Not all, but some only, are elected, while others are passed by in the eternal decree; whom God, out of His sovereign, most just, irreprehensible, and unchangeable good pleasure, hath decreed to leave in the common misery into which they have wilfully plunged themselves, and not to bestow upon them saving faith and the grace of conversion." . . . (584.) "For this was the sovereign counsel and most gracious will and purpose of God the Father, that the quickening and saving efficacy of the most precious death of His Son should extend to all the elect, for bestowing *upon them alone* the gift of justifying faith, thereby to bring them infallibly to salvation; that is, it was the will of God that Christ by the blood of the cross, whereby He confirmed the New Covenant, should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, nation, and language all those, *and those only*, who were from eternity chosen to salvation, and given to Him by the Father." (587.) "But God, who is rich in mercy, according to His unchangeable purpose of election, does not *wholly* withdraw the Holy Spirit from His own people, even in their melancholy falls, nor suffer them to proceed so far as to lose the grace of adoption and forfeit the state of justification," etc. (Schaff 3, 593; Niemeyer, 716.)

The *Westminster Confession* declares: "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of His glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death." (Schaff 3, 608.) "As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath He, by the eternal and most free purpose of His will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by His Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by His power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved but the elect only." (609.) "The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of His own will, whereby He extends or withholds mercy as He pleases, for the glory of His sovereign power over His creatures, *to pass by*, and to ordain them to dishonor and wrath for their sin, to the praise of His glorious justice." (610; Niemeyer, *Appendix* 6. 7.)

227. Marbach and Zanchi in Strassburg.

In view of the situation portrayed in the preceding paragraphs, it is certainly remarkable that a general public controversy, particularly with the Calvinists and Synergists, had not been inaugurated long before the *Formula of Concord* was able to write that such a conflict had not yet occurred. Surely the

powder required for a predestinarian conflagration was everywhere stored up in considerable quantities, within as well as without the Lutheran Church. Nor was a local skirmish lacking which might have served as the spark and been welcomed as a signal for a general attack. It was the conflict between Marbach and Zanchi, probably referred to by the words quoted above from Article XI: "Something of it [of a discussion concerning eternal election] has been mooted also among our theologians." This controversy took place from 1561 to 1563, at Strassburg, where Lutheranism and Calvinism came into immediate contact. In 1536 Strassburg had adopted the *Wittenberg Concord* and with it the *Augsburg Confession*, which since took the place of the *Tetrapolitana* delivered to Emperor Charles at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. The efficient and zealous leader in Lutheranizing the city was John Marbach, a graduate of Wittenberg and, together with Mathesius, a former guest at Luther's table. He was born in 1521 and labored in Strassburg from 1545 to 1581, the year of his death. He had Bucer's Catechism replaced by Luther's, and entered the public controversy against the Calvinists with a publication entitled, *Concerning the Lord's Supper, against the Sacramentarians*, which defends the omnipresence of Christ also according to His human nature.

In his efforts to Lutheranize the city, Marbach was opposed by the Crypto-Calvinist Jerome Zanchi (born 1516, died 1590), a converted Italian and a pupil of Peter Martyr [born September 8, 1500; won for Protestantism by reading books of Bucer, Zwingli, and others; professor, first in Strassburg, 1547 in Oxford; compelled to return to the Continent (Strassburg and Zurich) by Bloody Mary; died November 12, 1562, when just about to write a book against Brenz]. From 1553 to 1563 Zanchi was professor of Old Testament exegesis in Strassburg. Though he had signed the *Augsburg Confession*, he was and remained a rigid Calvinist, both with respect to the doctrine of predestination and that of the Lord's Supper, but withheld his public dissent until about 1561. It was the Calvinistic doctrine of the perseverance of the saints, according to which grace once received cannot be lost, upon which Zanchi now laid especial emphasis. According to Loescher (*Historia Motuum* 3, 30) he taught: "1. To the elect in this world faith is given by God only once. 2. The elect who have once been endowed with true faith . . . can never again lose faith altogether. 3. The elect never sin with their whole mind or their entire will. 4. When Peter denied Christ, he, indeed, lacked the *confession* of the mouth, but not the faith of the heart. 1. *Electis in hoc saeculo semel tantum vera fides a Deo datur.* 2. *Electi semel vera fide donati Christoque per Spiritum Sanctum insiti fidem prorsus amittere . . . non possunt.* 3. *In electis regeneratis duo sunt homines, interior et exterior. Ii, quum peccant, secundum tantum hominem exteriorem, i. e., ea tantum parte, qua non sunt regeniti, peccant; secundum vero interiorem hominem nolunt peccatum et condelectantur legi Dei; quare non toto animo aut plena voluntate peccant.* 4. *Petrum, quum negavit Christum, defecit quidem fidei confessio in ore, sed non defecit fides in corde.*" (Tschackert, 560; Frank 4, 261.)

This tenet, that believers can neither lose their faith nor be eternally lost, had been plainly rejected by Luther. In the *Smalcald Articles* we read: "On the other hand, if certain sectarists would arise, some of whom are perhaps already extant, and in the time of the insurrection [of the peasants, 1525] came to my own view, holding that all those who had once received the Spirit or the forgiveness of sins, or had become believers, even though they should afterwards sin, would still remain in the faith, and such sin would not harm them, and hence crying thus: 'Do whatever you please; if you believe, it all amounts to nothing: faith blots out all sins,' etc. — they say, besides, that if any one sins after he has received faith and the Spirit, he never truly had the Spirit and faith: I have had before me many such insane men, and I fear that in some such a devil is still remaining [hiding and dwelling]. It is, accordingly, necessary to know and to teach that when holy men, still having and feeling original sin, also daily repenting of and striving with it, happen to fall into manifest sins, as David into adultery, murder, and blasphemy, that then faith and the Holy Ghost has departed from them. For the Holy Ghost does not permit sin to have dominion, to gain the upper hand, so as to be accomplished, but represses and restrains it, so that it must not do what it wishes. But if it does what it wishes, the Holy Ghost and faith are not present. For St. John says, 1 Ep. 3, 9: 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, . . . and he cannot sin.' And yet it is also the truth when the same St. John says, 1 Ep. 1, 8: 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us.'" (491, 42 f.)

In an opinion of March 9, 1559, Melanchthon remarks that about 1529 some Antinomians maintained and argued "that, since in this life sin remains in saints, they remain holy and retain the Holy Spirit and salvation even when they commit adultery and other sins against their conscience. . . . There are many at many places who are imbued with this error [that righteousness, Holy Spirit, and sins against the conscience can remain in a man at the same time], regard themselves holy although they live and persevere in sins against their consciences." (*C. R.* 9, 764. 405. 473; 8, 411.)

The perseverance of saints as taught by Zanchi was the point to which Marbach immediately took exception. A long discussion followed, which was finally settled by the *Strassburg Formula of Concord* of 1563, outside theologians participating and acting as arbiters. This *Formula*, which was probably prepared by Jacob Andreae, treated in its first article the Lord's Supper; in its second, predestination. It rejected the doctrine that, once received, faith cannot be lost, and pre-

scribed the *Wittenberg Concord* of 1536 as the doctrinal rule regarding the Holy Supper. The document was signed by both parties, Zanchi stating over his signature: "*Hanc doctrinae formam ut piam agnosco, ita eam recipio.*" Evidently his mental reservation was that he be permitted to withdraw from it in as far as he did not regard it as pious. Later Zanchi declared openly that he had subscribed the *Formula* only conditionally. Soon after his subscription he left Strassburg, serving till 1568 as preacher of a Reformed Italian congregation in Chiavenna, till 1576 as professor in the Reformed University of Heidelberg, and till 1582 as professor in Neustadt. He died at Heidelberg as professor emeritus, November 19, 1590. Marbach continued his work at Strassburg, and was active also in promoting the cause of the *Formula of Concord.* His controversy with Zanchi, though of a local character, may be regarded as the immediate cause for adding Article XI. The thorough Lutheranizing of the city was completed by Pappus, a pupil of Marbach. In 1597 Strassburg adopted the *Formula of Concord.*

228. The Strassburg Formula.

The *Strassburg Formula of Concord* sets forth the Scriptural and peculiarly Lutheran point of view in the doctrine of election, according to which a Christian, in order to attain to a truly divine assurance of his election and final salvation, is to consider predestination not *a priori*, but *a posteriori*. That is to say, he is not to speculate on the act of eternal election as such, but to consider it as manifested to him in Christ and the Gospel of Christ. Judging from his own false conception of predestination, Calvin remarked that the *Strassburg Formula* did not deny, but rather veiled, the doctrine of election, — a stricture frequently made also on Article XI of the *Formula of Concord*, whose truly Scriptural and evangelical view of election the Reformed have never fully grasped and realized.

The *Strassburg Formula* taught that, in accordance with Rom. 15, 4, the doctrine of predestination must be presented so as not to bring it into conflict with the doctrines of repentance and justification nor to deprive alarmed consciences of the consolation of the Gospel, nor in any way to violate the truth that the only cause of our salvation is the grace of God alone; that the consolation afforded by election, especially in tribulations (that no one shall pluck us out of the hands of Christ), remains firm and solid only as long as the universality of God's promises is kept inviolate; that Christ died and earned salvation for all, and earnestly invites all to partake of it by faith, which is the gift of grace, and which alone receives the salvation proffered to all; that the reason why the gift of faith is not bestowed upon all men, though Christ seriously invites all to come to Him, is a mystery known to God alone, which human reason cannot fathom; that the will of God proposed in Christ and revealed in the Bible, to which all men are directed, and in which it is most safe to acquiesce, is not contradictory of the hidden will of God. (Loescher, *Hist Mot.* 2, 229; Frank 4, 126. 262; Tschackert, 560.)

Particularly with respect to the "mystery," the *Strassburg Formula* says: "The fact that this grace or this gift of faith is not given by God to all when He calls all to Himself, and, according to His infinite goodness, certainly calls earnestly: 'Come unto the marriage, for all things are now ready,' is a sealed mystery, known to God alone, past finding out for human reason; a secret that must be contemplated with fear and be adored, as it is written: 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!' Rom. 11, 33. And Christ gives thanks to the Father because He has hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes. Matt. 11, 25. Troubled consciences, however, must not take offense at this hidden way of the divine will, but look upon the will of God revealed in Christ, who calls all sinners to Himself." This was also the teaching of the contemporary theologians. Moerlin wrote: "God has revealed to us that He will save only those who believe in Christ, and that unbelief is chargeable to us. Hidden, however, are God's judgments — why He converts Paul, but does not convert Caiaphas; why He receives fallen Peter again and abandons Judas to despair." Chemnitz: "Why, then, is it that God does not put such faith into the heart of Judas, so that he, too, might have believed and been saved through Christ? Here we must leave off questioning and say, Rom. 11: 'O the depth!' . . . We cannot and must not search this nor meditate too deeply upon such questions." Kirchner: "Since, therefore, faith in Christ is a special gift of God, why does He not bestow it upon all? Answer: We must defer the discussion of this question unto eternal life, and in the mean time be content to know that God does not want us to search His secret judgments, Rom. 11: 'O the depth,' etc." In a similar way Chemnitz, Selneccer, and Kirchner expressed themselves in their *Apology of the Book of Concord*, of 1582, declaring that, when asked why God does not convert all men, we must answer with the apostle: 'How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out!' but not ascribe to God the Lord the willing and real cause of the reprobation or damnation of the impenitent." (Pieper, *Dogm.* 2, 585 f.)

229. Predestination according to Article XI of Formula of Concord.

In keeping with her fundamental teaching of *sola gratia* and *gratia universalis*, according to which God's grace is the only cause of man's salvation, and man's evil will the sole cause of his damnation, the Lutheran Church holds that eternal election is an election of grace, *i. e.*, a predestination to salvation only. God's eternal election, says the *Formula of Concord*, "does not extend at once over the

godly and the wicked, but only over the children of God, who were elected and ordained to eternal life before the foundation of the world was laid, as Paul says, Eph. 1, 4. 5: 'He hath chosen us in Him, having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ.'" (1065, 5.) This election, the *Formula* continues, "not only foresees and foreknows the salvation of the elect, but is also, from the gracious will and pleasure of God in Christ Jesus, a cause which procures, works, helps, and promotes our salvation, and what pertains thereto; and upon this [divine predestination] our salvation is so founded that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it, Matt. 16, 18, as is written John 10, 28: 'Neither shall any man pluck My sheep out of My hand.' And again, Acts 13, 48: 'And as many as were ordained to eternal life believed.'" (1065, 8; 1833, 5.) While thus election is a cause of faith and salvation, there is no cause of election in man. The teaching "that not only the mercy of God and the most holy merit of Christ, but also in us there is a cause of God's election on account of which God has elected us to everlasting life," is rejected by the *Formula of Concord* as one of the "blasphemous and dreadful erroneous doctrines whereby all the comfort which they have in the holy Gospel and the use of the holy Sacraments is taken from Christians." (837, 20 f.)

Concerning the way of considering eternal election, the *Formula* writes: "If we wish to think or speak correctly and profitably concerning eternal election, or the predestination and ordination of the children of God to eternal life, we should accustom ourselves not to speculate concerning the bare, secret, concealed, inscrutable foreknowledge of God, but how the counsel, purpose, and ordination of God in Christ Jesus, who is the true Book of Life, is revealed to us through the Word, namely, that the entire doctrine concerning the purpose, counsel, will, and ordination of God pertaining to our redemption, call, justification, and salvation should be taken together; as Paul treats and has explained this article Rom. 8, 29 f.; Eph. 1, 4 f., as also Christ in the parable, Matt. 22, 1 ff." (1067, 13.)

While according to the Lutheran Church election is the cause of faith and salvation, there is no such a thing as an election of wrath or a predestination to sin and damnation, of both of which God is not the cause and author. According to the *Formula* the vessels of mercy are prepared by God alone, but the vessels of dishonor are prepared for damnation, not by God, but by themselves. Moreover, God earnestly desires that all men turn from their wicked ways and live. We read: "For all preparation for condemnation is by the devil and man, through sin, and in no respect by God, who does not wish that any man be damned; how, then, should He Himself prepare any man for condemnation? For as God is not a cause of sins, so, too, He is no cause of punishment, of damnation; but the only cause of damnation is sin; for the wages of sin is death, Rom. 6, 23. And as God does not will sin, and has no pleasure in sin, so He does not wish the death of the sinner either, Ezek. 33, 11, nor has He pleasure in his condemnation. For He is not willing that any one should perish, but that all should come to repentance, 2 Pet. 3, 9. So, too, it is written in Ezek. 18, 23; 33, 11: 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.' And St. Paul testifies in clear words that from vessels of dishonor vessels of honor may be made by God's power and working, when he writes 2 Tim. 2, 21: 'If a man, therefore, purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work.' For he who is to purge himself must first have been unclean, and hence a vessel of dishonor. But concerning the vessels of mercy he says clearly that the Lord Himself has prepared them for glory, which he does not say concerning the damned, who themselves, and not God, have prepared themselves as vessels of damnation." (1089, 81 f.) "Hence the apostle distinguishes with especial care the work of God, who alone makes vessels of honor, and the work of the devil and of man, who by the instigation of the devil, and not of God, has made himself a vessel of dishonor. For thus it is written, Rom. 9, 22 f.: 'God endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory.' Here, then, the apostle clearly says that God endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath, but does not say that He made them vessels of wrath; for if this had been His will, He would not have required any great long-suffering for it. The fault, however, that they are fitted for destruction belongs to the devil and to men themselves, and not to God." (1089, 79 f.)

It is man's own fault when he is not converted by the Word or afterwards falls away again. We read: "But the reason why not all who hear it [the Word of God] believe and are therefore condemned the more deeply, is not because God had begrudged them their salvation; but it is their own fault, as they have heard the Word in such a manner as not to learn, but only to despise, blaspheme, and disgrace it, and have resisted the Holy Ghost, who through the Word wished to work in them, as was the case at the time of Christ with the Pharisees and their adherents." (1089, 78.) "For few receive the Word and follow it; the greatest number despise the Word, and will not come to the wedding, Matt. 22, 3 ff. The cause of this contempt for the Word is not God's foreknowledge [or predestination], but the perverse will of man, which rejects or perverts the means and instrument of the Holy Ghost, which God offers him through the call, and resists the Holy Ghost, who wishes to be efficacious, and works through the Word, as Christ says: 'How often would I have gathered you together, and ye would not!' Matt. 23, 37. Thus many receive the Word with joy, but afterwards fall away

again, Luke 8, 13. But the cause is not as though God were unwilling to grant grace for perseverance to those in whom He has begun the good work, for that is contrary to St. Paul, Phil. 1, 6; but the cause is that they wilfully turn away again from the holy commandment, grieve and embitter the Holy Ghost, implicate themselves again in the filth of the world, and garnish again the habitation of the heart for the devil. With them the last state is worse than the first." (1077, 41 f.; 835, 12.)

It is not because of any deficiency in God that men are lost; for His grace is universal as well as serious and efficacious. The *Formula of Concord* declares: "However, that many are called and few chosen is not owing to the fact that the call of God, which is made through the Word, had the meaning as though God said: Outwardly, through the Word, I indeed call to My kingdom all of you to whom I give My Word; however, in My heart I do not mean this with respect to all, but only with respect to a few; for it is My will that the greatest part of those whom I call through the Word shall not be enlightened nor converted, but be and remain damned, although through the Word, in the call, I declare Myself to them otherwise. *Hoc enim esset Deo contradictorias voluntates affingere.* For this would be to assign contradictory wills to God. That is, in this way it would be taught that God, who surely is Eternal Truth, would be contrary to Himself [or say one thing, but revolve another in His heart], while, on the contrary, God [rebukes and] punishes also in men this wickedness, when a person declares himself to one purpose, and thinks and means another in the heart, Ps. 5, 9; 12, 2 f." (1075, 36.)

It is a punishment of their previous sins and not a result of God's predestination when sinners are hardened; nor does such hardening signify that it never was God's good pleasure to save them. "Moreover," says the *Formula*, "it is to be diligently considered that when God punishes sin with sins, that is, when He afterwards punishes with obduracy and blindness those who had been converted, because of their subsequent security, impenitence, and wilful sins, this should not be interpreted to mean that it never had been God's good pleasure that such persons should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. For both these facts are God's revealed will: first, that God will receive into grace all who repent and believe in Christ; secondly, that He also will punish those who wilfully turn away from the holy commandment, and again entangle themselves in the filth of the world, 2 Pet. 2, 20, and garnish their hearts for Satan, Luke 11, 25 f., and do despite unto the Spirit of God, Heb. 10, 29, and that they shall be hardened, blinded, and eternally condemned if they persist therein." (1091, 83.)

"But that God . . . hardened Pharaoh's heart, namely, that Pharaoh always sinned again and again, and became the more obdurate, the more he was admonished, that was a punishment of his antecedent sin and horrible tyranny, which in many and manifold ways he practised inhumanly and against the accusations of his heart towards the children of Israel. And since God caused His Word to be preached and His will to be proclaimed to him, and Pharaoh nevertheless wilfully reared up straightway against all admonitions and warnings, God withdrew His hand from him, and thus his heart became hardened and obdurate, and God executed His judgment upon him; for he was guilty of nothing else than hell-fire. Accordingly, the holy apostle also introduces the example of Pharaoh for no other reason than to prove by it the justice of God which He exercises towards the impenitent and despisers of His Word; by no means, however, has he intended or understood it to mean that God begrudged salvation to him or any person, but had so ordained him to eternal damnation in His secret counsel that he should not be able, or that it should not be possible for him, to be saved." (1091, 85 f.)

230. Agreement of Articles XI and II.

In the *Formula of Concord*, Article XI is closely related to most of the other articles, particularly to Article I, Of Original Sin, and Article II, Of Free Will and Conversion. Election is to conversion what the concave side of a lens is to the convex. Both correspond to each other in every particular. What God does for and in man when He converts, justifies, sanctifies, preserves, and finally glorifies him, He has in eternity resolved to do, — that is one way in which eternal election may be defined. Synergists and Calvinists, however, have always maintained that the Second Article is in a hopeless conflict with the Eleventh. But the truth is, the Second fully confirms and corroborates the Eleventh, and *vice versa;* for both maintain the *sola gratia* as well as the *universalis gratia.*

Both articles teach that in every respect grace alone is the cause of our conversion and salvation, and that this grace is not confined to some men only, but is a grace for all. Both teach that man, though contributing absolutely nothing to his conversion and salvation, is nevertheless the sole cause of his own damnation. Both disavow Calvinism, which denies the universality of grace. Both reject synergism, which corrupts grace by teaching a cooperation of man towards his own conversion and salvation. Teaching, therefore, as they do, the same truths, both articles will and must ever stand and fall together. It was, no doubt, chiefly due to this complete harmony between the Second and the Eleventh Article that, after the former (which received its present shape only after repeated changes and additions) had been decided upon, the revision of the latter (the Eleventh) caused but little delay. (Frank 4, V. 133.)

Concerning the alleged conflict between Articles II and XI, we read in Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom:* "There is an obvious and irreconcilable antagonism between Article II and Article XI. They contain not simply op-

posite truths to be reconciled by theological science, but contradictory assertions, which ought never to be put into a creed. The *Formula* adopts one part of Luther's book *De Servo Arbitrio*, 1525, and rejects the other, which follows with logical necessity. It is Augustinian, yea, hyper-Augustinian and hyper-Calvinistic in the doctrine of human depravity, and anti-Augustinian in the doctrine of divine predestination. It endorses the anthropological premise, and denies the theological conclusion. If man is by nature like a stone and block, and unable even to accept the grace of God, as Article II teaches, he can only be converted by an act of almighty power and *irresistible* grace, which Article XI denies. If some men are saved without any cooperation on their part, while others, with the same inability and the same opportunities, are lost, the difference points to a particular predestination and the inscrutable decree of God. On the other hand, if God sincerely wills the salvation of all men, as Article XI teaches, and yet only a part are actually saved, there must be some difference in the attitude of the saved and the lost towards converting grace, which is denied in Article II. The Lutheran system, then, to be consistent, must rectify itself, and develop either from Article II in the direction of Augustinianism and Calvinism, or from Article XI in the direction of synergism and Arminianism. The former would be simply returning to Luther's original doctrine [?], which he never recalled, though he may have modified it a little; the latter is the path pointed out by Melanchthon, and adopted more or less by some of the ablest modern Lutherans." (1, 314. 330.) Prior to Schaff, similar charges had been raised by Planck, Schweizer, Heppe, and others, who maintained that Article XI suffers from a "theological confusion otherwise not found in the *Formula*."

Apart from other unwarranted assertions in the passage quoted from Schaff, the chief charges there raised against the *Formula of Concord* are: 1. that Articles XI and II are contradictory to each other; 2. that the Lutheran Church has failed to harmonize the doctrines of *sola gratia* and *gratia universalis*. However, the first of these strictures is based on gross ignorance of the facts, resulting from a superficial investigation of the articles involved; for the alleged disagreement is purely imaginary. As a matter of fact, no one can read the two articles attentively without being everywhere impressed with their complete harmony. In every possible way Article XI excludes synergism, and corroborates the *sola gratia* doctrine of Article II. And Article II, in turn, nowhere denies, rather everywhere, directly or indirectly, confirms, the universal grace particularly emphasized in Article XI.

The framers of the *Formula* were well aware of the fact that the least error in the doctrine of free will and conversion was bound to manifest itself also in the doctrine of election, and that perhaps in a form much more difficult to detect. Hence Article XI was not only intended to be a bulwark against the assaults on the doctrine of grace coming from Calvinistic quarters, but also an additional reenforcement of the article of Free Will against the Synergists, in order to prevent a future recrudescence of their errors in the sphere of predestination. Its object is clearly to maintain the doctrine of the Bible, according to which it is grace alone that saves, a grace which, at the same time, is a grace for all, and thus to stear clear of synergism as well as of Calvinism, and forever to close the doors of the Lutheran Church to every form of these two errors.

According to the Second Article, Christians cannot be assured of their election if the doctrine of conversion [by grace alone] is not properly presented. (900, 47. 57.) And Article XI most emphatically supports Article II in its efforts to weed out every kind of synergistic or Romanistic corruption. For here we read: "Thus far the mystery of predestination is revealed to us in God's Word; and if we abide thereby and cleave thereto, it is a very useful, salutary, consolatory doctrine; for it establishes very effectually the article that we are justified and saved without all works and merits of ours, purely out of grace alone, for Christ's sake. For before the time of the world, before we existed, yea, before the foundation of the world was laid, when, of course, we could do nothing good, we were according to God's purpose chosen by grace in Christ to salvation, Rom. 9, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 9. Moreover, all opinions and erroneous doctrines concerning the powers of our natural will are thereby overthrown, because God in His counsel, before the time of the world, decided and ordained that He Himself, by the power of His Holy Ghost, would produce and work in us, through the Word, everything that pertains to our conversion." (1077, 43 f.; 837, 20.)

Again: "By this doctrine and explanation of the eternal and saving choice of the elect children of God, His own glory is entirely and fully given to God, that in Christ He saves us out of pure [and free] mercy, without any merits or good works of ours, according to the purpose of His will, as it is written Eph. 1, 5 f.: 'Having predestinated us.' . . . Therefore it is false and wrong when it is taught that not alone the mercy of God and the most holy merit of Christ, but that also in us there is a cause of God's predestination on account of which God has chosen us to eternal life." Indeed, one of the most exclusive formulations against every possible kind of subtile synergism is found in Article XI when it teaches that the reason why some are converted and saved while others are lost, must not be sought in man, *i. e.*, in any minor guilt or less faulty conduct toward grace shown by those who are saved, as compared with the guilt and conduct of those who are lost. (1081, 57 f.) If, therefore, the argument of the Calvinists and Synergists that the *sola gratia* doctrine involves a denial of universal grace were correct, the charge of Calvinism would have to

be raised against Article XI as well as against Article II.

In a similar manner the Second Article confirms the Eleventh by corroborating its anti-Calvinistic teaching of universal grace and redemption; of man's responsibility for his own damnation; of man's conversion, not by compulsion or coercion, etc. The Second Article most emphatically teaches the *sola gratia*, but without in any way limiting, violating, or encroaching upon, universal grace. It is not merely opposed to Pelagian, Semi-Pelagian, and synergistic errors, but to Stoic and Calvinistic aberrations as well. While it is not the special object of the Second Article to set forth the universality of God's grace, its anti-Calvinistic attitude is nevertheless everywhere apparent.

Article II plainly teaches that "it is not God's will that any one should be damned, but that all men should be converted to Him and be saved eternally. Ezek. 33, 11: 'As I live.'" (901, 49.) It teaches that "Christ, in whom we are chosen, offers to all men His grace in the Word and holy Sacraments, and wishes earnestly that it be heard, and has promised that where two or three are gathered together in His name and are occupied with His holy Word, He will be in their midst." (903, 57.) It maintains that through the Gospel the Holy Ghost offers man grace and salvation, effects conversion through the preaching and hearing of God's Word, and is present with this Word in order to convert men. (787, 4 ff.; 889, 18.) It holds that "all who wish to be saved ought to hear this preaching, because the preaching and hearing of God's Word are the instruments of the Holy Ghost, by, with, and through which He desires to work efficaciously, and to convert men to God, and to work in them both to will and to do." (901, 52 ff.) It admonishes that no one should doubt that the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost is present with, and efficacious in, the Word when it is preached purely and listened to attentively, and that we should base our certainty concerning the presence, operation, and gifts of the Holy Ghost not on our feeling, but on the promise that the Word of God preached and heard is truly an office and work of the Holy Ghost, by which He is certainly efficacious and works in our hearts, 2 Cor. 2, 14 ff.; 3, 5 ff." (903, 56.) It asserts that men who refuse to hear the Word of God are not converted because they despised the instrument of the Holy Spirit and would not hear (903, 58); that God does not force men to become godly; that those who always resist the Holy Ghost and persistently oppose the known truth are not converted (905, 60). If, therefore, the inference were correct that the doctrine of universal grace involved a denial of the *sola gratia*, then the charge of synergism would have to be raised against Article II as well as against Article XI. Both articles will always stand and fall together; for both teach that the grace of God is the only cause of our conversion and salvation, and that this grace is truly universal.

231. Mystery in Doctrine of Grace.

The second charge raised by Calvinists and Synergists against the *Formula of Concord* is its failure to harmonize "logically" what they term "contradictory doctrines": *sola gratia* and *universalis gratia*, — a stricture which must be characterized as flowing from rationalistic premises, mistaking a divine mystery for a real contradiction, and in reality directed against the clear Word of God itself. Says Schaff, who also in this point voices the views of Calvinists as well as Synergists: "The *Formula of Concord* sanctioned a compromise between Augustinianism and universalism, or between the original Luther and the later Melanchthon, by teaching both the absolute inability of man and the universality of divine grace, without an attempt to solve these contradictory positions." (304.) "Thus the particularism of election and the universalism of vocation, the absolute inability of fallen man, and the guilt of the unbeliever for rejecting what he cannot accept, are illogically combined." (1, 330.) The real charge here raised against the *Formula of Concord* is, that it fails to modify the doctrines of *sola gratia* or *universalis gratia* in a manner satisfactory to the demands of human reason; for Synergists and Calvinists are agreed that, in the interest of rational harmony, one or the other must be abandoned, either *universalis gratia seria et efficax*, or *sola gratia*.

In judging of the charge in question, it should not be overlooked that, according to the *Formula of Concord*, all Christians, theologians included, are bound to derive their entire doctrine from the Bible alone; that matters of faith must be decided exclusively by clear passages of Holy Scripture; that human reason ought not in any point to criticize and lord it over the infallible Word of God; that reason must be subjected to the obedience of Christ, and dare not hinder faith in believing the divine testimonies even when they seemingly contradict each other. We are not commanded to harmonize, says the *Formula*, but to believe, confess, defend, and faithfully to adhere to the teachings of the Bible. (1078, 52 ff.) In the doctrine of conversion and salvation, therefore, Lutherans confess both the *sola gratia* and the *universalis gratia*, because they are convinced that both are clearly taught in the Bible, and that to reject or modify either of them would amount to a criticism of the Word of God, and hence of God Himself. Synergists differ from Lutherans, not in maintaining universal grace (which in reality they deny as to intention as well as extension, for they corrupt the Scriptural content of grace by making it dependent on man's conduct, and thereby limit its extension to such only as comply with its conditions), but in denying the *sola gratia*, and teaching that the will of man enters conversion as a factor alongside of grace. And Calvinists differ from Lutherans not in maintaining the *sola gratia*, but in denying universal grace.

But while, in accordance with the clear

Word of God, faithfully adhering to both the *sola gratia* and *universalis gratia*, and firmly maintaining that whoever is saved is saved by grace alone, and whoever is lost is lost through his own fault alone, the *Formula of Concord* at the same time fully acknowledges the difficulty presenting itself to human reason when we hold fast to this teaching. In particular, it admits that the question, not answered in the Bible, *viz.*, why some are saved while others are lost, embraces a mystery which we lack the means and ability of solving, as well as the data. Accordingly, the *Formula* also makes no efforts whatever to harmonize them, but rather discountenances and warns against all attempts to cater to human reason in this respect, and insists that both doctrines be maintained intact and taught conjointly. Lutherans are fully satisfied that here every effort at rational harmonization cannot but lead either to Calvinistic corruption of universal grace or to synergistic modification of *sola gratia*.

Thus the Lutheran Church not only admits, but zealously guards, the mystery contained in the doctrine of grace and election. It distinguishes between God in as far as He is known and not known; in as far as He has revealed Himself, and in as far as He is still hidden to us, but as we shall learn to know Him hereafter. The truths which may be known concerning God are contained in the Gospel, revealed in the Bible. The things still hidden from us include the unsearchable judgments of God, His wonderful ways with men, and, in particular, the question why some are saved while others are lost. God has not seen fit to reveal these mysteries. And since reason cannot search or fathom God, man's quest for an answer is both presumptuous and vain. That is to say, we are utterly unable to uncover the divine counsels, which would show that the mysterious judgments and ways proceeding from them are in complete harmony with the universal grace proclaimed by the Gospel.

Yet Lutherans believe that the hidden God is not in real conflict with God as revealed in the Bible, and that the secret will of God does not in the least invalidate the gracious will of the Gospel. According to the *Formula of Concord* there are no real contradictions in God; in Him everything is yea and amen; His very being is pure reality and truth. Hence, when relying on God as revealed in Christ, that is to say, relying on grace which is pure grace only and at the same time grace for all, Christians may be assured that there is absolutely nothing in the unknown God, *i. e.*, in as far as He has not revealed Himself to them, which might subvert their simple faith in His gracious promises. The face of God depicted in the Gospel is the true face of God. Whoever has seen Christ has seen the Father as He is in reality.

Indeed, also the hidden God, together with His secret counsels, unsearchable judgments, and ways past finding out, even the majestic God, in whom we live and move and have our being, the God who has all things well in hand, and without whom nothing can be or occur, must, in the light of the Scriptures, be viewed as an additional guarantee that, in spite of all contingencies, the merciful divine promises of the Gospel shall stand firm and immovable. Upon eternal election, says the *Formula of Concord*, "our salvation is so [firmly] founded 'that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it.'" (1065, 8.) As for us, therefore, it remains our joyous privilege not to investigate what God has withheld from us, or to climb into the adyton of God's transcendent majesty, but merely to rely on, and securely trust in, the blessed Gospel, which proclaims grace for all and salvation by grace alone, and teaches that whoever is saved must praise God alone for it, while whoever is damned must blame only himself.

Regarding the mystery involved in predestination, the *Formula of Concord* explains: "A distinction must be observed with especial care between that which is expressly revealed concerning it [predestination] in God's Word and what is not revealed. For in addition to what has been revealed in Christ concerning this, of which we have hitherto spoken, God has still kept secret and concealed much concerning this mystery, and reserved it for His wisdom and knowledge alone, which we should not investigate, nor should we indulge our thoughts in this matter, nor draw conclusions, nor inquire curiously, but should adhere to the revealed Word. This admonition is most urgently needed. For our curiosity has always much more pleasure in concerning itself with these matters [investigating things abstruse and hidden] than with what God has revealed to us concerning this in His Word, because we cannot harmonize it [cannot by the acumen of our natural ability harmonize the intricate and involved things occurring in this mystery], which, moreover, we have not been commanded to do."

The *Formula* enumerates as such inscrutable mysteries: Why God gives His Word at one place, but not at another; why He removes it from one place, and allows it to remain at another; why one is hardened, while another, who is in the same guilt, is converted again. Such and similar questions, says the *Formula*, we cannot answer and must not endeavor to solve. On the contrary, we are to adhere unflinchingly to both truths, *viz.*, that those who are converted are saved, not because they are better than others, but by pure grace alone; and that those who are not converted and not saved cannot accuse God of any neglect or injustice, but are lost by their own fault. The *Formula* concludes its paragraphs on the mysteries in predestination by saying: "When we proceed thus far in this article [maintaining that God alone is the cause of man's salvation and man alone is the cause of his damnation, and refusing to solve the problems involved], we remain on the right [safe and royal] way, as it is written Hos. 13, 9: 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thy help.' However, as regards these

things in this disputation which would soar too high and beyond these limits, we should, with Paul, place the finger upon our lips, remember and say, Rom. 9, 20: 'O man, who art thou that repliest against God?'" (1078, 52ff.)

232. Predestination a Comforting Article.

Christian doctrines, or doctrines of the Church, are such only as are in exact harmony with the Scriptures. They alone, too, are able to serve the purpose for which the Scriptures are given, *viz.*, to convert and save sinners, and to comfort troubled Christians. Scriptural doctrines are always profitable, and detrimental doctrines are never Scriptural. This is true also of the article of eternal election. It is a truly edifying doctrine as also the *Formula of Concord* is solicitous to explain. (1092, 89 ff.) However, it is comforting only when taught in its purity, *i. e.*, when presented and preserved in strict adherence to the Bible; that is to say, when both the *sola gratia* and *gratia universalis* are kept inviolate. Whenever the doctrine of predestination causes despair or carnal security, it has been either misrepresented or misunderstood.

In the introductory paragraphs of Article XI we read: "For the doctrine concerning this article, if taught from, and according to, the pattern of the divine Word, neither can nor should be regarded as useless or unnecessary, much less as offensive or injurious, because the Holy Scriptures not only in but one place and incidentally, but in many places, thoroughly treat and urge the same. Moreover, we should not neglect or reject the doctrine of the divine Word on account of abuse or misunderstanding, but precisely on that account, in order to avert all abuse and misunderstanding, the true meaning should and must be explained from the foundation of the Scriptures." (1063, 2; 1067, 13.)

"If it is treated properly," says also the Epitome, the doctrine of predestination "is a consolatory article" (830, 1); that is to say, if predestination is viewed in the light of the Gospel, and particularly, if *sola gratia* as well as *gratia universalis* are kept inviolate. Outside of God's revelation in the Gospel there is no true and wholesome knowledge whatever concerning election, but mere noxious human dreams. And when the universality of grace is denied, it is impossible for any one to know whether he is elected, and whether the grace spoken of in the Gospel is intended for or belongs to him. "Therefore," says the *Formula of Concord*, "if we wish to consider our eternal election to salvation with profit, we must in every way hold sturdily and firmly to this, that, as the preaching of repentance, so also the promise of the Gospel is *universalis* (universal), that is, it pertains to all men, Luke 24, 47," etc. (1071, 28.) By denying that universal grace is meant seriously and discounting the universal promises of the Gospel, "the necessary consolatory foundation is rendered altogether uncertain and void, as we are daily reminded and admonished that only from God's Word, through which He treats with us and calls us, we are to learn and conclude what His will toward us is, and that we should believe and not doubt what it affirms to us and promises." (1075, 36.) If God cannot be trusted in His universal promises, absolutely nothing in the Bible can be relied upon. A doctrine of election from which universal grace is eliminated, necessarily leads to despair or to contumaciousness and carnal security. Calvin was right when he designated his predestination theory, which denies universal grace, a "horrible decree." It left him without any objective foundation whatever upon which to rest his faith and hope.

In like manner, when the doctrine of election and grace is modified synergistically, no one can know for certain whether he has really been pardoned and will be saved finally, because here salvation is not exclusively based on the sure and immovable grace and promises of God, but, at least in part, on man's own doubtful conduct — a rotten plank which can serve neither foot for safely crossing the great abyss of sin and death. Only when presented and taught in strict adherence to the Bible is the doctrine of election and grace fully qualified to engender divine certainty of our present adoption and final salvation as well, since it assures us that God sincerely desires to save all men (us included), that He alone does, and has promised to do, everything pertaining thereto, and that nothing is able to thwart His promises, since He who made them and confirmed them with an oath is none other than the majestic God Himself.

Accordingly, when Calvinists and Synergists criticize the *Formula of Concord* for not harmonizing (modifying in the interest of rational harmony) the clear doctrines of the Bible, which they brand as contradictions, they merely display their own conflicting, untenable position. For while professing to follow the Scriptures, they at the same time demand that its doctrines be corrected according to the dictate of reason, thus plainly revealing that their theology is not founded on the Bible, but orientated in rationalism, the true ultimate principle of Calvinism as well as synergism.

In the last analysis, therefore, the charge of inconsistency against the *Formula of Concord* is tantamount to an indirect admission that the Lutheran Church is both a consistently Scriptural and a truly evangelical Church. Consistently Scriptural, because it receives in simple faith and with implicit obedience every clear Word of God, all counter-arguments to the contrary notwithstanding. Truly evangelical, because in adhering with unswerving loyalty to the seemingly contradictory, but truly Scriptural doctrine of grace, it serves the purpose of the Scriptures, which — praise the Lord — is none other than to save, edify, and comfort poor disconsolate sinners.

233. Statements of Article XI on Consolation Offered by Predestination.

The purpose of the entire Scripture, says the *Formula of Concord*, is to comfort penitent sinners. If we therefore abide by, and

cleave to, predestination as it is revealed to us in God's Word, "it is a very useful, salutary, consolatory doctrine." Every presentation of eternal election, however, which produces carnal security or despair, is false. We read: "If any one presents the doctrine concerning the gracious election of God in such a manner that troubled Christians cannot derive comfort from it, but are thereby incited to despair, or that the impenitent are confirmed in their wantonness, it is undoubtedly sure and true that such a doctrine is taught, not according to the Word and will of God, but according to [the blind judgment of human] reason and the instigation of the devil. For, as the apostle testifies, Rom. 15, 4: 'Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.' But when this consolation and hope are weakened or entirely removed by Scripture, it is certain that it is understood and explained contrary to the will and meaning of the Holy Ghost." (1093, 91 f.; 837, 16; 1077, 43.)

Predestination is comforting when Christians are taught to seek their election in Christ. We read: "Moreover, this doctrine gives no one a cause either for despondency or for a shameless, dissolute life, namely, when men are taught that they must seek eternal election in Christ and His holy Gospel, as in the Book of Life, which excludes no penitent sinner, but beckons and calls all the poor, heavy-laden, and troubled sinners who are disturbed by the sense of God's wrath, to repentance and the knowledge of their sins and to faith in Christ, and promises the Holy Ghost for purification and renewal, and thus gives the most enduring consolation to all troubled, afflicted men, that they know that their salvation is not placed in their own hands (for otherwise they would lose it much more easily than was the case with Adam and Eve in Paradise, yea, every hour and moment), but in the gracious election of God, which He has revealed to us in Christ, out of whose hand no man shall pluck us, John 10, 28; 2 Tim. 2, 19." (1093, 89.)

In order to manifest its consolatory power, predestination must be presented in proper relation to the revealed order of salvation. We read: "With this revealed will of God [His universal gracious promises in the Gospel] we should concern ourselves, follow and be diligently engaged upon it, because through the Word, whereby He calls us, the Holy Ghost bestows grace, power, and ability to this end [to begin and complete our salvation], and should not [attempt to] sound the abyss of God's hidden predestination, as it is written in Luke 13, 24, where one asks: Lord, are there few that be saved?' and Christ answers: 'Strive to enter in at the strait gate.' Accordingly, Luther says [in his Preface to the Epistle to the Romans]: 'Follow the Epistle to the Romans in its order, concern yourself first with Christ and His Gospel, that you may recognize your sins and His grace; next, that you contend with sin, as Paul teaches from the first to the eighth chapter; then, when in the eighth chapter you will come into [will have been exercised by] temptation under the cross and afflictions, — this will teach you in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters how consolatory predestination is,' etc." (1073, 33.)

Predestination, properly taught, affords the glorious comfort that no one shall pluck us out of the almighty hands of Christ. The *Formula* says: "Thus this doctrine affords also the excellent, glorious consolation that God was so greatly concerned about the conversion, righteousness, and salvation of every Christian, and so faithfully purposed it [provided therefor] that before the foundation of the world was laid, He deliberated concerning it, and in His [secret] purpose ordained how He would bring me thereto [call and lead me to salvation], and preserve me therein. Also, that He wished to secure my salvation so well and certainly that, since through the weakness and wickedness of our flesh it could easily be lost from our hands, or through craft and might of the devil and the world be snatched and taken from us, He ordained it in His eternal purpose, which cannot fail or be overthrown, and placed it for preservation in the almighty hand of our Savior Jesus Christ, from which no one can pluck us, John 10, 28. Hence Paul also says, Rom. 8, 28. 39: 'Because we have been called according to the purpose of God, who will separate us from the love of God in Christ?' [Paul builds the certainty of our blessedness upon the foundation of the divine purpose, when, from our being called according to the purpose of God, he infers that no one can separate us, etc.]" (1079, 45.) "This article also affords a glorious testimony that the Church of God will exist and abide in opposition to all the gates of hell, and likewise teaches which is the true Church of God, lest we be offended by the great authority [and majestic appearance] of the false Church, Rom. 9, 24. 25." (1079, 50.)

Especially in temptations and tribulations the doctrine of eternal election reveals its comforting power. We read: "Moreover, this doctrine affords glorious consolation under the cross and amid temptations, namely, that God in His counsel, before the time of the world, determined and decreed that He would assist us in all distresses [anxieties and perplexities], grant patience, give consolation, excite [nourish and encourage] hope, and produce such an outcome as would contribute to our salvation. Also, as Paul in a very consolatory way treats this, Rom. 8, 28. 29. 35. 38. 39, that God in His purpose has ordained before the time of the world by what crosses and sufferings He would conform every one of His elect to the image of His Son, and that to every one his cross shall and must work together for good, because they are called according to the purpose, whence Paul has concluded that it is certain and indubitable that neither tribulation nor distress, nor death, nor life, etc., shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord." (1079, 48.)

XXI. Luther and Article XI of the Formula of Concord.

234. Luther Falsely Charged with Calvinism.

Calvinists and Synergists have always contended that Luther's original doctrine of predestination was essentially identical with that of John Calvin. Melanchthon was among the first who raised a charge to this effect. In his *Opinion* to Elector August, dated March 9, 1559, we read: "During Luther's life and afterwards I rejected these Stoic and Manichean deliria, when Luther and others wrote: All works, good and bad, in all men, good and bad, must occur as they do. Now it is apparent that such speech contradicts the Word of God, is detrimental to all discipline, and blasphemes God. Therefore I have sedulously made a distinction, showing to what extent man has a free will to observe outward discipline, also before regeneration," etc. (*C. R.* 9, 766.) Instead of referring to his own early statements, which were liable to misinterpretation more than anything that Luther had written, Melanchthon disingenuously mentions Luther, whose real meaning he misrepresents and probably had never fully grasped. The true reason why Melanchthon charged Luther and his loyal adherents with Stoicism was his own synergistic departure from the Lutheran doctrine of original sin and of salvation by grace alone. Following Melanchthon, rationalizing Synergists everywhere have always held that without abandoning Luther's doctrine of original sin and of the *gratia sola* there is no escape from Calvinism.

In this point Reformed theologians agree with the Synergists, and have therefore always claimed Luther as their ally. I. Mueller declared in *Lutheri de Praedestinatione et Libero Arbitrio Doctrina* of 1832: "As to the chief point (*quod ad caput rei attinet*), Zwingli's view of predestination is in harmony with Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio*." In his *Zentraldogmen* of 1854 Alexander Schweizer endeavored to prove that the identical doctrine of predestination was originally the central dogma of the Lutheran as well as of the Zwinglian reformation. "It is not so much the dogma [of predestination] itself," said he (1, 445), "as its position which is in dispute" among Lutherans and Calvinists. Schweizer (1, 483) based his assertion on the false assumption "that the doctrines of the captive will and of absolute predestination [denial of universal grace] are two halves of the same ring." (Frank 1, 12. 118. 128; 4, 262.) Similar contentions were made in America by Schaff, Hodge, Shedd, and other Reformed theologians.

As a matter of fact, however, also in the doctrine of predestination Zwingli and Calvin were just as far and as fundamentally apart from Luther as their entire rationalistic theology differed from the simple and implicit Scripturalism of Luther. Frank truly says that the agreement between Luther's doctrine and that of Zwingli and Calvin is "only specious, *nur scheinbar*." (1, 118.) Tschackert remarks: "Whoever [among the theologians before the *Formula of Concord*] was acquainted with the facts could not but see that in this doctrine [of predestination] there was a far-reaching difference between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic theology." (559.) F. Pieper declares that Luther and Calvin agree only in certain expressions, but differ entirely as to substance. (*Dogm.* 3, 554.)

The *Visitation Articles*, adopted 1592 as a norm of doctrine for Electoral Saxony, enumerate the following propositions on "Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God" which must be upheld over against the Calvinists as "the pure and true doctrine of our [Lutheran] churches": "1. That Christ has died for all men, and as the Lamb of God has borne the sins of the whole world. 2. That God created no one for condemnation, but will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. He commands all to hear His Son Christ in the Gospel, and promises by it the power and working of the Holy Ghost for conversion and salvation. 3. That many men are condemned by their own guilt, who are either unwilling to hear the Gospel of Christ, or again fall from grace, by error against the foundation or by sins against conscience. 4. That all sinners who repent are received into grace, and no one is excluded, even though his sins were as scarlet, since God's mercy is much greater than the sins of all the world, and God has compassion on all His works." (Conc. Trigl., 1153.) Not one of these propositions, which have always been regarded as a summary of the Lutheran teaching in contradistinction from Calvinism, was ever denied by Luther.

235. Summary of Luther's Views.

Luther distinguished between the hidden and the revealed or "proclaimed" God; the secret and revealed will of God; the majestic God in whom we live and move and have our being, and God manifest in Christ; God's unsearchable judgments and ways past finding out, and His merciful promises in the Gospel. Being truly God and not an idol, God, according to Luther, is both actually omnipotent and omniscient. Nothing can exist or occur without His power, and everything surely will occur as He has foreseen it. This is true of the thoughts, volitions, and acts of all His creatures. He would not be God if there were any power not derived from, or supplied by Him, or if the actual course of events could annul His decrees and stultify His knowledge. Also the devils and the wicked are not beyond His control.

As for evil, though God does not will or cause it, — for, on the contrary, He prohibits sin and truly deplores the death of a sinner, — yet sin and death could never have entered the world without His permission. Also the will of fallen man receives its power to will

from God, and its every resolve and consequent act proceeds just as God has foreseen, ordained, or permitted it. The evil quality of all such acts, however, does not emanate from God, but from the corrupt will of man. Hence free will, when defined as the power of man to nullify and subvert what God's majesty has foreseen and decreed, is a nonent, a mere empty title. This, however, does not involve that the human will is coerced or compelled to do evil, nor does it exclude in fallen man the ability to choose in matters temporal and subject to reason.

But while holding that we must not deny the majesty and the mysteries of God, Luther did not regard these, but Christ crucified and justification by faith in the promises of the Gospel, as the true objects of our concern. Nor does he, as did Calvin, employ predestination as a corrective and regulative norm for interpreting, limiting, invalidating, annulling, or casting doubt upon, any of the blessed truths of the Gospel. Luther does not modify the revealed will of God in order to harmonize it with God's sovereignty. He does not place the hidden God in opposition to the revealed God, nor does he reject the one in order to maintain the other. He denies neither the revealed universality of God's grace, of Christ's redemption, and of the efficaciousness of the Holy Spirit in the means of grace, nor the unsearchable judgments and ways of God's majesty. Even the Reformed theologian A. Schweizer admits as much when he says in his *Zentraldogmen* (1, 445): "In the Zwinglio-Calvinian type of doctrine, predestination is a dogma important as such and *regulating* the other doctrines, yea, as Martyr, Beza, and others say, the chief part of Christian doctrine; while in the Lutheran type of doctrine it is merely a dogma supporting other, more important central doctrines." (Frank 4, 264.)

Moreover, Luther most earnestly warns against all speculations concerning the hidden God as futile, foolish, presumptuous, and wicked. The secret counsels, judgments, and ways of God cannot and must not be investigated. God's majesty is unfathomable, His judgments are unsearchable, His ways past finding out. Hence, there is not, and there cannot be, any human knowledge, understanding, or faith whatever concerning God in so far as He has not revealed Himself. For while the fact that there are indeed such things as mysteries, unsearchable judgments, and incomprehensible ways in God is plainly taught in the Bible, their nature, their how, why, and wherefore, has not been revealed to us, and no amount of human ingenuity is able to supply the deficiency. Hence, in as far as God is still hidden and veiled, He cannot serve as a norm by which we are able to regulate our faith and life. Particularly when considering the question how God is disposed toward us individually, we must not take refuge in the secret counsels of God, which reason cannot spy and pry into. According to Luther, all human speculations concerning the hidden God are mere diabolical inspirations, bound to lead away from the saving truth of the Gospel into despair and destruction.

What God, therefore, would have men believe about His attitude toward them, must, according to Luther, be learned from the Gospel alone. The Bible tells us how God is disposed toward poor sinners, and how He wants to deal with them. Not His hidden majesty, but His only-begotten Son, born in Bethlehem, is the divinely appointed object of human investigation. Christ crucified is God manifest and visible to men. Whoever has seen Christ has seen God. The Gospel is God's only revelation to sinful human beings. The Bible, the ministry of the Word, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and absolution are the only means of knowing how God is disposed toward us. To these alone God has directed us. With these alone men should occupy and concern themselves.

And the Gospel being the Word of God, the knowledge furnished therein is most reliable. Alarmed sinners may trust in its comforting promises with firm assurance and unwavering confidence. In *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther earnestly warns men not to investigate the hidden God, but to look to revelation for an answer to the question how God is minded toward them, and how He intends to deal with them. In his *Commentary on Genesis* he refers to this admonition and repeats it, protesting that he is innocent if any one is misled to take a different course. "I have added" [to the statements in *De Servo Arbitrio* concerning necessity and the hidden God], Luther here declares, "that we must look upon the revealed God. *Addidi, quod aspiciendus sit Deus revelatus.*" (Conc. Trigl. 898.)

This Bible-revelation, however, by which alone Luther would have men guided in judging God, plainly teaches both, that grace is universal, and that salvation is by grace alone. Luther always taught the universality of God's love and mercy, as well as of Christ's redemption, and the operation of the Holy Spirit in the means of grace. Also according to *De Servo Arbitrio*, God wants all men to be saved, and does not wish the death of sinners, but deplores and endeavors to remove it. Luther fairly revels in such texts as Ezek. 18, 23 and 31, 11: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live. Turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?" He calls the above a "glorious passage" and "that sweetest Gospel voice — *illam vocem dulcissimi Evangelii.*" (E. v. a. 7, 218.)

Thus Luther rejoiced in universal grace, because it alone was able to convince him that the Gospel promises embraced and included also him. In like manner he considered the doctrine that salvation is by grace *alone* to be most necessary and most comforting. Without this truth divine assurance of salvation is impossible; with it, all doubts about the final victory of faith are removed. Luther was convinced that, if he were required to contribute anything to his own conversion, preservation, and salvation, he could never attain

these blessings. Nothing can save but the grace which is grace alone. In *De Servo Arbitrio* everything is pressed into service to disprove and explode the assertion of Erasmus that the human will is able to and does "work something in matters pertaining to salvation," and to establish the monergism or sole activity of grace in man's conversion. (St. L. 18, 1686, 1688.)

At the same time Luther maintained that man alone is at fault when he is lost. In *De Servo Arbitrio* he argues: Since it is God's will that all men should be saved, it must be attributed to man's will if any one perishes. The cause of damnation is unbelief, which thwarts the gracious will of God so clearly revealed in the Gospel. The question, however, why some are lost while others are saved, though their guilt is equal, or why God does not save all men, since it is grace alone that saves, and since grace is universal, Luther declines to answer. Moreover, he demands that we both acknowledge and adore the unsearchable judgments of God, and at the same time firmly adhere to the Gospel as revealed in the Bible. All efforts to solve this mystery or to harmonize the hidden and the revealed God, Luther denounces as folly and presumption.

Yet Luther maintains that the conflict is seeming rather than real. Whatever may be true of the majestic God, it certainly cannot annul or invalidate what He has made known of Himself in the Gospel. There are and can be no contradictory wills in God. Despite appearances to the contrary, therefore, Christians are firmly to believe that, in His dealings with men, God, who saves so few and damns so many, is nevertheless both truly merciful and just. And what we now believe we shall see hereafter. When the veil will have been lifted and we shall know God even as we are known by Him, then we shall see with our eyes no other face of God than the most lovable one which our faith beheld in Jesus. The light of glory will not correct, but confirm, the truths of the Bible, and reveal the fact that in all His ways God was always in perfect harmony with Himself.

Indeed, according to Luther, the truth concerning the majestic God, in whom we live and move and have our being, and without whom nothing can be or occur, in a way serves both repentance and faith. It serves repentance and the Law inasmuch as it humbles man, causing him to despair of himself and of the powers of his own unregenerate will. It serves faith inasmuch as it guarantees God's merciful promises in the Gospel. For if God is supreme, as He truly is, then there can be nothing more reliable than the covenant of grace to which He has pledged Himself by an oath. And if God, as He truly does, controls all contingencies, then there remains no room for any fear whether He will be able to fulfil His glorious promises, also the promise that nothing shall pluck us out of the hands of Christ. — Such, essentially, was the teaching set forth by Luther in *De Servo Arbitrio* and in his other publications.

236. Object of Luther's "De Servo Arbitrio."

The true scope of *De Servo Arbitrio* is to prove that man is saved, not by any ability or efforts of his own, but solely by grace. Luther says: "We are not arguing the question what we can do when God works [moves us], but what *we* can do *ourselves, viz.*, whether, after being created out of nothing, we can do or endeavor [to do] anything through that general movement of omnipotence toward preparing ourselves for being a new creation of His Spirit. This question should have been answered, instead of turning aside to another." Luther continues: "We go on to say: Man, before he is renewed to become a new creature of the kingdom of the Spirit, does nothing, endeavors nothing, toward preparing himself for renewal and the kingdom; and afterwards, when he has been created anew, he does nothing, endeavors nothing, toward preserving himself in that kingdom; but the Spirit alone does each of these things in us, both creating us anew without our cooperation and preserving us when recreated, — even as Jas. 1, 18 says: 'Of His own will begat He us by the Word of Truth that we should be a kind of firstfruits of His creatures.' He is speaking here of the renewed creature." (E. v. a. 7, 317; St. L. 18, 1909; compare here and in the following quotations Vaughan's *Martin Luther on the Bondage of the Will*, London, 1823.)

Man lacks also the ability to do what is good before God. Luther: "I reply: The words of the Prophet [Ps. 14, 2: "The Lord looketh down from heaven upon the children of men to see if there were any that did understand and seek God. They are all gone aside," etc.] include both act and power; and it is the same thing to say, 'Man does not seek after God,' as it would be to say, 'Man cannot seek after God.'" (E. 330; St. L. 1923.) Again: "Since, therefore, men are flesh, as God Himself testifies, they cannot but be carnally minded (*nihil sapere possunt nisi carnem*); hence free will has power only to sin. And since they grow worse even when the Spirit of God calls and teaches them, what would they do if left to themselves, without the Spirit of God?" (E. 290; St. L. 1876.) "In brief, you will observe in Scripture that, wherever flesh is treated in opposition to the Spirit, you may understand by flesh about everything that is contrary to the Spirit, as in the passage [John 6, 63]: 'The flesh profiteth nothing.'" (E. 291; St. L. 1877.) "Thus also Holy Scripture, by way of emphasis (*per epitasin*), calls man 'flesh,' as though he were carnality itself, because his mind is occupied with nothing but carnal things. *Quod nimio ac nihil aliud sapit quam ea, quae carnis sunt.*" (E. 302; St. L. 1890.)

According to Luther there is no such thing as a neutral willing in man. He says: "It is a mere logical fiction to say that there is in man a neutral and pure volition (*medium et purum velle*); nor can those prove it who assert it. It was born of ignorance of things and servile regard to words, as if something

must straightway be such in substance as we state it to be in words, which sort of figments are numberless among the Sophists [Scholastic theologians]. The truth of the matter is stated by Christ when He says [Luke 11, 23]: 'He that is not with Me is against Me.' He does not say, 'He that is neither with Me nor against Me, but in the middle.' For if God be in us, Satan is absent, and only the will for good is present with us. If God be absent, Satan is present, and there is no will in us but towards evil. Neither God nor Satan allows a mere and pure volition in us; but, as you have rightly said, having lost our liberty, we are compelled to serve sin; that is, sin and wickedness we will, sin and wickedness we speak, sin and wickedness we act." (E. 199; St. L. 1768.)

In support of his denial of man's ability in spiritual matters Luther quotes numerous Bible-passages, and thoroughly refutes as fallacies *a debito ad posse*, etc., the arguments drawn by Erasmus from mandatory and conditional passages of Scripture. His own arguments he summarizes as follows: "For if we believe it to be true that God foreknows and preordains everything, also, that He can neither be deceived nor hindered in His foreknowledge and predestination; furthermore, that nothing occurs without His will (a truth which reason itself is compelled to concede), then, according to the testimony of the selfsame reason, there can be no free will in man or angel or any creature. Likewise, if we believe Satan to be the prince of the world, who is perpetually plotting and fighting against the kingdom of Christ with all his might, so that he does not release captive men unless he be driven out by the divine power of the Spirit, it is again manifest that there can be no such thing as free will. Again, if we believe original sin to have so ruined us that, by striving against what is good, it makes most troublesome work even for those who are led by the Spirit, then it is clear that in man devoid of the Spirit nothing is left which can turn itself to good, but only [what turns itself] to evil. Again, if the Jews, following after righteousness with all their might, rushed forth into unrighteousness, and the Gentiles, who were following after unrighteousness, have freely and unexpectingly attained to righteousness, it is likewise manifest, even by very deed and experience, that man without grace can will nothing but evil. In brief, if we believe Christ to have redeemed man by His blood, then we are compelled to confess that the whole man was lost; else we shall make Christ either superfluous, or the Redeemer only of the vilest part [of man], which is blasphemous and sacrilegious." (E. 366; St. L. 1969.)

237. Relation of Man's Will toward God's Majesty.

According to Luther man has power over things beneath himself, but not over God in His majesty. We read: "We know that man is constituted lord of the things beneath him, over which he has power and free will, that they may obey him and do what he wills and thinks. But the point of our inquiry is whether he has a free will toward God, so that God obeys and does what man wills; or, whether it is not rather God who has a free will over man, so that the latter wills and does what God wills, and can do nothing but what God has willed and does. Here the Baptist says that man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven: wherefore free will is nothing." (E. 359; St. L. 1957.)

God as revealed in the Word may, according to Luther, be opposed and resisted by man, but not God in His majesty. We read: "Lest any one should suppose this to be *my* own distinction, [let him know that] I follow Paul, who writes to the Thessalonians concerning Antichrist (2 Thess. 2, 4) that he will exalt himself above every God that is proclaimed and worshiped, plainly indicating that one may be exalted above God, so far as He is proclaimed and worshiped, that is, above the Word and worship by which God is known to us, and maintains intercourse with us. Nothing, however, can be exalted above God as He is in His nature and majesty (as not worshiped and proclaimed); rather, everything is under His powerful hand." (E. 221; St. L. 1794.)

God in His majesty is supreme and man cannot resist His omnipotence, nor thwart His decrees, nor foil His plans, nor render His omniscience fallible. Luther: "For all men find this opinion written in their hearts, and, when hearing this matter discussed, they, though against their will, acknowledge and assent to it, first, that God is omnipotent, not only as regards His power, but also, as stated, His action; else He would be a ridiculous God; secondly, that He knows and foreknows all things, and can neither err nor be deceived. These two things, however, being conceded by the hearts and senses of all men, they are presently, by an inevitable consequence, compelled to admit that, even as we are not made by our own will, but by necessity, so likewise we do nothing according to the right of free will, but just as God has foreknown and acts by a counsel and an energy which is infallible and immutable. So, then, we find it written in all hearts alike that free will [defined as a power independent of God's power] is nothing, although this writing [in the hearts of men] be obscured through so many contrary disputations and the great authority of so many persons who during so many ages have been teaching differently." (E. 268; St. L. 1851.)

The very idea of God and omnipotence involves that free will is not, and cannot be, a power independent of God. Luther: "However, even natural reason is obliged to confess that the living and true God must be such a one who by His freedom imposes necessity upon us; for, evidently, He would be a ridiculous God or, more properly, an idol, who would either foresee future events in an uncertain way, or be deceived by the events, as the Gentiles have asserted an inescapable fate

also for their gods. God would be equally ridiculous if He could not do or did not do all things, or if anything occurred without Him. Now, if foreknowledge and omnipotence are conceded, it naturally follows as an irrefutable consequence that we have not been made by ourselves, nor that we live or do anything by ourselves, but through His omnipotence. Since, therefore, He foreknew that we should be such [as we actually are], and even now makes, moves, and governs us as such, pray, what can be imagined that is free in us so as to occur differently than He has foreknown or now works? God's foreknowledge and omnipotence, therefore, conflict directly with our free will [when defined as a power independent of God]. For either God will be mistaken in foreknowing, err also in acting (which is impossible), or we shall act, and be acted upon, according to His foreknowledge and action. By the omnipotence of God, however, I do not mean that power by which He can do many things which He does not do, but that active omnipotence by means of which He powerfully works all things in all, in which manner Scripture calls Him omnipotent. This omnipotence and prescience of God, I say, entirely abolish the dogma of free will. Nor can the obscurity of Scripture or the difficulty of the matter be made a pretext here. The *words* are most clear, known even to children; the *subject-matter* is plain and easy, judged to be so even by the natural reason common to all, so that ever so long a series of ages, times, and persons writing and teaching otherwise will avail nothing." (E. 267; St. L. 1849.)

According to Luther, therefore, nothing can or does occur independently of God, or differently from what His omniscience has foreseen. Luther: "Hence it follows irrefutably that all things which we do, and all things which happen, although to us they seem to happen changeably and contingently, do in reality happen necessarily and immutably, *if one views the will of God.* For the will of God is efficacious and cannot be thwarted, since it is God's natural power itself. It is also wise, so that it cannot be deceived. And since His will is not thwarted, the work itself cannot be prevented, but must occur in the very place, time, manner, and degree which He Himself both foresees and wills." (E. 134; St. L. 1692.)

238. God Not the Cause of Sin.

Regarding God's relation to the sinful actions of men, Luther held that God is not the cause of sin. True, His omnipotence impels also the ungodly; but the resulting acts are evil because of man's evil nature. He writes: "Since, therefore, God moves and works all in all, He necessarily moves and acts also in Satan and in the wicked. But He acts in them precisely according to what they are, and what He finds them to be (*agit in illis taliter, quales illi sunt, et quales invenit*). That is to say, since they are turned away [from Him] and wicked, and [as such] are impelled to action by divine omnipotence, they do only such things as are averse [to God] and wicked, just as a horseman driving a horse which has only three or two [sound] feet (*equum tripedem vel bipedem*) will drive him in a manner corresponding to the condition of the horse (*agit quidem taliter, qualis equus est*), *i. e.*, the horse goes at a sorry gait. But what can the horseman do? He drives such a horse together with sound horses, so that it sadly limps along, while the others take a good gait. He cannot do otherwise, unless the horse is cured. Here you see that, when God works in the wicked and through the wicked, the result indeed is evil (*mala quidem fieri*), but that nevertheless God cannot act wickedly, although He works that which is evil through the wicked; for He, being good, cannot Himself act wickedly, although He uses evil instruments, which cannot escape the impulse and motion of His power. The fault, therefore, is in the instruments, which God does not suffer to remain idle, so that evil occurs, God Himself impelling them, but in no other manner than a carpenter who, using an ax that is notched and toothed, would do poor work with it. Hence it is that a wicked man cannot but err and sin continually, because, being impelled by divine power, he is not allowed to remain idle, but wills, desires, and acts, according to what he is (*velit, cupiat, faciat taliter, qualis ipse est*)." (E. 255; St. L. 1834.) "For although God does not make sin, still He ceases not to form and to multiply a nature which, the Spirit having been withdrawn, is corrupted by sin, just as when a carpenter makes statues of rotten wood. Thus men become what their nature is, God creating and forming them of such nature." (E. 254; St. L. 1833.)

Though God works all things in all things, the wickedness of an action flows from the sinful nature of the creature. Luther: "Whoever would have any understanding of such matters, let him consider that God works evil in us, *i. e.*, through us, not by any fault of His, but through our own fault. For since we are by nature evil, while God is good, and since He impels us to action according to the nature of His omnipotence, He, who Himself is good, cannot do otherwise than do evil with an evil instrument, although, according to His wisdom, He causes this evil to turn out unto His own glory and to our salvation." (E. 257; St. L. 1837.) "For this is what we assert and contend, that, when God works without the grace of His Spirit [in His majesty, outside of Word and Sacrament], He works all in all, even in the wicked; for He alone moves all things, which He alone has created, and drives and impels all things by virtue of His omnipotence, which they [the created things] cannot escape or change, but necessarily follow and obey, according to the power which God has given to each of them, — such is the manner in which all, even wicked, things cooperate with Him. Furthermore, when He acts by the Spirit of Grace in those whom He has made righteous, *i. e.*, in

His own kingdom, He in like manner impels and moves them; and, being new creatures, they follow and cooperate with Him; or rather, as Paul says, they are led by Him." (E. 317; St. L. 1908.) "For we say that, without the grace of God, man still remains under the general omnipotence of God, who does, moves, impels all things, so that they take their course necessarily and without fail, but that what man, so impelled, does, is nothing, *i. e.*, avails nothing before God, and is accounted nothing but sin." (E. 315; St. L. 1906.)

Though everything occurs as God has foreseen, this, according to Luther, does not at all involve that man is coerced in his actions. Luther: "But pray, are we disputing now concerning coercion and force? Have we not in so many books testified that we speak of the necessity of immutability? We know . . . that Judas of his own volition betrayed Christ. But we affirm that, if God foreknew it, this volition would certainly and without fail occur in this very Judas. . . . We are not discussing the point whether Judas became a traitor unwillingly or willingly, but whether at the time foreappointed by God it infallibly had to happen that Judas of his own volition betrayed Christ." (E. 270; St. L. 1853.) Again: "What is it to me that free will is not coerced, but does what it does willingly? It is enough for me to have you concede that it must necessarily happen, that he [Judas] does what he does of his own volition, and that he cannot conduct himself otherwise if God has so foreknown it. If God foreknows that Judas will betray, or that he will change his mind about it, — whichever of the two He shall have foreknown will necessarily come to pass; else God would be mistaken in foreknowing and foretelling, — which is impossible. Necessity of consequence effects this: if God foreknows an event, it necessarily happens. In other words, free will is nothing" [it is not a power independent of God or able to nullify God's prescience]. (E. 272; St. L. 1855.)

To wish that God would abstain from impelling the wicked is, according to Luther, tantamount to wishing that He cease to be God. Luther: "There is still this question which some one may ask, 'Why does God not cease to impel by His omnipotence, in consequence of which the will of the wicked is moved to continue being wicked and even growing worse?' The answer is: This is equivalent to desiring that God cease to be God for the sake of the wicked, since one wishes His power and action to cease, *i. e.*, that He cease to be good, lest they become worse!" (E. 259; St. L. 1839.)

239. Free Will a Mere Empty Title.

Luther considers free will (when defined as an ability in spiritual matters or as a power independent of God) a mere word without anything corresponding to it in reality (*figmentum in rebus seu titulus sine re*, E. v. a. 5, 230), because natural will has powers only in matters temporal and subject to reason, but none in spiritual things, and because of itself and independently of God's omnipotence it has no power whatever. We read: "Now it follows that free will is a title altogether divine and cannot belong to any other being, save only divine majesty, for He, as the Psalmist sings [Ps. 115, 3], can do and does all that He wills in heaven and in earth. Now, when this title is ascribed to men, it is so ascribed with no more right than if also divinity itself were ascribed to them, — a sacrilege than which there is none greater. Accordingly it was the duty of theologians to abstain from this word when they intended to speak of human power, and to reserve it exclusively for God, thereupon also to remove it from the mouth and discourse of men, claiming it as a sacred and venerable title for their God. And if they would at all ascribe some power to man, they should have taught that it be called by some other name than 'free will,' especially since we all know and see that the common people are miserably deceived and led astray by this term; for by it they hear and conceive something very far different from what theologians mean and discuss. 'Free will' is too magnificent, extensive, and comprehensive a term; by it common people understand (as also the import and nature of the word require) a power which can freely turn to either side, and neither yields nor is subject to any one." (E. 158; St. L. 1720.)

If the term "free will" be retained, it should, according to Luther, be conceived of as a power, not in divine things, but only in matters subject to human reason. We read: "So, then, according to Erasmus, free will is the power of the will which is able of itself to will and not to will the Word and work of God, whereby it is led to things which exceed both its comprehension and perception. For if it is able to will and not to will, it is able also to love and to hate. If it is able to love and to hate, it is able also, in some small degree, to keep the Law and to believe the Gospel. For if you will, or do not will, a certain thing, it is impossible that by that will you should not be able to do something of the work, even though, when hindered by another, you cannot complete it." (E. 191; St. L. 1759.) "If, then, we are not willing to abandon this term altogether, which would be the safest and most pious course to follow, let us at least teach men to use it in good faith (*bona fide*) only in the sense that free will be conceded to man, with respect to such matters only as are not superior, but inferior to himself; *i. e.*, man is to know that, with regard to his means and possessions, he has the right of using, of doing, and of forbearing to do according to his free will; although also even this is directed by the free will of God alone whithersoever it pleases Him. But with respect to God, or in things pertaining to salvation or damnation, he has no free will, but is the captive, subject, and servant, either of the will of God or of the will of Satan." (E. 160; St. L. 1722.) "Per-

haps you might properly attribute some will (*aliquod arbitrium*) to man; but to attribute free will to him in divine things is too much, since in the judgment of all who hear it the term 'free will' is properly applied to that which can do and does with respect to God whatsoever it pleases, without being hindered by any law or authority. You would not call a slave free who acts under the authority of his master. With how much less propriety do we call men or angels truly free, who, to say nothing of sin and death, live under the most complete authority of God, unable to subsist for a moment by their own power." (E. 189; St. L. 1756.)

Lost liberty, says Luther, is no liberty, just as lost health is no health. We read: "When it has been conceded and settled that free will, having lost its freedom, is compelled to serve sin, and has no power to will anything good, I can conceive nothing else from these expressions than that free will is an empty word, with the substance lost. My grammar calls a lost liberty no liberty. But to attribute the title of liberty to that which has no liberty is to attribute an empty name. If here I go astray, let who can correct me; if my words are obscure and ambiguous, let who can make them plain and definite. I cannot call health that is lost health. If I should ascribe it to a sick man, I believe to have ascribed to him nothing but an empty name. But away with monstrous words! For who can tolerate that abuse of speech by which we affirm that man has free will, and in the same breath assert that he, having lost his liberty, is compelled to serve sin, and can will nothing good? It conflicts with common sense, and utterly destroys the use of speech. The *Diatribe* is rather to be accused of blurting out its words as if it were asleep, and giving no heed to those of others. It does not consider, I say, what it means, and what it all includes, if I declare: Man has lost his liberty, is compelled to serve sin, and has no power to will anything good." (E. 200; St. L. 1769.)

Satan causes his captives to believe themselves free and happy. Luther: "The Scriptures set before us a man who is not only bound, wretched, captive, sick, dead, but who (through the operation of Satan, his prince) adds this plague of blindness to his other plagues, that he believes himself to be free, happy, unfettered, strong, healthy, alive. For Satan knows that, if man were to realize his own misery, he would not be able to retain any one in his kingdom, because God could not but at once pity and help him who recognizes his misery and cries for relief. For throughout all Scripture He is extolled and greatly praised for being nigh unto the contrite in heart, as also Christ testifies, Isaiah 61, 1. 2, that He has been sent to preach the Gospel to the poor and to heal the broken-hearted. Accordingly, it is Satan's business to keep his grip on men, lest they recognize their misery, but rather take it for granted that they are able to do everything that is said." (E. 213; St. L. 1785.)

240. The Gospel to be Our Only Guide.

According to *De Servo Arbitrio* God's majesty and His mysterious judgments and ways must not be searched, nor should speculations concerning them be made the guide of our faith and life. Luther says: "Of God or of the will of God proclaimed and revealed, and offered to us, and which we meditate upon, we must treat in a different way than of God in so far as He is not proclaimed, not revealed, and not offered to us, and is not the object of our meditations. For in so far as God hides Himself, and desires not to be known of us, we have nothing to do with Him. Here the saying truly applies, 'What is above us does not concern us.'" (E. 221; St. L. 1794.) "We say, as we have done before, that one must not discuss the secret will of [divine] majesty, and that man's temerity, which, due to continual perverseness, disregards necessary matters and always attacks and encounters this [secret will], should be called away and withdrawn from occupying itself with scrutinizing those secrets of divine majesty which it is impossible to approach; for it dwells 'in the light which no man can approach unto,' as Paul testifies, 1 Tim. 6, 16." (E. 227; St. L. 1801.) This statement, that God's majesty must not be investigated, says Luther, "is not our invention, but an injunction confirmed by Holy Scripture. For Paul says Rom. 9, 19—21: 'Why doth God yet find fault? For who hath resisted His will? Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God? . . . Hath not the potter power,' etc.? And before him Isaiah, chapter 58, 2: 'Yet they seek Me daily, and delight to know My ways, as a nation that did righteousness, and forsook not the ordinance of their God. They ask of Me the ordinances of justice; they take delight in approaching to God.' These words, I take it, show abundantly that it is unlawful for men to scrutinize the will of majesty." (E. 228; St. L. 1803.)

Instead of searching the Scriptures, as they are commanded to do, men unlawfully crave to investigate the hidden judgments of God. We read: "But we are nowhere more irreverent and rash than when we invade and argue these very mysteries and judgments which are unsearchable. Meanwhile we imagine that we are exercising incredible reverence in searching the Holy Scriptures, which God has commanded us to search. Here we do not search, but where He has forbidden us to search, there we do nothing but search with perpetual temerity, not to say blasphemy. Or is it not such a search when we rashly endeavor to make that wholly free foreknowledge of God accord with our liberty, and are ready to detract from the prescience of God, if it does not allow us liberty, or if it induces necessity, to say with the murmurers and blasphemers, 'Why doth He find fault? Who shall resist His will? What is become of the most merciful God? What of Him who wills not the death of the sinner? Has He made men that He might delight Himself with their torments?' and the like, which will be howled out

forever among the devils and the damned." (E. 266; St. L. 1848.)

God's unknowable will is not and cannot be our guide. Luther: "The *Diatribe* beguiles herself through her ignorance, making no distinction between the proclaimed and the hidden God, that is, between the Word of God and God Himself. God does many things which He has not shown us in His Word. He also wills many things concerning which He has not shown us in His Word that He wills them. For instance, He does not will the death of a sinner, namely, according to His Word, but He wills it according to His inscrutable will. Now, our business is to look at His Word, disregarding the inscrutable will; for we must be directed by the Word, not by that inscrutable will (*nobis spectandum est Verbum relinquendaque illa voluntas imperscrutabilis; Verbo enim nos dirigi, non voluntate illa inscrutabili oportet*). Indeed, who could direct himself by that inscrutable and unknowable will? It is enough merely to know that there is such an inscrutable will in God; but what, why, and how far it wills, that is altogether unlawful for us to inquire into, to wish [to know], and to trouble or occupy ourselves with; on the contrary, we should fear and adore it." (E. 222; St. L. 1795.)

Instead of investigating the mysteries of divine majesty, men ought to concern themselves with God's revelation in the Gospel. Luther: "But let her [human temerity] occupy herself with the incarnate God or, as Paul says, with Jesus Crucified, in whom are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. For through Him she has abundantly what she ought to know and not to know. It is the incarnate God, then, who speaks here [Matt. 23]: 'I would, and thou wouldest not.' The incarnate God, I say, was sent for this purpose, that He might will, speak, do, suffer, and offer to all men all things which are necessary to salvation, although He offends very many who, being either abandoned or hardened by that secret will of His majesty, do not receive Him who wills, speaks, works, offers, even as John says: 'The light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not'; and again: 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.'" (E. 227 f.; St. L. 1802.)

241. God's Grace Is Universal and Serious.

All men are in need of the saving Gospel, and it should be preached to all. We read in *De Servo Arbitrio:* "Paul had said just before: 'The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first and also to the Greek.' These words are not obscure or ambiguous: 'To the Jews and to the Greeks,' that is, to all men, the Gospel of the power of God is necessary, in order that, believing, they may be saved from the revealed wrath." (E. 322; St. L. 1915.) "He [God] knows what, when, how, and to whom we ought to speak. Now, His injunction is that His Gospel, which is necessary for all, should be limited by neither place nor time, but be preached to all, at all times, and in all places." (E. 149; St. L. 1709.)

The universal promises of the Gospel offer firm and sweet consolation to poor sinners. Luther: "It is the voice of the Gospel and the sweetest consolation to poor miserable sinners when Ezekiel says [18, 23. 32]: 'I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live.' Just so also the thirtieth Psalm [v. 5]: 'For His anger endureth but a moment; in His favor is life [His will rather is life].' And the sixty-ninth [v. 16]: 'For Thy loving-kindness is good [How sweet is Thy mercy, Lord!]' Also: 'Because I am merciful.' And that saying of Christ, Matt. 11, 28: 'Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you.' Also that of Exodus [20, 6], 'I show mercy unto thousands of them that love Me.' Indeed, almost more than half of Holy Scripture, — what is it but genuine promises of grace, by which mercy, life, peace, and salvation are offered by God to men? And what else do the words of promise sound forth than this: 'I have no pleasure in the death of a sinner'? Is it not the same thing to say, 'I am merciful,' as to say, 'I am not angry,' 'I do not wish to punish,' 'I do not wish you to die,' 'I desire to pardon,' 'I desire to spare'? Now, if these divine promises did not stand [firm], so as to raise up afflicted consciences terrified by the sense of sin and the fear of death and judgment, what place would there be for pardon or for hope? What sinner would not despair?" (E. 218; St. L. 1791.)

God, who would have all men to be saved, deplores and endeavors to remove death, so that man must blame himself if he is lost. Luther: "God in His majesty and nature therefore must be left untouched [unsearched], for in this respect we have nothing to do with Him; nor did He want us to deal with Him in this respect; but we deal with Him in so far as He has clothed Himself and come forth in His Word, by which He has offered Himself to us. This [Word] is His glory and beauty with which the Psalmist, 21, 6, celebrates Him as being clothed." Emphasizing the seriousness of universal grace, Luther continues: "Therefore we affirm that the holy God does not deplore the death of the people which He works in them, but deplores the death which He finds in the people, and endeavors to remove (*sed deplorat mortem, quam invenit in populo, et amovere studet*). For this is the work of the proclaimed God to take away sin and death, that we may be saved. For He has sent His Word and healed them." (E. 222; St. L. 1795.) "Hence it is rightly said, If God wills not death, it must be charged to our own will that we perish. 'Rightly,' I say, if you speak of the proclaimed God. For He would have all men to be saved, coming, as He does, with His Word of salvation to all men; and the fault is in the will, which does not admit Him; as He says, Matt. 23, 37: 'How often would I have gathered thy children together, and ye would not!'" (E. 222; St. L. 1795.)

242. Sola Gratia Doctrine Engenders Assurance.

Luther rejoices in the doctrine of *sola gratia* because it alone is able to engender assurance of salvation. He writes: "As for myself, I certainly confess that, if such a thing could somehow be, I should be unwilling to have free will given me, or anything left in my own hand, which might enable me to make an effort at salvation; not only because in the midst of so many dangers and adversities and also of so many assaulting devils I should not be strong enough to remain standing and keep my hold of it (for one devil is mightier than all men put together, and not a single man would be saved), but because, even if there were no dangers and no adversities and no devils, I should still be compelled to toil forever uncertainly, and to beat the air in my struggle. For though I should live and work to eternity, my own conscience would never be sure and at ease as to how much it ought to do in order to satisfy God. No matter how perfect a work might be, there would be left a doubt whether it pleased God, or whether He required anything more; as is proved by the experience of all who endeavor to be saved by the Law (*iustitiariorum*), and as I, to my own great misery, have learned abundantly during so many years. But now, since God has taken my salvation out of the hands of my will, and placed it into those of His own and has promised to save me, not by my own work or running, but by His grace and mercy, I feel perfectly secure, because He is faithful and will not lie to me; moreover, He is powerful and great, so that neither devils nor adversities can crush Him, or pluck me out of His hand. No one, says He, shall pluck them out of My hand; for My Father, who gave them unto Me, is greater than all. Thus it comes to pass that, though not all are saved, at least some, nay, many are, whereas by the power of free will absolutely none would be saved, but every one of us would be lost. We are also certain and sure that we please God, not by the merit of our own work, but by the favor of His mercy which He has promised us; and that, if we have done less than we ought, or have done anything amiss, He does not impute it to us, but, as a father, forgives and amends it. Such is the boast of every saint in his God." (E. 362; St. L. 1961 f.)

In the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* this thought of Luther's is repeated as follows: "If the matter [our salvation] were to depend upon our merits, the promise would be uncertain and useless, because we never could determine when we would have sufficient merit. And this experienced consciences can easily understand [and would not, for a thousand worlds, have our salvation depend upon ourselves]." (Conc. Trigl. 145, 84; compare 1079, 45 f.)

243. Truth of God's Majesty Serves God's Gracious Will.

Luther regarded the teaching that everything is subject to God's majesty as being of service to His gracious will. We read: "Two things require the preaching of these truths [concerning the infallibility of God's foreknowledge, etc.]; the first is, the humbling of our pride and the knowledge of the grace of God; the second, Christian faith itself. First, God has certainly promised His grace to the humbled, *i. e.*, to those who deplore their sins and despair [of themselves]. But man cannot be thoroughly humbled until he knows that his salvation is altogether beyond his own powers, counsels, efforts, will, and works, and depends altogether upon the decision, counsel, will, and work of another, *i. e.*, of God only. For as long as he is persuaded that he can do anything toward gaining salvation, though it be ever so little, he continues in self-confidence, and does not wholly despair of himself; accordingly he is not humbled before God, but anticipates, or hopes for, or at least wishes for, a place, a time, and some work by which he may finally obtain salvation." (E. 153. 133; St. L. 1715. 1691.) "More than once," says Luther, "I myself have been offended at it [the teaching concerning God's majesty] to such an extent that I was at the brink of despair, so that I even wished I had never been created a man, — until I learned how salutary that despair was and how close to grace." (E. 268; St. L. 1850.)

Of the manner in which, according to Luther, the truth concerning God's majesty serves the Gospel, we read: "Moreover, I do not only wish to speak of how true these things are, . . . but also how becoming to a Christian, how pious, and how necessary it is to know them. For if these things are not known, it is impossible for either faith or any worship of God to be maintained. That would be ignorance of God indeed; and if we do not know Him, we cannot obtain salvation, as is well known. For if you doubt that God foreknows and wills all things, not contingently, but necessarily and immutably, or if you scorn such knowledge, how will you be able to believe His promises, and with full assurance trust and rely upon them? When He promises, you ought to be sure that He knows what He is promising, and is able and willing to accomplish it, else you will account Him neither true nor faithful. That, however, is unbelief, extreme impiety, and a denial of the most high God. But how will you be confident and sure if you do not know that He certainly, infallibly, unchangeably, and necessarily knows, and wills, and will perform what He promises? Nor should we merely be certain that God necessarily and immutably wills and will perform [what He has promised], but we should even glory in this very thing, as Paul does, Rom. 3, 4: 'Let God be true, but every man a liar.' And again, Rom. 9, 6; 4, 21; 1 Sam. 3, 19: 'Not that the Word of God hath taken none effect.' And in another place, 2 Tim. 2, 19: 'The foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, The Lord knoweth them that are His.' And in Titus 1, 2: 'Which God, that cannot lie, hath promised before the world began.' And in Heb. 11, 6: 'He that cometh to God must believe that God is, and that He is a rewarder of them that hope in Him.' So, then, Christian

faith is altogether extinguished, the promises of God and the entire Gospel fall absolutely to the ground, if we are taught and believe that we have no need of knowing the foreknowledge of God to be necessary and the necessity of all things that must be done. For this is the only and highest possible consolation of Christians in all adversities to know that God does not lie, but does all things immutably, and that His will can neither be resisted, nor altered, nor hindered." (E. 137. 264; St. L. 1695. 1845.)

244. There Are No Real Contradictions in God.

Among the mysteries which we are unable to solve Luther enumerates the questions: Why did God permit the fall of Adam? Why did He suffer us to be infected with original sin? Why does God not change the evil will? Why is it that some are converted while others are lost? We read: "But why does He not at the same time change the evil will which He moves? This pertains to the secrets of His majesty, where His judgments are incomprehensible. Nor is it our business to investigate, but to adore these mysteries. If, therefore, flesh and blood here take offense and murmur, let them murmur; but they will effect nothing, God will not be changed on that account. And if the ungodly are scandalized and leave in ever so great numbers, the elect will nevertheless remain. The same answer should be given to those who ask, 'Why did He allow Adam to fall, and why does He create all of us infected with the same sin when He could have preserved him [Adam], and created us from something else, or after first having purged the seed?' He is God, for whose will there is no cause or reason which might be prescribed for it as a standard and rule of action; for it has no equal or superior, but is itself the rule for everything. If it had any rule or standard, cause or reason, it could no longer be the will of God. For what He wills is right, not because He is or was in duty bound so to will, but, on the contrary, because He wills so, therefore what occurs must be right. Cause and reason are prescribed to a creature's will, but not to the will of the Creator, unless you would set another Creator over Him." (E. 259; St. L. 1840.)

Regarding the question why some are converted while others are not, we read: "But why this majesty does not remove this fault of our will, or change it in all men (seeing that it is not in the power of man to do so), or why He imputes this [fault of the will] to man when he cannot be without it, it is not lawful to search, and although you search much, you will never discover it, as Paul says, Rom. 9, 20: 'O man, who art thou that repliest against God?'" (E. 223; St. L. 1796.) "But as to why some are touched by the Law and others are not, so that the former receive, and the latter despise, the grace offered, this is another question, and one not treated by Ezekiel in this place, who speaks of the preached and offered mercy of God, not of the secret and to-be-feared will of God, who by His counsel ordains what and what kind of persons He wills to be capable and partakers of His preached and offered mercy. This will of God must not be searched, but reverently adored, as being by far the most profound and sacred secret of divine majesty, reserved for Himself alone, and prohibited to us much more religiously than countless multitudes of Corycian Caves." (E. 221; St. L. 1794.)

Christians firmly believe that in His dealings with men God is always wise and just and good. Luther: "According to the judgment of reason it remains absurd that this just and good God should demand things that are impossible of fulfilment by free will, and, although it cannot will that which is good, but necessarily serves sin, should nevertheless charge this to free will; and that, when He does not confer the Spirit, He should not act a whit more kindly or more mercifully than when He hardens or permits men to harden themselves. Reason will declare that these are not the acts of a kind and merciful God. These things exceed her understanding too far, nor can she take herself into captivity to believe God to be good, who acts and judges thus; but setting faith aside, she wants to feel and see and comprehend how He is just and not cruel. She would indeed comprehend if it were said of God: 'He hardens nobody, He damns nobody, rather pities everybody, saves everybody,' so that, hell being destroyed and the fear of death removed, no future punishment need be dreaded. This is the reason why she is so hot in striving to excuse and defend God as just and good. *But faith and the spirit judge differently, believing God to be good though He were to destroy all men.*" (E. 252; St. L. 1832.) "The reason why of the divine will must not be investigated, but simply adored, and we must give the glory to God that, being alone just and wise, *He does wrong to none, nor can He do anything foolish or rash, though it may appear far otherwise to us. Godly men are content with this answer.*" (E. 153; St. L. 1714.)

According to Luther, divine justice must be just as incomprehensible to human reason as God's entire essence. We read: "But when we feel ill at ease for the reason that it is difficult to vindicate the mercy and equity of God because He damns the undeserving, *i. e.*, such ungodly men as are born in ungodliness, and hence cannot in any way prevent being and remaining ungodly and damned, and are compelled by their nature to sin and perish, as Paul says [Eph. 2, 3]: 'We were all the sons of wrath even as others,' they being created such by God Himself out of the seed which was corrupted through the sin of the one Adam, — then the most merciful God is to be honored and revered in [His dealings with] those whom He justifies and saves, although they are most unworthy, and at least a little something ought to be credited to His divine wisdom by believing Him to be just where to us He seems unjust. For if His justice were such as could be declared just by human understanding, it would clearly not be divine,

differing nothing from human justice. But since He is the one true God, and entirely incomprehensible and inaccessible to human reason, it is proper, nay, necessary, *that His justice also be incomprehensible*, even as Paul also exclaims, Rom. 11, 33, saying: 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!' Now, they would not be incomprehensible if we were able, in everything He does, to comprehend why they are just. What is man compared with God? How much is our power capable of as compared with His? What is our strength compared with His powers? What is our knowledge compared with His wisdom? What is our substance compared with His substance? In short, what is everything that is ours as compared with everything that is His?" (E. 363; St. L. 1962.)

Christians embrace the opportunity offered by the mysterious ways of God to exercise their faith. Luther: "This is the highest degree of faith, to believe that He is merciful, who saves so few and condemns so many; to believe Him just, who by His will [creating us out of sinful seed] necessarily makes us damnable, thus, according to Erasmus, seeming to be delighted with the torments of the wretched, and worthy of hatred rather than of love. If, then, I could in any way comprehend how this God is merciful and just who shows such great wrath and [seeming] injustice, there would be no need of faith. But now, since this cannot be comprehended there is to be an opportunity for the exercise of faith when these things are preached and published, even as when God kills, our faith in life is exercised in death." (E. 154; St. L. 1716.)

245. Seeming Contradictions Solved in Light of Glory.

Christians are fully satisfied that hereafter they will see and understand what they here believed, *viz.*, that in His dealings with men God truly is and always was absolutely just. Luther: "If you are pleased with God for crowning the unworthy, you ought not to be displeased with Him for condemning the undeserving [who were not worse or more guilty than those who are crowned]. If He is just in the former case, why not in the latter? In the former case He scatters favor and mercy upon the unworthy; in the latter He scatters wrath and severity upon the undeserving [who are guilty in no higher degree than those who are saved]. In both cases He is excessive and unrighteous before [in the judgment of] men, but just and true in His own mind. For how it is just that He crowns the unworthy is incomprehensible to us now; *but we shall understand it when we have come to that place where we shall no longer believe, but behold with our face unveiled.* So, too, how it is just that He condemns the undeserving we cannot comprehend now; yet we believe it until the Son of Man shall be revealed." (E. 284; St. L. 1870.) "Of course, in all other things we concede divine majesty to God; only in His judgment we are ready to deny it, and cannot even for a little while believe that He is just, since He has promised us that, *when He will reveal His glory, we all shall then both see and feel that He has been, and is, just.*" (E. 364; St. L. 1964.)

Again: "Do you not think that since the light of grace has so readily solved a question which could not be solved by the light of nature, the light of glory will be able to solve with the greatest ease the question which in the light of the Word or of grace is unsolvable? In accordance with the common and good distinction let it be conceded that there are three lights — the light of nature, the light of grace, and the light of glory. In the light of nature it is unsolvable that it should be just that the good are afflicted while the wicked prosper. The light of grace, however, solves this [mystery]. In the light of grace it is unsolvable how God may condemn him who cannot by any power of his own do otherwise than sin and be guilty. There the light of nature as well as the light of grace declares that the fault is not in wretched man, but in the unjust God. For they cannot judge otherwise of God, who crowns a wicked man gratuitously without any merits, and does not crown another, but condemns him, who perhaps is less, or at least not more wicked [than the one who is crowned]. *But the light of glory pronounces a different verdict*, and when it arrives, it will show God, whose judgment is now that of incomprehensible justice, to be a Being of most just and manifest justice, which meanwhile we are to believe, admonished and confirmed by the example of the light of grace, which accomplishes a like miracle with respect to the light of nature." (E. 365; St. L. 1965.)

246. Statements Made by Luther before Publication of "De Servo Arbitrio."

Wherever Luther touches on predestination, both before and after 1525, essentially the same thoughts are found, though not developed as extensively as in *De Servo Arbitrio.* He consistently maintains that God's majesty must be neither denied nor searched, and that Christians should be admonished to look and rely solely upon the revealed universal promises of the Gospel. In his *Church Postil* of 1521 we read: "The third class of men who also approve this [the words of Paul, Rom. 11, 34. 35: 'For who hath known the mind of the Lord? Or who hath been His counselor? Or who hath first given to Him, and it shall be recompensed unto Him again?'] are those who indeed hear the Word of Revelation. For I am not now speaking of such as deliberately persecute the Word (they belong to the first class, who do not at all inquire about God), but of those who disregard the revelation and, led by the devil, go beyond and beside it, seeking to grasp the ways and judgments of God which He has not revealed. Now, if they were Christians, they would be satisfied and thank God for giving His Word, in which He shows what is pleasing to Him, and how we are to be saved. But they suffer the devil to lead

them, insist on seeking other revelations, ponder what God may be in His invisible majesty, how He secretly governs the world, and what He has in particular decreed for each one in the future. For nature and human reason cannot desist; they *will* meddle in His judgment with their wisdom, sit in His most secret council, instruct Him and master Him. This is the pride of the foul fiend, who was cast into the abyss of hell for trying to meddle in [matters of] divine majesty, and who in the same way eagerly seeks to bring man to fall, and to cast him down with himself, as he did in Paradise in the beginning, tempting also the saints and even Christ with the same thing, when he set Him on the pinnacle of the Temple, etc. Against such in particular St. Paul here introduces these words [Rom. 11, 34. 35] to the inquisitive questions of wise reason: Why did God thus punish and reject the Jews while He permitted the condemned heathen to come to the Gospel? Again, Why does He govern on this wise, that wicked and evil men are exalted while the pious are allowed to undergo misfortune and be suppressed? Why does He call Judas to be an apostle and later on reject him while He accepts the murderer and malefactor? By them [his words, Rom. 11] Paul would order such to cease climbing up to the secret Majesty, and to adhere to the revelation which God has given us. For such searching and climbing is not only in vain, but also harmful. Though you search in all eternity, you will never attain anything, but only break your neck."

"But if you desire to proceed in the right way, you can do no better than busying yourself with His Word and works, in which He has revealed Himself and permits Himself to be heard and apprehended, to wit, how He sets before you His Son Christ upon the cross. That is the work of your redemption. There you can certainly apprehend God, and see that He does not wish to condemn you on account of your sins if you believe, but to give you eternal life, as Christ says: 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' (John 3, 16.) In this Christ, says Paul, are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. (Col. 2, 3.) And that will be more than enough for you to learn, study, and consider. This lofty revelation of God will also make you marvel and will engender a desire and love for God. It is a work which in this life you will never finish studying; a work of which, as Peter says, even the angels cannot see enough, but which they contemplate unceasingly with joy and delight. (1 Pet. 1, 12.)"

"This I say that we may know how to instruct and direct those (if such we should meet with) who are being afflicted and tormented by such thoughts of the devil to tempt God, when he entices them to search the devious ways of God outside of revelation, and to grope about trying to fathom what God plans for them — whereby they are led into such doubt and despair that they know not how they will survive. Such people must be reminded of these words [Rom. 11], and be rebuked with them (as St. Paul rebukes his Jews and wiseacres) for seeking to apprehend God with their wisdom and to school Him, as His advisers and masters, and for dealing with Him by themselves without means, and for giving Him so much that He must requite them again. For nothing will come of it; He has carefully built so high that you will not thus scale Him by your climbing. His wisdom, counsel, and riches are so great that you will never be able to fathom or to exhaust them. Therefore be glad that He permits you to know and receive these things somewhat by revelation." (E. 9, 15 sqq.; St. L. 12, 641 sqq.)

In a sermon on 2 Pet. 1, 10, delivered in 1523 and published in 1524, Luther said: "Here a limit [beyond which we may not go] has been set for us how to treat of predestination. Many frivolous spirits, who have not felt much of faith, tumble in, strike at the top, concerning themselves first of all with this matter, and seek to determine by means of their reason whether they are elected in order to be certain of their standing. From this you must desist; it is not the hilt of the matter. If you would be certain, you must attain to this goal by taking the way which Peter here proposes. Take another, and you have already gone astray; your own experience must teach you. If faith is well exercised and stressed, you will finally become sure of the matter, so that you will not fail." (E. 52, 224; St. L. 9, 1353.)

After a discussion at Wittenberg with a fanatic from Antwerp, in 1525, Luther wrote a letter of warning to the Christians of Antwerp, in which he speaks of God's will with respect to sin in an illuminating manner as follows: "Most of all he [the fanatic] fiercely contended that God's command was good, and that God did not desire sin, which is true without a doubt; and the fact that we also confessed this did not do us any good. But he would not admit that, although God does not desire sin, He nevertheless permits (*verhaengt*) it to happen, and such permission certainly does not come to pass without His will. For who compels Him to permit it? Aye, how could He permit it if it was not His will to permit it? Here he exalted his reason, and sought to comprehend how God could not desire sin, and still, by permitting sin, will it, imagining that he could exhaust the abyss of divine majesty: how these two wills may exist side by side. . . . Nor do I doubt that he will quote me to you as saying that God desires sin. To this I would herewith reply that he wrongs me, and as he is otherwise full of lies, so also he does not speak the truth in this matter. I say that God has forbidden sin, and does not desire it. This will has been revealed to us, and it is necessary for us to know it. But in what manner God permits or wills sin, this we are not to know; for He has not revealed it. St. Paul himself would not and could not know it, saying, Rom. 9, 20: 'O man, who art thou that re-

pliest against God?' Therefore I beseech you, in case this spirit should trouble you much with the lofty question regarding the secret will of God, to depart from him and to speak thus: 'Is it too little that God instructs us in His public [proclaimed] will, which He has revealed to us? Why, then, do you gull us, seeking to lead us into that which we are forbidden to know, are unable to know, and which you do not know yourself? Let the manner in which that comes to pass be commended to God; it suffices us to know that He desires no sin. In what way, however, He permits or wills sin, this we shall leave unanswered (*sollen wir gehen lassen*). The servant is not to know his master's secrets, but what his master enjoins upon him; much less is a poor creature to explore and desire to know the secrets of the majesty of its God.' — Behold, my dear friends, here you may perceive that the devil always makes a practise of presenting unnecessary, vain, and impossible things in order thereby to tempt the frivolous to forsake the right path. Therefore take heed that you abide by that which is needful, and which God has commanded us to know, as the wise man says: 'Do not inquire for that which is too high for you, but always remain with that which God has commanded you.' We all have work enough to learn all our lifetime God's command and His Son Christ." (E. 53, 345; St. L. 10, 1531; Weimar 18, 549 f.)

247. Statements Made by Luther in 1528.

In a letter of comfort written July 20, 1528, Luther says: "A few days ago my dear brother Caspar Cruciger, Doctor of Divinity, informed me with grief that on his various visitations he learned from your friends that you are afflicted with abnormal and strange thoughts pertaining to God's predestination, and are completely confused by them; also, that you grow dull and distracted on account of them; and that finally it must be feared that you might commit suicide, — from which Almighty God may preserve you! . . . Your proposition and complaints are: God Almighty knows from eternity who are to be and who will be saved, be they dead, living, or still to live in days to come, — which is true, and shall and must be conceded; for He knows all things, and there is nothing hidden from Him, since He has counted and knows exactly the drops in the sea, the stars in the heavens, the roots, branches, twigs, leaves of all trees, also all the hair of men. From this you finally conclude that, do what you will, good or evil, God still knows whether you shall be saved or not (which is indeed true); yet, at the same time, you think more of damnation than of salvation and on that account you are faint-hearted, nor do you know how God is minded toward you; hence you grow dispirited and altogether doubtful."

"Against this I, as a servant of my dear Lord Jesus Christ, give you this advice and comfort, that you may know how God Almighty is disposed toward you, whether you are elected unto salvation or damnation. Although God Almighty knows all things, and all works and thoughts in all creatures must come to pass according to His will (*iuxta decretum voluntatis suae*), it is nevertheless His earnest will and purpose, aye, His command, decreed from eternity, to save all men and make them partakers of eternal joy, as is clearly stated Ezek. 18, 23, where He says: God does not desire the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn and live. Now, if He desires to save and to have saved the sinners who live and move under the wide and high heaven, then you must not separate yourself from the grace of God by your foolish thoughts, inspired by the devil. For God's grace extends and stretches from east to west, from south to north, overshadowing all who turn, truly repent, and make themselves partakers of His mercy and desire help. For He is 'rich unto all that call upon Him', Rom. 10, 12. This, however, requires true and genuine faith, which expels such faint-heartedness and despair and is our righteousness, as it is written Rom. 3, 22: 'the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all and upon all.' Mark these words, *in omnes, super omnes* (unto all, upon all), whether you also belong to them, and are one of those who lie and grovel under the banner of the sinners."

"Think also as constantly and earnestly of salvation as you [now] do of damnation, and comfort yourself with God's Word, which is true and everlasting, then such ill winds will cease and pass entirely."

"Thus we are to comfort our hearts and consciences, silence and resist the evil thoughts by and with the divine Scriptures. For one must not speculate about God's Word, but be still, drop reason and, holding the Word to be true, believe it, and not cast it to the winds, nor give the Evil Spirit so much power as to suffer ourselves to be overcome, and thus to sink and perish. For the Word, by which all things and creatures in all the wide world, no matter what they are called, have been created and made, and by which all that lives and moves is still richly preserved, is true and eternal; and it must be accounted and held to be greater and more important, mightier and more powerful than the fluttering, empty, and vain thoughts which the devil inspires in men. For the Word is true, but the thoughts of men are useless and vain. One must also think thus: God Almighty has not created, predestinated, and elected us to perdition, but to salvation, as Paul asserts, Eph. 1, 4; nor should we begin to dispute about God's predestination from the Law or reason, but from the grace of God and the Gospel, which is proclaimed to all men." "Hence these and similar thoughts about God's predestination must be judged and decided from the Word of God's grace and mercy. When this is done, there remains no room or occasion for a man thus to pester and torment himself, — which neither avails anything, even if he should draw the marrow out of his bones, leaving only skin and hair." (E. 54, 21 ff.)

248. Statements Made by Luther in 1531 and 1533.

In a letter of comfort, dated April 30, 1531, Luther refers to the fact that he, too, had passed through temptation concerning predestination. "For," says he, "I am well acquainted with this malady, having lain in this hospital sick unto eternal death. Now, in addition to my prayer I would gladly advise and comfort you, though writing is weak in such an affair. However, I shall not omit what I am able to do (perhaps God will bless it), and show you how God helped me out of this affliction, and by what art I still daily maintain myself against it. In the first place, you must be firmly assured in your heart that such thoughts are without doubt the inspiration and the fiery darts of the foul fiend. . . . Hence it is certain that they do not proceed from God, but from the devil, who therewith plagues a heart that man may become an enemy of God and despair, — all of which God has strictly forbidden in the First Commandment, bidding men to trust, love, and praise Him — whereby we live. Secondly: When such thoughts come to you, you must learn to ask yourself, 'Friend, in what commandment is it written that I must think or treat of this?' . . . Fourthly: The chief of all the commandments of God is that we picture before our eyes His dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. He is to be the daily and the chief mirror of our heart, in which we see how dear we are to God, and how much He has cared for us as a good God, so that He even gave His dear Son for us."

"Here, here, I say, and nowhere else, a man can learn the true art of predestination. Then it will come to pass that you believe on Christ. And if you believe, then you are called; if you are called, then you are also surely predestinated. Do not suffer this mirror and throne of grace to be plucked from the eyes of your heart. On the contrary, when such thoughts come and bite like fiery serpents, then under no circumstances look at the thoughts or the fiery serpents, but turn your eyes away from them and look upon the brazen serpent, *i. e.*, Christ delivered for us. Then, by the grace of God, matters will mend." (St. L. 10, 1744 sq.; E. 54, 228.)

In Luther's *House Postil* of 1533 we read: "From the last passage: 'Many are called, but few are chosen,' wiseacres draw various false and ungodly conclusions. They argue: He whom God has elected is saved without means; but as for him who is not elected, may he do what he will, be as pious and believing as he will, it is nevertheless ordained that he must fall and cannot be saved; hence I will let matters take what course they will. If I am to be saved, it is accomplished without my assistance; if not, all I may do and undertake is nevertheless in vain. Now every one may readily see for himself what sort of wicked, secure people develop from such thoughts. However, in treating of the passage from the Prophet Micah on the day of Epiphany, we have sufficiently shown that one must guard against such thoughts as against the devil, undertake another manner of studying and thinking of God's will, and let God in His majesty and with respect to election untouched [unsearched]; for there He is incomprehensible. Nor is it possible that a man should not be offended by such thoughts, and either fall into despair or become altogether wicked and reckless."

"But whoever would know God and His will aright must walk the right way. Then he will not be offended, but be made better. The right way, however, is the Lord Jesus Christ, as He says: 'No one cometh unto the Father but by Me.' Whoever knows the Father aright and would come unto Him must first come to Christ and learn to know Him, *viz.*, as follows: Christ is God's Son, and is almighty, eternal God. What does the Son of God now do? He becomes man for our sakes, is made under the Law to redeem us from the Law, and was Himself crucified in order to pay for our sins. He rises again from the dead, in order by His resurrection to pave the way to eternal life for us, and to aid us against eternal death. He sits at the right hand of God in order to represent us, to give us the Holy Spirit, to govern and lead us by Him, and to protect His believers against all tribulations and insinuations of Satan. That means knowing Christ rightly."

"Now when this knowledge has been clearly and firmly established in your heart, then begin to ascend into heaven and make this conclusion: Since the Son of God has done this for the sake of men, how, then, must God's heart be disposed to us, seeing that His Son did it by the Father's will and command? Is it not true that your own reason will compel you to say: Since God has thus delivered His only-begotten Son for us, and has not spared Him for our sakes, He surely cannot harbor evil intentions against us? Evidently He does not desire our death, for He seeks and employs the very best means toward assisting us to obtain eternal life. In this manner one comes to God in the right way, as Christ Himself declares, John 3, 16: 'God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son,' that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' Now contrast these thoughts with those that grow out of the former opinion, and they will be found to be the thoughts of the foul fiend, which must offend a man, causing him either to despair, or to become reckless and ungodly, since he can expect nothing good from God."

"Some conceive other thoughts, explaining the words thus: 'Many are called,' *i. e.*, God offers His grace to many, 'but few are chosen,' *i. e.*, He imparts such grace to only a few; for only a few are saved. This is an altogether wicked explanation. For how is it possible for one who holds and believes nothing else of God not to be an enemy of God, whose will alone must be blamed for the fact that not all of us are saved? Contrast this opinion with the one that is formed when a man first learns to know the Lord Christ, and it will be found to be nothing but devilish blasphemy. Hence the sense of this passage, 'Many are

called,' etc., is far different. For the preaching of the Gospel is general and public, so that whoever will may hear and accept it. Furthermore, God has it preached so generally and publicly that every one should hear, believe, and accept it, and be saved. But what happens? As the Gospel states: 'Few are chosen,' *i. e.*, few conduct themselves toward the Gospel in such a manner that God has pleasure in them. For some do not hear and heed it; others hear it, but do not cling to it, being loath either to risk or suffer anything for it; still others hear it, but are more concerned about money and goods, or the pleasures of the world. This, however, is displeasing to God, who has no pleasure in such people. This Christ calls 'not to be chosen,' *i. e.*, conducting oneself so that God has no pleasure in one. Those men are chosen of God and well-pleasing to Him who diligently hear the Gospel, believe in Christ, prove their faith by good fruits, and suffer on that account what they are called to suffer."

"This is the true sense, which can offend no one, but makes men better, so that they think: Very well, if I am to please God and be elected, I cannot afford to live so as to have an evil conscience, sin against God's commandments, and be unwilling to resist sin; but I must go to church, and pray God for His Holy Spirit; nor must I permit the Word to be taken out of my heart, but resist the devil and his suggestions, and pray for protection, patience, and help. This makes good Christians, whereas those who think that God begrudges salvation to any one either become reckless or secure, wicked people, who live like brutes, thinking: It has already been ordained whether I am to be saved or not; why, then, should I stint myself anything? To think thus is wrong; for you are commanded to hear God's Word and to believe Christ to be your Savior, who has paid for your sin. Remember this command and obey it. If you notice that you are lacking faith, or that your faith is weak, pray God to grant you His Holy Ghost, and do not doubt that Christ is your Savior, and that if you believe in Him, *i. e.*, if you take comfort in Him, you shall by Him be saved. Dear Lord Jesus Christ, grant this unto us all! Amen." (E. 1, 204; St. L. 13, 199.)

249. Statements Made by Luther in 1538 and 1545.

In his remarks of 1538 on Matt. 11, 25. 26, Luther says: "Christ speaks especially against those who would be wise and judge in religious matters, because they have on their side the Law and human reason, which is overwise, exalting itself against the true religion both by teaching and by judging. Hence Christ here praises God as doing right when He conceals His secrets from the wise and prudent, because they want to be over and not under God. Not as though He hid it in fact or desired to hide it (for He commands it to be preached publicly under the entire heaven and in all lands), but that He has chosen that kind of preaching which the wise and prudent abhor by nature, and which is hidden from them through their own fault, since they do not want to have it — as is written Is. 6, 9: 'See ye indeed, but perceive not.' Lo, they see, *i. e.*, they have the doctrine which is preached both plainly and publicly. Still they do not perceive, for they turn away from it and refuse to have it. Thus they hide the truth from themselves by their own blindness. And so, on the other hand, He reveals it to the babes; for the babes receive it when it is revealed to them. To them the truth is revealed since they wish and desire it." (W. 7, 133.)

In a letter giving comfort concerning predestination, dated August 8, 1545, Luther wrote: "My dear master and friend N. has informed me that you are at times in tribulation about God's eternal predestination, and requested me to write you this short letter on that matter. Now to be sure, this is a sore tribulation. But to overcome it one must know that we are forbidden to understand this or to speculate about it. For what God wants to conceal we should be glad not to know. This is the apple the eating of which brought death upon Adam and Eve and upon all their children, when they wanted to know what they were not to know. For as it is sin to commit murder, to steal, or to curse, so it is also sin to busy oneself searching such things. As an antidote to this God has given us His Son, Jesus Christ. Of Him we must daily think; in Him we must consider ourselves (*uns in ihm spiegeln*). Then predestination will appear lovely. For outside of Christ everything is only danger, death, and the devil; in Him, however, there is nothing but peace and joy. For if one forever torments himself with predestination, all one gains is anguish of soul. Hence flee and avoid such thoughts as the affliction of the serpent of Paradise, and, instead, look upon Christ. God preserve you!" (E. 56, 140; St. L. 10, 1748.)

250. Statements Made by Luther in His Commentary on Genesis.

Luther's *caeterum censeo*, that we are neither to deny nor to search the hidden God (who cannot be apprehended in His bare majesty — *qui in nuda sua maiestate non potest apprehendi*, E., Op. Lat. 2, 171), but to adhere to the revelation He has given us in the Gospel, is repeated again and again also in his *Commentary on Genesis*, which was begun in 1536 and completed in 1545. In the explanation of chap. 26, 9 we read, in part: "I gladly take occasion from this passage to discuss the question concerning doubt, concerning God and God's will. For I hear that everywhere among the nobles and magnates profane sayings are spread concerning predestination or divine prescience. For they say: 'If I am predestinated, I shall be saved, whether I have done good or evil. If I am not predestinated, I shall be damned, without any regard whatever to my works.' Against these ungodly sayings I would gladly argue at length if my ill health would permit. For if these sayings

are true, as they believe them to be, then the incarnation of the Son of God, His suffering and resurrection, and whatever He did for the salvation of the world, is entirely abolished. What would the prophets and the entire Holy Scriptures profit us? what the Sacraments? Let us therefore abandon and crush all this," all these ungodly sayings.

Luther proceeds: "These thoughts must be opposed by the true and firm knowledge of Christ, even as I frequently admonish that above all it is useful and necessary that our knowledge of God be absolutely certain, and, being apprehended by firm assent of the mind, cleave in us, as otherwise our faith will be in vain. For if God does not stand by His promises, then our salvation is done for, while on the contrary this is to be our consolation, that, although we change, we may nevertheless flee to Him who is unchangeable. For this is what He affirms of Himself, Mal. 3, 6: 'I am the Lord, I change not,' and Rom. 11, 29: 'For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.' Accordingly, in the book *De Servo Arbitrio* and elsewhere I have taught that we must distinguish when we treat of the knowledge of God or, rather, of His essence. For one must argue either concerning the hidden or the revealed God. Concerning God, in so far as He has not been revealed to us, there is no faith, no knowledge, no cognition whatever. Here one must apply the saying: What is above us does not concern us (*Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos*). For such thoughts as search for something higher, beyond or without the revelation of God, are altogether diabolical; and by them nothing else is achieved than that we plunge ourselves into perdition, because they are occupied with an unsearchable object, *i. e.*, the unrevealed God. Indeed, rather let God keep His decrees and mysteries concealed from us; for there is no reason why we should labor so much that they be disclosed to us. Moses, too, asked God to show His face, or glory, to him. But the Lord answered, Ex. 33, 23: 'Thou shalt see My back parts; but My face shall not be seen. *Posteriora mea tibi ostendam, faciem autem meam videre non poteris.*' For this curiosity is original sin itself, by which we are impelled to seek for a way to God by natural speculation. But it is an enormous sin and a useless and vain endeavor. For Christ says, John 6, 65; 14, 6: 'No man cometh unto the Father but by Me.' Hence, when we approach the non-revealed God, there is no faith, no word, nor any knowledge, because He is an invisible God whom you will not make visible."

With special reference to his book *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther continues: "It was my desire to urge and set forth these things, because after my death many will quote my books and by them try to prove and confirm all manner of errors and follies of their own. Now, among others I have written that all things are absolute and necessary; but at the same time (and very often at other times) I added that we must look upon the revealed God, as we sing in the Psalm: *'Er heisst Jesus Christ, der Herr Zebaoth, und ist kein andrer Gott,'* 'Jesus Christ it is, of Sabaoth Lord, and there's none other God.' But they will pass by all these passages, and pick out those only concerning the hidden God. You, therefore, who are now hearing me, remember that I have taught that we must not inquire concerning the predestination of the hidden God, but acquiesce in that which is revealed by the call and the ministry of the Word. For there you can be certain regarding your faith and salvation and say: I believe in the Son of God who said: 'He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life,' John 3, 36. In Him therefore is no damnation or wrath, but the good will of God the Father. But these very things I have set forth also elsewhere in my books, and now I transmit them orally, too, *viva voce;* hence I am excused — *ideo sum excusatus.*" (E., Op. Exeg. 6, 200. 292. 300; Conc. Trigl., 897 f.)

251. Luther Never Retracted His Doctrine of Grace.

It has frequently been asserted that Luther in his later years recalled his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, and retracted, changed, and essentially modified his original doctrine of grace, or, at least silently, abandoned it and relegated it to oblivion. Philippi says in his *Glaubenslehre* (4, 1, 37): "In the beginning of the Reformation [before 1525] the doctrine of predestination fell completely into the background. But when Erasmus, in his endeavors to restore Semi-Pelagianism, injected into the issue also the question of predestination, Luther, in his *De Servo Arbitrio*, with an overbold defiance, did not shrink from drawing also the inferences from his position. He, however, not only never afterwards repeated this doctrine, but in reality taught the very opposite in his unequivocal proclamation of the universality of divine grace, of the all-sufficiency of the merits of Christ, and of the universal operation of the means of grace; and he even opposed that doctrine [of *De Servo Arbitrio*] expressly as erroneous, and by his corrections took back his earlier utterances on that subject." Endorsing Philippi's view as "according well with the facts in the case," J. W. Richard, who, too, charges the early Luther with "absolute predestinarianism," remarks: "But this is certain: the older Luther became, the more did he drop his earlier predestinarianism into the background, and the more did he lay stress on the grace of God and on the means of grace, which offer salvation to all men (*in omnes, super omnes*) without partiality, and convey salvation to all who believe." (*Conf. Hist.*, 336.)

Time and again similar assertions have been repeated, particularly by synergistic theologians. But they are not supported by the facts. Luther, as his books abundantly show, was never a preacher of predestinarianism (limited grace, limited redemption, etc.), but always a messenger of God's universal grace in Christ, offered in the means of grace to all poor and penitent sinners. In his public preaching and teaching predestination never

predominated. Christ Crucified and His merits offered in the Gospel always stood in the foreground. In *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther truly says: "We, too, teach nothing else than Christ Crucified." (St. L. 18, 1723; E. v. a. 7, 160.) Luther's sermons and books preached and published before as well as after 1525 refute the idea that he ever made predestination, let alone predestinarianism, the center of his teaching and preaching. It is a fiction that only very gradually Luther became a preacher of universal grace and of the means of grace. In fact, he himself as well as his entire reformation were products of the preaching, not of predestinarianism, but of God's grace and pardon offered to all in absolution and in the means of grace. The bent of Luther's mind was not speculative, but truly evangelical and Scriptural. Nor is it probable that he would ever have entered upon the question of predestination to such an extent as he did in *De Servo Arbitrio*, if the provocation had not come from without. It was the rationalistic, Semi-Pelagian attack of Erasmus on the fundamental Christian truths concerning man's inability in spiritual matters and his salvation by grace alone, which, in Luther's opinion, called for just such an answer as he gave in *De Servo Arbitrio*. Wherever the occasion demanded it, Luther was ready to defend also the truth concerning God's majesty and supremacy, but he always was and remained a preacher of the universal mercy of God as revealed in Christ Crucified.

Nor is there any solid foundation whatever for the assertion that Luther later on retracted his book against Erasmus or abandoned its doctrine, — a fact at present generally admitted also by disinterested historians. (Frank 1, 129. 135. 125.) In his criticism of the *Book of Confutation*, dated March 7, 1559, Landgrave Philip of Hesse declared: "As to free will, we a long time ago have read the writings of Luther and Erasmus of Rotterdam as well as their respective replies; and, although in the beginning they were far apart, Luther some years later saw the disposition of the common people and gave a better explanation (*und sich besser erklaeret*); and we believe, if a synod were held and one would hear the other, they would come to a brotherly agreement in this article." (*C. R.* 9, 760.) But Flacius immediately declared that this assertion was false, as appeared from Luther's *Commentary on Genesis* and his letter to the Elector concerning the Regensburg Interim. (Preger 2, 82.) Schaff writes: "The Philippist [Christopher] Lasius first asserted, 1568, that Luther had recalled his book *De Servo Arbitrio;* but this was indignantly characterized by Flacius and Westphal as a wretched lie and an insult to the evangelical church. The fact is that Luther emphatically reaffirmed this book, in a letter to Capito [July 9], 1537, as one of his very best." (*Creeds* 1, 303.) In his letter to Capito, Luther says: "*Nullum enim agnosco meum iustum librum nisi forte 'De Servo Arbitrio' et 'Catechismum,'*" thus endorsing *De Servo Arbitrio* in the same manner as his Catechism. (Enders 11, 247.) Before this Luther had said at his table: "Erasmus has written against me in his booklet *Hyperaspistes*, in which he endeavors to defend his book *On Free Will*, against which I wrote my book *On the Enslaved Will*, which as yet he has not refuted, and will never in eternity be able to refute. This I know for certain, and I defy and challenge the devil together with all his minions to refute it. For I am certain that it is the immutable truth of God." (St. L. 20, 1081.) Despite numerous endeavors, down to the present day, not a shred of convincing evidence has been produced showing that Luther ever wavered in this position, or changed his doctrine of grace.

Luther's extensive reference to *De Servo Arbitrio* in his *Commentary on Genesis*, from which we freely quoted above, has frequently been interpreted as a quasi-retraction. But according to the *Formula of Concord* these expositions of Luther's merely "repeat and explain" his former position. They certainly do not offer any corrections of his former fundamental views. Luther does not speak of any errors of his own, but of errors of others which they would endeavor to corroborate by quoting from his books — "*post meam mortem multi meos libros proferrent in medium et inde omnis generis errores et deliria sua confirmabunt.*" Moreover, he declares that he is innocent if some should misuse his statements concerning necessity and the hidden God, because he had expressly added that we must not search the hidden majesty of God, but look upon the revealed God to judge of His disposition toward us — "*addidi, quod aspiciendus sit Deus revelatus. . . . Ideo sum excusatus.*" (Conc. Trigl., 898.) Luther's entire theological activity, before as well as after 1525, was an application of the principle stressed also in *De Servo Arbitrio, viz.*, that we must neither deny nor investigate or be concerned about the hidden God, but study God as He has revealed Himself in the Gospel and firmly rely on His gracious promises in the means of grace.

252. Luther's Doctrine Approved by Formula of Concord.

Flacius, who himself did not deny the universality of grace, declared at the colloquy in Weimar, 1560, that, when taken in their context, Luther's statements in *De Servo Arbitrio* contained no inapt expressions (*nihil incommodi*). He added: "I do not want to be the reformer of Luther, but let us leave the judgment and discussion concerning this book to the Church of sound doctrine. *Nolo reformator esse Lutheri, sed iudicium et discussionem istius libri permittamus sanae ecclesiae.*" (Planck 4, 704; Frank 4, 255.) In Article II of the *Formula of Concord* the Church passed on Luther's book on the bondage of the will together with his declarations in his *Commentary on Genesis*. In referring to this matter, the *Formula* gives utterance to the following thoughts: 1. that in *De Servo Arbitrio* Luther "elucidated and supported this position [on

free will, occupied also by the *Formula of Concord*] well and thoroughly, *egregie et solide*"; 2. that "afterwards he repeated and explained it in his glorious exposition of the Book of Genesis, especially of chapter 26"; 3. that in this exposition also "his meaning and understanding of some other peculiar disputations, introduced incidentally by Erasmus, as of absolute necessity, etc., have been secured by him in the best and most careful way against all misunderstanding and perversion"; 4. that the *Formula of Concord* "appeals and refers others" to these deliverances of Luther. (Conc. Trigl. 896, 44.)

The *Formula of Concord*, therefore, endorsed Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* without expressing any strictures or reservations whatever, and, particularly in Articles I, II, and XI, also embodied its essential thoughts, though not all of its phrases, statements, and arguments. The said articles contain a guarded reproduction and affirmation of Luther's doctrine of grace, according to which God alone is the cause of man's salvation, while man alone is the cause of his damnation. In particular they reaffirm Luther's teaching concerning man's depravity and the inability of his will to cooperate in conversion; the divine monergism in man's salvation; the universality of grace and of the efficaciousness of the means of grace; man's responsibility for the rejection of grace and for his damnation; God's unsearchable judgments and mysterious ways; the mystery why some are lost while others are saved, though all are equally guilty and equally loved by God; the solution of this problem in the light of glory, where it will be made apparent that there never were contradictory wills in God. In its doctrine of predestination as well as of free will, therefore, the *Formula of Concord* is not a compromise between synergism and monergism, but signifies a victory of Luther over the later Melanchthon.

253. Attitude of Apology of the Book of Concord.

The attitude of the *Formula of Concord* with respect to Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* was shared by contemporary Lutheran theologians. They expressed objections neither to the book itself nor to its public endorsement by the *Formula of Concord*. In 1569 the theologians of Ducal Saxony publicly declared their adherence to the doctrine "set forth most luminously and skilfully (*summa luce et dexteritate traditum*)" in *De Servo Arbitrio*, the *Commentary on Genesis*, and other books of Luther. (Schluesselburg 5, 133.) That the authors of the *Formula of Concord* were fully conscious of their agreement with Luther's *De Servo Arbitrio* and his *Commentary on Genesis* appears also from the *Apology of the Book of Concord*, composed 1582 by Kirchner, Selneccer, and Chemnitz. Instead of charging Luther with errors, these theologians, who were prominent in the drafting of the *Formula of Concord*, endorse and defend his position, *viz.*, that we must neither deny nor investigate the hidden God, but search the Gospel for an answer to the question how God is disposed toward us.

In this *Apology* the opening paragraph of the section defending Article XI of the *Formula of Concord* against the Neustadt theologians reads as follows: "In their antilog [antilogia-attack on Article XI of the *Formula of Concord*] regarding God's eternal election and predestination they merely endeavor to persuade the people that in this article the doctrine of the *Christian Book of Concord* [*Formula of Concord*] conflicts with the teaching of Doctor Luther and his book *De Servo Arbitrio*, while otherwise we ourselves are accustomed to appeal to Luther's writings. They accordingly charge the *Book of Concord* with condemning Luther, who in the book called *Servum Arbitrium* maintained the proposition that it was not superfluous, but highly necessary and useful for a Christian to know whether God's foreknowledge (*Versehung*) is certain or uncertain, changeable, etc. Now, praise the Lord, these words of Dr. Luther are not unknown to us, but, besides, we also well know how Dr. Luther in his last explanation of the 26th chapter of the First Book of Moses explains and guards these words of his." (Fol. 204 a.) After quoting the passages from Luther's Genesis, which we cited above (p. 223 f.), the *Apology* continues: "With this explanation of Luther we let the matter rest. If our opponents [the Neustadt theologians] wish to brood over it any further and in their investigating and disputing dive into the abyss or unfathomable depth of this mystery, they may do so for themselves [at their own risk] and suffer the consequences of such an attempt. As for us, we are content to adhere to God in so far as He has revealed Himself in His Word, and lead and direct Christianity thereto, reserving the rest for the life to come." (405 a.)

254. Agreement of Apology with Formula of Concord and Luther.

Doctrinally also, the *Apology of the Book of Concord* is in agreement with both Luther and the *Formula of Concord*. This appears from the following excerpts: "Nor does the *Christian Book of Concord* [*Formula of Concord*] deny that there is a reprobation in God, or that God rejects some; hence also it does not oppose Luther's statement when he writes in *De Servo Arbitrio* against Erasmus that it is the highest degree of faith to believe that God, who saves so few, is nevertheless most merciful; but it does not intend to ascribe to God the efficient cause of such reprobation or damnation as the doctrine of our opponents teaches; it rather holds that, when this question is discussed, all men should put their finger on their lips and first say with the Apostle Paul, Rom. 11, 20: '*Propter incredulitatem defracti sunt* — Because of unbelief they were broken off,' and Rom. 6, 23: 'For the wages of sin is death.' In the second place: When the question is asked why God the Lord does not through His Holy Spirit convert, and bestow faith upon, all men, etc. (which He is certainly able to do — *das er*

doch wohl koennte), that we furthermore say with the Apostle [Rom. 11, 33]: *'Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et impervestigabiles viae eius* — How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out,' but not in any way ascribe to the Lord God Himself the willing and efficient cause of the reprobation and damnation of the impenitent."

"But when they, pressing us, declare, 'Since you admit the election of the elect, you must also admit the other thing, *viz.*, that in God Himself there is from eternity a cause of reprobation, also apart from sin,' etc., then we declare that we are not at all minded to make God the author [*Ursacher*] of reprobation (the cause of which properly lies not in God, but in sin), nor to ascribe to Him the efficient cause of the damnation of the ungodly, but intend to adhere to the word of the Prophet Hosea, chapter 13, where God Himself says: 'O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thy help.' Nor do we intend to search our dear God in so far as He is hidden and has not revealed Himself. For it is too high for us anyway, and we cannot comprehend it. And the more we occupy ourselves with this matter, the farther we depart from our dear God, and the more we doubt His gracious will toward us." (206.)

The *Apology* continues: "Likewise the *Book of Concord* [*Formula of Concord*] does not deny that God does not work in all men in the same manner. For at all times there are many whom He has not called through the public ministry. However, our opponents shall nevermore persuade us to infer with them that God is an efficient [*wirkliche*] *cause* of the reprobation of such people, and that He decreed absolutely from His mere counsel [*fuer sich aus blossem Rat*] to reject and cast them away eternally, even irrespective of their sin [*auch ausserhalb der Suende*]. For when we arrive at this abyss of the mysteries of God, it is sufficient to say with the Apostle, Rom. 11: 'His judgments are unsearchable'; and 1 Cor. 15, 57: 'But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' Whatever goes beyond this our Savior Christ Himself will reveal to us in eternal life."

"Nor is there any cause for the cry that the *Book of Concord* did not distinguish between *malum culpae, i. e.,* sin which God neither wills, nor approves, nor works, and *malum poenae,* or the punishments which He wills and works. For there [in Article XI] the purpose was not to discuss all questions which occur and might be treated in this matter concerning God's eternal election, but merely to give a summary statement of the chief points of this article; and elsewhere this distinction is clearly explained by our theologians. Nor is there any one among us who approves of this blasphemy, that God wills sin, is pleased with it, and works it; moreover, we reject such speech as a blasphemy against God Himself. Besides, it is plainly stated, p. 318 [edition of 1580; Conc. Trigl. 1065, 6], that God does not will evil acts and works, from which it is apparent that the *Book* [*Formula*] *of Concord* does not at all teach that God is the author of *malum culpae* or of sins in the same manner as He executes and works the punishments of sins." (206 b.)

255. Apology on Universalis Gratia Seria et Efficax.

Emphasizing the universality and seriousness of God's grace and the possibility of conversion and salvation even for those who are finally damned, the *Apology* proceeds: "And why should we not also reject [the proposition]: 'The reprobate cannot be converted and saved,' since it is undoubtedly true that, with respect to those who are finally rejected and damned, we are unable to judge with certainty who they are, and there is hope for the conversion of all men as long as they are still alive? For the malefactor, Luke 23, was converted to God at his last end: concerning whom, according to the judgment of reason, everybody might have said that he was one of the reprobates. The passage John 12, 39: 'Therefore they could not believe,' etc., does not properly treat of eternal reprobation, nor does it say with so many words that no reprobate can be converted and saved. . . . It is therefore the meaning neither of the prophet [Is. 6, 9. 10] nor of the evangelist [John 12, 39] that God, irrespective of the sins and wickedness of such people, solely from His mere counsel, purpose, and will, ordains them to damnation so that they cannot be saved. Moreover, the meaning and correct understanding of this passage is, that in the obstinate and impenitent God punishes sin with sins, and day by day permits them to become more blind, but not that He has pleasure in their sin and wickedness, effectually works in them blindness and obstinacy, or that He, solely from His purpose and mere counsel, irrespective also of sins, has foreordained them to damnation so that they cannot convert themselves and be saved. In all such and similar passages, therefore, we shall and must be sedulously on our guard, lest we spin therefrom this blasphemy, that out of His free purpose and counsel, irrespective also of sin, God has decreed to reject eternally these or others. . . ." (207.)

With respect to the seriousness of universal grace we furthermore read: "They [the Neustadt theologians] say that in His Word God declares what He approves in, and earnestly demands of, all men, but not what He wishes to work and effect in all of them. For, they say, He reveals His secret counsel in no other way than by working in man, *viz.*, through conversion or final hardening of those who are either converted or hardened and damned. . . . With regard to this we give the following correct answer, *viz.:* that we are not minded in the least to carry on a dispute or discussion with our opponents concerning God and His secret counsel, purpose, or will in so far as He has not in His Word revealed Himself and His counsel. The reason is the one quoted above from the words of Luther himself, *viz.*, that concerning God, so far as He has not been

revealed [to us], or has not made Himself known in His Word, there is neither faith nor knowledge, and one cannot know anything of Him, etc., which also in itself is true. Why, then, should we, together with our opponents, dive into the abyss of the incomprehensible judgments of God and presumptuously assert with them that from His mere counsel, purpose, and will, irrespective also of sin, God has ordained some to damnation who cannot be converted, moreover, whom He, according to His secret purpose, does not want to be converted, despite the fact that through the office of the ministry He declares Himself friendly towards them and offers them His grace and mercy? My dear friend, where is it written in the Word of God that it is not the will of God that all should be saved, but that, irrespective of their sin, He has ordained some to damnation only from His mere counsel, purpose, and will, so that they cannot be saved? Never in all eternity, try as they may, will they prove this proposition from God's revealed Word. For nowhere do the Holy Scriptures speak thus. Yet from sheer foolhardiness they dare employ, contrary to Scripture, such blasphemous doctrine and speech, and spread it in all Christendom." (108 b.)

256. Apology on God's Mysterious Judgments and Ways.

Concerning the mysterious judgments and ways of God the *Apology* says: "At the same time we do not deny that God does not work alike in all men, enlightening all, — for neither does He give His Word to all, — and that nevertheless He is and remains both just and merciful, and that nobody can justly accuse Him of any unfaithfulness, envy, or tyranny, although He does not, as said, give His Word to all and enlighten them. But we add that, when arriving at this mystery, one should put his finger on his lips and not dispute or brood over it [*gruebeln* — from the facts conceded infer doctrines subversive of God's universal serious grace], but say with the apostle: 'How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!' Much less should one rashly say, as our opponents do, that of His free will, and irrespective of sin, God has ordained that some should be damned. For as to what God holds and has decreed in His secret, hidden counsel, nothing certain can be said. Nor should one discuss this deeply hidden mystery, but reserve it for yonder life, and meanwhile adhere to the revealed Word of God by which we are called to repentance, and by which salvation is faithfully offered us. And this Word, or revealed will, of God concerning the giving rest to all those that labor and are heavy laden, is certain, infallible, unwavering, and not at all opposed to the secret counsel of God, with which alone our opponents are occupied. Accordingly, nothing that conflicts with the will revealed in the Word of God should be inferred from it, even as God Himself in His Word has not directed us to it. Because of the fact, therefore, that not all accept this call, we must not declare that from His free purpose and will, without regard to sin, God, in His secret counsel, has ordained those who do not repent to damnation, so that they cannot be converted and saved (for this has not been revealed to us in the Word), but adhere to this, that God's judgments in these cases are unsearchable and incomprehensible."

"It is impossible that the doctrine of the opponents concerning this article should not produce in the hearers either despair or Epicurean security, when in this doctrine it is taught that God, from His mere counsel and purpose and irrespective of sin, has ordained some to damnation so that they cannot be converted. For as soon as a heart hears this, it cannot but despair of its salvation, or fall into these Epicurean thoughts: If you are among the reprobate whom, from His free purpose and without regard to sin, God has ordained to damnation, then you cannot be saved, do what you will. But if you are among those who shall be saved, then you cannot fail; do what you will, you must nevertheless be saved, etc. We do not in the least intend to join our opponents in giving occasion for such things. God also shall protect us from it." (209.)

Again: "They [the opponents] also say that we stress the universal promises of grace, but fail to add that these belong and pertain to believers. But herein they wrong us. For we urge both, *viz.*, that the promises of grace are universal, and that, nevertheless, only believers, who labor and are heavy laden, Matt. 11, become partakers of them. But their [our opponents'] object is to have us join them in saying that some are ordained to damnation from the free purpose of God, also without regard to sin, whom He does not want to be saved, even though He calls them through the Word and offers His grace and salvation to them, — which, however, we shall never do. For our heart is filled with horror against such a Stoic and Manichean doctrine." (209 b.)

XXII. Article XII of the Formula of Concord: Of Other Heretics and Sects.

257. Purpose of Article XII.

The purpose of the first eleven articles of the *Formula of Concord* was not only to establish peace within the Lutheran Church and to ward off future controversies, but also to meet the ridicule and obloquy of the Papists, and to brand before the whole world as slander, pure and simple, their assertions that the Lutherans were hopelessly disagreed and had abandoned the *Augsburg Confession*, and that the Reformation was bound to end in utter confusion and dissolution. The *Formula of Concord* was to leave no doubt regarding the fact that the Lutheran Church offers a united front in every direction: against the

Romanists, the Calvinists, the errorists that had arisen in their own midst, and self-evidently also against the sects and fanatics, old and modern, with whom the Romanists slanderously identified them.

Summarizing the errors which Lutherans repudiate, the *Formula of Concord* declares: "First, we reject and condemn all heresies and errors which were rejected and condemned in the primitive, ancient, orthodox Church, upon the true, firm ground of the holy divine Scriptures. Secondly, we reject and condemn all sects and heresies which are rejected in the writings, just mentioned, of the comprehensive summary of the confession of our churches [the Lutheran symbols, preceding the *Formula of Concord*]. Thirdly, we reject also all those errors which caused dissension within the Lutheran Church, and which are dealt with and refuted in the first eleven articles of the *Formula of Concord*." (857, 17 ff.) Among the errors rejected in the *Augsburg Confession* and the subsequent Lutheran symbols were those also of the Anabaptists, Antitrinitarians, and others. (Conc. Trigl. 42, 6; 44, 4; 46, 3; 48, 7; 50, 3. 4; 138, 66; 244, 52; 310, 13; 356, 43; 436, 49; 744, 55; 746, 58.) And this is the class of errorists which Article XII of the *Formula of Concord* makes it a special point to characterize summarily and reject by name. Before this the *Book of Confutation*, composed 1559 by the theologians of Duke John Frederick, had enumerated and rejected the doctrines of such errorists as Servetus, Schwenckfeld, and the Anabaptists.

From the very beginning of the Reformation, and especially at Augsburg, 1530, Eck and other Romanists had either identified the Lutherans with the Anabaptists and other sects, or had, at least, held them responsible for their origin and growth. Both charges are denied by the *Formula of Concord*. For here we read: "However, lest there be silently ascribed to us the condemned errors of the above enumerated factions and sects (which, as is the nature of such spirits, for the most part, secretly stole in at localities, and especially at a time when no place or room was given to the pure word of the holy Gospel, but all its sincere teachers and confessors were persecuted, and the deep darkness of the Papacy still prevailed and poor simple men who could not help but feel the manifest idolatry and false faith of the Papacy, in their simplicity, alas! embraced whatever was called Gospel, and was not papistic), we could not forbear testifying also against them publicly, before all Christendom, that we have neither part nor fellowship with their errors, be they many or few, but reject and condemn them, one and all, as wrong and heretical, and contrary to the Scriptures of the prophets and apostles, and to our Christian *Augsburg Confession*, well grounded in God's Word." (1097, 7 f.)

258. The Anabaptists.

The Anabaptistic movement originated in Zurich. Their leaders were Conrad Grebel, Felix Manz, and the monk George of Chur (also called *Blaurock*, Bluecoat), who was the first to introduce anabaptism. In rapid succession Anabaptistic congregations sprang up in Swabia, Tyrol, Austria, Moravia, etc. Because of their attitude toward the civil government the Anabaptists were regarded as rebels and treated accordingly. As early as January, 1527, some of them were executed in Zurich. Persecution increased after the council held by Anabaptists in the autumn of 1527 at Augsburg, which then harbored a congregation of more than 1,100 "Apostolic Brethren," as the Anabaptists there called themselves. In Germany the imperial mandate of September 23, 1529, authorized the governments to punish Anabaptists, men and women of every age, by fire or sword "without previous inquisition by spiritual judges." They suffered most in Catholic territories. By 1531 about 1,000 (according to Sebastian Franck 2,000) had been executed in Tyrol and Goerz.

The most prominent of the early Anabaptistic leaders and protagonists were Hubmaier, Denk, Dachser, and Hans Hutt. Besides these we mention: Ludwig Haetzer, published a translation of the prophets from the Hebrew, 1527, for which he was praised by Luther, was executed as adulterer February 4, 1529, at Constance; Eitelhans Langenmantel, a former soldier and son of the Augsburg burgomaster, expelled from the city October 14, 1527, impassionate in his writings against the "old and new Papists," *i. e.*, Luther and others who adhered to the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, decapitated May 12, 1528, at Weissenburg; Christian Entfelder, 1527 leader of the Brethren at Eisenschuetz, Moravia, and later on counselor of Duke Albrecht of Prussia; Hans Schlaffer, a former priest, active as Anabaptistic preacher and author, executed 1528; Joerg Haug, pastor in Bibra; Wolfgang Vogel, pastor near Nuernberg, executed 1527; Siegmund Salminger, imprisoned 1527 in Augsburg; Leonard Schiemer, former Franciscan, bishop of the Brethren in Austria, an Antitrinitarian, executed 1528; Ulrich Hugwald, professor in Basel; Melchior Rinck, pastor in Hesse; Pilgram Marbeck; Jacob Buenderlin; Jacob Kautz, preacher and author in Worms; Clemens Ziegler; Peter Riedemann, an Anabaptistic author and preacher, who was frequently imprisoned and died 1556; Melchior Hofmann, an Anabaptistic lay-preacher and prolific author, who died in prison at Strassburg, 1543. (Tschackert, 148 ff.; Schlottenloher, *Philipp Ulhart, ein Augsburger Winkeldrucker und Helfershelfer der "Schwaermer" und "Wiedertaeufer,"* 1523—1529, p. 59 ff.)

The various errors of the Anabaptists are enumerated in the Twelfth Article of the *Formula of Concord*. The Epitome remarks: "The Anabaptists are divided among themselves into many factions, as one contends for more, another for less errors; however, they all in common propound such doctrine as is to be tolerated or allowed neither in the church, nor in the commonwealth and secular government, nor in domestic life." (839, 2.)

Urbanus Regius said in his book *Against the New Baptistic Order:* "Not all [of the Anabaptists] know of all of these errors [enumerated in his book]; it is therefore not our intention to do an injustice to any one; we mean such public deceivers in the Baptistic Order as John Denk and Balthasar Friedberger," Hubmaier. (Schlottenloher, 80.)

While some of the Anabaptists, as Hubmaier, were more conservative, others (Denk, Schiemer) went so far as to deny even the doctrine of the Trinity. They all were agreed, however, in their opposition to infant baptism, and to the Lutheran doctrines of justification, of the means of grace, of the Sacraments, etc. What their preachers stressed was not faith in the atonement made by Christ, but medieval mysticism, sensation-faith (*Gefuehlsglaube*), and the law of love as exemplified by Christ. Tschackert quotes from one of their sermons: "Whoever follows the voice which constantly speaks in his heart always finds in himself the true testimony to sin no more, and an admonition to resist the evil." (153.) In his introduction to a publication of hymns of Breuning, Salminger said: "Whoever speaks in truth to what his own heart testifies will be received by God." Schlottenloher remarks: "It was medieval mysticism from which they [the Anabaptists] derived their consuming desire for the complete union of the soul with God and the Spirit." (83.)

259. Balthasar Hubmaier.

Hubmaier (Hubmoer, Friedberger, Pacimontanus) was born at Friedberg, near Augsburg, and studied under Eck. In 1512 he became Doctor and professor of theology at Ingolstadt; 1516 preacher in Regensburg; 1522 pastor in Waldshut on the Rhine. Before he came to Waldshut, he had read the books of Luther. He joined Zwingli in his opposition to Romanism. In January, 1525, however, he wrote to Oecolampadius that now "he proclaimed publicly what before he had kept to himself," referring in particular to his views on infant baptism. On Easter Day of the same year he was rebaptized together with 60 other persons, after which he continued to baptize more than 300. In July of 1525 he published his book *Concerning Christian Baptism of Believers*, which was directed against Zwingli, whose name, however, was not mentioned. At Zurich, whither he had fled from Waldshut after the defeat of the peasants in their rebellion of 1525, he was compelled to hold a public disputation with Zwingli on infant baptism. This led to his imprisonment, from which he was released only after a public recantation, 1526. He escaped to Nicolsburg, Moravia, where, under the protection of a powerful nobleman, he developed a feverish activity and rebaptized about 12,000 persons. When the persecutions of the Anabaptists began, Hubmaier was arrested, and after sulphur and powder had been well rubbed into his long beard, he was burned at the stake, in Vienna, March 10, 1528. Three days after, his wife, with a stone about her neck, was thrust from the bridge into the Danube.

Hubmaier denounced infant baptism as "an abominable idolatry." He taught: Children are incapable of making the public confession required by Baptism; there is no Scriptural reason for infant baptism; it robs us of the true baptism, since people believe that children are baptized while in reality they are nothing less than baptized. He says: "Since the alleged infant baptism is no baptism, those who now receive water-baptism according to the institution of Christ cannot be charged with anabaptism."

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Hubmaier taught: "Here it is apparent that the bread is not the body of Christ, but only a reminder of it. Likewise the wine is not the blood of Christ, but also a mere memorial that He has shed and given His blood to wash all believers from their sins." "In the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are received spiritually and by faith only." In the Supper of Christ "bread is bread and wine is wine, and not Christ. For He has ascended to heaven and sits at the right hand of God, His Father."

Hubmaier did not regard the Word as a means of grace nor Baptism and the Lord's Supper as gracious acts of God, but as mere works of man. "In believers," he says, "God works both to will and to do, by the inward anointing of His Holy Spirit." Concerning church discipline he taught: Where the Christian ban is not established and used according to the command of Christ, there sin, shame, and vice control everything. A person who is expelled must be denied all communion until he repents. In connection with his deliverances on the ban, Hubmaier, after the fashion of the Papists, made the Gospel of Christian liberty as preached by Luther responsible for the carnal way in which many abused it. The socialistic trend of Anabaptism, however, was not developed by Hubmaier. (Tschackert 132. 172. 234.)

260. Dachser and Hutt.

Jacob Dachser was one of the most zealous members and leaders of the large Anabaptistic congregation in Augsburg, where he was also imprisoned, 1527. He, not Langenmantel, is the author of the *"Offenbarung von den wahrhaftigen Wiedertaeufern.* Revelation of the True Anabaptists," secretly published by the Anabaptistic printer Philip Ulhart in Augsburg and accepted as a sort of confession by the council held by the Anabaptists in the fall of 1527 at Augsburg. The book of Urban Regius: *"Wider den neuen Tauforden notwendige Warnung an alle Christenglaeubigen* — Against the new Baptistic Order, a Necessary Warning to All Christians," was directed against Dachser's *Revelation.* In 1529 Dachser published his *Form and Order of Spiritual Songs*, the first hymn-book of the Anabaptists, containing hymns of Luther, Speratus, Muenzer, Hutt, Pollio, and Dachser.

In his *Revelation* Dachser said: "The en-

tire world is against each other; we don't know any more where the truth is. While all are convinced that the Pope has erred and deceived us, the new preachers, by reviling and maligning each other, betray that they, too, are not sent by God." "In their pulpits the false teachers [Lutherans, etc.] themselves confess that the longer they preach, the less good is done. But since they do not forsake a place where they see no fruits of their doctrine, they thereby reveal that they are not sent by God." "God draws us to Himself through the power which is in us, and warns us against wickedness and through the Teacher Christ, who in His Word has taught us the will of God." "Christ sent His disciples to preach the Gospel to all creatures and to baptize such as believe. And such as obey this command are called 'Anabaptists'!" "By our evil will original purity has been defiled; from this uncleanness we must purge our heart. Who does not find this uncleanness in himself, neither without nor within, is a true child of God, obedient to the Word of God. Who, in accordance with the command of Christ, preaches and baptizes such as believe, is not an Anabaptist, but a cobaptist [*Mittaeufer*] of Christ and the Apostles." "All such as preach, teach, and baptize otherwise than Christ commanded, are the real Anabaptists [opponents of Baptism], acting contrary to the Son of God, by first baptizing, instead of first teaching and awaiting faith, as Christ commanded." "We need but strive with Christ to do the will of the Father, then we receive from God through the Holy Ghost the power to fulfil the divine command." (Schlottenloher, 72 ff.)

Hans Hutt (Hut), a restless bookbinder in Franconia, attended the Anabaptistic council in Augsburg, where he was opposed by Regius and incarcerated. He died 1527 in an attempt to escape from prison. As a punishment his body was burned. Hutt must not be confounded with Jacob Huter or Hueter, an Anabaptist in Tyrol. The followers of Hans Hutt in the city of Steyr developed the socialistic tendencies of Anabaptism. They taught: Private ownership is sinful; all things are to be held in common; Judgment Day is imminent; then the Anabaptists will reign with Christ on earth. Some also taught that finally the devil and all the damned would be saved; others held that there is neither a devil nor a hell, because Christ had destroyed them. (Tschackert 134 ff. 141. 153.) Article XVII of the *Augsburg Confession* condemns "the Anabaptists, who think that there will be an end to the punishments of condemned men and devils . . .; also others, who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions, that before the resurrection of the dead the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed." (Conc. Trigl., 51.)

261. John Denk.

Denk, who was called the "Archbaptist," the "Bishop," "Pope," and "Apollo" of the Anabaptists, was born in Bavaria and trained in Basel. In 1523 he became Rector of St. Sebald in Nuernberg, where he was opposed by Osiander. Banished in the following year, he escaped to St. Gallen. Expelled again, he fled to Augsburg. Here he was rebaptized by immersion and became an active member of the Anabaptistic "Apostolic Brethren," who at that time numbered about 1,100 persons. Denk was the leader of the council held by the Anabaptists in 1527 in Augsburg. Expelled from the city, Denk died during his flight, 1527, at Basel. His "Retraction, *Widerruf*" (a title probably chosen by the printer), published 1527 after his death, does not contain a retraction, but a summary of his teaching. (Schlottenloher, 84.) The mystic mind of Denk runs a good deal in the channels of the author of the "German Theology, *Deutsche Theologie*," and of his pantheistic contemporary, Sebastian Franck.

Denk taught: God is one, and the source of unity. To return from all divisions to this unity must be our constant aim. The only way is entire surrender to God and submission in tranquillity. He says: "Nothing is necessary for this salvation [reunion with God] but to obey Him who is in us, and to be tranquil and wait for Him in the true real Sabbath and tranquillity, losing ourselves and all that is ours, so that God may both work and suffer in us. He who is in us is ready every hour and moment to follow, if we are but willing. His hour is always, but ours is not. He calls and stretches forth His arms the entire day, always ready; nobody answers Him, nobody admits Him or suffers Him to enter. Do but seek the Lord, then you will find Him; yea, He is already seeking you; only suffer yourselves to be found. Indeed, He has already found you, and even now is knocking. Do but open unto Him and let Him in. Apprehend and know the Lord, even as you are apprehended and known of Him."

Denk held that the source of religious and moral knowledge is not the Scriptures, but the voice of God in the heart of man, or Christ Himself, who speaks and writes the divine Law into the hearts of those who are His. [Before Denk, Thomas Muenzer had said: "*Was Bibel! Bibel, Bubel, Babel!*"] Whoever has this divine Law in his heart lacks nothing that is needed to fulfil the will of God. According to Denk a man may be saved without the preaching of the Word, without the Scriptures, and without any knowledge of the historical Christ and His work. Nor can the Scriptures be understood without heeding the revelation of God in our own bosom. The Scriptures must indeed be regarded as higher than "all human treasures, but not as high as God's Word" [in our own bosom]. Baptism is a mere outward sign that one has joined the number of believers; hence it can be administered to such only as are conscious of their faith. Ceremonies in themselves are not sin, says Denk; "but whoever imagines to obtain grace through them, either by Baptism or by the Breaking of Bread, is given to superstition." (Tschackert, 143; Meusel, *Handl.* 2, 142.)

262. The Schwenckfeldians.

Caspar Schwenckfeldt, of Ossig in Liegnitz, a descendent of a noble family in Silesia, was born 1490 and studied in Cologne. In 1524 he helped to introduce the Reformation in Liegnitz. He was twice in Wittenberg; 1522, when he met Carlstadt and Thomas Muenzer, and 1525, when he visited Luther. He endeavored to interest Luther in the formation of conventicles, and particularly in his mystical theory concerning the Lord's Supper, which he considered the correct middle ground on which Lutherans and Zwinglians might compromise. But Luther had no confidence in the enthusiast, whom he characterized as a "mad fool," "possessed by the devil." He said: "In Silesia Schwenckfeldt has kindled a fire which as yet has not been quenched and will burn on him eternally."

Because of the troubles and dissensions created in Liegnitz, Schwenckfeldt, in 1529, was compelled to leave. Having removed to Strassburg, he was zealous in propagating his enthusiasm in Southern Germany by establishing conventicles of "Lovers of the Glory of Christ," as the adherents of Schwenckfeldt called themselves. At a colloquy in Tuebingen, 1535, he promised not to disquiet the Church. In 1539 he published his *Summary of Several Arguments that Christ according to His Humanity Is To-day No Creature, but Entirely Our God and Lord.* He called it the doctrine of the "Deification of the Flesh of Christ." When this teaching was rejected as Eutychianism, Schwenckfeldt published his *Large Confession*, 1540. At the convention of Smalcald, also 1540, his views were condemned, and his books prohibited and burned. Compelled to leave Strassburg, he spent the remainder of his life in Augsburg, in Speier, and in Ulm (where he died, December 10, 1561). Schwenckfeldt exchanged controversial writings with many contemporary theologians, whom he kept in constant excitement. In Liegnitz he was supported by the ministers Valentin Krautwald, Fabian Eckel, Sigismund Werner, and Valerius Rosenheyn. His adherents were called "Neutrals," because they declined to affiliate with any of the existing churches.

263. Schwenckfeldt's Doctrine.

In 1526 Schwenckfeldt wrote to Paul Speratus: Since by the preaching of the Gospel as set forth by Luther so few people amended their lives, the thought had occurred to him that "something must still be lacking, whatever that may be." Endeavoring to supply this defect, Schwenckfeldt taught: Grace cannot be imparted by any creature, bodily word, writing, or sacrament, but only by the omnipotent, eternal Word proceeding from the mouth of God. Whatever is external is a mere symbol and image of God, able neither to bring God into the soul nor to produce faith or an inward experience of divine life. "Mark well," says he, "God is not in need of external things and means for His internal grace and spiritual action. For even Christ, according to the flesh, was a hindrance to grace and [the Spirit] of God, and had to be translated into the heavenly mode of being that the grace of the Holy Spirit might come to us. . . . Whoever endeavors to come from without and through external means into the inner [the heart] does not understand the course of grace. God works without all means and pictures. . . . Man must forget and drop everything, and be free and tranquil for the inbreathing [*Einsprechen*, inspiration], and be drawn away from all creatures, giving himself up to God altogether."

Schwenckfeldt continues: The Holy Spirit enters the quiet soul only through the eternal Word, which "proceeds from the mouth of God without means and not at all through Scripture, external Word, Sacrament, or any creature in heaven or on earth. God wants to have this honor reserved solely to Himself; through Himself [without any means] He wants to pardon man, teach him, impart the Holy Spirit to him, and save him. He does not want to grant His grace, and effect illumination and salvation through any creature; for even the flesh of Christ was not a sufficient instrument for this purpose before He was glorified, translated into the heavenly places, and removed from our eyes." "Scripture is for the external man; the Holy Spirit teaches everything to the elect inwardly and is not in need of Scripture to give faith to them and to save them." Schwenckfeldt, who employed the term "revelation" for this immediate operation of God, was inconsistent in not rejecting Scripture, preaching, etc., altogether. But when admitting these, he adds that he distinguishes "God's own inner work from the external service."

Self-evidently, these views concerning the means of grace had a corrupting influence also on other doctrines. Saving faith, according to Schwenckfeldt, is not trust in God's promise of pardon for Christ's sake, but an immediate mystical relation of the soul to God. Justification, says he, "is not only forgiveness and non-imputation of sin, but also renewal of the heart." "We must seek our justification and righteousness not in Christ according to His first state [of humiliation], in a manner historical," but according to His state of glorification, in which He governs the Church. In order to enhance the "glory of Christ" and have it shine and radiate in a new light, Schwenckfeldt taught the "deification of the flesh of Christ," thus corrupting the doctrine of the exaltation and of the person of Christ in the direction of Monophysitism. And the more his views were opposed, the more he was enamored of, and engrossed by, them, calling himself the "confessor and lover of the glory of Christ."

Concerning the Lord's Supper, Schwenckfeldt taught that the deified humanity of Christ is really imparted and appropriated, not indeed through bread and wine, but immediately (without the intervention of any medium), internally, spiritually. The words of institution mean: My body, which is given for you, is what bread is, a food, *i. e.*, a food for souls; and the new testament in My blood

is a chalice, *i. e.*, a drink for the elect to drink in the kingdom of God. Baptism, says Schwenckfeldt, is the "baptizing of the heavenly High Priest Jesus Christ, which occurs in the believing soul by the Holy Ghost and by fire. Infant baptism is a human ordinance, not merely useless, but detrimental to the baptism of Christ." (Tschackert, 159 ff.)

264. The Antitrinitarians.

The first article of the *Augsburg Confession* makes a special point of rejecting not only the ancient, but also the "modern Samosatenes," *i. e.*, the Antitrinitarians, who in the beginning of the Reformation began their activity in Italy, Spain, Switzerland, and Germany. Most of these "modern Arians and Antitrinitarians," as they are called in the Twelfth Article of the *Formula of Concord*, came from the skeptical circles of Humanists in Italy. Concerning these rationalists and Epicureans the *Apology* remarks: "Many [in Italy and elsewhere] even publicly ridicule all religions, or, if they approve anything, they approve such things only as are in harmony with human reason, and regard the rest as fabulous and like the tragedies of the poets." (Conc. Trigl. 235, 28; *C. R.* 9, 763.) Pope Leo X was generally regarded as being one of those who spoke of the profitable "fables concerning Christ."

According to a letter of warning to the Christians in Antwerp, 1525, a fanatic (*Rumpelgeist*) there taught: "Every man has the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is our reason and understanding (*ingenium et ratio naturalis*). Every man believes. There is neither hell nor damnation. Every one will obtain eternal life. Nature teaches that I should do unto my neighbor as I would have him do unto me — to desire which is faith. The Law is not violated by evil lust as long as I do not consent to lust. Who has not the Holy Ghost has no sin, for he has no reason." (E. 53, 344; St. L. 21 a, 730; Enders 5, 147.)

In his report on the Marburg Colloquy, October 5, 1529, Melanchthon remarks: "We have heard that some of them [the Strassburgers] speak of the Deity as the Jews do, as though Christ were not God by nature. (*C. R.* 1, 1099.) At Marburg, Zwingli remarked that some had spoken incorrectly concerning the Trinity, and that Haetzer had written a book against the divinity of Christ, which he, Zwingli, had not permitted to be published. (1103.)

In a letter of Luther to Bugenhagen, 1532, we read: "Your undertaking [of publishing a writing of Athanasius concerning the Trinity] is Christian and wholesome in this our most corrupt time, in which all articles of faith in general are attacked by the servants of Satan, and the one concerning the Trinity is in particular beginning to be derided confidently by some skeptics and Epicureans. These are ably assisted not only by those Italian grammarians [Humanists] and orators, which they flatter themselves to be, but also by some Italico-German vipers and others, or, as you are accustomed to call them, viperaspides, who sow their seed here and there in their discourses and writings, and, as Paul says [2 Tim. 2, 17], eat as doth a canker (*gar sehr um sich fressen*) and promote godlessness, about which they, when among themselves, laugh so complacently and are so happy that one can hardly believe it." (St. L. 14, 326; Enders 9, 252.)

Some Antitrinitarians who affiliated with the Anabaptists have already been referred to. Denk, Haetzer, and others rejected the Apostles' Creed because of their opposition to the doctrine of the Trinity. Haetzer, as stated, wrote a book against the deity of Christ in which he denied the tripersonality of God and the preexistence of the Logos, and blasphemously designated the belief in the deity of Christ as "superstition" and the trust in His satisfaction as "drinking on the score of Christ (*ein Zechen auf die Kreide Christi*)." According to Denk, Christ is merely an example showing us how to redeem ourselves, which we are all able to do because there is still within us a seed of the divine Word and light. (Tschackert, 143, 461.) It was of Denk that Capito wrote, 1526: "At Nuernberg the schoolteacher at St. Sebald denied that the Holy Ghost and the Son are equal to the Father, and for this reason he was expelled." (Plitt, *Augustana* 1, 153.)

At Strassburg the Anabaptists were publicly charged, in 1526, with denying the Trinity; in 1529, with denying the deity of Christ. In 1527 Urban Regius spoke of the Anabaptists in Augsburg as maintaining that Christ was merely a teacher of a Christian life. In the same year Althamer of Nuernberg published his book *Against the New Jews and Arians under the Christian Name Who Deny the Deity of Christ.* In 1529 Osiander wrote concerning Anabaptists in Nuernberg: "It is well known, and may be proved by their own writings, that they deny and contradict the sublime article of our faith concerning the Holy Trinity, from which it follows immediately that they also deny the deity of Christ." "Christ is not the natural, true Son of God," such was also the accusation made by Justus Menius in his book concerning the *Doctrines and Secrets of the Anabaptists.* In his *Sermons on the Life of Luther,* Mathesius said: "Now the Anabaptists speak most contemptuously of the deity of Jesus Christ. . . . This was their chief article that they despised the written Word, the Holy Bible, and believed nothing or very little of Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of God."

265. Franck, Campanus, Ochino, Servetus, Blandrata, etc.

Sebastian Franck and John Campanus must also be numbered among the Antitrinitarians. Franck was a pantheist, who had been pastor in the vicinity of Nuernberg till 1528, when he resigned and engaged in soap manufacturing, writing, and printing. Campanus appeared in Wittenberg, 1527. At the Colloquy of Marburg he endeavored to unite Luther and Zwingli by explaining the words: "This is My body" to mean: This is a body created by Me. In 1530 he published a book:

"Against the Entire World after the Apostles — *Contra Totum post Apostolos Mundum*," in which he taught that the Son is inferior to the Father, and denied the personality of the Holy Spirit. "He argues," says Melanchthon, who in his letters frequently refers to the "blasphemies of Campanus," "that Christ is not God; that the Holy Spirit is not God; that original sin is an empty word. Finally there is nothing which he does not transform into philosophy." (*C. R.* 2, 33. 34. 93. 29. 513; 9, 763; 10, 132.) When Campanus endeavored to spread his doctrines, he was banished from Saxony, 1531. He returned to Juelich, where he preached on the imminence of Judgment Day, with the result that the peasants sold their property and declined to work any longer. Campanus was imprisoned for twenty years and died 1575.

Prominent among the numerous Antitrinitarians who came from Italy were Ochino, Servetus, Gribaldo, Gentile, Blandrata, and Alciati. Bernardino Ochino, born 1487, was Vicar-General of the Capuchins and a renowned pulpit orator in Siena. In 1542 he was compelled to leave Italy in order to escape the Inquisition. He served the Italian congregation in Zurich from 1555 to 1564, when he was banished because he had defended polygamy. He died in Austerlitz, 1565. In his *Thirty Dialogs*, published 1563, he rejects the doctrines of the Trinity, of the deity of Christ, and of the atonement. (*Herzog R.* 14, 256.) — Michael Servetus was born in 1511 and educated at Saragossa and Toulouse. In 1531, at Hagenau, Alsace, he published *De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri VII.* He was opposed by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. In 1540 he wrote his *Christianismi Restitutio*, a voluminous book, which he published in 1553. In it he opposes the Trinity as an unbiblical and satanic doctrine, and at the same time rejects original sin and infant baptism. The result was that, while passing through Geneva, on his way to Italy, he was arrested at the instance of Calvin, tried, condemned, and burned at the stake, October 27, 1553 — an act which was approved also by Melanchthon. (*C. R.* 8, 362; 9, 763.) — Matteo Gribaldo, in 1554, uttered tritheistic views concerning the Trinity in the Italian congregation at Geneva. Arrested in Bern, he retracted his doctrine. He died 1564. — John Valentine Gentile also belonged to the Italian fugitives in Geneva. In 1558 he signed an orthodox confession concerning the Trinity. Before long, however, he relapsed into his Antitrinitarian errors. He was finally beheaded at Bern. (*Herzog R.* 6, 518.)

George Blandrata, born 1515, was influenced by Gribaldo. Fearing for his liberty, he left Geneva and went to Poland and thence to Transylvania. Here he published his *Confessio Antitrinitaria*, and was instrumental in introducing Unitarianism into Transylvania. He died after 1585. In 1558 Gianpaolo Alciati of Piedmont accompanied Blandrata to Poland. He taught that Christ was inferior to the Father, and denied that there were two natures in Christ.

266. Davidis and Socinus.

Francis Davidis in Transylvania was an Antitrinitarian of the most radical stripe. He had studied in Wittenberg 1545 and 1548. In 1552 he joined the Lutherans, in 1559 the Calvinists. Secretly after 1560 and publicly since 1566 he cooperated with Blandrata to introduce Unitarianism in Transylvania. In numerous disputations he attacked the doctrine of the Trinity as unscriptural and contradictory. In 1567 he published his views in *De Falso et Vera Unius Dei Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti Cognitione Libri Duo.* He contended that the doctrine of the Trinity was the source of all idolatry in the Church; that Christ, though born of Mary in a supernatural way, was preexistent only in the decree of God, and that the Holy Spirit was merely a power emanating from God for our sanctification. He also rejected infant baptism and the Lord's Supper. After the prince and the greater part of the nobility had been won for Unitarianism, Davidis, in 1568, was made Superintendent of the Unitarian Church in Transylvania. In 1571 religious liberty was proclaimed, and Unitarians, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists were tolerated equally. Before long, however, a reaction set in. The Catholic Stephan Bathory, who succeeded to the throne, removed the Unitarians from his court and surrounded himself with Jesuits. On March 29, 1579, Davidis delivered a sermon against the adoration of Christ, declaring it to be the same idolatry as the invocation of Mary and the saints. Three days after he was deposed and imprisoned. In the proceedings instituted against him he was convicted as a blasphemer and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He died in prison, November 15, 1579, prophesying the final downfall of all "false dogmas," meaning, of course, the doctrines which he had combated.

In Poland, especially since 1548, the humanistic and liberal-minded nobility opposed the Catholic clergy and protected Protestants and later on also fugitive Antitrinitarians. Among these were the Italians Francis Lismanio, Gregory Pauli, and Peter Statorius. These Unitarians, however, lacked unity and harmony. They disagreed on infant baptism, the preexistence and adoration of Christ, etc. These dissensions continued until Faustus Socinus (born at Siena 1539, died 1604 in Poland) arrived. He was the nephew of the skeptical and liberal-minded Laelius Socinus (Lelio Sozzini) who left Italy in 1542, when the Inquisition was established there, and died in Zurich, 1562.

Faustus Socinus claimed that he had received his ideas from his uncle Laelius. In 1562 he published anonymously an explanation of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John, which contained the entire program of Unitarianism. In 1578 he followed an invitation of Blandrata to oppose non-adorantism (the doctrine that Christ must not be adored) as taught by Davidis. In the following year Faustus removed to Poland, where he endeavored to unite the various Unitarian parties: the Anabaptists, Non-adorantes, the believers in the

preexistence of Christ, etc., and their opponents. The growth of Unitarianism in Poland was rapid. A school flourished in Rakow, numbering in its palmy days about 1,000 scholars. However, here, too, a Jesuitic reaction set in. In 1638 the school at Rakow was destroyed, the printery closed, and the teachers and ministers expelled. In 1658 the Unitarians generally were banished as traitors, and in 1661 the rigorous laws against Unitarianism were confirmed.

The chief source of the Antitrinitarian and Socinian doctrine is the Racovian Catechism, published 1605 in the Polish and 1609 in the Latin language under the title: "*Catechism of the Churches in the Kingdom of Poland* which affirm that no one besides the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ is that One God of Israel." It teaches: There is but one divine person; Christ is a mere man; the doctrine concerning the deity of Christ is false; as a reward for His sinless life, God has given Christ all power in heaven and on earth; as such, as God's representative (*homo Deus factus*, the man made God), He may be adored; there is no original sin; with the help of God, that is to say, with the commandments and promises of God revealed by Christ, man may acquire salvation; he is able to keep these commandments, though not perfectly; man's shortcomings are pardoned by God on account of his good intention; an atonement by Christ is not required for this purpose; moreover, the doctrine of atonement must be opposed as false and pernicious; by His death Christ merely sealed His doctrine; all who obey His commandments are adherents of Christ; these will participate in His dominion; the wicked and the devils will be annihilated; there is no such thing as eternal punishment; whatever in the Bible comports with human reason and serves moral ends is inspired; the Old Testament is superfluous for Christians, because all matters pertaining to religion are contained better and clearer in the New Testament. (Tschackert, 473.)

Evidently, in every detail, Antitrinitarianism and Socinianism are absolutely incompatible with, and destructive of, the very essence of Christianity. The *Apology* declares that the deniers of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity "are outside of the Church of Christ, and are idolaters, and insult God." (103, 1.) This verdict is confirmed by Article XII of the *Formula of Concord.* (843, 30; 1103, 39.)

XXIII. Origin, Subscription, Character, etc., of Formula of Concord.

267. Lutherans Yearning for a Godly Peace.

A holy zeal for the purity and unity of doctrine is not at all incompatible, rather always and of necessity connected with an earnest desire for peace; not, indeed, a peace at any price, but a truly Christian and godly peace, a peace consistent with the divine truth. Also in the loyal Lutherans, who during the controversies after Luther's death faithfully adhered to their Confessions, the fervent desire for such a godly peace grew in proportion as the dissensions increased. While Calvinists and Crypto-Calvinists were the advocates of a unionistic compromise, true Lutherans everywhere stood for a union based on the truth as taught by Luther and contained in the Lutheran Confessions. Though yearning for peace and praying that the controversies might cease, they were determined that the Lutheran Church should never be contaminated with indifferentism or unionism, nor with any teaching deviating in the least from the divine truth.

As a result, earnest and repeated efforts to restore unity and peace were made everywhere by Lutheran princes as well as by theologians, especially the theologians who had not participated in the controversies, but for all that were no less concerned about the maintenance of pure Lutheranism and no less opposed to a peace at the expense of the divine truth than the others. As early as 1553 Flacius and Gallus published their *Provokation oder Erbieten der adiaphorischen Sachen halben, auf Erkenntnis und Urteil der Kirchen.* In this Appeal they urged that ten or twenty competent men who hitherto had not participated in the public controversy be appointed to decide the chief differences between themselves and the Interimists. In the two following years Flacius and Gallus continued their endeavors to interest influential men in Saxony and other places for their plan. Melanchthon and his Wittenberg colleagues, however, maintained silence in the matter.

At the behest of the dukes of Thuringia, Amsdorf, Stolz, Aurifaber, Schnepf, and Strigel met at Weimar in the early part of 1556 to discuss the conditions of peace. Opposed as they were to a peace by agreeing to disagree or by ignoring the differences and past contentions, they demanded that synergism, Majorism, adiaphorism, as also the doctrines of Zwingli, Osiander, and Schwenckfeldt, be publicly rejected by the Wittenbergers. (Preger 2, 4. 7.)

268. Pacific Overtures of Flacius.

Soon after the convention in Weimar, Gottschalk Praetorius, rector of the school in Magdeburg, and Hubertus Languet from Burgundy (an intimate friend of Melanchthon and a guest at his table, who later on maliciously slandered Flacius) had an interview with Flacius, in which the latter submitted the conditions on which peace might be established. However, a letter written in this matter by Praetorius, in April, 1556, was not answered by Melanchthon, who, moreover, insinuated that Flacius's object merely was to kindle hatred. (*C. R.* 8, 794.)

In May, 1556, Flacius, continuing his peace efforts, forwarded to Paul Eber his "Mild Pro-

posals, *Linde Vorschlaege*, dadurch man gottselige und notwendige friedliche Vergleichung machen koennte zwischen den Wittenbergischen und Leipzigischen Theologen in causa Adiaphoristica und den andern, so wider sie geschrieben haben." According to these *Proposals*, Flacius demanded that, in a publication signed by the theologians of both parties, the Pope be denounced as the true Antichrist, the Augsburg Interim be rejected, the proposition: "Good works are necessary to salvation," be condemned, also the errors of Zwingli and Osiander. "The good Lord knows," said Flacius, "that every day and hour I consider and plan earnestly how the affair of the Adiaphorists might be settled in a Christian manner." But he added that he could not be satisfied until, by repentance, they wipe out their sin, denial, apostasy, and persecution, instead of increasing them by their excuses." But Flacius received an answer neither from Eber nor from Melanchthon. Instead, the Wittenbergers, with the silent consent of Melanchthon, circulated a caricature in which Flacius was accorded the rôle of a braying ass being crowned by other asses with a soiled crown. (Preger 2, 11. 13.)

Another offer of Flacius to meet Melanchthon in Wittenberg and discuss the matter personally was also declined. July 15, 1556, Melanchthon wrote: "I enjoyed a sweet friendship and familiarity with Illyricus, and I would gladly confer with him on the entire doctrine. But before this he has spread things which I had neither said nor thought, wherefore now, too, I fear treachery (*insidias metuo*)." Timid as he was, Melanchthon really feared for his life at the contemplated colloquy, because the statement of Chytraeus: "As long as Flacius and Melanchthon are alive, unity will not be restored," had been reported to him in the form: unless Philip were put out of the way, unity would not be possible. "None of my friends," he wrote, is willing to attend the colloquy, and they believe that it is not safe for me to confer with him [Flacius] alone." (*C. R.* 8, 798.) Considering Melanchthon's answer as insincere and sophistical, Flacius declared that, after having earnestly sought peace in a private way, he would now appeal to the Church. He did so by publishing *"Von der Einigkeit,* Concerning Unity," a book which he had written before he made his pacific overtures to Melanchthon. (Preger 2, 17. 22.)

However, induced by a letter of Fabricius of Meissen (August 24, 1556), Flacius made a further effort, addressing Melanchthon in a letter of September 1, 1556, in which he implored him to make his peace with God and the Church by an unequivocal disavowal of Adiaphorism. As a result, Melanchthon wrote his famous letter of September 5, 1556, referred to in our chapter on the Adiaphoristic Controversy, in which he admitted in a qualified way that he had sinned in the matter. In his reply of September 16, 1556, Flacius again declared that his object was not any triumph or glory for himself, but "only the maintenance of truth and the rooting out of error," and that nothing was able to remove the offense given by Melanchthon and the Adiaphorists but a clear confession of the truth and an unequivocal rejection of error. Melanchthon, however, broke off the correspondence and continued to nurse his animosity against Flacius. (Preger 2, 29 f.)

269. Lower Saxons Endeavoring to Mediate between Melanchthon and Flacius.

Despite his experiences with Melanchthon, Flacius did not allow himself to be discouraged in his efforts to bring about unity and peace. Embracing an opportunity which a correspondence with the clergy of Lower Saxony concerning Schwenckfeldt offered him, he requested the Lower Saxons to mediate between himself and Melanchthon, submitting for this purpose articles, differing from the *Mild Proposals* only in expressly mentioning also the Leipzig Interim. The request was granted, and four superintendents, accompanied by four ministers, were delegated for the purpose to Wittenberg. The delegates were: from Luebeck: Valentin Curtius and Dionysius Schunemann; from Hamburg: Paul von Eitzen and Westphal; from Lueneburg: F. Henning and Antonius Wippermann; from Brunswick: Moerlin and Chemnitz. After agreeing, at Brunswick, January 14, 1557, on theses based on those of Flacius, and after conferring with Flacius in Magdeburg, January 17, 1557, they unexpectedly, January 19, arrived in Wittenberg, offering their services as mediators.

Melanchthon received them in a friendly manner; but when, on the following day, Moerlin read the articles of agreement, he denounced Flacius and Gallus as having slandered him, and declined to treat with the Lower Saxons on the basis of the "Flacian theses." On January 21 the delegation submitted eight new articles. Of these the third read: "All corruptions which militate against the pure apostolic doctrine and that of the *Augsburg Confession* shall be eliminated from the article of justification, in particular the corruption concerning the necessity of good works to salvation." Article VII requested Melanchthon to make a public statement concerning the adiaphora and the necessity of good works, declaring his agreement with the confession of our Church. (Preger 2, 37.)

The presentation of these articles had a most unfavorable effect on Melanchthon. The Saxon mediators report that he was excited to such an extent that they feared he would be taken seriously ill. In a most violent manner Melanchthon charged the delegation with treacherously conspiring with Flacius to ensnare him. However, appeased by Paul Eber, he finally consented to reply in writing on the morrow, January 22. In his answer Melanchthon declared: For thirty years he had borne the heavy burdens of the Church and encountered most insidious conflicts; they therefore ought now to have had compassion with him instead of assaulting him alone; it was being fulfilled what Sturm had once told him on leaving: We shall meet again to crucify you.

Sparing Flacius, they had presented articles with the sole purpose of forcing him and others to cut their own throats. As to the articles themselves, Melanchthon objected to the third, because, he said, it falsely charged him and others with having taught and defended errors regarding justification. He declined Article VII because the publication there required was unnecessary, since it might easily be learned from his many writings what he had taught in the matter there referred to. (Preger 2, 38. 40.)

Fearing that the Lower Saxon mediators might yield and make concessions detrimental to the truth, Flacius and his adherents (Wigand, Baumgartner, Judex, Albert Christiani, P. Arbiter, H. Brenz, Antonius Otto) assembled in Coswig, a place not very far from Wittenberg. In a letter, dated January 21, 1557, they admonished the Saxon mediators not to yield anything contrary to the divine truth, but firmly to insist on the elimination of the errors connected with the Interim (*ut id iugulum recte iugúletis*). Flacius also requested Count of Ungnad first to meet them in Coswig, and then go to Wittenberg in order to assist in winning Melanchthon for his peace proposals. In the letter to the Count, Flacius remarked: he feared that the mediators were administering to Melanchthon "sweet rather than wholesome and strong medicine." (Preger 2, 42.) In a similar manner Pastor Michael Stiefel was urged to go to Wittenberg to influence Melanchthon. At the same time Judex was sent to implore the Saxon delegates not to discontinue their efforts, and adopt no resolution before submitting it also to them [the Magdeburgers] for consideration. No news having arrived by Saturday, January 23, an additional letter was dispatched to Wittenberg, written in the same spirit of anxiety, and urging the mediators to stand firm, not to yield, and to continue their efforts until successful, since failure, they said, would not only expose them to ridicule, but greatly damage the Church. (2, 42 f.)

On the evening of the same day Moerlin, Hennig, and Westphal arrived in Coswig. Moerlin reported on their discussions, and submitted the articles presented to Melanchthon together with the latter's answer. At the same time he requested the Flacians to overlook the harsh language of Philip, telling also of the animosity and general opposition they had met with in Wittenberg, where the students, he said, had even threatened to stone them. Having heard the report, the Flacians withdrew for a brief consultation. Their impression was (which they neither made any efforts to hide) that in deference to Melanchthon the Saxons had not been sufficiently careful in seeking only the honor of God; the welfare of the Church, and the true conversion of sinners. In a meeting held on Sunday, January 24, Wigand and Flacius declared their dissatisfaction with the proceedings in Wittenberg. Referring particularly to the shocking stubbornness of Melanchthon, the former urged the Saxon delegates to regard God higher than men, and earnestly and openly to call the Wittenbergers to repentance. He thereupon handed the delegates, besides a list of Adiaphoristic errors and of offensive statements culled from Major's homilies, two sealed letters, which contained their strictures on the eight articles presented to Melanchthon, their answer to Melanchthon's charges, etc. Flacius said in the meeting: This matter troubled him day and night; hope for the conversion of the Adiaphorists, who had despised the admonition, not of men, but of the Holy Spirit, was constantly decreasing; having already yielded more than he should have done, he now must insist that, in a publication signed by both parties, the Leipzig Interim be condemned by name, and that also in the future the people be warned against such sins and be called to repentance. Flacius furthermore declared that his theses should have been either retained or refuted. In this he was supported by Otto of Nordhausen. Moerlin answered, irritated: They had presented other articles because Melanchthon had declined the first; if any one was able to frame better theses, he was at liberty to do so. Discouraged and ill-humored, the delegation returned to Wittenberg, where, too, animosity had reached its climax. For in his sermon, delivered Sunday in Bugenhagen's pulpit, and in the presence of Melanchthon and the other professors, John Curio had spoken of Flacius as "the rascal and knave (*Schalk und Bube*)," and even referred to the Lower Saxon delegates in unfriendly terms. Also a filthy and insulting pasquil, perhaps composed by Paul Crell, in which Flacius and the Saxon delegates were reviled, was circulated in Wittenberg and even sent to Coswig. (Preger 2, 49.) The first lines of the pasquil ran thus: "*Qui huc venistis legati Illyrici permerdati, Ab illo concacati, Polypragmones inflati, Illius natibus nati, Quae communio veritati, Mendacio et vanitati?*" (*C. R.* 9, 50. 235.)

Having read the sealed letters and convinced themselves that Melanchthon could never be induced to accede to the demands of the Magdeburgers, the delegation (with the exception of Chemnitz) immediately returned to Coswig, January 25. Here they declared: They had not delivered the list of errors to Melanchthon; if they had done so, deliberations would have been broken off immediately; only the charges with respect to justification had been transmitted; they therefore requested the Magdeburgers to declare their agreement with the articles already submitted to Melanchthon. Seeing no other course, the Magdeburgers finally yielded, though reluctantly, and not without protests and some changes in the articles. Flacius, too, consented, but "only with a wounded conscience," as he declared. Having returned to Wittenberg, the delegates transmitted the modified articles together with the additions of the Magdeburgers to Melanchthon.

In his answer of January 27 to the Lower Saxon pastors, Melanchthon said in part: "You know that in the last thirty years a great confusion of opinions obtained in which

it was difficult not to stumble somewhere. And many hypocrites have been, and still are, hostile in particular to me. I was also drawn into the insidious deliberations of the princes. If, therefore, I have either stumbled anywhere or been too lukewarm in any matter, I ask God and the churches to forgive me and shall submit to the verdict of the Church. . . . As to the Flacian quarrels, however, concerning which you are now treating with me so eagerly, and into which Flacius has injected many foreign matters, you yourselves know that this affair pertains also to many others, and that, without offending them, I cannot decide and settle anything (*me aliquid statuere posse*). . . . This now I desire to be my last answer (*hanc volo nunc meam postremam responsionem esse*); if it does not satisfy you, I appeal to the verdict of the Church, in which you, too, will be judges. May the Son of God govern all of us, and grant that we be one in Him!" As to the articles submitted by the delegates, Melanchthon rejected all the changes and additions suggested by the Magdeburgers. He declared that he was not willing to enter into a discussion of the adiaphora, nor in any way to censure the honorable men who had participated in the deliberations concerning the Leipzig Interim. (*C. R.* 9, 62.)

Toward evening Flacius received Melanchthon's answer, together with the information that the Saxon delegates would depart on the morrow, and that now the Magdeburgers might do what seemed best to them. Early next morning they dispatched another letter written by Flacius, in which they modified their demands, and urged the Saxon delegates to continue their efforts to induce the Wittenbergers to reject the Adiaphoristic errors. "We call upon God as our witness," they said, "that we most earnestly desire a godly peace, and that, if it is not brought about, the fault lies not with us, but with them, who expressly say and confess concerning themselves that they absolutely refuse to condemn the Adiaphoristic errors — the real issue of the entire controversy." (*C. R.* 9, 67.) But the messenger arrived too late; he met the delegation when they were about to leave the gates of Wittenberg. Increased animosity on both sides was the only result of the mediation-efforts of the Lower Saxon theologians.

270. Futile Efforts of Duke John Albrecht.

Four weeks later Duke John Albrecht of Mecklenburg sent messengers to Wittenberg for the same purpose, *viz.*, of mediating between Melanchthon and Flacius, Melanchthon in particular having previously requested him to frame articles which might serve as a basis of peace. The articles, composed by the theologians and counselors of the Duke, were more severe than those of the Lower Saxons. George Venetus, professor at Rostock, and Counselor Andrew Mylius were commissioned to present them, first at Wittenberg, then at Magdeburg. When the articles were submitted to Melanchthon, he again fell into a state of violent agitation. The report says: "As soon as he noticed that Adiaphorism was criticized, and that he was requested to reject it, even if only in a mild form, he instantly sprang up with great impatience and would not permit them [the delegates] to finish their speech (although they most earnestly, in the name of their prince, requested to be heard), but burst forth into invectives and denunciations of Illyricus and others, and finally also declaimed against the prince himself and his delegates, vociferating that Illyricus secretly entertained many repulsive errors, etc." On February 27, Melanchthon delivered his answer to the delegates. When these urged him to give a more favorable reply, he again interrupted them, exclaiming: "Oppress me, if you so desire; such is the lot of the peaceful. . . . I commend myself to God." After Melanchthon had left, Peucer, who had accompanied him, harshly told the delegates: "Don't trouble my father-in-law any more with such matters. *Ihr sollt forthin meinen Schwaeher zufrieden lassen mit solchen Haendeln.*" (9, 106 f.)

Regarding the last (8) of the articles submitted by the delegates of Duke Albrecht which dealt with the Adiaphora, Melanchthon declared in his answer of February 27: "I should not be astonished to have these two conditions [to confess the Adiaphoristic errors, etc.] imposed on me if I had been an enemy. The action of the Saxon pastors was milder. I may have been lukewarm in some transactions, but I certainly have never been an enemy. . . . Therefore I clearly state that I do not assent to these presentations [of Duke Albrecht], which are cunningly framed, so that, if I accept them, I myself may cut my throat (*ut me, si eas recepero, ipse iugulem*)." (*C. R.* 9, 104.)

The Magdeburgers refused to participate in these efforts of Count Albrecht, chiefly because, as they said, there was no hope for peace as long as Melanchthon remained under the influence of his Wittenberg friends. But even now Flacius did not entirely abandon his attempts to bring about a godly peace. In 1557 he asked Paul Vergerius, who passed Jena on his way to Wittenberg, to treat with Melanchthon on the Adiaphoristic question. Melanchthon, however, is reported to have said: "Omit that; let us treat of other things." Flacius also wrote to King Christian III of Denmark to influence Elector August to abolish the Adiaphoristic errors, but apparently without any result.

271. Clash at Colloquy in Worms, 1557.

The Diet at Regensburg, which adjourned in March of 1557, resolved that a colloquy be held at Worms to bring about an agreement between the Lutheran and Roman parties of the Empire. In order to prepare for the colloquy, a convention was held by the Lutherans in June, 1557, at Frankfort-on-the-Main. June 30 a resolution was adopted to the effect that all controversies among the Lutherans be suspended, and the Romanists be told at the prospective colloquy that the Lutherans were

all agreed in the chief points of doctrine. Against this resolution Nicholas Gallus and several others entered their protest. Self-evidently, also Flacius and his adherents, who had always held that the controverted issues involved essential points of doctrine, could not assent to the resolution without violating their conscience, and denying their convictions and the truth as they saw it. Such being the situation, the wise thing for the Lutherans to do would have been to decline the colloquy. For, since also Ducal Saxony with its stanch Lutherans was held to attend it, a public humiliating clash of the Lutherans was unavoidable.

Before the formal opening of the colloquy, the Thuringian delegates at Worms received a letter from Flacius, dated August 9, 1557, in which he admonished them to make a determined confession, and to induce the other Lutheran theologians to reject the Interim, Adiaphorism, Majorism, Osiandrism, and Zwinglianism. This was necessary, said Flacius, because the Romanists would, no doubt, exploit the concessions made in the Leipzig Interim and the dissensions existing among the Lutherans. (*C. R.* 9, 199 ff.) Flacius expressed the same views in an opinion to the dukes of Saxony, who, in turn, gave corresponding instructions to their delegates in Worms. In a letter dated August 20, 1557, Duke John Frederick said it was impossible that, in defending the *Augsburg Confession* against the Romanists, the Lutherans could stand as one man and speak as with one mouth (*fuer einen Mann und also ex uno ore*), if they had not previously come to an agreement among themselves and condemned the errors. For otherwise the Papists would be able to defeat the Lutherans with their own sword, *i. e.*, their own polemical publications. (231.) On the same day, August 20, 1557, Flacius repeated his sentiments and admonitions in letters to Schnepf, Moerlin, and Sarcerius. (232 ff.)

In a meeting of the Lutheran theologians at Worms, held September 5, Dr. Basilius Monner, professor of jurisprudence at Jena, made a motion in keeping with his instructions and the admonitions of Flacius, whereupon Erhard Schnepf, professor in Jena, read a list of the errors that ought to be rejected. But the majority, led by Melanchthon, opposed the motion. A breach seemed unavoidable. For Duke John Frederick had decided that his theologians could not participate in the colloquy with Lutherans who refused to reject errors conflicting with the *Augsburg Confession*, nor recognize them as pure, faithful, loyal, and true members and adherents of the *Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology*, and the *Smalcald Articles*. (Preger 2, 67.) The imminent clash was temporarily warded off by the concession on the part of the Melanchthonians that the Thuringian theologians should be allowed freely to express their opinion on any article discussed at the colloquy. At the session held September 11, 1557, however, Bishop Michael Helding demanded to know whether the Lutherans excluded the Zwinglians, Calvinists, Osiandrists, and Flacians (in the doctrine *de servo arbitrio*) from the *Augsburg Confession*. The Jesuit Canisius plied the Lutherans with similar questions: Whether they considered Osiander, Major, and others adherents of the *Augustana*. Melanchthon declared evasively that all evangelical delegates and pastors present were agreed in the *Augsburg Confession*. As a result the Thuringians decided to enter their protest. In a special meeting of the Lutherans the majority threatened to exclude the Thuringians from all following sessions if they dared to express their protest [containing the list of errors which they rejected] before the Papists. The consequence was that the Thuringians presented their protest in writing to the President, Julius Pflug, and departed from Worms. The Romanists, who from the beginning had been opposed to the colloquy, refused to treat with the remaining Lutheran theologians, because, they said, it was impossible to know who the true adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* were with whom, according to the Regensburg Resolution, they were to deal.

272. Efforts of Princes to Restore Unity: Frankfort Recess.

The Colloquy of Worms had increased the enmity and animosity among the Lutherans. It had brought their quarrels to a climax, and given official publicity to the dissensions existing among them, — a situation which was unscrupulously exploited by the Romanists, also politically, their sinister object being to rob the Lutherans of the privileges guaranteed by the Augsburg Peace, and to compel them to return to the Roman fold. In particular the Jesuits stressed the point that the dissensions among the Lutherans proved conclusively that they had abandoned the *Augsburg Confession*, to the adherents of which alone the provisions of the Augsburg Peace of 1555 applied. At the same time they embraced the opportunity to spread false reports concerning all manner of heresies that were tolerated in the Lutheran churches. This roused the Lutheran princes, who according to the Augsburg Peace Treaty were responsible to the Empire for the religious conditions within their territories, to bend all their energies toward healing the breach and restoring religious unity within their churches. Efforts to this effect were made especially at Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1558, and at Naumburg, 1561. But instead of promoting peace among the Lutherans also these conventions of the princes merely poured oil into the flames by adding new subjects of dissension, increasing the general distrust, and confirming the conviction that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper was in danger indeed. For, instead of insisting on a clear confession of the truth and an unequivocal rejection of error, the princes endeavored to establish peace by ignoring, veiling, and compromising the differences.

At Frankfort, Otto Henry of the Palatinate, Augustus of Saxony, Joachim of Brandenburg,

Wolfgang of Zweibruecken, Christopher of Wuerttemberg, and Philip of Hesse discussed the religious situation and, on March 18, 1558, signed the so-called *Frankfort Recess* (Agreement), in which they again solemnly pledged their adherence to the Holy Scriptures, the Ecumenical Symbols, the *Augsburg Confession* of 1530, and its *Apology*. (*C. R.* 9, 494.) In the *Recess* the princes stated that the existing dissensions encouraged the Romanists to proceed against the Lutherans, who, the princes declared, were not disagreed in their confession. In four articles the controverted questions concerning justification, good works, the Lord's Supper, and the adiaphora were dealt with, but in vague and ambiguous terms, the articles being based on Melanchthon's anti-Flacian opinion of March 4, 1558. (499 ff.; 462 ff.)

When the *Frankfort Recess* was submitted for subscription to the estates who had not been present at Frankfort, it failed to receive the expected approval. It was criticized by the theologians of Anhalt, Henneberg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania, the Lower Saxon cities, and Regensburg. The strongest opposition, however, came from Ducal Saxony, where Flacius attacked the *Recess* in two books. The first was entitled: "*Refutatio Samaritani Interim*, in quo vera religio cum sectis et corruptelis scelerate et perniciose confunditur — Refutation of the Samaritan Interim, in which the true religion is criminally and perniciously confounded with the sects." The other: "*Grund und Ursach', warum das Frankfurtisch Interim in keinem Wege anzunehmen sei* — Reason and Cause why the Frankfort Interim must Not be Adopted." The chief objections of Flacius were: 1. The *Smalcald Articles* should have been included in the confessions subscribed to. 2. The differences within the Lutheran Church should not have been treated as questions of minor import. 3. Major's statement should have been rejected as simply false, and not merely when falsely interpreted. 4. The statements concerning the Lord's Supper are "dark, general, and ambiguous," hence Crypto-Calvinistic. 5. The article on the adiaphora is ambiguous and altogether unsatisfactory. 6. The measures adopted to suppress theological discussions and controversies would lead to suppression of the truth ("binding the mouth of the Holy Ghost") and tyrannizing of the churches by the princes. (Preger 2, 74.)

In his attitude Flacius was supported by his colleagues in Jena and by Duke John Frederick. When a delegation appeared requesting him to sign the *Recess*, he declined and ordered his theologians to set forth his objection in a special book. Elector August, in turn, charged Melanchthon to write an apology of the *Recess* against the ducal theologians; which, again, was answered by Flacius. In order to unite the opponents of the *Recess*, John Frederick invited the Lower Saxons to attend a convention in Magdeburg. When this failed, Flacius induced the Duke to publish a book treating particularly the doctrinal differences within the Lutheran Church. In the drafting and revision of this *Book of Confutation*, as it was called, the following theologians participated: Strigel, Schnepf, Andrew Huegel, John Stoessel, Simon Musaeus, Joachim Moerlin, Sarcerius, Aurifaber, and Flacius. November 28, 1558, it received the sanction of the dukes. Among the Melanchthonians the *Book of Confutation*, which had made it a special point to refute and reject the errors of the Wittenberg Philippists, caused consternation and bitter resentment. For evidently its theological attitude was incompatible with the *Recess*, and hence the breach now seemed incurable and permanent. By order of Elector August, Melanchthon, in the name of the Wittenberg faculty, wrote an opinion of the *Book of Confutation*. (*C. R.* 9, 763.) But contents as well as form of this opinion merely served to confirm the ducal theologians in their position. The Philippists also fortified themselves by publishing the *Corpus Doctrinae* (*Corpus Philippicum* or *Misnicum*), which contained writings only of Melanchthon. The *Frankfort Recess*, therefore, instead of bringing relief to the Lutherans, only increased their mutual enmity and distrust. In order to reconcile John Frederick, the Duke of Wuerttemberg suggested a convention of princes at Fulda, on January 20, 1559. But when Elector August heard that besides the Duke of Saxony also other opponents of the *Frankfort Recess* were invited, he foiled the plan by declining to attend.

273. General Lutheran Council Advocated by Flacianists.

To heal the breach and end the public scandal, Flacius and his adherents fervently advocated the convocation of a General Lutheran Synod. In 1559 they published "*Supplicatio Quorundam Theologorum . . . pro Libera Christiana et Legitima Synodo*, Supplication of Some Theologians . . . for a Free, Christian, and Lawful Synod." The document was signed by 51 superintendents, professors, and pastors, "who after Luther's death," as they emphasized, "had contended orally and in writing against the corruptions and sects." The signatures represented theologians from Ducal Saxony, Hamburg, Bremen, Luebeck, Rostock, Wismar, Brunswick, Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Koethen, Nordhausen, Schweinfurt, Regensburg, Lindau, Upper Palatinate, Hesse, Brandenburg, Electoral Saxony, Nuernberg, Augsburg, Baden, etc. Some of the first were: Amsdorf, Musaeus, Joachim Moerlin, Hesshusius, Max Moerlin, Gallus, Wigand, Judex, Westphal, John Freder of Wismar, Anton Otto of Nordhausen, Flacius. The *Supplication* showed why a General Synod was necessary and how it was to be conducted. Its chief object, the *Supplication* said, would be to pass on adiaphorism, Majorism, and synergism, all participants in the Synod having previously been pledged on the *Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology*, and the *Smalcald Articles*, according to which all questions were to be decided. (Preger 2, 86 f.)

The most violent opponent of this plan was

Melanchthon. Fearing that the Flacianists might get control of the prospective general council, he, in advance, denounced and branded it as a "Robber Synod (*Raeubersynode*), advocated by the ignorant Flacian rabble." Three weeks before his death, March 28, 1560, he wrote: "Since they [the Flacians] cannot kill me, the object of these hypocrites is to expel me. For long ago they have said that they would not leave a foot of ground for me in Germany. *Hoc agunt isti hypocritae, ut me pellant, cum sanguinem meum haurire non possint; et quidem oratio istorum vetus est, qua dixerunt, se mihi non relicturos esse in Germania vestigium pedis.*" (*C. R.* 9, 1079.) Philip of Hesse consented to attend the general synod with the proviso that the power of the Jena theologians be curbed and also the Swiss be admitted. (Preger 2, 93.) That the plan of the Flacianists failed was chiefly due to Elector August, who declined to attend the synod.

274. Futile Efforts of Princes at Naumburg.

In lieu of the General Lutheran Council advocated by the Flacians, Christopher of Wuerttemberg, in March, 1559, recommended as the best means to heal the breach a convention of all the Lutheran princes and estates to be held at Naumburg, deliberations to begin January 20, 1561. The object of this assembly, he said, was neither to discuss the differences among the Lutherans, nor to formulate any condemnations, but only to renew the subscription to the *Augsburg Confession*, and to consider how the Lutherans might present a united front and a unanimous confession at the next diet and at the prospective papal council. All finally consented to attend, including Duke John Frederick, Elector August (who, instigated by Melanchthon, first had declined participation), and the Crypto-Calvinist, Elector Frederick of the Palatinate. Expecting no results favorable to genuine Lutheranism from this assembly, the Jena theologians renewed their request for a general synod and sent their *Supplication* to Naumburg with an additional writing, dated January 23, 1561, in which they admonished the princes not to enter into an ungodly and unionistic agreement, rather to eliminate the errors of Major, Osiander, etc. But the princes, whose object was to settle matters without the theologians, declined to consider their petition, and, on February 8, the last day of the convention, returned the documents to their authors in Jena.

After comparing the various editions of the *Augsburg Confession*, the Naumburg Assembly decided to subscribe to the *Confession* as delivered 1530 in Augsburg and published 1531 in German and Latin at Wittenberg. But when, in the interest of Calvinism, whither he at that time already was openly tending, Elector Frederick, supported by Elector August, demanded that the edition of 1540 be recognized as the correct explanation of the original *Augustana*, the majority of the princes yielded, and, as a result, the Variata of 1540 alone was mentioned in the Preface (*Praefatio*), in which the princes stated the reasons for renewing their subscription to the *Augsburg Confession* at Naumburg. This Preface, prepared by Elector Frederick and the Wittenberg Crypto-Calvinist Cracow, also asserted that hitherto no doctrinal corruptions or deviations from the *Augsburg Confession* had been tolerated among the Lutherans. It mentioned neither the controversies within the Lutheran Church nor the *Smalcald Articles*.

Evidently, to subscribe to this Preface was impossible for genuine Lutherans. Duke John Frederick was told by his theologians Moerlin and Stoessel that, if he signed it, they would resign and leave. The duke replied that he, too, would mount his horse and depart rather than put his signature to a document in which the errors introduced by the Philippists, etc., were not rejected. Ulrich of Mecklenburg took the same stand. And failing in his efforts to have the Preface changed in accordance with his convictions, the Duke entered his protest and left Naumburg without any further conference with the princes. When hereupon the latter sent messengers to Weimar, John Frederick remained firm. As conditions of his subscription the Duke demanded that in the Preface the apostasy during the Interim be confessed, the distinctive features of the Lutheran doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper be brought out clearly, the recognition of the Variata of 1540 as a doctrinal norm be eliminated, and the *Smalcald Articles* be recognized with the rest of the Lutheran symbols. Unwilling to accede to these demands, the princes closed the discussions at Naumburg without the Duke, — hence also without having attained their goal: peace among the Lutherans.

The Preface containing the objectionable features was signed by the Electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg, by Christopher of Wuerttemberg, Philip of Hesse, Carl of Baden, and quite a number of other princes and cities. However, Duke John Frederick did not by any means stand alone in his opposition to the ambiguous, unionistic Naumburg document. He was supported by Ulrich of Mecklenburg (who also left Naumburg before the close of the convention), Ernest and Philip of Brunswick, Albrecht of Mecklenburg, Adolf of Holstein, Francis of Saxon-Lauenburg, the counts of Schwartzburg, Mansfeld, Stolberg, Barby, and a number of other princes and cities, among the latter Regensburg, Augsburg, Strassburg, Nuernberg, and Windsheim. Besides, the loyal Lutherans were represented also in the territories of almost all the princes who had signed the Preface. Margrave John of Brandenburg emphatically declared his dissatisfaction with the subscription of his delegate at Naumburg. Before long also August of Saxony, Wolfgang of the Palatinate, Christopher of Wuerttemberg, and Joachim of Brandenburg signified their willingness to alter the Preface in accordance with the views and wishes of John Frederick, especially regarding the doctrine of

the Lord's Supper. Indeed, the princes declared that from the beginning they had understood the Preface in the strict Lutheran sense. In the Preface of the *Book of Concord* signed by the Lutheran princes, we read: "Now, our conferences and those of our illustrious predecessors, which were undertaken with a godly and sincere intention, first at Frankfort-on-the-Main and afterwards at Naumburg, and were recorded in writing, not only did not accomplish that end and peaceful settlement which was desired, but from them even a defense for errors and false doctrines was sought by some, while it had never entered our mind, by this writing of ours, either to introduce, furnish a cover for, and establish any false doctrine, or in the least even to recede from the Confession presented in the year 1530 at Augsburg, but rather, as many of us as participated in the transactions at Naumburg, wholly reserved it to ourselves, and promised besides that if, in the course of time, anything would be desired with respect to the *Augsburg Confession*, or as often as necessity would seem to demand it, we would further declare all things thoroughly and at length." (Conc. Trigl. 15.) Even Philip of Hesse finally consented to the changes demanded by Duke John Frederick. Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, however, who had misled and, as it were, hypnotized the Lutheran princes at Naumburg, openly embraced the Reformed confession and expelled all consistent Lutherans. For the cause of Lutheranism the loss of the Palatinate proved a great gain internally, and helped to pave the way for true unity and the formulation and adoption of the *Formula of Concord*. And more than any other individual it was Flacius who had helped to bring about this result. (Preger 2, 102.)

275. Andreae and Chemnitz.

The theologians who were first in adopting effective methods and measures to satisfy the general yearning for a real peace in the divine truth were Jacob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz. Andreae was born 1528 in Weiblingen, Wuerttemberg. He studied at Stuttgart and Tuebingen. In 1546 he became pastor in Stuttgart, where, two years later, he was deposed because of his refusal to consent to the Interim. In 1549 he became pastor and later on superintendent in Tuebingen. Since 1562 he was also professor and chancellor of the university. He died 1590. Andreae has been called "the spiritual heir of John Brenz." Hoping against hope, he incessantly labored for the unity and peace of the Lutheran Church. Being a man of great energy and diplomatic skill, he served her at numerous occasions and in various capacities. In his pacification efforts he made more than 120 journeys, visiting nearly all evangelical courts, cities, and universities in Northern and Southern Germany. With the consent of the Duke of Wuerttemberg, Andreae entered the service of Elector August, April 9, 1567, and lived with his family in Saxony till his dismissal in December, 1580. Here he was engaged in directing the affairs of the churches and universities, and in promoting the work of Lutheran pacification and concord at large. During his efforts to unite the Lutherans he was maligned by the Philippists, and severely criticized also by the strict Lutherans. The latter was largely due to the fact that in his first attempts at pacification he allowed himself to be duped by the Wittenberg Philippists, being even blind enough to defend them against the charges of Calvinism in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper made by their opponents in Jena and in Lower Saxony. While thus Andreae was the able and enthusiastic promoter of the pacification which culminated in the adoption of the *Formula of Concord*, he lacked the theological insight, acumen, and consistency which characterized Martin Chemnitz.

Martin Chemnitz was born November 9, 1522, at Treuenbritzen in Brandenburg. As a boy he attended, for a brief period, the school in Wittenberg, where he "rejoiced to see the renowned men of whom he had heard so much at home, and to hear Luther preach." From 1539 to 1542 he attended the *Gymnasium* at Magdeburg; from 1543 to 1545 he studied in Frankfort-on-the-Oder; in 1545 he went to Wittenberg, where Melanchthon directed his studies. In 1548 he became rector of the school in Koenigsberg, and 1550 librarian of Duke Albrecht, with a good salary. Owing to his participation in the Osiandrian controversy, Chemnitz lost the favor of Albrecht, and in 1553 he removed to Wittenberg. On June 9, 1554, he began his lectures on Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* before a large and enthusiastic audience, Melanchthon himself being one of his hearers. In November, 1554, he accepted a position as pastor, and in 1567 as superintendent, in the city of Brunswick. He died April 8, 1586. Chemnitz was the prince of the Lutheran divines of his age and, next to Luther, the greatest theologian of our Church. Referring to Luther and Chemnitz, the Romanists said: "You Lutherans have two Martins; if the second had not appeared, the first would have disappeared (*si posterior non fuisset, prior non stetisset*)." Besides the two Lutheran classics: *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, published 1565—1573, and *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*, 1570, Chemnitz wrote, among other books: *Harmonia Evangelica*, continued and published 1593 by Leyser and completed by John Gerhard, and *Foundations* (*Die Fundamente*) *of the Sound Doctrine concerning the Substantial Presence, Tendering, and Eating and Drinking of the Body and Blood of the Lord in the Supper*, 1569.

Andreae and Chemnitz became acquainted with each other in 1568, when Duke Julius invited the former to conduct the visitation in Brunswick together with Chemnitz. They jointly also composed the Brunswick Church Order of 1569, which was preceded by the *Corpus Doctrinae Iulium*, compiled by Chemnitz and containing the *Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, the Catechisms of Luther, and a "short [rather long],

simple, and necessary treatise on the prevalent corruptions." Andreae and Chemnitz are the theologians to whom more than any other two men our Church owes the *Formula of Concord* and the unification of our Church in the one true Christian faith as taught by Luther. However, it is Chemnitz who, more than Andreae or any other theologian, must be credited with the theological clarity and correctness which characterizes the *Formula*.

276. First Peace Efforts of Andreae Fail.

In his first attempts to unify the Lutheran Church, Andreae endeavored to reconcile all parties, including the Wittenberg Philippists, who then were contemplating an agreement with the Calvinists. In 1567, at the instance of Landgrave William of Hesse-Cassel and Duke Christopher of Wuerttemberg, Andreae composed his "*Confession and Brief Explanation of Several Controverted Articles*, according to which a Christian unity might be effected in the churches adhering to the *Augsburg Confession*, and the offensive and wearisome dissension might be settled." In five articles he treated: 1. Justification, 2. Good Works, 3. Free Will, 4. The Adiaphora, 5. The Lord's Supper. The second article maintains that we are neither justified nor saved by good works, since Christ has earned for us both salvation and righteousness by His innocent obedience, suffering, and death alone, which is imputed as righteousness to all believers solely by faith. It rejects all those who teach otherwise, but not directly and expressly the statement: Good works are necessary to salvation. The third article maintains that, also after the Fall, man is not a block, but a rational creature having a free, though weak, will in external things; but that in divine and spiritual matters his intellect is utterly blind and his will is dead; and that hence, unless God creates a new volition in him, man is unable of himself, of his own powers, to accept the grace of God offered in Christ. It rejects all who teach otherwise. The fourth article states that ceremonies are no longer free, but must be abandoned, when their adoption is connected with a denial of the Christian religion, doctrine, and confession. It rejects all those who teach otherwise. The fifth article emphasizes that also the wicked, when they partake of the Lord's Supper, receive the body of Christ, but to their damnation. It furthermore declares: Since it is objected that the body and blood cannot be present in the Holy Supper because Christ ascended to heaven with His body, it is necessary "to explain the article of the incarnation of the Son of God, and to indicate, in as simple a way as possible, the manner in which both natures, divine and human, are united in Christ, wherefrom it appears to what height the human nature in Christ has been exalted by the personal union." (Hutter, *Concordia Concors*, 110 ff.)

In 1568, at the Brunswick Visitation, referred to above, Andreae submitted his five articles to Duke Julius, and succeeded in winning him for his plan. In the same interest he came to Wittenberg, January 9, 1569. Furnished with letters of commendation from Duke Julius and Landgrave William of Hesse, he obtained an interview also with Elector August, who referred him to his theologians. On August 18, 1569, Andreae held a conference with the Wittenbergers. They insisted that the basis of the contemplated agreement must be the *Corpus Misnicum* (*Philippicum*). When Andreae, unsophisticated as he still was with respect to the real character of Philippism, publicly declared that the Wittenbergers were orthodox teachers, and that the *Corpus Misnicum* contained no false doctrine, he was supplied with a testimonial in which the Wittenbergers refer to their *Corpus*, but not to Andreae's articles, to which also they had not fully consented. The result was that the Jena theologians, in particular Tilemann Hesshusius, denounced Andreae's efforts as a unionistic scheme and a betrayal of true Lutheranism in the interest of Crypto-Calvinism. They rejected Andreae's articles because they were incomplete, and contained no specific rejection of the errors of the Philippists.

At the instance of Andreae, May 7, 1570, a conference met at Zerbst in Anhalt, at which twenty theologians represented Electoral Saxony, Brunswick, Hesse, Brandenburg, Anhalt, and Lower Saxony (the Ducal Saxon theologians declining to participate). The conference decided that a new confession was not needed, and unanimously recognized the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, and the Catechisms of Luther. Andreae was elated. In his "Report" to the Emperor and the princes he gloried in "the Christian unity" attained at Zerbst. But also this apparent victory for peace and true Lutheranism was illusory rather than real, for the Wittenberg theologians qualified their subscription by formally declaring that they interpreted and received the confessions enumerated only in as far as they agreed with the *Corpus Philippicum*. And before long the Crypto-Calvinistic publications, referred to in the chapter on the Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy, began to make their appearance. The only result of these first peace efforts of Andreae, which lacked in single-minded devotion to the truth, and did not sufficiently exclude every form of indifferentism and unionism, was that he himself was regarded with increasing suspicion by the opponents of the Philippists. As for Andreae, however, the dealings which he had with the dishonest Wittenbergers opened his eyes and convinced him that it was impossible to win Electoral Saxony for a truly Lutheran union as long as the Crypto-Calvinists were firmly seated in the saddle.

277. Andreae's Sermons and the Swabian Concordia.

Abandoning his original scheme, which had merely served to increase the animosity among the Lutherans and to discredit himself, Andreae resolved henceforth to confine his peace efforts to true Lutherans, especially those of Swabia and Lower Saxony, and to unite them

in opposition to the Zwinglians, Calvinists, and Philippists, who, outside of Electoral Saxony, were by this time generally regarded as traitors to the cause of Lutheranism. In 1573 he made his first move to carry out this new plan of his by publishing sermons which he had delivered 1572 on the doctrines controverted within the Lutheran Church. The title ran: "*Six Christian Sermons* concerning the dissensions which from the year 1548 to this 1573d year have gradually arisen among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, as to what attitude a plain pastor and a common Christian layman who may have been offended thereby should assume toward them according to his Catechism." These sermons treat of justification, good works, original sin, free will, the adiaphora, Law and Gospel, and the person of Christ. As the title indicates, Andreae appealed not so much to the theologians as to the pastors and the people of the Lutheran Church, concerning whom he was convinced that, adhering as they did, to Luther's Catechism, they in reality, at least in their hearts, were even then, and always had been, agreed. Andreae sent these sermons to Chemnitz, Chytraeus, Hesshusius, Wigand, and other theologians with the request that they be accepted as a basis of agreement. In the preface, dated February 17, 1573, he dedicated them to Duke Julius of Brunswick, whose good will and consent in the matter he had won in 1568, when he assisted in introducing the Reformation in his territories. Before this Nicholas Selneccer, then superintendent of Wolfenbuettel, in order to cultivate the friendly relations between Swabia and Lower Saxony, had dedicated his *Instruction in the Christian Religion* (*Institutio Religionis Christianae*) to the Duke of Wuerttemberg, praising the writings of Brenz, and lauding the services rendered by Andreae to the duchy of Brunswick.

The sermons of Andreae were welcomed by Chemnitz, Westphal in Hamburg, David Chytraeus in Rostock, and others. They also endeavored to obtain recognition for them from various ecclesiastical ministries of Lower Saxony. But having convinced themselves that the sermonic form was not adapted for a confession, they, led by Chemnitz, advised that their contents be reduced to articles in "thesis and antithesis," and that this be done "with the assistance of other theologians." Andreae immediately acted on this suggestion, and the result was what is known as the *Swabian Concordia* (*Schwaebische Konkordie*), — the first draft of the *Formula of Concord*. This document, also called the Tuebingen Book, was submitted to, and approved by, the theologians of Tuebingen and by the Stuttgart Consistory. In substance it was an elaboration of the *Six Sermons* with the addition of the last two articles. It contains eleven articles, treating 1. Original Sin; 2. Free Will; 3. The Righteousness of Faith before God; 4. Good Works; 5. Law and Gospel; 6. The Third Use of the Law; 7. The Church Usages Called Adiaphora; 8. The Lord's Supper; 9. The Person of Christ; 10. Eternal Election; 11. Other Factions and Sects. In the introduction Andreae also emphasizes the necessity of adopting those symbols which were afterwards received into the *Book of Concord*.

278. The Swabian-Saxon Concordia.

On March 22, 1574, Andreae sent the *Swabian Concordia* to Duke Julius and Chemnitz with the request to examine it and to have it discussed in the churches of Lower Saxony. On the twelfth of May the Duke ordered Chemnitz to prepare an opinion on the book and to present it to the clergy for their examination and approval. Under the leadership of Chemnitz numerous conferences were held, and the various criticisms offered led to a revision of the document. This work was begun in April, 1575, by the theological faculty of Rostock. Apart from numerous changes and additions everywhere, the articles on Free Will and on the Lord's Supper were completely remodeled by Chytraeus and Chemnitz.

The new confession, known as the *Swabian-[Lower] Saxon Concordia*, was subscribed by the theologians and pastors of the duchies of Brunswick, Mecklenburg, Mansfeld, Hoya, and Oldenburg. It acknowledges as its doctrinal basis the Holy Scriptures, the three Ecumenical Creeds, the *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, and Luther's two Catechisms. It discusses the following articles in the following order: 1. Of Original Sin; 2. Of the Person of Christ; 3. Of the Righteousness of Faith before God; 4. Of Good Works; 5. Of the Law and the Gospel; 6. Of the Third Use of the Law of God; 7. Of the Holy Supper; 8. Of God's Eternal Providence and Election; 9. Of Church Usages which are Called Adiaphora or Things Indifferent; 10. Of Free Will or Human Powers; 11. Of Other Factions and Sects which have Never Acknowledged the *Augsburg Confession*.

While this new *Concordia* was adopted in Lower Saxony, the Swabians, to whom it was forwarded, September 5, 1575, were not quite satisfied with its form, but did not object to its doctrinal contents. They criticized the unevenness of its style, its frequent use of Latin technical terms, its quotations (now approved, now rejected) from Melanchthon, etc. Particularly regarding the last mentioned point, they feared that the references to Melanchthon might lead to new dissensions; hence they preferred that citations be taken from Luther's writings only, which was done in the *Formula of Concord* as finally adopted.

279. The Maulbronn Formula.

The movement for a general unity within the Lutheran Church received a powerful impetus by the sudden and ignominious collapse of Crypto-Calvinism in Electoral Saxony, 1574. By unmasking the Philippists, God had removed the chief obstacle of a godly and general peace among the Lutherans. Now the clouds of dissension began to disappear rapidly. As long as the eyes of Elector August

were closed to the dishonesty of his theologians, there was no hope for a peace embracing the entire Lutheran Church in Germany. Even before the public exposure of the Philippists, August had been told as much by Count Henneberg and other princes, *viz.*, that the Wittenberg theologians were universally suspected, and that peace could not be established until their Calvinistic errors had been condemned. For in the doctrines of the Lord's Supper and of the person of Christ, as has been shown in the chapter on the Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy, the Philippists of Electoral Saxony and of other sections of Germany were Calvinists rather than Lutherans. It was the appearance of the Calvinistic *Exegesis Perspicua* of 1574 which left no doubt in the mind of the Elector that for years he had been surrounded by a clique of dishonest theologians and unscrupulous schemers, who, though claiming to be Lutherans, were secret adherents of Calvinism. And after the Elector, as Chemnitz remarks, had discovered the deception of his theologians in the article on the Lord's Supper, he began to doubt their entire contention. (Richard, 426.)

Among Lutherans generally the humiliating events in Saxony increased the feeling of shame at the conditions prevailing within their Church as well as the earnest desire for a genuine and lasting peace in the old Lutheran truths. And now Elector August, who, despite his continued animosity against Flacius, always wished to be a true Lutheran, but up to 1574 had not realized that the Philippistic type of doctrine dominant in his country departed from Luther's teaching, was determined to satisfy this universal longing for unity and peace. Immediately after the unmasking of the Philippists he took measures to secure the restoration of orthodox Lutheranism in his own lands. At the same time he placed himself at the head of the larger movement for the establishment of religious peace among the Lutherans generally by the elaboration and adoption of a doctrinal formula settling the pending controversies. To restore unity and peace to the Lutheran Church, which his own theologians had done so much to disturb, was now his uppermost desire. He prosecuted the plan of pacification with great zeal and perseverance. He also paid the heavy expenses (80,000 gulden), incurred by the numerous conventions, etc. And when, in the interest of such peace and unity, the theologians were engaged in conferences, the pious Elector and his wife were on their knees, asking God that He would crown their labor with success.

The specific plan of the Elector was, as appears from his rescript of November 21, 1575, to his counselors, that pacific theologians, appointed by the various Lutheran princes, "meet in order to deliberate how, by the grace of God, all [the existing various *corpora doctrinae*] might be reduced to one *corpus*, which we all could adopt, and that this book or *corpus doctrinae* be printed anew and the ministers in the lands of each ruler be required to be guided thereby." Before this Elector August had requested Count George Ernest of Henneberg to take the initiative in the matter. Accordingly, in November, 1575, Henneberg, Duke Ludwig of Wuerttemberg, and Margrave Carl of Baden agreed to ask a number of theologians to give their opinion concerning the question as to how a document might be prepared which would serve as a beginning to bring about true Christian concord among the churches of the *Augsburg Confession*. The theologians appointed were the Wuerttemberg court-preacher Lucas Osiander (born 1534; died 1604), the Stuttgart provost Balthasar Bidembach (born 1533; died 1578), and several theologians of Henneberg and Baden. Their opinion, delivered November 14, 1575, was approved by the princes, and Osiander and Bidembach were ordered to prepare a formula of agreement in accordance with it. The document which they submitted was discussed with theologians from Henneberg and Baden at Cloister Maulbronn, Wuerttemberg, and subscribed January 19, 1576.

The *Maulbronn Formula*, as the document was called, differs from the *Swabian-Saxon Concordia* in being much briefer (about half as voluminous), in avoiding technical Latin terms, in making no reference whatever to Melanchthon, in quoting from Luther's works only, and in omitting such doctrinal points (Anabaptism, Schwenckfeldianism, Antitrinitarianism, etc.) as had not been controverted among the Lutherans. Following the order of the *Augustana*, this *Formula* treats the following articles: 1. Of Original Sin; 2. Of the Person of Christ; 3. Of Justification of Faith; 4. Of the Law and Gospel; 5. Of Good Works; 6. Of the Holy Supper of Our Lord Christ; 7. Of Church Usages, Called Adiaphora or Things Indifferent; 8. Of Free Will; 9. Of the Third Use of God's Law.

280. The Torgau Book.

On February 9, 1576, the *Maulbronn Formula*, approved by Count Ludwig of Wuerttemberg, Margrave Carl of Baden, and Count George Ernest of Henneberg, was transmitted to Elector August, who had already received a copy of the Swabian-Saxon Concordia from Duke Julius of Brunswick. The Elector submitted both to Andreae for an opinion, whom formal reasons induced to decide in favor of the *Maulbronn Formula*. At the same time Andreae advised the Elector to arrange a general conference of prominent theologians to act and decide in this matter, suggesting as two of its members Chemnitz and Chytraeus of Rostock. This being in agreement with his own plans, the Elector, at the convention at Lichtenberg, February 15, 1576, submitted the suggestions of Andreae to twelve of his own theologians, headed by Nicholas Selneccer, then professor in Leipzig. [Selneccer was born December 6, 1530. In 1550 he took up his studies in Wittenberg, where he was much impressed and influenced by Melanchthon. In 1557 he was appointed court-preacher in Dresden. Beginning with 1565, after the banishment of Flacius and his colleagues, he was professor in Jena. He returned to Leipzig in

1568. In 1570 he accepted a call from Duke Julius as court-preacher and superintendent in Brunswick, but returned to Leipzig in 1574. Before the unmasking of the Crypto-Calvinists his theological attitude lacked clearness and determination. Ever after, however, he was the leader of the Lutheran forces in Electoral Saxony. At the Lichtenberg Convention, convoked February 16, 1576, by Elector August, Selneccer successfully advocated the removal of the Wittenberg Catechism, the *Consensus Dresdensis*, and the *Corpus Philippicum*. In their place he recommended the adoption of a new *corpus doctrinae* containing the three Ecumenical Creeds, the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, the Catechisms of Luther, and, if desired, Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*. Finally he advised that the electors and princes arrange a convention of such representative theologians as, *e. g.*, Chytraeus, Chemnitz, Andreae, and Marbach, to discuss the doctrinal differences. Selneccer's recommendations were adopted by the convention and transmitted to Elector August. Though contributing little to the contents of the *Formula of Concord*, Selneccer heartily cooperated in its preparation, revision, and adoption. In 1580, of his own accord, he published the Latin *Book of Concord*, which was followed in 1584 by an edition authorized by the princes. Selneccer also participated in preparing the *Apology of the Book of Concord*, first published 1582 in Magdeburg. In May, 1589, after the Crypto-Calvinistic reaction under Christian I, Selneccer, whom the Calvinists hated more than others of the theologians who had participated in the promulgation of the *Formula of Concord*, was deposed, harassed, and reduced to poverty because of his testimony against Chancellor Crell and his earnest and continued warnings against the Calvinists. After the death of Christian I, Selneccer was recalled to Leipzig, where he arrived May 19, 1592, five days before his death, May 24, 1592.]

Having through the influence of Selneccer, at Lichtenberg, obtained the consent of his clergy to his plans of unification, and, also in accordance with their desire, called Andreae to Saxony, Elector August immediately made arrangements for the contemplated general convention of theologians. It was held at Torgau, from May 28 to June 7, 1576, and attended by Selneccer, the Saxon ministers who had participated in the Lichtenberg convention, Andreae, Chemnitz, Andrew Musculus [General Superintendent of Brandenburg], Christopher Cornerus [professor in Frankfurt-on-the-Oder; born 1518; died 1549], and David Chytraeus [born February 26, 1530, in Wuerttemberg; awarded degree of magister in Tuebingen when only fourteen years old; began his studies 1544 in Wittenberg, where he also heard Luther; was professor in Rostock from 1551 till his death, June 25, 1600]. The result of the Torgau deliberations, in which much time was spent on the articles of Original Sin and Free Will, was the so-called *Torgau Book*. On the seventh of June the theologians informed the Elector that, on the basis of the Swabian-Saxon and the Maulbronn documents, they, as desired by him, had agreed on a *corpus doctrinae*.

The *Torgau Book* was essentially the *Swabian-Saxon Concordia*, recast and revised, as urged by Andreae, with special reference to the desirable features (enumerated above) of the *Maulbronn Formula*. The majority decided, says Chemnitz, that the Saxon Concordia should be retained, but in such a manner as to incorporate also the quotations from Luther, and whatever else might be regarded as useful in the *Maulbronn Formula*. The *Torgau Book* contained the twelve articles of the later *Formula of Concord* and in the same sequence; Article IX, "Of the Descent of Christ into Hell," had been added at Torgau. The Book was entitled: "*Opinion* as to how the dissensions prevailing among the theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* may, according to the Word of God, be agreed upon and settled in a Christian manner." It was signed as "their faith, doctrine, and confession" by the six men who were chiefly responsible for its form and contents: Jacob Andreae, Martin Chemnitz, Nicholas Selneccer, David Chytraeus, Andrew Musculus, and Christopher Cornerus. The convention was closed with a service of thanksgiving to Almighty God for the blessed results of their labors and the happy termination and favorable issue of their discussions, Selneccer delivering the sermon. Similar services were held at other places, notably in Mecklenburg and Lower Saxony.

In a letter to Hesshusius, Chemnitz says concerning the Torgau Convention: "Everything in this entire transaction occurred aside from, beyond, above, and contrary to the hope, expectation, and thought of all. I was utterly astounded, and could scarcely believe that these things were done when they were done. It seemed like a dream to me. Certainly a good happy and desired beginning has been made toward the restoration of purity of doctrine, toward the elimination of corruptions, toward the establishment of a godly confession." In a letter of July 24, 1576, to Hesshusius and Wigand, Andreae wrote in a similar vein, saying: "Often were they [Chemnitz and Chytraeus] almost overwhelmed with rejoicing and wonder that we were there [at Torgau] brought to such deliberation. Truly, this is the change of the right hand of the Most High, which ought also to remind us that since the truth no longer suffers, we should do everything that may contribute to the restoration of good feeling." (Richard, 428. 430.)

281. The Bergic Book or the Formula of Concord.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Torgau convention the Elector of Saxony examined the *Torgau Book* himself and had copies of it sent to the various Lutheran princes and estates in Germany with the request to have it tested by their theologians, and to return their opinions and censures to

Dresden. Of these (about 25) the majority were favorable. The churches in Pomerania and Holstein desired that Melanchthon's authority be recognized alongside of Luther's. On the other hand, Hesshusius and Wigand demanded that Flacius, Osiander, Major, Melanchthon, and other "originators and patrons of corruptions" be referred to by name and condemned as errorists. Quite a number of theologians objected to the *Torgau Book* because it was too bulky. To meet this objection the *Epitome*, a summary of the contents of the *Torgau Book*, was prepared by Andreae, with the consent of the Elector. Originally its title read: "*Brief Summary* of the articles which, controverted among the theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* for many years, were settled in a Christian manner at Torgau in the month of June, 1576, by the theologians which there met and subscribed."

After most of the censures had arrived, the "triumvirate" of the *Formula of Concord* (as Chytraeus called them 1581), Andreae, Selneccer, and Chemnitz, by order of the Elector, met on March 1, 1577, at Cloister Bergen, near Magdeburg, for the consideration of the criticisms and final editing of the new confession. They finished their work on March 14. Later, when other criticisms arrived and a further revision took place (also at Bergen, in May, 1577), Musculus, Cornerus, and Chytraeus were added to their number. Though numerous changes, additions, and omissions were made at Bergen, and in Article IX the present form was substituted for the sermon of Luther, the doctrinal substance of the *Torgau Book* remained unchanged. The chief object of the revisers was to eliminate misunderstandings and to replace ambiguous and dark terms with clear ones. At the last meeting of the six revisers (at Bergen, in May) the *Solid Declaration* was quickly and finally agreed upon, only a few changes of a purely verbal and formal nature being made. On May 28, 1577, the revised form of the *Torgau Book* was submitted to Elector August. It is known as the *Bergic Book*, or the *Solid Declaration*, or the *Formula of Concord*, also as the *Book of Concord* (a title which was afterwards reserved for the collection of all the Lutheran symbols). Of course, the *Epitome*, prepared by Andreae, was also examined and approved by the revisers at Cloister Bergen.

In order to remove a number of misunderstandings appearing after the completion of the *Bergic Book*, a "Preface" (Introduction to the *Book of Concord*) was prepared by the theologians and signed by the princes. The *Catalog of Testimonies*, added first with the caption "Appendix" and later without the same, or omitted entirely, is a private work of Andreae and Chemnitz, and not a part of the confession. Its special purpose is to prove that the Lutheran doctrine concerning the person of Christ and the majesty of His human nature as set forth in Article VII of the *Formula of Concord*, is clearly taught by the Scriptures as well as by the Fathers of the ancient Church. The *Formula of Concord* (German) was first published at Dresden, 1580, as a part of the *Book of Concord*. The first authentic Latin edition appeared in Leipzig, 1584. (Compare chapter on "The Book of Concord.")

282. Subscription to the Formula of Concord.

Originally Elector August planned to submit the *Bergic Book* to a general convention of the evangelical estates for approval. But, fearing that this might lead to new discussions and dissensions, the six theologians, in their report (May 28, 1577) on the final revision of the *Bergic Book*, submitted and recommended a plan of immediate subscription instead of an adoption at a general convention. Consenting to their views, the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg forthwith sent copies of the *Bergic Book* to such princes and estates as were expected to consent. These were requested to multiply the copies, and everywhere to circulate and submit them for discussion and subscription. As a result the *Formula of Concord* was signed by the electors of Saxony, of Brandenburg, and of the Palatinate; furthermore by 20 dukes and princes, 24 counts, 4 barons, 35 imperial cities, and about 8,000 pastors and teachers, embracing about two-thirds of the Lutheran territories of Germany.

The first signatures were those of Andreae, Selneccer, Musculus, Cornerus, Chytraeus, and Chemnitz, who on May 29, 1577, signed both the *Epitome* and the *Thorough Declaration*, the latter with the following solemn protestation: "Since now, in the sight of God and of all Christendom, we wish to testify to those now living and those who shall come after us that this declaration herewith presented concerning all the controverted articles aforementioned and explained, and no other, is our faith, doctrine, and confession, in which we are also willing, by God's grace, to appear with intrepid hearts before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, and give an account of it; and that we will neither privately nor publicly speak or write anything contrary to it, but, by the help of God's grace, intend to abide thereby: therefore, after mature deliberation, we have, in God's fear and with the invocation of His name, attached our signatures with our own hands." (Conc. Trigl. 1103, 40; 842, 31.)

Kolde remarks: "Wherever the civil authorities were in favor of the *Bergic Book*, the pastors and teachers also were won for its subscription. That the wish of the ruler contributed to this result cannot be denied and is confirmed by the Crypto-Calvinistic troubles reappearing later on in Saxony. But that the influence of the rulers must not be overestimated, appears, apart from other things, from the frequent additions to the signatures: 'With mouth and heart (*cum ore et corde*).'" Self-evidently the Crypto-Calvinists as well as other errorists had to face the alternative of either subscribing or being suspended from the ministry. The very object of the *Formula of Concord* was to purge the Lutheran Church from Calvinists and others who were not in sympathy and agreement with the Lutheran

Confessions and constituted a foreign and disturbing element in the Lutheran Church.

As to the manner in which the *Formula* was submitted for subscription, it was certainly not indifferentistic, but most solemn and serious, and perhaps, in some instances, even severe. Coercion, however, was nowhere employed for obtaining the signatures. At any rate, no instance is recorded in which compulsion was used to secure its adoption. Moreover, the campaign of public subscription, for which about two years were allowed, was everywhere conducted on the principle that such only were to be admitted to subscription as had read the *Formula* and were in complete agreement with its doctrinal contents. Yet it was probably true that some, as Hutter assumes, signed with a bad conscience [Hutter: "*Deinde esto: subscripserunt aliqui mala conscientia Formulae Concordiae*"; Mueller, *Einleitung*, 115]; for among those who affixed their names are quite a few of former Crypto-Calvinists — men who had always found a way of escaping martyrdom, and, also in this instance, may have preferred the retaining of their livings to following their conviction. The fact is that no other confession can be mentioned in the elaboration of which so much time, labor, and care was expended to bring out clearly the divine truth, to convince every one of its complete harmony with the Bible and the Lutheran symbols, and to hear and meet all objections, as was the case with respect to the *Formula of Concord*.

"In reply to the criticism [of the Calvinists in the *Neustadt Admonition*, etc.] that it was unjust for only six theologians to write a Confession for the whole Church, and that a General Synod should have been held before the signing of the Confession, the Convention of Quedlinburg, in 1583, declared it untrue that the *Formula of Concord* had been composed by only six theologians, and reminded the critics how, on the contrary, the articles had first been sent, a number of times, to all the Lutheran churches in Germany; how, in order to consider them, synods and conferences had been held on every side, and the articles had been thoroughly tested; how criticisms had been made upon them; and how the criticisms had been conscientiously taken in hand by a special commission. The Quedlinburg Convention therefore declared in its minutes that, indeed, 'such a frequent revision and testing of the *Christian Book of Concord*, many times repeated, is a much greater work than if a General Synod had been assembled respecting it, to which every province would have commissioned two or three theologians, who in the name of all the rest would have helped to test and approve the book. For in that way only one synod would have been held for the comparing and testing of this work, but, as it was, many synods were held; and it was sent to many provinces, which had it tested by the weighty and mature judgment of their theologians, in such manner as has never occurred in the case of any book or any matter of religion since the beginning of Christianity, as is evident from the history of the Church.' . . . We are solemnly told [by Andreae, Selneccer, etc.] that no one was forced by threats to sign the *Formula of Concord*, and that no one was tempted to do so by promises. We know that no one was taken suddenly by surprise. Every one was given time to think. As the work of composition extended through years, so several years were given for the work of signing. We very much doubt whether the Lutheran Church to-day could secure any democratic subscription so clean, so conscientious, so united, or so large as that which was given to the *Book of Concord*." (Schmauk, 663 f.)

283. Subscription in Electoral Saxony, Brandenburg, etc.

In Electoral Saxony, where Crypto-Calvinism had reigned supreme for many years, prevailing conditions naturally called for a strict procedure. For Calvinists could certainly not be tolerated as preachers in Lutheran churches or as teachers in Lutheran schools. Such was also the settled conviction and determination of Elector August. When he learned that the Wittenberg professors were trying to evade an unqualified subscription, he declared: By the help of God I am determined, as long as I live, to keep my churches and schools pure and in agreement with the *Formula of Concord*. Whoever does not want to cooperate with me may go; I have no desire for him. God protect me, and those belonging to me, from Papists and Calvinists — I have experienced it. (Richard, 529.)

The Elector demanded that every pastor affix his own signature to the *Formula*. Accordingly, in every place, beginning with Wittenberg, the commissioners addressed the ministers and schoolteachers, who had been summoned from the smaller towns and villages, read the *Formula* to them, exhorted them to examine it and to express their doubts or scruples, if they had any, and finally demanded subscription of all those who could not bring any charge of false doctrine against it. According to Planck only one pastor, one superintendent (Kolditz, who later on subscribed), and one schoolteacher refused to subscribe. (6, 560.) Several professors in Leipzig and Wittenberg who declined to acknowledge the *Formula* were dismissed.

However, as stated, also in Electoral Saxony coercion was not employed. Moreover, objections were listened to with patience, and time was allowed for consideration. Indeed, in the name of the Elector every one was admonished not to subscribe against his conscience. I. F. Mueller says in his *Historico-Theological Introduction to the Lutheran Symbols:* "At the Herzberg Convention, 1578, Andreae felt justified in stating: 'I can truthfully say that no one was coerced to subscribe or banished on that account. If this is not true, the Son of God has not redeemed me with His blood; for otherwise I do not want to become a partaker of the blood of Christ.' Pursuant to this declaration the opponents

were publicly challenged to mention a single person who had subscribed by compulsion, but they were unable to do so. Moreover, even the Nuernbergers, who did not adopt the *Formula of Concord*, acknowledged that the signatures had been affixed without employment of force." (115.) True, October 8, 1578, Andreae wrote to Chemnitz: "We treated the pastors with such severity that a certain truly good man and sincere minister of the church afterwards said to us in the lodging that, when the matter was proposed so severely, his mind was seized with a great consternation, which caused him to think that he, being near Mount Sinai, was hearing the promulgation of the Mosaic Law (*se animo adeo consternato fuisse, cum negotium tam severiter proponeretur, ut existimaret, se monti Sinai proximum legis Mosaicae promulgationem audire*). . . . I do not believe that anywhere a similar severity has been employed." (116.) But the term "severity" here employed does not mean force or compulsion, but merely signifies religious seriousness and moral determination to eliminate Crypto-Calvinism from the Lutheran Church in Electoral Saxony. The spirit in which also Andreae desired this matter to be conducted appears from his letter of November 20, 1579, to Count Wolfgang, in which he says: Although as yet some ministers in his country had not subscribed to the *Formula*, he should not make too much of that, much less press or persuade them; for whoever did not subscribe spontaneously and with a good conscience should abstain from subscribing altogether much rather than pledge himself with word and hand when his heart did not concur — *denn wer es nicht mit seinem Geist und gutem Gewissen tue, bleibe viel besser davon, als dass er sich mit Worten und mit der Hand dazu bekenne und das Herz nicht daran waere.* (115.)

Also Selneccer testifies to the general willingness with which the ministers in Saxony affixed their signatures. With respect to the universities of Wittenberg and Leipzig, however, he remarks that there some were found who, while willing to acknowledge the first part of the *Book of Concord*, begged to be excused from signing the *Formula*, but that they had been told by the Elector: If they agreed with the first part, there was no reason why they should refuse to sign the second, since it was based on the first. (Carpzov, *Isagoge* 20.) While thus in Electoral Saxony subscription to the *Formula* was indeed demanded of all professors and ministers, there is not a single case on record in which compulsion was employed to obtain it.

In Brandenburg the clergy subscribed unconditionally, spontaneously, and with thankfulness toward God and to their "faithful, pious ruler for his fatherly care of the Church." Nor was any opposition met with in Wuerttemberg, where the subscription was completed in October, 1577. In Mecklenburg the ministers were kindly invited to subscribe. Such as refused were suspended and given time for deliberation, with the proviso that they abstain from criticizing the *Formula* before the people. When the superintendent of Wismar and several pastors declined finally to adopt the *Formula*, they were deposed.

Accordingly, it was in keeping with the facts when the Lutheran electors and princes declared in the Preface to the *Formula of Concord* "that their theologians, ministers, and schoolteachers" "did with glad heart and heartfelt thanks to God the Almighty voluntarily and with well-considered courage adopt, approve, and subscribe this *Book of Concord* [*Formula of Concord*] as the true and Christian sense of the *Augsburg Confession*, and did publicly testify thereto with heart, mouth, and hand. Wherefore also this Christian Agreement is not the confession of some few of our theologians only, but is called, and is, in general, the unanimous confession of each and every one of the ministers and schoolteachers of our lands and provinces." (Conc. Trigl., 12 f.)

284. Where and Why Formula of Concord was Rejected.

Apart from the territories which were really Calvinistic (Anhalt, Lower Hesse, the Palatinate, etc.), comparatively few of the German princes and estates considered adherents of the *Augsburg Confession* declined to accept the *Formula of Concord* because of any doctrinal disagreement. Some refused to append their names for political reasons; others, because they were opposed on principle to a new symbol. With still others, notably some of the imperial cities, it was a case of religious particularism, which would not brook any disturbance of its own mode of church-life. Also injured pride, for not having been consulted in the matter, nor called upon to participate in the preparation and revision of the *Formula*, was not altogether lacking as a motive for withholding one's signature. In some instances personal spite figured as a reason. Because Andreae had given offense to Paul von Eitzen, Holstein rejected the *Formula*, stating that all the articles it treated were clearly set forth in the existing symbols. Duke Julius of Brunswick, though at first most zealous in promoting the work of pacification and the adoption of the *Book of Concord*, withdrew in 1583, because Chemnitz had rebuked him for allowing his son to be consecrated Bishop of Halberstadt. (Kolde, 73 f.) However, despite the unfriendly attitude of Duke Julius, some of the Brunswick theologians openly declared their agreement with the *Formula* as well as their determination, by the help of God, to adhere to its doctrine. No doubt but that much more pressure was exercised in hindering than in urging Lutherans to subscribe to the *Formula*.

For the reasons enumerated the *Formula of Concord* was not adopted in Brunswick, Wolfenbuettel, Holstein, Hesse, Pomerania (where, however, the *Formula* was received later), Anhalt, the Palatinate (which, after a short Lutheran interregnum, readopted the Heidelberg Catechism under John Casimir, 1583), Zweibruecken, Nassau, Bentheim, Tecklenburg, Solms, Ortenburg, Liegnitz, Brieg, Wohlau,

Bremen, Danzig, Magdeburg, Nuernberg, Weissenburg, Windsheim, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg.

In Sweden and Denmark, Frederick II issued an edict, July 24, 1580, forbidding (for political reasons) the importation and publication of the *Formula of Concord* on penalty of execution and confiscation of property. He is said to have cast the two elegantly bound copies of the *Formula* sent him by his sister, the wife of Elector August of Saxony, into the fireplace. Later on, however, the *Formula* came to be esteemed also in the Danish Church and to be regarded as a symbol, at least in fact, if not in form.

While some of the original signatories subsequently withdrew from the *Formula of Concord*, a larger number acceded to it. Among the latter were Holstein, Pomerania, Krain, Kaernthen, Steiermark, etc. In Sweden the *Formula* was adopted 1593 by the Council of Upsala; in Hungary, in 1597. With few exceptions the Lutheran synods in America and Australia all subscribed also to the *Formula of Concord*.

285. Formula Not a New Confession Doctrinally.

The *Formula of Concord* purified the Lutheran Church from Romanism, Calvinism, indifferentism, unionism, synergism, and other errors and unsound tendencies. It did so, not by proclaiming new exclusive laws and doctrines, but by showing that these corruptions were already excluded by the spirit and letter of the existing Lutheran symbols. Doctrinally the *Formula of Concord* is not a new confession, but merely a repetition and explanation of the old Lutheran confessions. It does not set forth or formulate a new faith or tenets hitherto unknown to the Lutheran Church. Nor does it correct, change, or in any way modify any of her doctrines. On the contrary, its very object was to defend and maintain the teaching of her old symbols against all manner of attacks coming from without as well as from within the Lutheran Church. The *Formula* merely presents, repeats, reaffirms, explains, defends, clearly defines, and consistently applies the truths directly or indirectly, explicitly or implicitly confessed and taught in the antecedent Lutheran confessions. The *Augsburg Confession* concludes its last paragraph: "If there is anything that any one might desire in this Confession, we are ready, God willing, to present ampler information (*latiorem informationem*) according to the Scriptures." (94, 7.) Close scrutiny will reveal the fact that in every detail the *Formula* must be regarded as just such an "*ampler* information, according to the Scriptures." The Lutheran Church, therefore, has always held that whoever candidly adopts the *Augsburg Confession* cannot and will not reject the *Formula of Concord* either.

As for the *Formula* itself, it most emphatically disclaims to be anything really new. In their Preface to the *Book of Concord* the Lutheran princes declared: "We indeed (to repeat in conclusion what we have mentioned several times above) have wished, in this work of concord, *in no way to devise anything new*, or to depart from the truth of the heavenly doctrine, which our ancestors (renowned for their piety) as well as we ourselves have acknowledged and professed. We mean that doctrine, which, having been derived from the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, is contained in the three ancient Creeds, in the *Augsburg Confession*, presented in the year 1530 to Emperor Charles V, of excellent memory, then in the *Apology*, which was added to this, in the *Smalcald Articles*, and lastly in both the Catechisms of that excellent man, Dr. Luther. *Therefore we also have determined not to depart even a finger's breadth either from the subjects themselves, or from the phrases which are found in them*, but, the Spirit of the Lord aiding us, to persevere constantly, with the greatest harmony, in this godly agreement, and we intend to examine all controversies according to this true norm and declaration of the pure doctrine." (Conc. Trigl., 23.) In the Comprehensive Summary we read: "We [the framers and signers of the *Formula of Concord*] have declared to one another with heart and mouth that we will not make or receive *a separate or new confession of our faith*, but confess the public common writings which always and everywhere were held and used as such symbols or common confessions in all the churches of the *Augsburg Confession* before the dissensions arose among those who accept the *Augsburg Confession*, and as long as in all articles there was on all sides a unanimous adherence to the pure doctrine of the divine Word, as the sainted Dr. Luther explained it." (851, 2. 9.) The *Formula of Concord* therefore did not wish to offer anything that was new doctrinally. It merely expressed the consensus of all loyal Lutherans, and applied the truths contained in the existing symbols to the questions raised in the various controversies.

286. Formula a Reaffirmation of Genuine Lutheranism.

To restore Luther's doctrine, such was the declared purpose of the promoters and authors of the *Formula of Concord*. And in deciding the controverted questions, they certainly did most faithfully adhere to Luther's teaching. The *Formula* is an exact, clear, consistent, and guarded statement of original Lutheranism, purified of all foreign elements later on injected into it by the Philippists and other errorists. It embodies the old Lutheran doctrine, as distinguished not merely from Romanism and Calvinism, but also from Melanchthonianism and other innovations after the death of Luther. Surely Luther would not have hesitated to endorse each and all of its articles or doctrinal statements. Even Planck, who poured contempt and sarcasm on the loyal Lutherans, admits: "It was almost beyond controversy that the *Formula*, in every controverted article, established and authorized precisely the view which was most clearly

sanctioned by the *Unaltered Augsburg Confession*, by its *Apology* according to the edition of the year 1531, by the *Smalcald Articles*, and by the Catechisms of Luther." (6, 697.) This complete agreement with Luther also accounts for the fact that the *Formula* was immediately acknowledged by two-thirds of the Protestants in Germany.

As for Luther, the *Formula of Concord* regards him as the God-given Reformer and teacher of the Church. We read: "By the special grace and mercy of the Almighty the doctrine concerning the chief articles of our Christian religion (which under the Papacy had been horribly obscured by human teachings and ordinances) *were explained and purified again from God's Word by Dr. Luther, of blessed and holy memory.*" (847, 1.) Again: "In these last times God, out of special grace, has brought the truth of His Word to light again from the darkness of the Papacy *through the faithful service of the precious man of God, Dr. Luther.*" (851, 5.) Luther is spoken of as "this highly illumined man," "the hero illumined with unparalleled and most excellent gifts of the Holy Ghost," "the leading teacher of the *Augsburg Confession.*" (980, 28; 983, 34.) "Dr. Luther," says the *Formula*, "is to be regarded as the most distinguished (*vornehmste, praecipuus*) teacher of the Churches which confess the *Augsburg Confession*, whose entire doctrine as to sum and substance is comprised in the articles of the *Augsburg Confession.*" (985, 41.) Again: "Dr. Luther, who, above others, certainly understood the true and proper meaning of the *Augsburg Confession*, and who constantly remained steadfast thereto till his end, and defended it, shortly before his death repeated his faith concerning this article [of the Lord's Supper] with great zeal in his last Confession." (983, 33.) Accordingly, only from Luther's writings quotations are introduced by the *Formula* to prove the truly Lutheran character of a doctrine. In this respect Luther was considered the highest authority, outweighing by far that of Melanchthon or any other Lutheran divine. Everywhere Luther's books are referred and appealed to, *e. g.*, his "beautiful and glorious exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians," his book concerning Councils, his *Large Confession*, his *De Servo Arbitrio*, his *Commentary on Genesis*, his sermon of 1533 at Torgau, etc. (925, 28; 937, 67; 823, 21; 897, 43; 827, 2; 1051, 1; cf. 1213 ff.)

Luther's doctrine, according to the *Formula of Concord*, is embodied in the old Lutheran symbols, and was "collected into the articles and chapters of the *Augsburg Confession.*" (851, 5.) The *Augsburg Confession*, the *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, and the *Small* and the *Large Catechism*, says the *Formula*, "have always been regarded as the norm and model of the doctrine which Dr. Luther, of blessed memory, has admirably deduced from God's Word, and firmly established against the Papacy and other sects; and to his full explanations in his doctrinal and polemical writings we wish to appeal, in the manner and as far as Dr. Luther himself in the Latin preface to his published works has given necessary and Christian admonition concerning his writings." (853, 9.) According to the *Formula* there were no dissensions among the Lutherans "as long as in all articles there was on all sides a unanimous adherence to the pure doctrine of the divine Word *as the sainted Dr. Luther explained it.*" (851, 2.) Melanchthon, Agricola, Osiander, Major, and the Philippists, departing from Luther, struck out on paths of their own, and thus gave rise to the controversies finally settled by the *Formula of Concord.*

As for the *Formula of Concord* itself, the distinct object also of its promoters and authors was to restore, reaffirm, and vindicate the doctrine of Luther. In a letter of July 24, 1576, to Hesshusius and Wigand, Andreae, giving an account of the results of the Torgau Convention, remarks: "For this I dare affirm and promise sacredly that the illustrious Elector of Saxony is bent on this alone, that the doctrine of Luther, which has been partly obscured, partly corrupted, partly condemned openly or secretly, shall again be restored pure and unadulterated in the schools and churches, and accordingly Luther shall live, *i. e.*, Christ, whose faithful servant Luther was — *adeoque Lutherus, hoc est, Christus, cuius fidelis minister Lutherus fuit, vivat.* What more do you desire? Here [in the *Torgau Book*] nothing is colored, nothing is dressed up, nothing is concealed, but everything is in keeping with the spirit of Luther, which is Christ's. *Nihil hic fucatum, nihil palliatum, nihil tectum est, sed iuxta spiritum Lutheri, qui Christi est.*" (Schaff 1, 339.) Also the *Formula of Concord*, therefore, contains Luther's theology.

It has been asserted that the *Formula of Concord* is a compromise between Luther and Melanchthon, a "synthesis or combination of the two antagonistic forces of the Reformation, a balance of mutually destructive principles," etc. The *Formula*, says also Seeberg, represents a "Melanchthonian Lutheranism." But the plain truth is that the *Formula* is a complete victory of Luther over the later Melanchthon as well as the other errorists who had raised their heads within the Lutheran Church. It gave the floor, not to Philip, but to Martin. True, it was the avowed object of the *Formula* to restore peace to the Lutheran Church, but not by compromising in any shape or form the doctrine of Luther, which, its authors were convinced, is nothing but divine truth itself. In thesis and antithesis, moreover, the *Formula* takes a clearly defined stand against all the errorists of those days: Anabaptists, Schwenckfeldians, Antitrinitarians, Romanists, Zwinglians, Calvinists, Crypto-Calvinists, Adiaphorists, Antinomians, Synergists, Majorists, the later Flacianists, etc. It did not acknowledge, or leave room for, any doctrines or doctrinal tendencies deviating in the least from original genuine Scriptural Lutheranism. At every point it occupied the old Lutheran ground. Everywhere it observed a correct balance between

two errors (*e. g.*, Romanism and Zwinglianism, Calvinism and synergism, Majorism and antinomianism); it steered clear of Scylla as well as Charybdis, avoiding errors to the right as well as pitfalls to the left. The golden highway of truth on which it travels was not Melanchthon nor a middle ground between Luther and Melanchthon, but simply Luther and the truths which he had brought to light again.

Melanchthonianism may be defined as an effort to inoculate Lutheranism with a unionistic and Calvinistic virus. The distinct object of the *Formula*, however, was not merely to reduce, but to purge the Lutheran Church entirely from, this as well as other leaven. The *Formula's* theology is not Lutheranism modified by, but thoroughly cleansed from, antinomianism, Osiandrianism, and particularly from Philippism. Accordingly, while in the *Formula* Luther is celebrated and quoted as the true and reliable exponent of Lutheranism, Melanchthon is nowhere appealed to as an authority in this respect. It is only in the Preface of the *Book of Concord* that his writings are referred to as not to be "rejected and condemned"; but the proviso is added, "in as far as (*quatenus*) they agree throughout with the norm laid down in the *Book of Concord*." (16.)

287. Scripture Sole Standard and Rule.

From the high estimation in which Luther was held by the *Formula of Concord* it has falsely been inferred that this Confession accords Luther the "highest authority," as Hase says, or considers him "the regulative and almost infallible expounder" of the Bible, as Schaff asserts. (*Creeds* 1, 313.) But according to the *Formula* the supreme arbiter and only final rule in all matters of religion is the inspired Word of God; and absolutely all human teachers and books, including Luther and the Lutheran symbols, are subject to its verdict. When, after Luther's death, God permitted doctrinal controversies to distract the Church, His purpose, no doubt, being also to have her fully realize not only that Luther's doctrine is in complete harmony with Scripture, but, in addition, that in matters of faith and doctrine not Luther, not the Church, not the symbols, nor any other human authority, but His Word alone is the sole rule and norm. The *Formula* certainly learned this lesson well. In its opening paragraph we read: "We believe, teach, and confess that the sole rule and standard according to which both all doctrines and all teachers should be estimated and judged are the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament alone. . . . Other writings, however, of ancient or modern teachers, whatever name they bear, must not be regarded as equal to the Holy Scriptures, but all of them together be subjected to them." (777, 1.) And in this, too, the *Formula* was conscious of being in agreement with Luther. Luther himself, it declares, "has expressly drawn this distinction, namely, that the Word of God alone should be and remain the only standard and rule of doctrine, to which the writings of no man should be regarded as equal, but to which everything should be subjected." (853, 9.) Scripture is, and always must remain, the only *norma normans*, the standard that rules everything, — such was the attitude of the *Formula of Concord*.

Accordingly, the proof proper for the truth of any doctrinal statement is taken by the *Formula* neither from the Lutheran symbols nor the writings of Luther, but from the Word of God. And the only reason why the promoters and framers of the *Formula* were determined to restore the unadulterated teaching of Luther was because, in the controversies following his death, they had thoroughly convinced themselves that, on the one hand, the doctrines proclaimed by Luther were nothing but the purest gold mined from the shafts of God's Word, and that, on the other hand, the various deviations from Luther's teaching, which had caused the dissensions, were aberrations not only from the original Lutheran Confessions, but also from Holy Scripture. The thirty years of theological discussion had satisfied the Lutherans that to adhere to the Bible was tantamount to adhering to the teaching of Luther, and *vice versa*. Accordingly, the *Formula* also declared it as its object to prove that the doctrines it presented were in harmony with the Bible, as well as with the teaching of Luther and the *Augsburg Confession*. (856, 19.) This agreement with the Word of God and the preceding Lutheran symbols constitutes the *Formula* a Lutheran confession, which no one who is a true Lutheran can reject or, for doctrinal reasons, refuse to accept.

288. Formula Benefited Lutheran Church.

It has frequently been asserted that the *Formula of Concord* greatly damaged Lutheranism, causing bitter controversies, and driving many Lutherans into the fold of Calvinism, *e. g.*, in the Palatinate (1583), in Anhalt, in Hesse, and in Brandenburg (1613). Richard says: "The *Formula of Concord* was the cause of the most bitter controversies, dissensions, and alienations. The position taken by the adherents of the *Formula of Concord* that this document is the true historical and logical explanation of the older confessions, and is therefore the test and touchstone of Lutheranism, had the effect, as one extreme generates a counter-extreme, of driving many individual Lutherans and many Lutheran churches into the Calvinistic fold, as that fold was represented in Germany by the Heidelberg Catechism as the chief confession of faith." (516.)

But this entire view is founded on indifferentism and unionism flowing from the false principle that quality must be sacrificed to quantity, eternal truth to temporal peace, and unity to external progress and temporary success. Viewed in the light of God's Word, error is the centrifugal force and the real cause of dissension and separations among

Christians, while divine truth always acts as a centripetal or a truly unifying power. The *Formula* therefore, standing clearly as it does for divine truth only, cannot be charged with causing dissension and breeding trouble among Christians. It settled many controversies and healed dissensions, but produced none. True, the *Formula* was condemned by many, but with no greater justice and for no other reasons than those for which the truths of God's Word have always been assailed by their enemies.

Nor is the statement correct that the *Formula of Concord* drove loyal Lutherans out of their own churches into Calvinistic folds. It clearly stated what, according to God's Word and their old confessions, Lutherans always will believe, teach, and confess, as also what they always must reject as false and detrimental to the cause of the Church of Christ; however, in so doing, it did not drive Lutherans into the ranks of the Calvinists, but drove masked Calvinists out of the ranks of loyal Lutherans into those folds to which they really belonged. Indeed, the *Formula* failed to make true Lutherans of all the errorists; but neither did the *Augsburg Confession* succeed in making friends and Lutherans of all Papists, nor the Bible, in making Christians of all unbelievers. However, by clearly stating its position in thesis and antithesis, the *Formula* did succeed in bringing about a wholesome separation, ridding the Lutheran Church of antagonistic spirits, unsound tendencies, and false doctrines. In fact, it saved the Church from slow, but sure poisoning at the hands of the Crypto-Calvinists; it restored purity, unity, *morale*, courage, and hope when she was demoralized, distracted, and disfigured by many dissensions and corruptions. Whatever, by adopting the *Formula of Concord*, the Lutheran Church therefore may have lost in extension, it won in intention; what it lost in numbers, it won in unity, solidity, and firmness in the truth.

True, the *Formula of Concord* completely foiled Melanchthon's plan of a union between the Lutheran and Reformed churches on the basis of the Variata of 1540, — a fact which more than anything else roused the ire of Philippists and Calvinists. But that was an ungodly union, contrary to the Word of God; a union involving a denial of essential Christian truths; a union incompatible with the spirit of Lutheranism, which cannot survive where faith is gagged and open confession of the truth is smothered; a union in which Calvinism, engrafted on Lutheranism, would have reduced the latter to a mere feeder of a foreign life. However, though it shattered the ungodly plans of the Philippists and Calvinists, the *Formula* did not in the least destroy the hope of, or block the way for, a truly Christian agreement. On the contrary, it formulated the only true basis for such a union, which it also realized among the Lutherans. And if the Lutheran and Reformed churches will ever unite in a true and godly manner, it must be done on the basis of the truths set forth by the *Formula*.

289. Necessity of Formula of Concord.

Several Lutheran states, as related above, declined to accept the *Formula of Concord*, giving as their reason for such action that there was no need of a new confession. The fact, however, that the *Formula* was adopted by the great majority of Lutheran princes, professors, preachers, and congregations proves conclusively that they were of a different opinion. A new confession was necessary, not indeed because new truths had been discovered which called for confessional coining or formulation, but because the old doctrines, assailed by errorists, were in need of vindication, and the Lutheran Church, distracted by prolonged theological warfare, was sorely in need of being restored to unity, peace, and stability. The question-marks suspended everywhere in Germany after Luther's death were: Is Lutheranism to die or live? Are its old standards and doctrines to be scrapped or vindicated? Is the Church of Luther to remain, or to be transformed into a unionistic or Reformed body? Is it to retain its unity, or will it become a house divided against itself and infested with all manner of sects?

Evidently, then, if the Lutheran Church was not to go down ingloriously, a new confession was needed which would not only clear the religious and theological atmosphere, but restore confidence, hope, and normalcy. A confession was needed which would bring out clearly the truths for which Lutherans must firmly stand if they would be true to God, true to His Word, true to their Church, true to themselves, and true to their traditions. A confession was needed which would draw exactly, clearly, and unmistakably the lines which separate Lutherans, not only from Romanists, but also from Zwinglians, Calvinists, Crypto-Calvinists, unionists, and the advocates of other errors and unsound tendencies. Being essentially the Church of the pure Word and Sacrament, the only way for the Lutheran Church to maintain her identity and independence was to settle her controversies, not by evading or compromising the doctrinal issues involved, but by honestly facing and definitely deciding them in accordance with her principles: the Word of God and the old confessions. Particularly with respect to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, Melanchthon, by constantly altering the *Augsburg Confession*, had muddied the water to such an extent that the adoption of the *Augustana* was no longer a clear test of Lutheran orthodoxy and loyalty. Even Calvin, and the German Reformed generally, subscribed to it; "in the sense," they said, "in which Melanchthon has explained it." The result was a corruption of Lutheranism and a pernicious Calvinistic propaganda in Lutheran territories. A new confession was the only means of ending the confusion and checking the invasion.

290. Formula Fully Met Requirements.

The *Formula of Concord* was just such a confession as the situation called for. The Preface to the *Apology of the Book of Con-*

cord, signed by Kirchner, Selneccer, and Chemnitz, remarks that the purpose of the *Formula* was "to establish and propagate unity in the Lutheran churches and schools, and to check the Sacramentarian leaven and other corruptions and sects." This purpose was fully attained by the *Formula*. It maintained and vindicated the old Lutheran symbols. It cleared our Church from all manner of foreign spirits which threatened to transform its very character. It settled the controversies by rendering a clear and correct decision on all doctrinal questions involved. It unified our Church when she was threatened with hopeless division, anarchy, and utter ruin. It surrounded her with a wall of fire against all her enemies. It made her a most uncomfortable place for such opponents of Lutheranism as Crypto-Calvinists, unionists, etc. It infused her with confidence, self-consciousness, conviction, a clear knowledge of her own position over against the errors of other churches and sects, and last, but not least, with a most remarkable vitality.

Wherever and whenever, in the course of time, the *Formula of Concord* was ignored, despised, or rejected, the Lutheran Church fell an easy prey to unionism and sectarianism; but wherever and whenever the *Formula* was held in high esteem, Lutheranism flourished, and its enemies were confounded. Says Schaff: "Outside of Germany the Lutheran Church is stunted in its normal growth, or undergoes, with the change of language and nationality, an ecclesiastical transformation. This is the case with the great majority of Anglicized and Americanized Lutherans, who adopt Reformed views on the Sacraments, the observance of Sunday, church discipline, and other points." But the fact is that, since Schaff wrote the above, the Lutheran Church developed and flourished nowhere as in America, owing chiefly to the return of American Lutherans to their confessions, including the *Formula of Concord*. The *Formula of Concord* fully supplied the dire need created by the controversies after Luther's death; and, despite many subsequent controversies, also in America, down to the present day, no further confessional deliverances have been necessary, and most likely such will not be needed in the future either.

The *Formula of Concord*, therefore, must ever be regarded as a great blessing of God. "But for the *Formula of Concord*," says Krauth, "it may be questioned whether Protestantism could have been saved to the world. It staunched the wounds at which Lutheranism was bleeding to death; and crises were at hand in history in which Lutheranism was essential to the salvation of the Reformatory interest in Europe. The Thirty Years' War, the war of martyrs, which saved our modern world, lay indeed in the future of another century, yet it was fought and settled in the Cloister of Bergen. But for the pen of the peaceful triumvirate, the sword of Gustavus had not been drawn. Intestine treachery and division in the Church of the Reformation would have done what the arts and arms of Rome failed to do. But the miracle of restoration was wrought. From being the most distracted Church on earth, the Lutheran Church had become the most stable. The blossom put forth at Augsburg, despite the storm, the mildew, and the worm, had ripened into the full round fruit of the amplest and clearest Confession in which the Christian Church has ever embodied her faith." (Schmauk, 830.)

291. Formula Attacked and Defended.

Drawing accurately and deeply, as it did, the lines of demarcation between Lutheranism, on the one hand, and Calvinism, Philippism, etc., on the other, and thus also putting an end to the Calvinistic propaganda successfully carried on for decades within the Lutheran Church, the *Formula of Concord* was bound to become a rock of offense and to meet with opposition on the part of all enemies of genuine Lutheranism within as well as without the Lutheran Church. Both Romanists and Calvinists had long ago accustomed themselves to viewing the Lutheran Church as moribund and merely to be preyed upon by others. Accordingly, when, contrary to all expectations, our Church, united by the *Formula*, rose once more to her pristine power and glory, it roused the envy and inflamed the ire and rage of her enemies. Numerous protests against the *Formula*, emanating chiefly from Reformed and Crypto-Calvinistic sources, were lodged with Elector August and other Lutheran princes. Even Queen Elizabeth of England sent a deputation urging the Elector not to allow the promulgation of the new confession. John Casimir of the Palatinate, also at the instigation of the English queen, endeavored to organize the Reformed in order to prevent its adoption. Also later on the Calvinists insisted that a general council (of course, participated in by Calvinists and Crypto-Calvinists) should have been held to decide on its formal and final adoption!

Numerous attacks on the *Formula of Concord* were published 1578, 1579, 1581, and later, some of them anonymously. They were directed chiefly against its doctrine of the real presence in the Lord's Supper, the majesty of the human nature of Christ, and eternal election, particularly its refusal to solve, either in a synergistic or in a Calvinistic manner, the mystery presented to human reason in the teaching of the Bible that God alone is the cause of man's salvation, while man alone is the cause of his damnation. In a letter to Beza, Ursinus, the chief author of the Heidelberg Catechism, shrewdly advised the Reformed to continue accepting the *Augsburg Confession*, but to agitate against the *Formula*. He himself led the Reformed attacks by publishing, 1581, "*Admonitio Christiana de Libro Concordiae*, Christian Admonition Concerning the Book of Concord," also called "*Admonitio Neostadiensis*, Neustadt Admonition." Its charges were refuted in the "Apology or Defense of the Christian Book of Concord — *Apologia oder Verantwortung des christlichen Konkordienbuchs*, in welcher die

wahre christliche Lehre, so im Konkordienbuch verfasst, mit gutem Grunde heiliger, goettlicher Schrift verteidiget, die Verkehrung aber und Kalumnien, so von unruhigen Leuten wider gedachtes christliche Buch ausgesprenget, widerlegt worden," 1583 (1582). Having been prepared by command of the Lutheran electors, and composed by Kirchner, Selneccer, and Chemnitz, and before its publication also submitted to other theologians for their approval, this guardedly written *Apology*, also called the Erfurt Book, gained considerable authority and influence.

The Preface of this Erfurt Book enumerates, besides the Christian Admonition of Ursinus and the Neustadt theologians, the following writings published against the *Formula of Concord:* 1. *Opinion and Apology* (*Bedencken und Apologie*) of Some Anhalt Theologians; 2. *Defense* (*Verantwortung*) of the Bremen Preachers; Christian Irenaeus on Original Sin; *Nova Novorum* ("ein famos Libell"); other libelli, satyrae et pasquilli; *Calumniae et Scurrilia Convitia of Brother Nass* (*Bruder Nass*); and the history of the *Augsburg Confession* by Ambrosius Wolf, in which the author asserts that from the beginning the doctrine of Zwingli and Calvin predominated in all Protestant churches. The theologians of Neustadt, Bremen, and Anhalt replied to the Erfurt Apology; which, in turn, called forth counter-replies from the Lutherans. Beza wrote: *Refutation of the Dogma Concerning the Fictitious Omnipresence of the Flesh of Christ.* In 1607 Hospinian published his *Concordia Discors*," to which Hutter replied in his *Concordia Concors.* The papal detractors of the *Formula* were led by the Jesuit Cardinal Bellarmin, who in 1589 published his *Judgment of the Book of Concord.*

292. Modern Strictures on Formula of Concord.

Down to the present day the *Formula of Concord* has been assailed particularly by unionistic and Reformed opponents of true Lutheranism. Schaff criticizes: "Religion was confounded with theology, piety with orthodoxy, and orthodoxy with an exclusive confessionalism." (1, 259.) However, the subjects treated in the *Formula* are the most vital doctrines of the Christian religion: concerning sin and grace, the person and work of Christ, justification and faith, the means of grace, — truths without which neither Christian theology nor Christian religion can remain. "Here, then," says Schmauk, "is the one symbol of the ages which treats almost exclusively of Christ — of His work, His presence, His person. Here is the Christ-symbol of the Lutheran Church. One might almost say that the *Formula of Concord* is a developed witness of Luther's explanation of the Second and Third Articles of the Apostles' Creed, meeting the modern errors of Protestantism, those cropping up from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, in a really modern way." (751.) Tschackert also designates the assertion that the authors of the *Formula of Concord* "abandoned Luther's idea of faith and established a dead scholasticism" as an unjust charge. (478.) Indeed, it may be questioned whether the doctrine of grace, the real heart of Christianity, would have been saved to the Church without the *Formula.*

R. Seeberg speaks of the "ossification of Lutheran theology" caused by the *Formula of Concord,* and Tschackert charges it with transforming the Gospel into a "doctrine." (571.) But what else is the Gospel of Christ than the divine doctrine or statement and proclamation of the truth that we are saved, not by our own works, but by grace and faith alone, for the sake of Christ and His merits? The *Formula of Concord* truly says: *"The Gospel is properly a doctrine which teaches what man should believe,* that he may obtain forgiveness of sins with God, namely, that the Son of God, our Lord Christ, has taken upon Himself and borne the curse of the Law, has expiated and paid for all our sins, through whom alone we again enter into favor with God, obtain forgiveness of sins by faith, are delivered from death and all the punishments of sins, and eternally saved." (959, 20.) Says Schmauk: "The *Formula of Concord* was . . . the very substance of the Gospel and of the *Augsburg Confession,* kneaded through the experience of the first generation of Protestantism, by incessant and agonizing conflict, and coming forth from that experience as a true and tried teaching, a standard recognized by many." (821.) The *Formula of Concord* is truly Scriptural, not only because all its doctrines are derived from the Bible, but also because the burden of the Scriptures, the doctrine of justification, is the burden also of all its expositions, the living breath, as it were, pervading all its articles.

Another modern objection to the *Formula* is that it binds the future generations to the *Book of Concord.* This charge is correct, for the *Formula* expressly states that its decisions are to be "a public, definite testimony, not only for those now living, but also for our posterity, what is and should remain (*sei und bleiben solle — esseque perpetuo debeat*) the unanimous understanding and judgment of our churches in reference to the articles in controversy." (857, 16.) However, the criticism implied in the charge is unwarranted. For the Lutheran Confessions, as promoters, authors, and signers of the *Formula* were fully persuaded, are in perfect agreement with the eternal and unchangeable Word of God. As to their contents, therefore, they must always remain the confession of every Church which really is and would remain loyal to the Word of God.

293. Formula Unrefuted.

From the day of its birth down to the present time the *Formula of Concord* has always been in the limelight of theological discussion. But what its framers said in praise of the *Augsburg Confession, viz.,* that, in spite of numerous enemies, it had remained unrefuted, may be applied also to the *For-*

mula: it stood the test of centuries and emerged unscathed from the fire of every controversy. It is true to-day what Thomasius wrote 1848 with special reference to the *Formula:* "Numerous as they may be who at present revile our Confession, not one has ever appeared who has refuted its chief propositions from the Bible." (*Bekenntnis der ev.-luth. Kirche,* 227.)

Nor *can* the *Formula* ever be refuted, for its doctrinal contents are unadulterated truths of the infallible Word of God. It confesses the doctrine which Christians everywhere will finally admit as true and divine, indeed, which they all in their hearts believe even now, if not explicitly and consciously, at least implicitly and in principle. The doctrines of the *Formula* are the ecumenical truths of Christendom; for true Lutheranism is nothing but consistent Christianity. The *Formula,* says Krauth, is "the completest and clearest confession in which the Christian Church has ever embodied her faith." Such being the case, the *Formula of Concord* must be regarded also as the key to a godly peace and true unity of entire Christendom.

The authors of the *Formula* solemnly declare: "We entertain heartfelt pleasure and love for, and are on our part sincerely inclined and anxious to advance with our utmost power that unity [and peace] by which His glory remains to God uninjured, nothing of the divine truth of the Holy Gospel is surrendered, no room is given to the least error, poor sinners are brought to true, genuine repentance, raised up by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved alone through the sole merit of Christ." (1095, 96.) Such was the godly peace and true Christian unity restored by the *Formula of Concord* to the Lutheran Church. And what it did for *her* it is able also to do for the Church at large. Being in complete agreement with Scripture, it is well qualified to become the regeneration center of the entire present-day corrupted, disrupted, and demoralized Christendom.

Accordingly Lutherans, the natural advocates of a truly wholesome and God-pleasing union based on unity in divine truth, will not only themselves hold fast what they possess in their glorious Confession, but strive to impart its blessings also to others, all the while praying incessantly, fervently, and trustingly with the pious framers of the *Formula:* "May Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus grant the grace of His Holy Ghost that *we all* may be one in Him, and constantly abide in this Christian unity, which is well pleasing to Him! Amen." (837, 23.)

SOLI DEO GLORIA!

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A Thorough Explanation of Certain Articles,

which after Dr. Martin Luther's happy departure from
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zu dem

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Electorum, Principum et Ordinum

Imperii

Augustanae Confessioni Addictorum.

PREFACE

to the

Christian Book of Concord.

Allen und jeden, denen dieses unser Schreiben zu lesen vorkommt, entbieten wir, die hernachbenannten der Augsburgischen Konfession zugetanen Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände im heiligen Reich deutscher Nation, nach Erforderung eines jeden Standes und Würden, unsere gebührlichen Dienste, Freundschaft, gnädigen Gruß und geneigten Willen, auch untertänigste, untertänige und willige Dienste und hiemit zu wissen:

Nachdem Gott der Allmächtige zu diesen letzten Zeiten der vergänglichen Welt aus unermeßlicher Liebe, Gnade und Barmherzigkeit dem menschlichen Geschlecht das Licht seines heiligen Evangelii und alleinseligmachenden Wortes aus der abergläubischen päpstischen Finsternis deutscher Nation, unserm geliebten Vaterland, rein, lauter und unverfälscht erscheinen und vorleuchten lassen und darauf aus göttlicher, prophetischer, apostolischer Schrift ein kurz Bekenntnis zusammengefaßt, so auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg Anno 1530 weiland Kaiser Carolo dem Fünften, hochlöblichster Gedächtnis, von unsern gottseligen und christlichen Vorfahren in deutscher und lateinischer Sprache übergeben, vor allen Ständen des Reichs dargetan und öffentlich durch die ganze Christenheit in der weiten Welt ausgebreitet worden und erschollen ist:

Als [so] haben sich folgends zu solchem Bekenntnis viele Kirchen und Schulen als dieser Zeit zum Symbolo ihres Glaubens in den vornehmsten streitigen Artikeln wider das Papsttum und allerlei Rotten bekannt und darauf in christlichem, einmütigem Verstand und ohne einigen Streit und Zweifel sich gezogen, berufen und die darin begriffene und in göttlicher Schrift wohlgegründete, auch in den bewährten alten Symbola kurz verfaßte Lehre für den einigen alten und von der allgemeinen rechtlehrenden Kirche Christi geglaubten, wider viele Ketzereien und Irrtümer erstrittenen und wiederholten Konsens erkannt, fest und beständig gehalten.

Was aber bald auf den christlichen Abschied des hocherleuchteten und gottseligen Mannes D. Martin Luthers in unserm geliebten Vaterland deutscher Nation für ganz gefährliche Läufte und beschwerliche Unruhen erfolgt, und wie bei solchem sorglichen Zustand und Zerrüttung des wohlgefaßten Regiments der Feind des menschlichen Geschlechts sich bemüht, seinen Samen, falsche Lehre und Uneinigkeit, auszusprengen, in Kirchen und Schulen schädliche und ärgerliche Spaltung zu erregen, damit die reine Lehre Gottes Worts zu verfälschen, das Band der christlichen Liebe und Einmütigkeit zu trennen und den Lauf des heiligen Evangelii hiedurch merklich zu verhindern und aufzuhalten, und welcher Gestalt daher die Widersacher der göttlichen Wahrheit Ursache genommen, uns und unsere Schulen und Kirchen übel auszurufen, ihre Irrtümer zu be-

Omnibus et singulis has nostras lecturis nos, qui iisdem nomina nostra subscripsimus, Augustanae Confessioni addicti Electores, Principes et Sacri Romani Imperii in Germania Ordines pro dignitate et gradu cuiusque nostra studia, amicitiam ac salutem cum officio coniunctam deferimus et nuntiamus:

Ingens Dei Opt. Max. beneficium est, quod postremis temporibus et in hac mundi senecta pro ineffabili amore, clementia ac misericordia sua humano generi lucem evangelii et verbi sui (per quod solum veram salutem accipimus), post tenebras illas papisticarum superstitionum in Germania, carissima patria nostra, puram et sinceram exoriri et praelucere voluit. Et eam sane ob causam brevis et succincta confessio ex verbo Dei et sacrosanctis prophetarum et apostolorum scriptis collecta est, quae etiam in Comitiis Augustanis anno 1530 Imperatori Carolo Quinto, excellentis memoriae, a pientissimis maioribus nostris Germanico et Latino idiomate oblata et Ordinibus Imperii proposita, denique publice ad omnes homines christianam doctrinam profitentes adeoque in totum terrarum orbem sparsa ubique percrebuit, et in ore et sermone omnium esse coepit.

Hanc deinceps confessionem multae ecclesiae et academiae ut symbolum quoddam horum temporum in praecipuis fidei articulis praesertim controversis illis contra Romanenses et varias corruptelas doctrinae coelestis complexae sunt et defenderunt, et perpetuo consensu ad eam absque omni controversia et dubitatione provocaverunt. Doctrinam etiam in illa comprehensam, quam scirent et solidis Scripturae testimoniis suffultam et a veteribus receptisque symbolis approbatam, unicum et perpetuum illum vere sentientis ecclesiae ac contra multiplices haereses et errores olim defensum, nunc autem repetitum consensum esse, constanter iudicaverunt.

At vero ignotum nemini esse potest, statim posteaquam summa pietate praeditus et praestantissimus heros D. Martinus Lutherus rebus eximeretur humanis, dulcem patriam nostram Germaniam periculosissima tempora et rerum perturbationes gravissimas excepisse. In quibus sane difficultatibus et reipublicae ante florentis optimeque constitutae misera distractione hostis ille mortalium astute laboravit, ut semina falsae doctrinae et dissensiones in ecclesiis et scholis spargeret, dissidia cum offendiculo coniuncta excitaret, atque his suis artibus puritatem doctrinae coelestis corrumperet, vinculum caritatis christianae et pium consensum solveret, sacrosancti evangelii cursum maiorem in modum impediret et retardaret. Notum etiam universis est, qua ratione hostes veritatis coelestis inde occasio-

To the Readers, one and all, of these Writings of ours, we, the Electors, Princes, and Deputies of the Holy Roman Empire in Germany, adherents of the Augsburg Confession, who have subscribed our names to the same, announce and declare, according to the dignity and rank of each one, our devotion, friendship, and greeting, combined with willing service.

It is a remarkable favor of Almighty God that in these last times and in this old age of the world He has willed, according to His unspeakable love, forbearance, and mercy, that after the darkness of papistical superstitions the light of His Gospel and Word, through which alone we receive true salvation, should arise and shine clearly and purely in Germany, our most beloved fatherland. And on this account, indeed, a brief and succinct confession was prepared from the Word of God, and the most holy writings of the Prophets and Apostles, and at the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1530, was offered, by our most godly ancestors, in the German and Latin languages, to the Emperor Charles V, of excellent memory, and laid before [all] the deputies of the Empire, and finally, being circulated publicly among all men professing Christian doctrine, and thus in the entire world, was diffused everywhere, and began to be current in the mouths and speech of all.

Afterwards many churches and schools embraced and defended this Confession as a symbol of the present time in regard to the chief articles of faith, especially those involved in controversy with the Romanists and various corruptions of the heavenly doctrine [sects], and with perpetual agreement have appealed to it without any controversy and doubt. The doctrine comprised in it, which they knew both to be supported by firm testimonies of Scripture, and to be approved by the ancient and accepted symbols, they have also constantly judged to be the only and perpetual consensus of the truly believing Church, which was formerly defended against manifold heresies and errors, and is now repeated.

But it can be unknown to no one that, immediately after Dr. Martin Luther, that most distinguished hero, endowed with most eminent piety, was removed from human affairs, Germany, our dear fatherland, experienced most perilous times and most severe agitations. In these difficulties, and in the sad distraction of a government before flourishing and well regulated, the enemy of mortals cunningly labored to scatter in the churches and schools the seeds of false doctrine and dissensions, to excite divisions combined with offense, and by these arts of his to corrupt the purity of the heavenly doctrine, to sever the bond of Christian love and godly agreement, and to hinder and retard to a greater degree the course of the most holy Gospel. It is also known to all in what manner the enemies of the heavenly doctrine seized this opportunity to disparage our churches and

mänteln und die armen verirrten Gewissen von der Erkenntnis der reinen evangelischen Lehre abzuwenden und desto williger unter dem päpstischen Joch und Zwang, wie auch unter andern wider Gottes Wort streitigen Irrtümern zu halten: solches ist zwar männiglich bewußt, offenbar und unverborgen.

Wiewohl wir nun nichts Lieberes gesehen und von dem Allmächtigen gewünscht und gebeten, denn daß unsere Kirchen und Schulen in der Lehre Gottes Worts, auch lieblicher, christlicher Einigkeit erhalten und wie bei Lebzeiten D. Luthers nach Anleitung Gottes Worts christlich und wohl angestellt und fortgepflanzt werden möchten: so ist doch gleicher Gestalt wie noch bei der heiligen Apostel Leben in den Kirchen, darinnen sie das reine, lautere Wort Gottes selbst gepflanzt, durch falsche Lehrer verkehrte Lehre eingeschoben worden, also auch über unsere Kirchen um unserer und der undankbaren Welt Unbußfertigkeit und Sünde willen verhängt worden.

Derwegen wir denn uns unsers von Gott befohlenen und tragenden Amts erinnert und nicht unterlassen haben, unsern Fleiß dahin anzuwenden, damit in unsern Landen und Gebieten denselben darin eingeführten und je länger, je mehr einschleichenden falschen, verführerischen Lehren gesteuert, und unsere Untertanen auf rechter Bahn der einmal erkannten und bekannten göttlichen Wahrheit erhalten und nicht davon abgeführt werden möchten. Inmaßen denn unsere löblichen Vorfahren und zum Teil wir auch derwegen uns zu dem Ende miteinander zu Frankfurt am Main des 1558. Jahres bei der damals vorgestandenen Gelegenheit des gehaltenen Kurfürstentages eines Abschieds und dahin verglichen, daß wir in einer gemeinen Versammlung zuhauf gekommen und von etlichen Sachen, die von unsern Widerwärtigen uns und unsern Kirchen und Schulen zum ärgsten gedeutet worden, notdürftig und freundlich uns unterreden wollten.

Darauf dann folgends unsere seligen Vorfahren und zum Teil wir uns gegen der Naumburg in Thüringen zusammengetan, mehrgedachte Augsburgische Konfession, so Kaiser Karl dem Fünften in der großen Reichsversammlung zu Augsburg Anno 1530 überantwortet, an die Hand genommen und solch christlich Bekenntnis, so auf das Zeugnis der unwandelbaren Wahrheit göttliches Worts gegründet, damit künftiglich auch unsere Nachkommen vor unreiner, falscher und dem Wort Gottes widerwärtiger Lehre, soviel an uns, zu warnen und zu verwahren, abermals einhelliglich unterschrieben und solchergestalt gegen der röm. kais. Majestät, unserm allergnädigsten Herrn, und sonst männiglich bezeugt und dargetan, daß unser Gemüt und Meinung gar nicht wäre, einige andere oder neue Lehre anzunehmen, zu verteidigen oder auszubreiten, sondern bei der zu Augsburg Anno 1530 einmal erkannten und bekannten Wahrheit vermittelst göttlicher Verleihung beständig zu verharren und zu bleiben, der Zuversicht und Hoffnung, es sollten nicht allein dadurch die Widersacher der reinen

nem arripuerint, ut ecclesiis et academiis nostris detraherent, suis erroribus integumenta invenirent, pavidas errantesque conscientias a puritate doctrinae evangelicae abstraherent, ut illis in ferendo et tolerando iugo servitutis pontificiae et amplectendis reliquis etiam corruptelis cum verbo Dei pugnantibus obsequentioribus uterentur.

Nobis profecto nihil vel gratius accidere poterat, vel quod maiore animorum contentione et precibus a Deo Opt. Max. petendum iudicaremus, quam ut nostrae et ecclesiae et scholae in sincera doctrina verbi Dei ac exoptata illa et pia animorum consensione perseverassent et, quod Luthero adhuc superstite fiebat, pie et praeclare secundum regulam verbi Dei institutae et propagatae ad posteritatem fuissent. Animadvertimus autem, quemadmodum temporibus Apostolorum in eas ecclesias, in quibus ipsi evangelium Christi plantaverant, per falsos fratres corruptelae introductae fuerunt, ita propter nostra peccata et horum temporum dissolutionem tale quid irato Deo contra nostras quoque ecclesias permissum.

Quare nostri officii, quod divinitus nobis iniunctum esse novimus, memores in eam curam diligenter nobis incumbendum existimamus, ut in provinciis et ditionibus nostris falsis dogmatibus, quae ibi sparsa sunt et subinde magis magisque sese quasi in consuetudinem et familiaritatem hominum insinuant, occurratur et imperio nostro subiecti in recta pietatis via et agnita et hactenus constanter retenta defensaque veritate doctrinae coelestis perseverent, nec ab ea se abduci patiantur. Qua sane in re partim antecessores nostri laudatissimi, partim nos elaborare studuimus, quum anno Christi 1558 Francofurti ad Moenum oblata comitiorum, quae tum ab Electoribus habebantur, occasione communibus votis in eam sententiam itum est, peculiarem et communem conventum habendum esse, in quo de iis rebus, quae ab adversariis ecclesiis et academiis nostris odiose per calumniam obiicerentur, solide et familiariter tamen inter nos ageretur.

Et quidem post deliberationes illas antecessores nostri, piae excellentisque memoriae, et partim etiam nos Numburgi in Thuringia congressi sumus. Et tum Augustanam Confessionem, cuius iam aliquoties meminimus, Imperatori Carolo Quinto in frequentioribus illis imperii comitiis Augustae anno 1530 habitis oblatam in manus sumsimus, et piae illi confessioni, quae solidis testimoniis immotae ac in verbo Dei expressae veritatis superstructa est, tum una mente omnes subscripsimus. Videlicet ut ea ratione posteritati consuleremus et, quantum quidem in nobis erat, auctores et monitores essemus ad vitanda falsa dogmata, quae cum verbo Dei pugnarent. Idque eo consilio fecimus, ut et apud Caesaream Maiestatem, Dominum nostrum clementissimum, deinde in universum apud omnes testificatio sempiterna exstaret, nunquam in animum nos induxisse, novum aliquod et peregrinum dogma vel defendere vel spargere velle, sed cupere, eam veritatem, quam Augustae anno 1530 professi sumus,

schools, to find covering for their errors, to draw alarmed and erring consciences away from the purity of the Gospel-doctrine, in order to render them more compliant in bearing and tolerating the yoke of the papal slavery, and in embracing also other corruptions conflicting with God's Word.

To us, indeed, nothing could happen, either more agreeable, or which, we would judge, should be sought for more earnestly and prayerfully from Almighty God, than that both our churches and our schools should have persevered in the pure doctrine of God's Word and in that longed-for and godly unanimity of mind, and, as was the case while Luther was still alive, that they should have been regulated according to the rule of the divine Word, and handed down to posterity in a godly and excellent way. We notice, however, that, just as in the times of the Apostles, into those churches in which they themselves had planted the Gospel of Christ corruptions were introduced by false brethren, so, on account of our sins and the looseness of these times, this has been allowed by an angry God against our churches also.

Wherefore, mindful of our duty, which, we know, has been divinely enjoined upon us, we think that we ought diligently to apply ourselves to the labor of attacking in our provinces and realms the false teachings which have been disseminated there, and are gradually insinuating themselves, as it were, into the intimate acquaintance and familiarity of men, and that we should see to it that the subjects in our government may persevere in the straight way of godliness and in the truth of the heavenly doctrine, acknowledged and thus far retained and defended, and not be suffered to be led away from it. In this matter, indeed, partly our most worthy predecessors, partly we ourselves, were eagerly at work, when, in the year of Christ 1558, on the occasion of the Diet which was then being held by the Electors at Frankfort on the Main, the resolution was adopted by a unanimous vote that a special, general assembly should be held, where in a thorough, but nevertheless amicable manner there might be a conference among us concerning such matters as are maliciously charged, by our adversaries, against [us and] our churches and schools.

And, indeed, after these deliberations our predecessors, of godly and excellent memory, together with some of us, assembled at Naumburg in Thuringia. On that occasion we took in hand the Augsburg Confession, offered to the Emperor Charles V in the great assembly of the Empire at Augsburg in the year 1530, and mentioned by us several times previously, and to that godly confession, built upon solid testimonies of the truth, which cannot be shaken, and is expressed in the Word of God, we all subscribed with one mind. In this way, of course, we meant to provide for the interests of posterity, and to enable and urge them, as far as we could, to avoid false doctrines conflicting with God's Word. This we did also with the design that, both with his Imperial Majesty, our most clement lord, and also universally among all, there might be a permanent testimony that it has never been our intention to wish to defend or spread any new and strange dogma, but that we desired, God aiding us, to constantly support and retain the truth which we professed at Augs-

evangelischen Lehre von ihrem erdichteten Lästern und Verunglimpfung wider uns abgestanden und andere gutherzige Leute durch solches unser wiederholtes und repetiertes Bekenntnis erinnert und angereizt worden sein, mit desto mehr Ernst der Wahrheit des alleinseligmachenden göttlichen Worts nachzuforschen, beizupflichten und zu ihrer Seelen Heil und ewigen Wohlfahrt dabei ohne einige fernere Disputation und Gezänk christlich zu bleiben und zu verharren.

Wir haben aber, dessen allen ungeachtet, nicht ohne Beschwerung erfahren müssen, daß diese unsere Erklärung und Wiederholung unsers vorigen christlichen Bekenntnisses bei den Widersachern wenig geachtet, noch hierdurch wir oder unsere Kirchen der ausgesprengten beschwerlichen Nachreden erledigt, sondern von den andern, unsern und unserer christlichen Religion widerwärtigen und irrigen Opinionsverwandten, auch solche wohlmeinende Handlung nachmals dahin verstanden und gedeutet worden, als sollten wir unsers Glaubens und Religionsbekenntnisses so ungewiß sein und dasselbe so viel und oft verändert haben, daß weder wir noch unsere Theologen wissen mögen, welches die rechte und einmal übergebene Augsburgische Konfession sei; durch welch ungegründet Vorgeben viel fromme Herzen von unsern Kirchen und Schulen, Lehre, Glauben und Bekenntnis abgeschreckt und abgehalten worden. Dazu auch dieser Unrat gekommen, daß unter dem Namen vielgedachter Augsburgischer Konfession die widerwärtige Lehre vom heiligen Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi und andere irrige Opinionen hin und wieder in Kirchen und Schulen eingeschoben worden.

Wann denn solches etliche gottesfürchtige, friedliebende und gelehrte Theologen vermerkt und wohl gesehen, daß diesen falschen Verleumdungen und den täglich weiter einreißenden Religionsstreiten besser nicht zu begegnen, denn so die eingefallenen Spaltungen von allen streitigen Artikeln gründlich und eigentlich aus Gottes Wort erklärt, entschieden und falsche Lehre ausgesetzt und verworfen, die göttliche Wahrheit aber lauter bekannt, dadurch den Widersachern mit beständigem Grunde der Mund gestopft und den einfältigen frommen Herzen richtige Erklärung und Anleitung vorgestellt würde, wie sie sich in solchen Zwiespalt schicken und künftiglich durch Gottes Gnade vor falscher Lehre bewahrt werden möchten:

So haben obgedachte Theologen sich anfänglich durch ausführliche Schriften aus Gottes Wort gegeneinander deutlich und richtig erklärt, welchergestalt mehrgedachte ärgerliche Spaltungen ohne Verrückung der göttlichen Wahrheit beigelegt und aufgehoben und dadurch den Widersachern aller gesuchte Schein und Ursache zu lästern abgestrickt und benommen werden könnte, endlich auch die streitigen Artikel vor die Hand genommen, in Gottesfurcht betrachtet, erwogen, erklärt und, wie die eingefallenen Spaltungen christlich zu entscheiden, in eine Schrift verfaßt.

Deo nos iuvante, constanter tueri ac retinere. Fuimus etiam in spem non dubiam adducti, fore, ut ea ratione non solum ii, qui puriori doctrinae evangelicae adversantur, a conflictis criminationibus et accusationibus abstinerent, sed alii etiam boni et cordati homines hac nostra iterata et repetita confessione invitarentur, ut maiori studio et cura veritatem coelestis doctrinae (quae sola nobis ad salutem ductrix est) quaererent et investigarent, et in ea, saluti animae ac aeternae felicitati suae consulturi, repudiatis in posterum omnibus controversiis et disceptationibus acquiescerent.

Sed non absque animi perturbatione certiores facti sumus, hanc nostram declarationem ac repetitionem illam piae confessionis apud adversarios parum admodum ponderis habuisse, nec nos et ecclesias nostras calumniis praeiudiciorum, quae contra nos illi in vulgus sane gravissima sparserant, liberatas. Esse etiam ab adversariis verae religionis ea, quae nos optimo animo et consilio fecimus, in eam partem accepta, perinde ac si ita incerti de religione nostra essemus eamque toties in alias atque alias formulas transfuderimus, ut nec nobis nec theologis nostris constaret, quae illa olim Augustae Imperatori oblata confessio esset. Haec adversariorum commenta multos bonos ab ecclesiis, scholis, doctrina, fide et confessione nostra absterruerunt et abalienaverunt. Ad haec incommoda id etiam accessit, quod sub praetextu Augustanae Confessionis dogma illud pugnans cum institutione sacrae coenae corporis et sanguinis Christi, et aliae etiam corruptelae passim et in ecclesias et in scholas introducerentur

Quae omnia quum nonnulli pii, pacis et concordiae amantes, praeterea etiam docti theologi animadvertissent, iudicarunt, calumniis illis et subinde magis magisque crescentibus dissidiis in religione rectius occurri non posse, quam si controversi articuli ex verbo Dei solide accurateque declararentur et explicarentur, falsa dogmata reiicerentur et damnarentur, contra autem divinitus tradita veritas diserte et luculenter proponeretur; ut qui sibi persuaderent, hac ratione et adversariis silentium imponi, et simplicioribus et piis viam ac rationem certam demonstrari posse, quomodo porro in his se dissidiis gerere et in posterum etiam, divina adiuti gratia, corruptelas doctrinae vitare possent.

Principio igitur theologi scripta quaedam hac de re, eaque satis prolixa et ex verbo Dei desumta inter se communicarunt, quibus diserte et dextre ostenderunt, quomodo controversiae illae cum offensione ecclesiarum coniunctae absque ulla veritatis evangelicae iactura sopiri et tolli e medio possent; ita enim futurum, ut adversariis occasiones et praetextus ad calumniam quaesiti praeciderentur et eriperentur. Postremo articulos controversos, in manus sumtos, accurate et religiose perpenderunt et declararunt, adeoque scripto quodam peculiari complexi sunt, qua via ac ratione dissidia illa exorta recte et pie componi possent.

burg in the year 1530. We were also led to entertain a not uncertain hope that in this way not only those who oppose the pure evangelical doctrine would abstain from fabricated charges and accusations, but also other good and well-disposed men would be attracted by this renewed and repeated confession of ours, and, with greater zeal and care, would seek and investigate the truth of the heavenly doctrine, which alone is our guide to salvation, and, out of regard for the salvation of the soul and their eternal happiness, would assent to it, all further controversies and disputations being rejected.

But, not without agitation of mind, we were informed that this declaration of ours and that repetition of a godly confession had too little weight with our adversaries, and that neither we nor our churches were delivered from the most grievous slanders, arising from prejudice, which they had circulated against us among the people; also, that those things which we have done, with the best intention and purpose, have been received by the adversaries of the true religion in such a way as though we were so uncertain concerning our [confession of faith and] religion, and so often had transfused it from one formula to another that it was no longer clear to us or our theologians what is the Confession once offered to the Emperor at Augsburg. These fictions of the adversaries have deterred and alienated many good men from our churches, schools, doctrine, faith, and confession. To these disadvantages there is also added that, under the pretext of the Augsburg Confession, the teaching conflicting with the institution of the Holy Supper of the body and blood of Christ and also other corruptions were introduced here and there into the churches and schools.

When some godly men, lovers of peace and harmony, besides also learned theologians, had noticed all these things, they judged that these slanders and the dissensions in religion which were constantly increasing more and more, could not be better met than if the controverted articles would be thoroughly and accurately set forth and explained from the Word of God, the false teachings would be rejected and condemned, and, on the other hand, the truth divinely delivered be clearly and lucidly presented; because they were convinced that by this method both silence could be imposed upon the adversaries, and the more simple and godly be shown a sure way and plan as to how they should act in these dissensions, and, aided by divine grace, could also in the future avoid corruptions of doctrine.

In the beginning, therefore, the theologians communicated to one another certain writings concerning this subject, sufficiently comprehensive, and derived from the Word of God, in which they showed clearly and skilfully how these controversies, which were not without offense to the churches, could be put to rest and removed from sight without any loss to the truth of the Gospel; for the result would be that the opportunities and pretexts sought for slander would be cut off and removed from the adversaries. Finally they took up and accurately and in the fear of God pondered and explained the controverted articles, and accordingly in a special writing stated comprehensively in what way and by what method the dissensions which had arisen could be settled in a right and godly manner.

Und als uns zum Teil von solchem christlichen Werk Bericht eingekommen, haben wir darob nicht allein ein gutes Gefallen gehabt, sondern dasselbe auch mit christlichem Ernst und Eifer zu befördern uns von wegen unsers tragenden und von Gott befohlenen Amtes schuldig geachtet.

Und demnach Wir, der Kurfürst zu Sachsen usw., mit Rat und Zutun etlicher unserer religionsverwandten Kur- und Fürsten zu Beförderung der christlichen Lehrer Einigkeit etliche vornehme, unverdächtige, wohlerfahrene und gelehrte Theologen gen Torgau der wenigern Zahl im sechsundsiebzigsten Jahr zusammenberufen, welche sich miteinander von den streitigen Artikeln und der jetzt angezogenen, derhalben gefaßten schriftlichen Vergleichung christlich unterredet und mit Anrufung Gottes des Allmächtigen zu seinem Lob und Ehre endlich mit gutem Bedacht und sorgfältigem Fleiß durch besondere Gnade des Heiligen Geistes alles, so hierzu gehörig und notwendig, in gute Ordnung zusammengefaßt und in ein Buch gebracht haben, welches hernach etlichen vielen der Augsburgischen Konfession verwandten Kurfürsten und Ständen zugesandt und begehrt worden, daß ihre Liebden und sie dasselbe durch ihre vornehmsten Theologen mit besonderem Ernst und christlichem Eifer durchlesen, hin und her erwägen, darauf ihre Erklärungen und censuras in Schriften verfassen lassen und uns darüber allenthalben ihr ratsames Bedenken ohne Scheu zu erkennen geben wollten.

Nachdem nun solche erholte iudicia und Bedenken eingebracht und in denselben allerhand christliche, notwendige und nützliche Erinnerungen geschehen, welchergestalt die in der überschickten Erklärung begriffene christliche Lehre wider allerlei gefährlichen Mißverstand mit Gottes Wort verwahrt werden könnte, damit unter derselben künftiglich nicht unreine Lehre versteckt, sondern eine lautere Erklärung der Wahrheit auch auf unsere Nachkommen gebracht werden möchte: als [so] ist daraus letztlich obberührtes Buch der christlichen Konkordie, wie hernach folgt, verfertigt worden.

Darauf unter uns etliche, dieweil es bei uns allen aus sonderbaren verhinderlichen Ursachen wie auch bei etlichen andern mehr Ständen noch zurzeit nicht [hat] vorgenommen werden mögen, dasselbe ferner allen und jeden unserer Lande und Gebiete Theologen, Kirchen- und Schuldienern von Artikel zu Artikel vorlesen und sie zu fleißiger und ernstlicher Betrachtung der darinnen begriffenen Lehre [haben] erinnern und ermahnen lassen.

Und nachdem sie die Erklärung der eingefallenen Zwiespaltungen zuvörderst dem Worte Gottes und dann auch der Augsburgischen Konfession gemäß und gleichförmig befunden, als [so] haben sie, denen es obgehörtermaßen vorgelegt worden, mit erfreutem Gemüt und herzlicher Danksagung gegen Gott den Allmächtigen dies Konkordienbuch für den rechten christlichen Verstand der Augsburgischen Konfession freiwillig und mit wohlbedachtem Mut angenommen, approbiert, unterschrieben und solches mit Herzen, Mund und Hand

Nos autem de hoc pio theologorum proposito facti certiores, non modo id probavimus, sed magno etiam studio ac zelo pro ratione muneris et officii divinitus nobis commissi promovendum nobis esse iudicavimus.

Ac proinde nos Dei gratia, Dux Saxoniae, Elector etc., de consilio quorundam etiam aliorum Electorum et Principum in religione nobiscum consentientium, ad provehendum pium illud inter doctores ecclesiae concordiae institutum, eximios quosdam minimeque suspectos, exercitatos etiam et singulari eruditione praeditos theologos Torgam anno septuagesimo sexto evocavimus. Hi cum fuissent congressi, de articulis controversis et scripto pacificationis (cuius paulo ante meminimus) religiose inter se contulerunt. Et quidem primum precibus piis ad Deum Opt. Max. eiusque laudem et gloriam susceptis, cura deinde et diligentia singulari (iuvante eos Domini Spiritu gratia sua) omnia ea, quae ad hanc deliberationem pertinere et requiri videbantur, optimo convenientissimoque ordine scripto quodam complexi sunt. Is postea liber praecipuis nonnullis Augustanam Confessionem profitentibus Electoribus et Principibus ac Ordinibus transmissus est, et petitum, ut ipsi, adhibitis praestantissimis et doctissimis theologis, sollicita cura et pio zelo eum legerent, diligenter examinarent et suam de eo sententiam et censuram scriptis comprehenderent, et postremo de omnibus et singulis iudicium suum eiusque rationes nobis liberrime exponerent.

Has ergo censuras cum accepissemus, multas in iis pias et utiles commonefactiones invenimus, quomodo transmissa illa declaratio sincerae doctrinae Christianae contra corruptelas ac depravationes sacrarum literarum testimoniis muniri et confirmari posset, ne forte progressu temporis sub eius praetextu impia dogmata occultarentur, sed sincerae veritatis minime fucata declaratio ad posteritatem transmitteretur. Ex his ergo, quae optime meditata ad nos pervenerant, liber iste piae concordiae, de quo diximus, compositus et ea forma, qua subiicietur, absolutus est.

Deinceps ex nostro ordine quidam (neque enim nos omnes, ut et alii nonnulli, hoc tempore certas ob causas, quae obstabant, id facere poteramus) librum hunc omnibus et singulis nostrarum regionum et ditionum theologis, ecclesiae et scholarum ministris articulatim et distincte recitari, et ipsos ad diligentem accuratamque considerationem earum doctrinae partium, quae in illo continentur, excitari curavimus.

Cum ergo illi declarationem controversorum articulorum congruere imprimis quidem cum verbo Dei, deinde Augustana Confessione animadverterent, promtissimo animo et testificatione suae erga Deum gratitudinis hunc Concordiae librum, ut piam et genuinam sententiam Augustanae Confessionis exprimentem, ultro et quidem accurate meditatum et consideratum receperunt, approbarunt eique subscripserunt, et de eo corde, ore et manu palam testati sunt. Quare pia illa pacificatio

Having been informed of this godly purpose of the theologians, we have not only approved it, but have also judged that it ought to be promoted by us with great earnestness and zeal, in view of the office and duty divinely committed to us.

And accordingly, upon the counsel of some other Electors and Princes agreeing with us in religion, we, by the grace of God, Duke of Saxony, Elector, etc., summoned certain eminent and least suspected theologians, who were also experienced and endowed with preeminent learning, to Torgau in the year 1576, for the purpose of promoting the godly design of harmony among the teachers of the Church. When they had assembled, they conferred devoutly with one another concerning the controverted articles and the peace document which we have just mentioned. And indeed, after prayers had first been offered to Almighty God, and His praise and glory, they comprised, with extraordinary care and diligence, — the Spirit of the Lord aiding them by His grace, — all those things which seemed to pertain to, and to be required for, this deliberation in a very good and suitable document. Afterwards this book was transmitted to some chief adherents of the Augsburg Confession, Electors, Princes, and Deputies, with the request that they themselves, calling to their aid the most eminent and most learned theologians, should read it with anxious care and godly zeal, should diligently examine it, and commit their opinion and criticism upon it to writing, and, finally, express their judgment and the reasons therefore concerning the whole and each part.

Therefore, when we had received these criticisms, we found in them many godly and useful suggestions how the transmitted declaration of the pure Christian doctrine could be fortified and strengthened against corruptions and perversions by the testimonies of Holy Scripture, in order that in the course of time, under its guise, godless doctrines might not be concealed, but an altogether unvarnished declaration of the pure truth might be transmitted to posterity. Therefore, out of those things which had been considered best when they came to us, that book of godly concord of which we spoke was composed, and completed in the form in which it will be submitted.

Then some of our rank (for at that time not all of us, nor some others as well, were able to do this, on account of certain causes which were in the way), have caused this book to be recited article by article and distinctly to the theologians, and the ministers of the church and of the schools collectively and individually, and have caused them to be urged to a diligent and accurate consideration of those parts of the doctrine which are contained in it.

Accordingly, when they perceived that the explanation of the controverted articles, indeed, agreed especially with the Word of God, and then with the Augsburg Confession, they received this Book of Concord with a very ready mind and an expression of their gratitude towards God, as expressing the godly and genuine meaning of the Augsburg Confession, having voluntarily, and indeed accurately, pondered and considered it, and they approved it and subscribed to it, and publicly bore witness concerning it with heart, mouth, and hand. Wherefore that

öffentlich bezeugt. Derwegen denn auch dieselbe christliche Vergleichung nicht allein etlicher wenig unserer Theologen, sondern insgemein aller und jeder unserer Kirchen- und Schuldiener in unseren Landen und Gebieten einmütiges und einhelliges Bekenntnis heißt und ist.

Dieweil denn nun die vorgemeldeten unserer löblichen Vorfahren und unsere zu Frankfurt am Main und Naumburg aufgerichteten und wohlgemeinten Abschiede nicht allein das begehrte Ende der christlichen Einigkeit nicht erreicht, sondern dieselben auch von etlichen zur Bestätigung ihrer irrigen Lehre haben wollen angezogen werden, da doch in unser Gemüt und Herz nicht gekommen, daß wir durch dieselbigen einige neue, falsche oder irrige Lehre einführen, beschönen, bestätigen oder von der Anno 1530 übergebenen Augsburgischen Konfession im geringsten abweichen wollten, und wir, soviel unser bei oberwähnter Naumburgischer Handlung gewesen, uns damals vorbehalten und erboten haben, wenn unser Bekenntnis von jemand künftig angefochten, oder zu welcher Zeit es die Notdurft erfordern würde, daß wir derwegen fernere Ausführung tun wollten: so haben wir uns zu endlicher Erklärung unsers Gemüts nunmehr gedachten Buches der Konkordie und Wiederholung unsers christlichen Glaubens und Bekenntnisses christlich vereinigt und verglichen. Und damit sich durch unserer Widersacher ungegründete Verleumdung, als sollten wir selbst nicht wissen, welches die rechte Augsburgische Konfession wäre, niemand dürfte irremachen lassen, sondern die, so jetzt leben, sowohl als unsere lieben Nachkommen eigentlich und gründlich möchten berichtet werden und endliche Gewißheit haben, welches dieselbe christliche Konfession, dazu sich bis anher wir und die Kirchen und Schulen unserer Lande jederzeit bekannt und berufen, sei: haben wir in demselben nach dem reinen, unfehlbaren und unwandelbaren Wort Gottes uns einig und allein zu der Augsburgischen Konfession, so Kaiser Carolo dem Fünften Anno 1530 in der großen Reichsversammlung zu Augsburg übergeben, wie die in unserer seligen Vorfahren, welche dieselbige Kaiser Carolo dem Fünften auf jetztgemeldetem Reichstage selbst überantwortet, Archiven vorhanden gewesen und hernach mit dem rechten, dem Kaiser übergebenen Original, so in des heiligen Reichs Verwahrung geblieben, durch wohlbeglaubigte Leute mit großem Fleiß kollationiert und hernach beide das lateinische und deutsche Exemplar allenthalben gleicher Meinung befunden, und zu keiner andern bekennen wollen, auch der Ursache solche damals übergebene Konfession dieser nachfolgenden unserer Erklärung und Konkordienbuch einverleiben lassen, auf daß männiglich sehen möge, daß wir in unsern Landen, Kirchen und Schulen keine andere Lehre zu gedulden gemeint, denn wie dieselbe zu Augsburg Anno 1530 durch mehrgedachte Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände einmal bekannt worden, dabei wir auch vermittelst der Gnade Gottes bis an unser seliges Ende gedenken zu verharren und vor dem Richterstuhl unsers HErrn JEsu Christi mit fröhlichem, unerschrockenem Herzen und Gewissen zu erscheinen. Und verhoffen demnach, es werden hinfür unsere Widersacher unser, auch unserer Kirchen und derselben Diener mit den beschwerlichen Auflagen verschonen, da sie vorgeben, als ob wir

non solum paucorum quorundam nostrorum theologorum, sed in universum omnium et singulorum ecclesiae ministrorum et ludimoderatorum in nostris provinciis et ditionibus consentiens et concors confessio et vocatur et perpetuo erit.

Quia vero nostrae et praeclari nominis antecessorum nostrorum primum Francofurti ad Moenum, deinde Numburgi pio et sincero animo susceptae et scriptis comprehensae conventiones non modo eum, qui expetebatur, finem et pacificationem non sunt assecutae, sed ex iis etiam a quibusdam patrocinium erroribus et falsis dogmatibus quaesitum est: cum tamen nobis ne in mentem quidem unquam venerit, hoc nostro scripto vel novum aliquod et falsum doctrinae genus introducere, integumentis commendare, confirmare, vel in minimis etiam a Confessione illa anno 1530 Augustae exhibita discedere, quin potius, quotquot nostrum actionibus Numburgicis illis interfuimus, tum etiam id integrum nobis reservavimus et promisimus insuper, ut si quid successu temporis in nostra Confessione desideraretur, aut quoties id necessitas postulare videretur, nos porro omnia solide et prolixe declaraturos esse. Ideoque hanc ipsam ob causam in hoc Libro Concordiae ad declarationem constantis et perpetuae voluntatis nostrae et repetitionem Christianae fidei et confessionis nostrae magno et pio consensu elaboravimus. Ideo ne adversariorum nostrorum calumniis de ingenio suo confictis, quibus iactant ne nobis quidem constare, quae sit vera et genuina illa Augustana Confessio, aliqui se turbari sinant, sed et ii, qui nunc in vivis sunt, et posteritas etiam diserte et firmiter doceatur ac certior reddatur, quaenam illa pia confessio sit, quam et nos et ecclesiae ac scholae nostrarum ditionum omnibus temporibus professae et amplexae fuerint: post sinceram et immotam verbi Dei veritatem solam primam illam Augustanam Confessionem Imperatori Carolo V. anno 1530 in celebribus illis Comitiis Augustanis exhibitam, solam (dicimus) nec ullam aliam, amplecti nos velle luculenter testamur, cuius exempla in archivis Antecessorum nostrorum excellentis memoriae, qui ipsi Carolo V. in Comitiis illis eam exhibuerunt, reposita, per fide dignos homines, ne quid ad accuratissimas rationes diligentiae in nobis desideraretur, cum eo, quod Imperatori ipsi exhibitum est et in Sacri Rom. Imp. archivo asservatur, conferri voluimus, et certi sumus nostra et Latina et Germanica exempla per omnia sibi conformi sententia invicem respondere. Qua etiam de causa confessionem illam tum exhibitam nostrae, quae his subiicietur, declarationi sive Libro Concordiae inserere voluimus, ut omnes intelligant, quod in nostris ditionibus, ecclesiis et scholis nullam aliam doctrinam ferre constituerimus, quam quae Augustae anno 1530 a commemoratis supra Electoribus, Principibus et Imperii Ordinibus solenni confessione approbata fuit. Hanc confessionem etiam, Deo nos bene iuvante, usque ad ultimos spiritus, pie ex hac vita ad coelestem patriam migraturi, tenebimus, excelso et intrepido animo puraque con-

godly agreement is called, and forever will be, not only the harmonious and concordant confession of some few of our theologians, but, in general, of the ministers of our churches and rectors of schools, jointly and severally, in our provinces and realms.

Now, our conferences and those of our illustrious predecessors which were undertaken with a godly and sincere intention, first at Frankfort on the Main, and afterward at Naumburg, and were recorded in writing, not only did not accomplish that end and peaceful settlement which was desired, but from them even a defense for errors and false doctrines was sought by some, while it had never entered our mind, by this writing of ours, either to introduce, furnish a cover for, and establish any false doctrine, or in the least even to recede from the Confession presented in the year 1530 at Augsburg, but rather, as many of us as participated in the transactions at Naumburg wholly reserved it to ourselves, and promised besides that if, in the course of time, anything would be desired with respect to the Augsburg Confession, or as often as necessity would seem to demand it, we would further declare all things thoroughly and at length. And that is the reason why we have elaborated in this Book of Concord with great and godly agreement a declaration of our constant and perpetual wish, and a repetition of our Christian faith and confession. Accordingly, in order that no persons may permit themselves to be disturbed by the charges of our adversaries spun out of their own mind, by which they boast that not even we are certain which is the true and genuine Augsburg Confession, but that both those who are now among the living and posterity also may be clearly and firmly taught and informed what that godly Confession is which both we and the churches and schools of our realms at all times professed and embraced, we emphatically testify that after the pure and immutable truth of God's Word we wish to embrace the first Augsburg Confession alone which was presented to the Emperor Charles V, in the year 1530, at the famous Diet of Augsburg (this alone we say), and no other; copies of which, deposited in the archives of our predecessors, of excellent memory, who presented it in the Diet to Charles V himself, we caused to be compared by men worthy of confidence (lest we should be found wanting in most accurate regard for diligence) with the copy which was presented to the Emperor himself, and is preserved in the archives of the Holy Roman Empire, and we are sure that our copies, both the Latin and the German, in all things correspond to it, with like meaning. For this reason also we wished to insert the confession then presented in our explanation, which will be submitted herewith or in the Book of Concord, in order that all may understand that we have resolved to tolerate in our realms, churches, and schools no other doctrine than that which, in the year 1530, was approved at Augsburg in a solemn confession, by the above-mentioned Electors, Princes, and Deputies of the Empire. This Confession also, by the help of God, we will retain to our last breath, when we shall go forth from this life to the heavenly fatherland, to appear with joyful and undaunted mind and with a pure conscience before the tribunal of our Lord Jesus Christ. We hope, therefore, that our adversaries will

unſers Glaubens ungewiß ſeien und deswegen faſt alle Jahr oder Monat eine neue Konfeſſion machen ſollten.

Was dann die andere Edition der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion anlangt, deren auch in der Naumburgiſchen Handlung Meldung geſchehen, weil wir befunden und männiglich offenbar und unverborgen iſt, daß ſich etliche unterſtanden, die Irrtümer vom heiligen Abendmahl und andere unreine Lehren unter den Worten derſelben andern Edition zu verſtecken und zu verbergen und ſolches in öffentlichen Schriften und ausgegangenem Druck den einfältigen Leuten einzubilden, ungeachtet, daß ſolche irrige Lehre in der zu Augsburg übergebenen Konfeſſion mit ausdrücklichen Worten verworfen, und viel ein anderes zu erweiſen iſt: ſo haben wir hiemit auch öffentlich bezeugen und dartun wollen, daß damals, wie auch noch, unſer Wille und Meinung keineswegs geweſen, falſche und unreine Lehre, ſo darunter verborgen werden möchte, dadurch zu beſchönen, zu bemänteln oder als der evangeliſchen Lehre gemäß zu beſtätigen; inmaßen wir denn die andere Edition der erſten übergebenen Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion zuwider niemals verſtanden noch aufgenommen oder andere mehr nützliche Schriften Herrn Philippi Melanchthonis, wie auch Brentii, Urbani Regii, Pomerani uſw., wofern ſie mit der Norm, der Konkordie einverleibt, übereinſtimmen, nicht verworfen oder verdammt haben wollen.

Desgleichen, obwohl etliche Theologi wie auch Lutherus ſelbſt vom heiligen Abendmahl in die Disputation von der perſönlichen Vereinigung beider Naturen in Chriſto (doch wider ihren Willen) von den Widerſachern gezogen, ſo erklären ſich unſere Theologen Inhalts des Konkordienbuchs und der darin begriffenen Norma lauter, daß unſerer und des Buchs beſtändiger Meinung nach die Chriſten im Handel von des HErrn Abendmahl auf keinen andern, ſondern auf dieſen einigen Grund und Fundament, nämlich auf die Worte der Stiftung des Teſtaments Chriſti, gewieſen werden ſollen, welcher allmächtig und wahrhaftig und demnach zu verſchaffen vermag, was er verordnet und in ſeinem Wort verheißen hat, und da ſie bei dieſem Grund unangefochten bleiben, von andern Gründen nicht disputieren, ſondern mit einfältigem Glauben bei den einfältigen Worten Chriſti verharren, welches am ſicherſten und bei dem gemeinen Laien auch erbaulich, der dieſe Disputation nicht ergreifen kann. Wenn aber die Widerſacher ſolchen unſern einfältigen Glauben und Verſtand der Worte des Teſtaments Chriſti anfechten und als einen Unglauben ſchelten und uns vorwerfen, als ſei unſer einfältiger Verſtand und Glaube wider die Artikel unſers chriſtlichen Glaubens, beſonders von der Menſchwerdung des Sohnes Gottes, von ſeiner Himmelfahrt und Sitzen zur Rechten der allmächtigen Kraft und Majeſtät Gottes, und demnach falſch und unrecht: ſo ſoll durch wahrhaftige Erklärung der Artikel unſers chriſtlichen Glaubens angezeigt und erwieſen werden, daß obgemeldeter unſer ein-

scientia comparituri coram tribunali Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Speramus itaque adversarios nostros posthac et nobis et ecclesiarum nostrarum ministris parsuros esse, nec consuetis illis et gravissimis criminationibus usuros, nos de fide nostra nihil certi apud nos ipsos posse constituere, eamque ob causam fere singulis annis imo vero mensibus novas confessiones cudere.

Porro quod ad alteram Augustanae Confessionis editionem, cuius etiam in Numburgicis actis fit mentio, attinet, animadvertimus (quod et notum universis est) quosdam sub praetextu verborum posterioris illius editionis corruptelas in negotio coenae et alios errores contegere et occultare voluisse, et scriptis publice excusis imperitae plebeculae obtrudere conatos, nec motos esse Augustanae Confessionis (quae prima exhibita est) disertis verbis, quibus errores illi palam reiiciuntur, ex quibus etiam longe alia, quam ipsi volunt, sententia evinci potest. Visum igitur est nobis, hisce literis publice testari et certiores facere universos, quod nec tum ac ne nunc quidem ullo modo voluerimus, falsa et impia dogmata et opiniones (quae sub integumentis aliquibus verborum latere possent) defendere, excusare aut veluti cum doctrina evangelica consentientes approbare. Nos sane nunquam posteriorem editionem in ea sententia accepimus, quae a priori illa, quae exhibita fuit, ulla ex parte dissideret. Nec etiam alia scripta utilia D. Philippi Melanchthonis neque Brentii, Urbani Regii, Pomerani et similium repudianda ac damnanda esse iudicamus, quatenus cum ea norma, quae Concordiae libro expressa est, per omnia consentiunt.

Quamquam autem nonnulli theologi et in his ipse Lutherus, cum de coena dominica agerent, inviti etiam ab adversariis ad disputationes de personali unione duarum in Christo naturarum pertracti sint, tamen theologi nostri in Concordiae libro et ea, quae in illo est, sanioris doctrinae norma diserte testantur et nostram et huius libri sententiam constantem et perpetuam esse, pios homines in negotio coenae dominicae ad nulla alia fundamenta quam verborum institutionis testamenti Domini nostri Iesu Christi deducendos esse. Nam cum ille et omnipotens et verax sit, expeditum ei esse ea, quae et instituit et verbo suo pollicitus est, praestare. Et sane cum hoc fundamentum ab adversariis impugnatum non fuerit, de aliis probandi rationibus in hoc argumenti genere non contendent, sed in vera fidei simplicitate verbis apertissimis Christi firmiter insistent, quae ratio tutissima et erudiendis imperitis hominibus accommodatissima est; neque enim illi ea, quae de his rebus accuratius disputata sunt, intelligunt. At vero cum illa assertio nostra et simplex verborum testamenti Christi sensus ab adversariis impugnatur, et velut impius et rationibus verae fidei repugnans reiicitur, denique articulis Symboli Apostolici (praesertim de Filii Dei incarnatione, ascensione in coelum et sessione ad dexteram omnipotentis virtutis et maiestatis Dei) contrarius et proinde etiam falsus esse contenditur, vera solidaque articulorum illorum inter-

hereafter spare both us and the ministers of our churches, and not employ these customary and most grievous accusations, that we cannot decide among ourselves upon anything as certain concerning our faith, and that, on this account, we are forging new confessions almost every year, yea, even every month.

Moreover, as to the second edition of the Augsburg Confession, of which mention is made also in the transactions at Naumburg, we notice, what is also known to all, that, under the pretext of the words of this latter edition, some have wanted to cover and conceal corruptions with respect to the Lord's Supper and other errors, and by means of published writings have attempted to obtrude them upon an ignorant populace; nor have they been moved by the distinct words of the Augsburg Confession, (which was first presented,) by which these errors are openly rejected, and from which a far different meaning than they wish can be shown. Therefore we have decided in this writing to testify publicly, and to inform all, that we wished neither then nor now in any way to defend, or excuse, or to approve, as though agreeing with the Gospel-doctrine, false and godless doctrines and opinions which may lie concealed under certain coverings of words. We, indeed, never received the latter edition in a sense differing in any part from the former which was presented. Neither do we judge that other useful writings of Dr. Philip Melanchthon, or of Brenz, Urban Rhegius, Pomeranus, etc., should be rejected and condemned, so far as, in all things, they agree with the norm which has been set forth in the Book of Concord.

Now, although some theologians, and among them Luther himself, when they treated of the Lord's Supper, were drawn, against their will, by their adversaries to disputations concerning the personal union of the two natures in Christ, nevertheless our theologians in the Book of Concord, and by the norm of sound doctrine which is in it, testify that both our constant and perpetual opinion and that of this book is that with regard to the Lord's Supper godly men should be led to no other foundations than to those of the words of institution of the testament of our Lord Jesus Christ. For since He is both almighty and true, it is easy for Him to do those things which He has both instituted and promised in His Word. And indeed, when this foundation will not be assailed by their adversaries, they will not contend in this kind of argument concerning other methods of proof, but, in true simplicity of faith, will firmly insist upon the very plain words of Christ, which method is the safest, and is best suited to the instruction of uneducated men; for those things which have been discussed with greater exactness they do not understand. But indeed, since this our assertion and the simple meaning of the words of Christ's testament are assailed by the adversaries, and rejected as godless and conflicting with the nature of true faith, and finally are claimed to be contrary to the Apostles' Creed (especially to the statements concerning the incarnation of the Son of God, His ascension into heaven, and His sitting at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God) and therefore to be false, it must be shown by a true

fältiger Verstand der Worte Christi denselben Artikeln nicht zuwider sei.

Die phrases und modos loquendi, das ist, die Art und Weise zu reden, welche im Buch der Konkordie gebraucht von der Majestät der menschlichen Natur in der Person Christi, darein sie zur Rechten Gottes gesetzt und erhöht, betreffend, damit auch deshalben aller Mißverstand und Ärgernis aufgehoben, dieweil das Wort abstractum nicht in einerlei Verstand von den Schul- und Kirchenlehrern gebraucht, erklären sich unsere Theologi mit lautern, klaren Worten, daß ermeldete göttliche Majestät der menschlichen Natur Christi nicht außerhalb der persönlichen Vereinigung zugeschrieben, oder daß sie dieselbe an und für sich selbst auch in der persönlichen Vereinigung (essentialiter, formaliter, habitualiter, subiective, wie die Schullehrer reden), habe, dergestalt dann, und da also gelehrt würde, die göttliche und menschliche Natur samt derselben Eigenschaften miteinander vermischt, und die menschliche Natur der göttlichen Natur nach ihrem Wesen und Eigenschaften exäquiert und also verleugnet würde, sondern, wie die alten Kirchenlehrer geredet, ratione et dispensatione hypostaticae unionis, das ist, von wegen der persönlichen Vereinigung, welches ein unerforschlich Geheimnis ist.

Was dann die condemnationes, Aussetzungen und Verwerfungen falscher und unreiner Lehre, besonders im Artikel von des HErrn Abendmahl, betrifft, so in dieser Erklärung und gründlichen Hinlegung der streitigen Artikel ausdrücklich und unterschiedlich gesetzt werden müssen, damit sich männiglich vor denselben wüßte zu hüten, und aus vielen andern Ursachen keineswegs umgangen werden kann, ist gleichergestalt unser Wille und Meinung nicht, daß hiemit die Personen, so aus Einfalt irren und die Wahrheit des göttlichen Wortes nicht lästern, viel weniger aber ganze Kirchen in- oder außerhalb des heiligen Reichs deutscher Nation gemeint, sondern daß allein damit die falschen und verführerischen Lehren und derselben halsstarrige Lehrer und Lästerer, die wir in unsern Landen, Kirchen und Schulen keineswegs zu gedulden gedenken, eigentlich verworfen werden, dieweil dieselben dem ausgedrückten Wort Gottes zuwider und neben solchem nicht bestehen können, auf daß fromme Herzen vor denselben gewarnt werden möchten, sintemal wir uns ganz und gar keinen Zweifel machen, daß viel fromme, unschuldige Leute, auch in den Kirchen, die sich bisher mit uns nicht allerdings verglichen, zu finden sind, welche in der Einfalt ihres Herzens wandeln, die Sache nicht recht verstehen und an den Lästerungen wider das heilige Abendmahl, wie solches in unsern Kirchen nach der Stiftung Christi gehalten und vermöge der Worte seines Testaments davon einhelliglich gelehrt wird, gar keinen Gefallen tragen und sich verhoffentlich, wenn sie in der Lehre recht unterrichtet werden, durch Anleitung des Heiligen Geistes zu der unfehlbaren Wahrheit des göttlichen Worts mit uns und unsern Kirchen und Schulen begeben und wenden werden; wie denn den Theologen und Kirchendienern obliegen will, daß sie aus

pretatione demonstrandum est, nostram illam sententiam nec a verbis Christi neque ab articulis illis dissidere.

Quod vero ad phrases et loquendi modos attinet, qui in hoc Concordiae libro, quando de maiestate humanae naturae in persona Christi ad dexteram Dei collocatae et evectae agitur, usurpantur, ut omnes sinistrae suspiciones et offendicula, quae ex varia significatione vocabuli *abstracti* (quemadmodum hoc nomine et scholae et patres hactenus usi sunt) existere possent, e medio tollantur, theologi nostri disertis et expressis verbis testatum volunt, maiestatem illam humanae Christi naturae extra unionem personalem nequaquam adscribendam esse, nec etiam concedendum, quod humana natura eam maiestatem, vel propriam, vel per se (etiam in unione personali), essentialiter, formaliter, habitualiter, subiective (haec enim, quamvis non satis Latine, vocabula scholis placent) possideat. Nam si eam et dicendi et docendi rationem teneremus, divina et humana naturae una cum proprietatibus suis confunderentur, humana etiam divinae ratione essentiae et proprietatum exaequaretur, imo vero tota negaretur. Sentiendum ergo esse theologi iudicant, id ratione et dispensatione hypostaticae unionis fieri, quemadmodum docta antiquitas ea de re caute locuta est, quod mysterium tantum habet, ut omnes ingenii nostri intelligentiaeque vires superet.

Ad condemnationes, reprobationes et reiectiones impiorum dogmatum et eius praesertim, quod de sacra coena exstitit, quod attinet, hae sane in hac nostra declaratione et controversorum articulorum solida explicatione et decisione expresse et distincte non solum eam ob causam, ut universi sibi ab his damnatis dogmatibus caverent, omnino proponendae fuerunt, sed ob alias etiam quasdam rationes nullo modo praetermitti potuerunt. Sic ut nequaquam consilium et institutum nostrum sit eos homines, qui ex quadam animi simplicitate errant, nec tamen blasphemi in veritatem doctrinae coelestis sunt, multo vero minus totas ecclesias, quae vel sub Romano Imperio Nationis Germanicae vel alibi sunt, damnare; quin potius mens atque animus noster fuerit, hac ratione fanaticas opiniones et earundem pervicaces doctores et blasphemos duntaxat (quos in ditionibus, ecclesiis et scholis nostris nequaquam tolerandos iudicamus) palam reprehendere et damnare, quod illi errores expresso verbo Dei repugnent, et quidem ita, ut cum eo conciliari nequeant. Deinde etiam eam ob causam hoc suscepimus, ut pii omnes de his diligenter vitandis monerentur. Nequaquam enim dubitamus multos pios et minime malos homines in iis etiam ecclesiis, quae hactenus non per omnia nobiscum senserunt, reperiri, qui simplicitatem quandam suam sequantur et negotium quidem ipsum non probe intelligant, sed blasphemias, quae contra sacram coenam (quemadmodum ea in ecclesiis nostris secundum institutionem Christi dispensatur et iuxta verba testamenti ipsius magna bonorum omnium consensione docetur) evomuntur, nullo modo probant. Magna etiam in spe sumus, illos, si recte de

and thorough interpretation of these articles that our opinion differs neither from the words of Christ nor from these articles.

As to the phrases and forms of expression which are employed in this Book of Concord, when we treat of the majesty of the human nature in the person of Christ, elevated and placed at the right hand of God, in order to remove all subtle suspicions and causes of offense which might arise from the different significations of the word *abstract*, (as both the schools and the fathers have hitherto employed this term,) our theologians in distinct and express words wish to testify that this majesty is in no way to be ascribed to the human nature of Christ outside of the personal union, neither are we to grant that the human nature possesses this majesty as its own or by itself (even in the personal union) essentially, formally, habitually, subjectively. (The schools like these terms, although they are not good Latin.) For if we would adopt this method both of speaking and teaching, the divine and human natures with their properties would be confounded, and the human, with respect to its essence and properties, would be made equal to the divine, yea, indeed, would be altogether denied. Therefore the theologians judge that we ought to believe that this occurs according to the method and economy of the hypostatic union, as learned antiquity has spoken cautiously concerning this subject, that it is a mystery so great as to exceed all the powers of our natural ability and understanding.

As to the condemnations, censures, and rejections of godless doctrines, and especially of that which has arisen concerning the Lord's Supper, these indeed had to be expressly set forth in this our declaration and thorough explanation and decision of controverted articles, not only that all should guard against these condemned doctrines, but also for certain other reasons could in no way have been passed by. Thus, as it is in no way our design and purpose to condemn those men who err from a certain simplicity of mind, but are not blasphemers against the truth of the heavenly doctrine, much less, indeed, entire churches, which are either under the Roman Empire of the German nation or elsewhere; nay, rather has it been our intention and disposition in this manner openly to censure and condemn only the fanatical opinions and their obstinate and blasphemous teachers, (which, we judge, should in no way be tolerated in our dominions, churches, and schools,) because these errors conflict with the express Word of God, and that, too, in such a way that they cannot be reconciled with it. We have undertaken this also for this reason, *viz.*, that all godly persons might be warned diligently to avoid them. For we have no doubt whatever that even in those churches which have hitherto not agreed with us in all things many godly and by no means wicked men are found who follow their own simplicity, and do not understand aright the matter itself, but in no way approve the blasphemies which are cast forth against the Holy Supper as it is administered in our churches, according to Christ's institution, and, with the unanimous approval of all good men, is taught in accordance with the words of the testament itself. We are also in great hope that, if they would be taught aright concerning all these things, the Spirit of the Lord aiding them, they would agree with us, and with our churches and schools, to the infallible truth of God's Word. And assuredly, the duty is especially incumbent upon all the theologians and ministers of the Church, that with such moderation as is becoming they teach from the Word of

Gottes Wort auch diejenigen, so aus Einfalt und unwissend irren, ihrer Seelen Gefahr gebührlich erinnern und davor verwarnen, damit sich nicht ein Blinder durch den andern verleiten lasse. Derwegen wir denn auch hiemit vor Gottes des Allmächtigen Angesicht und [vor] der ganzen Christenheit bezeugen, daß unser Gemüt und Meinung gar nicht ist, durch diese christliche Vergleichung zu einiger Beschwerung und Verfolgung der armen, bedrängten Christen Ursache zu geben. Denn wie wir mit denselben aus christlicher Liebe ein besonderes Mitleid tragen, also haben wir an der Verfolger Wüten einen Abscheu und herzliches Mißfallen, wollen uns auch dieses Bluts ganz und gar nicht teilhaftig machen, welches sonder Zweifel von der Verfolger Händen an dem großen Tag des HErrn vor dem ernsten und gestrengen Richterstuhl Gottes wird gefordert, sie auch dafür eine schwere Rechenschaft geben werden müssen.

his omnibus doceantur, iuvante eosdem Domini Spiritu, immotae veritati verbi Dei nobiscum et cum ecclesiis ac scholis nostris consensuros esse. Et profecto theologis omnibusque ecclesiae ministris imprimis hoc negotii incumbit, ut ex verbo Dei etiam eos, qui ex quadam vel simplicitate vel inscitia a veritate aberrarunt, de periculo salutis suae ea, qua decet, moderatione doceant et contra corruptelas muniant, ne forte, dum coeci coecorum sunt duces, universi periclitentur. Quamobrem hoc nostro scripto in conspectu omnipotentis Dei et coram tota ecclesia testamur nobis propositum nunquam fuisse, hac pia conciliationis formula molestiam aut periculum creare piis, qui persecutionem hodie patiuntur. Quemadmodum enim christiana caritate moti in societatem doloris cum eis dudum venimus, ita a persecutione et gravissima tyrannide, quae in miseros illos maxima exercetur, abhorremus eamque ex animo detestamur. Nullo etiam modo in profusionem innocentis illius sanguinis consentimus, qui haud dubie in tremendo illo Domini iudicio ac coram tribunali Christi a persecutoribus illis magna severitate repetetur, et hi sane tum tyrannidis suae gravissimas rationes reddituri ac poenas horrendas subituri sunt.

Und dieweil unser Gemüt und Meinung, wie oben gemeldet, allezeit dahin gerichtet gewesen, daß in unsern Landen, Gebieten, Schulen und Kirchen keine andere Lehre denn allein die, so in der heiligen göttlichen Schrift gegründet und der Augsburgischen Konfession und Apologia in ihrem rechten Verstande einverleibet, geführt und getrieben, und dabei nichts, so derselben zuentgegen, einreißen möchte, verstattet würde, dahin denn diese jetzige Vergleichung auch gestellt, gemeint und ins Werk gerichtet: so wollen wir hiemit abermals öffentlich vor Gott und allermänniglich bezeugt haben, daß wir mit vielgedachter jetziger Erklärung der streitigen Artikel keine neue oder andere Konfession denn die, so einmal Kaiser Carolo dem Fünften christlicher Gedächtnis zu Augsburg Anno 1530 übergeben worden ist, gemacht, sondern unsere Kirchen und Schulen zuvörderst auf die Heilige Schrift und Symbola, dann auch auf erstermeldete Augsburgische Konfession gewiesen und hiemit ernstlich vermahnt haben wollen, daß besonders die Jugend, so zum Kirchendienst und heiligen Ministerio auferzogen, in solcher mit Treue und Fleiß unterrichtet werde, damit auch bei unsern Nachkommen die reine Lehre und Bekenntnis des Glaubens bis auf die herrliche Zukunft unsers einigen Erlösers und Seligmachers JEsu Christi durch Hilfe und Beistand des Heiligen Geistes erhalten und fortgepflanzt werden möge.

Wann [weil] denn dem also und wir unsers christlichen Bekenntnisses und Glaubens aus göttlicher, prophetischer und apostolischer Schrift gewiß, und dessen durch die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes in unsern Herzen und christlichen Gewissen genugsam versichert sind, und [es] denn die höchste und äußerste Notdurft erfordert, daß bei so vielen eingerissenen Irrtümern, erregten Ärgernissen, Streiten und langwierigen Spaltungen eine christliche Erklärung und Vergleichung aller eingefallenen Disputationen geschehe, die in Gottes Wort wohl gegründet, nach welcher die reine Lehre von der verfälschten erkannt und unterschieden werde, und den unruhigen, zankgierigen

Nostrum equidem in his (ut supra meminimus) id semper propositum fuit, ut in terris, ditionibus, scholis et ecclesiis nostris non alia doctrina, quam quae verbo Dei fundata et Augustana Confessione, tum Apologia (et ea quidem dextre in genuino suo sensu intellecta) continetur, sonaret et accurate proponeretur, nec pugnantes cum his opiniones admitterentur, quo sane consilio haec pacificationis formula instituta et absoluta fuit. Quare denuo etiam coram Deo et omnibus mortalibus profitemur et testamur, nos declaratione articulorum controversorum, quorum iam aliquoties mentio facta est, non novam confessionem, aut ab ea, quae Imperatori Carolo V. felicis recordationis anno 1530 exhibita fuit, alienam afferre, sed ecclesias et scholas nostras imprimis quidem ad fontes sacrarum literarum et Symbola, tum ad Confessionem Augustanam, cuius ante meminimus, deducere voluisse. Hortamur etiam severissime, ut imprimis iuventus, quae ad sacrum ecclesiarum et scholarum ministerium educatur, in hoc fideliter et diligenter instituatur, ut ad posteritatem etiam nostram sincera doctrina professioque fidei usque ad gloriosum illum adventum unici Redemptoris et Servatoris nostri Iesu Christi (largiente hoc Sancto Spiritu) conservetur et propagetur.

Cum ergo haec sic habeant, et nos de doctrina et confessione nostra propheticis et apostolicis scriptis eruditi certi simus, gratiaque Sancti Spiritus mentes et conscientiae nostrae maiorem in modum confirmatae sint, librum hunc Concordiae in lucem edendum putavimus. Videbatur enim id apprime esse necessarium, ut inter tot nostris temporibus exortos errores, tum offendicula, certamina et diuturnas distractiones illas pia explicatio et conciliatio harum omnium controversiarum e verbo Dei exstructa exstaret, ut secundum rationes eius sincera doctrina a falsa internosceretur et secerneretur. Praeterea ea res

God also those who either from a certain simplicity or ignorance have erred from the truth, concerning the peril of their salvation, and that they fortify them against corruptions, lest perhaps, while the blind are leaders of the blind, all may perish. Wherefore, by this writing of ours, we testify in the sight of Almighty God and before the entire Church that it has never been our purpose, by means of this godly formula for union to create trouble or danger to the godly who to-day are suffering persecution. For, as we have already entered into the fellowship of grief with them, moved by Christian love, so we are shocked at the persecution and most grievous tyranny which with such severity is exercised against these poor men, and sincerely detest it. For in no way do we consent to the shedding of that innocent blood, which undoubtedly will be required with great severity from the persecutors at the awful judgment of the Lord and before the tribunal of Christ, and they will then certainly render a most strict account, and suffer fearful punishment.

In regard to these matters (as we have mentioned above) it has always been our purpose that in our lands, dominions, schools, and churches no other doctrine be proclaimed and accurately set forth than that which is founded upon the Word of God, and contained in the Augsburg Confession and the Apology, (and that, too, when understood properly in its genuine sense,) and that opinions conflicting with these be not admitted; and indeed, with this design, this formula of agreement was begun and completed. Therefore before God and all mortals we once more declare and testify that in the declaration of the controverted articles, of which mention has already been made several times, we are not introducing a new confession, or one different from that which was presented in the year 1530 to Charles V, of happy memory, but that we wished indeed to lead our churches and schools, first of all, to the fountains of Holy Scripture, and to the Creeds, and then to the Augsburg Confession, of which we have before made mention. We most earnestly exhort that especially the young men who are being educated for the holy ministry of the churches and schools be instructed in this faithfully and diligently, in order that the pure doctrine and profession of our faith may, by the help of the Holy Ghost, be preserved and propagated also to our posterity, until the glorious advent of Jesus Christ, our only Redeemer and Savior.

Since, therefore, such is the case, and being instructed from the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, we are sure concerning our doctrine and confession, and by the grace of the Holy Ghost our minds and consciences have been confirmed to a greater degree, we have thought that this Book of Concord ought to be published. For it seemed exceedingly necessary that, amidst so many errors that had arisen in our times, as well as causes of offense, variances, and these long-continued dissensions, there should exist a godly explanation and agreement concerning all these controversies, derived from God's Word, according to the terms of which the pure doctrine might be discriminated and separated from the false. Besides, this matter is of importance also in this respect, *viz.*, that troublesome and contentious men, who do not suffer themselves to be bound to any formula of the pure doctrine, may not have the liberty, according to their good pleasure, to excite controversies which furnish ground for

Leuten, so an keine gewisse Form der reinen Lehre gebunden sein wollen, nicht alles frei und offen stehe, ihres Gefallens ärgerliche Disputationen zu erwecken und ungereimte Irrtümer einzuführen und zu verfechten, daraus nichts anderes erfolgen kann, denn daß endlich die rechte Lehre gar verdunkelt und verloren und auf die nachkommende Welt anderes nichts denn ungewisse opiniones und zweifelhaftige, disputierliche Wahn und Meinungen gebracht werden; und denn wir aus göttlichem Befehl unsers tragenden Amts halben, unserer eigenen und unserer zugehörigen Untertanen zeitlicher und ewiger Wohlfahrt wegen uns schuldig erkennen, alles das zu tun und fortzusetzen, was zu [der] Vermehrung und Ausbreitung Gottes Lobs und Ehre und zu seines alleinseligmachenden Worts Fortpflanzung, zu[r] Ruhe und Frieden christlicher Schulen und Kirchen, auch zu notwendigem Trost und Unterricht der armen verirrten Gewissen dienstlich und nützlich sein mag, und uns daneben unverborgen ist, daß viel gutherzige christliche Personen hohen und niedrigen Standes nach diesem heilsamen Werk der christlichen Konkordie sehnlich seufzen und ein besonderes Verlangen tragen; dieweil denn auch anfangs dieser unserer christlichen Vergleichung unser Gemüt und Meinung niemals gewesen, wie auch noch nicht ist, dieses heilsame und hochnötige Konkordienwerk im Finstern vor jedermann heimlich und verborgen zu halten oder das Licht der göttlichen Wahrheit unter den Scheffel und Tisch zu setzen: so haben wir die Edition und Publizierung desselben nicht länger einstellen noch aufhalten sollen und zweifeln gar nicht, es werden alle frommen Herzen, so rechtschaffene Liebe zu göttlicher Wahrheit und christlicher, gottgefälliger Einigkeit tragen, ihnen [sich] dieses heilsame, hochnötige und christliche Werk neben uns christlich gefallen und an ihnen diesfalls zur Beförderung der Ehre Gottes und der gemeinen ewigen und zeitlichen Wohlfahrt keinen Mangel sein lassen.

Denn wir — abermals schließlich und endlich zu wiederholen — durch dieses Konkordienwerk nichts Neues zu machen noch von der einmal von unsern gottseligen Vorfahren und uns erkannten und bekannten göttlichen Wahrheit, wie die [sie] in prophetischer und apostolischer Schrift gegründet und in den drei Symbolis, auch der Augsburgischen Konfession Anno 1530 Kaiser Carolo dem Fünften hochmilden Gedächtnisses übergeben, der darauf erfolgten Apologia, in den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln und dem Großen und Kleinen Katechismo des hocherleuchteten Mannes Doktor Luthers ferner begriffen ist, gar nicht, weder in rebus noch phrasibus, abzuweichen, sondern vielmehr durch die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes einmütiglich dabei zu verharren und zu bleiben, auch alle Religionsstreite und deren Erklärungen danach zu regulieren gesinnt und daneben mit unsern Mitgliedern, den Kurfürsten und Ständen im Heiligen Römischen Reich, auch andern christlichen Potentaten, nach Inhalt des heiligen Reichs Ordnungen und sonderer Vereinigungen, die wir mit ihnen haben, in gutem Frieden und Einigkeit zu leben und einem jeden nach seines Standes Gebühr alle Liebe, Dienst und Freundschaft zu erzeigen entschlossen und gemeint sind.

ad hoc etiam confert, ut turbulentis contentiosisque hominibus, qui ad nullam formulam purioris doctrinae adstringi se patiuntur, liberum non sit, pro sua libidine controversias cum offendiculo coniunctas movere et prodigiosas opiniones et proponere et propugnare. Ex his enim hoc tandem consequitur, ut purior doctrina obscuretur et amittatur, ad posteritatem autem nihil quam opiniones et ἐποχαί academicae transmittantur. His accedit et illud, quod pro officii a Deo nobis iniuncti ratione hoc nos subditis nostris debere intelligimus, ut, quae ad huius et secuturae vitae rationes pertinent, diligenter curemus ac demus operam, ut, quae ad amplificationem nominis ac gloriae Dei et propagationem verbi ipsius (ex quo solo salus speratur), ad pacem et tranquillitatem ecclesiarum et scholarum, ad commonefactiones et consolationem perturbatarum conscientiarum faciunt, summo studio et quidem, quantum fieri potest, procuremus. Praesertim cum nobis certo constaret, a multis bonis et cordatis hominibus summi et infirmi ordinis hoc salutare christianae concordiae opus dudum seriis gemitibus summoque desiderio fuisse expetitum et exspectatum; ac ne nos quidem ab initio suscepti negotii pacificationis huius in ea sententia fuerimus neque etiamnum simus, hoc tam salutare et apprime necessarium opus concordiae ab hominum oculis removendum et penitus occultandum, ac lucem illam coelestis veritatis subter modium aut mensam ponendam esse: quapropter editionem eius diutius extrahere neutiquam debuimus. Neque dubitamus pios omnes, qui et veritatis coelestis et concordiae Deo gratae sunt amantes, una nobiscum hoc salutare, utile, pium et pernecessarium institutum probaturos et non commissuros esse, ut ad amplificationem gloriae Dei et utilitatem publicam, quae et in aeternis et temporalibus cernitur, in ipsis aliquid vel ad summum conatum desiderari possit.

Nos certe (ut ad extremum id repetamus, cuius aliquoties supra meminimus) hoc concordiae negotio nequaquam nova comminisci, aut a veritate doctrinae coelestis, quam maiores nostri pietatis nomine celeberrimi, sicut et nos, agnoverunt et professi sunt, ullo modo discedere voluimus. Eam autem doctrinam intelligimus, quae ex propheticis et apostolicis scriptis exstructa, in tribus veteribus Symbolis: Augustana Confessione, anno 1530 Imperatori Carolo V. excellentis memoriae exhibita, deinde Apologia, quae huic coniuncta fuit, Smalcaldicis Articulis, utroque denique Catechismo excellentis viri D. Lutheri, comprehensa est. Quare etiam nos ne latum quidem unguem vel a rebus ipsis vel a phrasibus, quae in illa habentur, discedere, sed iuvante nos Domini Spiritu summa concordia constanter in pio hoc consensu perseveraturos esse decrevimus, controversias omnes ad hanc veram normam et declarationem purioris doctrinae examinaturi. Deinde etiam apud animum nostrum constituimus velle nos cum reliquis Electoribus, Principibus et Ordinibus Sacri Romani Imperii et aliis christianae reipublicae Regibus, Principibus et Magnati-

offense, and to publish and contend for extravagant opinions. For the result of these things, at length, is that the pure doctrine is obscured and lost, and nothing is transmitted to posterity except academical opinions and suspensions of judgment. To these considerations was also added this that, agreeably to the office committed to us by God, we understand that we owe our subjects this, *viz.*, that we should diligently care for the things which pertain to this life and the life to come, and that we should take pains, with the greatest earnestness and to our utmost ability, to attend to those matters which promote the extension of God's name and glory, the propagation of His Word, (from which alone we hope for salvation,) the peace and tranquillity of churches and schools, and the instruction and consolation of disturbed consciences, especially since it is certainly a settled fact with us that this salutary work of Christian concord has already been longed for and expected with anxious prayers and the greatest desire by many good and sincere men both of the highest and the lowest rank. For from the beginning of this work of peaceful settlement, indeed, we have not been of the opinion, neither are we even now, that this work of concord, which is so salutary and exceedingly necessary, should be removed from the eyes of men, and altogether concealed, and that the light of heavenly truth should be placed under a bushel or table; wherefore we ought in no wise to defer its publication. Nor do we doubt that all the godly who are lovers of the heavenly truth, and of concord pleasing to God, will approve, together with us, of this salutary, useful, godly, and very necessary undertaking, and that they will act so that nothing may be wanting in them, even to the greatest effort, whereby the glory of God and the common welfare in both temporal and eternal things may be promoted.

We indeed (to repeat in conclusion what we have mentioned several times above) have wished, in this work of concord, in no way to devise what is new, or to depart from the truth of the heavenly doctrine which our ancestors, renowned for their piety, as well as we ourselves, have acknowledged and professed. We mean that doctrine, which, having been derived from the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, is contained in the three ancient Creeds, in the Augsburg Confession, presented in the year 1530 to the Emperor Charles V, of excellent memory, then in the Apology, which was added to this, in the Smalcald Articles, and lastly in both the Catechisms of that excellent man, Dr. Luther. Therefore we also have determined not to depart even a finger's breadth either from the subjects themselves, or from the phrases which are found in them, but, the Spirit of the Lord aiding us, to persevere constantly, with the greatest harmony, in this godly agreement, and we intend to examine all controversies according to this true norm and declaration of the pure doctrine. Then, also with the rest of the Electors, Princes, and Deputies of the Holy Roman Empire, and other kings, princes, and magnates of the Christian state, in accordance with the constitution of the Holy Empire, and the agreements which we have with them, we determined and desired to cultivate peace and

bus secundum Sacri Imperii constitutiones et pacta conventa (quae nobis cum illis sunt), pacem et concordiam colere et singulis pro dignitatis et ordinis ratione omnia nostra officia cum benevolentia coniuncta et deferre et exhibere.

So wollen wir uns auch weiter freundlich vergleichen, welchergestalt in unsern Landen durch fleißige Visitation der Kirchen und Schulen, Aufsehung auf die Druckereien und andere heilsame Mittel nach unser selbst und jedes Orts Gelegenheit über diesem Konkordienwerk ernstlich zu halten, und wo sich die jetzigen oder neue Streite bei unserer christlichen Religion wieder regen wollten, wie dieselben ohne gefährliche Weitläufigkeit, zu[r] Verhütung allerlei Ärgernisses, zeitlich mögen beigelegt und verglichen werden.

Praeterea communicatis consiliis in hoc etiam sedulo incumbemus, ut in ditionibus nostris per diligentes ecclesiarum et scholarum visitationes et inspectiones officinarum typographicarum et alias denique salutares rationes observatis occasionibus et circumstantiis, quae ex nostro et aliorum usu sint, hoc concordiae opus magna severitate et summo studio defendamus. Dabimus etiam operam, si vel renascantur controversiae iam sopitae, vel novae in religionis negotio oriantur, ut eae absque longioribus et periculosis ambagibus ad praecavenda offendicula in tempore e medio tollantur et componantur.

Zu [des zur] Urkund' haben wir uns mit einmütigem Herzen unterschrieben und unser Sekret aufdrucken lassen:

Ludwig, Pfalzgraf bei Rhein, Kurfürst. Augustus, Herzog zu Sachsen, Kurfürst. Johann Georg, Markgraf zu Brandenburg, Kurfürst. Joachim Friedrich, Markgraf zu Brandenburg, Administrator des Erzstifts Magdeburg. Johann, Bischof zu Meißen. Eberhard, Bischof zu Lübeck, Administrator des Stifts Verden. Philipp Ludwig, Pfalzgraf. Herzog Friedrich Wilhelms und Herzog Johanns zu Sachsen Vormunde. Herzog Johann Kasimirs und Herzog Johann Ernsts zu Sachsen Vormunde. Georg Friedrich, Markgraf zu Brandenburg. Julius, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Otto, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Heinrich der Jüngere, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Wilhelm der Jüngere, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Wolff, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg. Ulrich, Herzog zu Mecklenburg. Herzog Johanns und Herzog Sigismund Augusts zu Mecklenburg Vormunde. Ludwig, Herzog zu Württemberg. Markgraf Ernsts und Markgraf Jakobs zu Baden Vormunde. Georg Ernst, Graf und Herr zu Hennenberg. Friedrich, Graf zu Württemberg und Mömpelgard. Hans Günther, Graf zu Schwartzburg. Wilhelm, Graf zu Schwartzburg. Albrecht, Graf zu Schwartzburg. Emich, Graf zu Leiningen. Philipp, Graf zu Hanau. Gottfried, Graf zu Ötingen. Georg, Graf und Herr zu Castel. Heinrich, Graf und Herr zu Castel. Otto, Graf zu Hoya und Burghausen. Johannes, Graf zu Oldenburg und Delmenhorst. Hans Hoier, Graf zu Mansfeld. Bruno, Graf zu Mansfeld. Hoier Christoph, Graf zu Mansfeld. Peter Ernst der Jüngere, Graf zu Mansfeld. Christoph, Graf zu Mansfeld. Albrecht Georg, Graf zu Stolberg. Wolff Ernst, Graf zu Stolberg. Ludwig, Graf zu Gleichen. Karl, Graf zu Gleichen. Ernst, Graf zu Reinstein. Boto, Graf zu Reinstein. Ludwig, Graf zu Löwenstein. Heinrich, Herr zu Limburg, Semperfrey. Georg, Herr von Schönburg. Wolff, Herr von Schönburg. Anarch Friedrich, Herr zu Wildenfels. Bürgermeister und Rat der Stadt Lübeck. Bürgermeister und Rat der

In cuius rei evidens testimonium nomina nostra magno consensu subscripsimus et sigilla etiam adiunximus.

Ludovicus, Palatinus Rheni, Elector. *Augustus*, Dux Saxoniae, Elector. *Johannes Georgius*, Marchio Brandeburgensis, Elector. *Joachimus Fridericus*, Marchio Brandeburgensis, Administrator Archiepiscopatus Magdeburgensis. *Johannes*, Episcopus Misnensis. *Eberhardus*, Episcopus Lubecensis, Administrator Episcopatus Verdensis. *Philippus Ludovicus*, Palatinus Rheni. *Friderici Vilhelmi* et *Johannis*, Ducum Saxoniae, Tutores. *Johannis Casimiri* et *Johannis Ernesti*, Ducum Saxoniae, Tutores. *Georgius Fridericus*, Marchio Brandeburgensis. *Julius*, Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis. *Ottho*, Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis. *Henricus* Junior, Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis. *Vilhelmus* Junior, Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis. *Vuolfgangus*, Dux Brunsvicensis et Luneburgensis. *Ulricus*, Dux Megalopurgensis. *Johannis* et *Sigismundi Augusti*, Ducum Megalopurgensium, Curatores. *Ludovicus*, Dux Virtembergensis. *Ernesti* et *Jacobi*, Marchionum Badensium, Curatores. *Georgius Ernestus*, Comes et Dominus Hennebergensis. *Fridericus*, Comes Virtembergensis et Mumpelgartensis. *Johannes Guntherus*, Comes Schvuarcenburgensis. *Vilhelmus*, Comes Schvuarcenburgensis. *Albertus*, Comes Schvuarcenburgensis. *Emich*, Comes Leimingensis. *Philippus*, Comes Hanauensis. *Gottfridus*, Comes Oetingensis. *Georgius*, Comes ac Dominus in Castel. *Henricus*, Comes ac Dominus in Castel. *Otto*, Comes Hoiensis et Bruchhusensis. *Johannes*, Comes Oldenburgensis et Delmenhorstensis. *Johannes Hoirus*, Comes Mansveldensis. *Bruno*, Comes Mansveldensis. *Hoierus Christophorus*, Comes Mansveldensis. *Petrus Ernestus* Junior Comes Mansveldensis. *Christophorus*, Comes Mansveldensis. *Albertus Georgius*, Comes Stolbergensis. *Vuolfgangus Ernestus*, Comes Stolbergensis. *Ludovicus*, Comes Glichensis. *Carolus*, Comes Glichensis. *Ernestus*, Comes Reinsteinensis. *Boto*, Comes Reinsteinensis. *Ludovicus*, Comes Leonsteinensis. *Henricus*, Baro Limpurgensis Semperfrei. *Georgius*, Baro Schonburgensis. *Vuolfgangus*, Baro Schonburgensis. *Anarc Fridericus*, Baro Vuildenfeldensis. Consul et Senatus *Lube-*

harmony, and to render to each one, according to his rank, all duties belonging to us, together with the offices of friendship.

Besides, having made known our objects, we will also earnestly apply ourselves with great strictness and the most ardent zeal to the defense of this work of concord, by diligent visitations of the churches and schools in our realms, oversight of printing-offices, and other salutary means, according to occasions and circumstances which may be offered to ourselves and others. We will also take pains, if either controversies already composed should be renewed, or new controversies concerning religion should arise, to remove and settle them betimes, for the purpose of avoiding offense, without long and dangerous digressions.

As a manifest testimony of this, we have with great consent subscribed our names, and attached also our seals: —

Louis, Count Palatine on the Rhine, Elector. *Augustus*, Duke of Saxony, Elector. *John George*, Margrave of Brandenburg, Elector. *Joachim Frederick*, Margrave of Brandenburg, Administrator of the Archbishopric of Magdeburg. *John*, Bishop of Meissen. *Eberhard*, Bishop of Luebeck, Administrator of the Episcopate of Werden. *Philip Louis*, Count Palatine on the Rhine. The guardians of *Frederick William* and *John*, Dukes of Saxony. The guardians of *John Casimir* and *John Ernest*, Dukes of Saxony. *George Frederick*, Margrave of Brandenburg. *Julius*, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg. *Otho*, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg. *Henry the Younger*, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg. *William the Younger*, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg. *Wolfgang*, Duke of Brunswick and Lueneburg. *Ulrich*, Duke of Mecklenburg. The guardians of *John* and *Sigismund Augustus*, Dukes of Mecklenburg. *Louis*, Duke of Wuerttemberg. The guardians of *Ernest* and *Jacob*, Margraves of Baden. *George Ernest*, Count and Lord of Henneburg. *Frederick*, Count of Wuerttemberg and Moempelgard. *John Gunther*, Count of Schwartzburg. *William*, Count of Schwartzburg. *Albert*, Count of Schwartzburg. *Emich*, Count of Leiningen. *Philip*, Count of Hanau. *Gottfried*, Count of Oettingen. *George*, Count and Lord in Castel. *Henry*, Count and Lord in Castel. *Otho*, Count of Hoya and Burgkhausen. *John*, Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst. *John Hoier*, Count of Mansfeld. *Bruno*, Count of Mansfeld. *Hoier Christopher*, Count of Mansfeld. *Peter Ernest, Jr.*, Count of Mansfeld. *Christopher*, Count of Mansfeld. *Albert George*, Count of Stolberg. *Wolfgang Ernest*, Count of Stolberg. *Louis*, Count of Gleichen. *Charles*, Count of Gleichen. *Ernest*, Count of Reinstein. *Boto*, Count of Reinstein. *Louis*, Count of Lewenstein. *Henry*, Baron of Limburg, *Semperfrei*. *George*, Baron of Schoenburg. *Wolfgang*, Baron of Schoenburg. *Anarc Frederick*, Baron of Wildenfels. Mayor and Council of the City of *Luebeck*. Mayor and Council of the City of *Lueneburg*. Mayor and Council of the City of *Hamburg*. Council of the City

Stadt Lüneburg. Der Rat der Stadt Hamburg. Der Rat der Stadt Braunſchweig. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Landau. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Münſter in St. Georgental. Der Rat der Stadt Goßlar. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Ulm. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Eßlingen. Der Rat der Stadt Reutlingen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Nördlingen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat zu Rotenburg a. d. Tauber. Stadtmeiſter und Rat der Stadt Schwäbiſch-Hall. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Heilbronn. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Memmingen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Lindau. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Schweinfurt. Der Rat der Stadt Donauwörth. Kämmerer und Rat der Stadt Regensburg. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Wimpffen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Giengen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat zu Bopfingen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Alen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Kaufbeuren. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Ißna. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Kempten. Der Rat der Stadt Göttingen. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Leutkirch. Die ganze Regierung der Stadt Hildesheim. Bürgermeiſter und Rat der Stadt Hameln. Bürgermeiſter und Ratsmänner der Stadt Hannover. Der Rat zu Mühlhauſen. Der Rat zu Erfurt. Der Rat der Stadt Eimbeck. Der Rat der Stadt Northeim.

censis. Consul et Senatus *Luneburgensis.* Consul et Senatus *Hamburgensis.* Senatus *Brunsvicensis.* Consul et Senatus *Landauiensis.* Consul et Senatus Civitatis *Monasteriensis* in Valle Gregoriana. Senatus *Goslariensis.* Consul et Senatus *Ulmensis.* Consul et Senatus *Eslingensis.* Senatus *Reutlingensis.* Consul et Senatus *Nordlingensis.* Consul et Senatus *Rothenburgensis* ad Tuberam. Consul et Senatus *Halae Svevorum.* Consul et Senatus *Heilbronensis.* Consul et Senatus *Memmingensis.* Consul et Senatus *Lindauiensis.* Consul et Senatus *Schueinfurtensis.* Senatus *Donauverdensis.* Camerarii et Senatus *Ratisponensis.* Consul et Senatus *Vuimffensis.* Consul et Senatus *Giengensis.* Consul et Senatus *Bopfingensis.* Consul et Senatus *Alensis.* Consul et Senatus *Kaufbeurensis.* Consul et Senatus *Isnensis.* Consul et Senatus *Campidonensis.* Senatus *Goettingensis.* Consul et Senatus *Leutkirchensis.* Senatus *Hildesheimensis.* Consul et Senatus *Hamelensis.* Consul et Senatus *Hannoverensis.* Senatus *Mulhusinus.* Senatus *Erfurdensis.* Senatus *Eimbecensis.* Senatus *Northeimensis.*

of *Brunswick.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Landau.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Muenster* in the Gregorian Valley. Council of the City of *Goslar.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Ulm.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Esslingen.* Council of the City of *Reutlingen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Noerdlingen.* Mayor and Council of *Rothenburg* on the Tauber. Mayor and Council of the City of *Hall* in Swabia. Mayor and Council of the City of *Heilbronn.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Memmingen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Lindau.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Schweinfurt.* Council of the City of *Donauwoerth.* Chamberlain and Council of the City of *Regensburg.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Wimpffen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Giengen.* Mayor and Council of *Bopfingen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Alen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Kaufbeuren.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Isna.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Kempten.* Council of the City of *Goettingen.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Leutkirch.* The entire Government of the City of *Hildesheim.* Mayor and Council of the City of *Hameln.* Mayor and Councilmen of the City of *Hannover.* Council of *Muehlhausen.* Council of *Erfurt.* Council of the City of *Eimbeck.* Council of the City of *Nordheim.*

I.

Die drei Hauptsymbola

oder

Bekenntnisse des Glaubens Christi,

in der Kirche einträchtiglich gebraucht.

TRIA SYMBOLA

Catholica seu Oecumenica.

THE THREE UNIVERSAL

or

ECUMENICAL CREEDS.

Das erste Bekenntnis oder Symbolum

ist das gemeine Bekenntnis der Apostel, darin der Grund gelegt ist des christlichen Glaubens, und lautet also:

Ich glaube an Gott Vater Allmächtigen, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde.

Und an JEsum Christum, seinen einigen Sohn, unsern HErrn, der empfangen ist vom Heiligen Geist, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria, gelitten unter Pontio Pilato, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben, niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.

Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, eine heilige christliche Kirche, die Gemeinde der Heiligen, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und ein ewiges Leben. Amen.

Das andere Bekenntnis oder Nizäische Symbolum.

Ich glaube an einen einigen allmächtigen Gott, den Vater, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erde, alles, das sichtbar und unsichtbar ist.

Und an einen einigen HErrn JEsum Christum, Gottes einigen Sohn, der vom Vater geboren ist vor der ganzen Welt, Gott von Gott, Licht vom Licht, wahrhaftigen Gott vom wahrhaftigen Gott, geboren, nicht geschaffen, mit dem Vater in einerlei Wesen, durch welchen alles geschaffen ist; welcher um uns Menschen und um unserer Seligkeit willen vom Himmel gekommen ist und leibhaftig geworden durch den Heiligen Geist von der Jungfrau Maria und Mensch geworden, auch für uns gekreuzigt unter Pontio Pilato, gelitten und begraben; und am dritten Tage auferstanden nach der Schrift und ist aufgefahren gen Himmel und sitzt zur Rechten des Vaters. Und wird wiederkommen mit Herrlichkeit, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten; des Reich kein Ende haben wird.

Und an den HErrn, den Heiligen Geist, der da lebendig macht, der vom Vater und dem Sohn ausgeht, der mit dem Vater und dem Sohn zugleich angebetet und zugleich geehrt wird, der durch die Propheten geredet hat.

Und eine einige, heilige, christliche, apostolische Kirche.

Ich bekenne eine einige Taufe zur Vergebung der Sünden und warte auf die Auferstehung der Toten und ein Leben der zukünftigen Welt. Amen.

Das dritte Bekenntnis oder Symbolum

heißt Sancti Athanasii, welches er gemacht hat wider die Ketzer, Ariani genannt, und lautet also:

Wer da will selig werden, der muß vor allen Dingen den rechten christlichen Glauben haben.

Wer denselben nicht ganz und rein hält, der wird ohne Zweifel ewiglich verloren sein.

Symbolum Apostolicum.

1] Credo in Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae. [R. 1
2] Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius uni-
3] cum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est
4] de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus
5] et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad coelos, sedet
6] ad dexteram Dei, Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

7] Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communio-
8] nem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

Symbolum Nicaenum.

1] Credo in unum Deum, Patrem omnipotentem, Factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium omnium et invisibilium.

2] Et in unum Dominum Iesum Christum, Filium Dei unigenitum et ex Patre natum
3] ante omnia saecula, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero, genitum, non factum, consubstantialem Patri, per
4] quem omnia facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de coelis, et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virgine et homo factus est;
5] crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est; et resur- [R. 2
rexit tertia die secundum Scripturas et ascen-
6] dit ad coelos; sedet ad dexteram Patris et iterum venturus est in gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos, cuius regni non erit finis.

7] Et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificantem, qui ex Patre Filioque procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et glorificatur, qui locutus est per prophetas.

8] Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam.

9] Confiteor unum Baptisma in remissio-
10] nem peccatorum et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam venturi saeculi. Amen.

Symbolum Athanasii

contra Arianos scriptum.

1] Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat catholicam fidem.

2] Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit.

THE THREE UNIVERSAL OR ECUMENICAL CREEDS.

The Apostles' Creed.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

The Nicene Creed.

I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible.

And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made; who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate; He suffered and was buried; and the third day He rose again according to the Scriptures; and ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of the Father; and He shall come again with glory to judge the quick and the dead; whose kingdom shall have no end.

And I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father and the Son; who with the Father and the Son together is worshiped and glorified; who spake by the Prophets.

And I believe in one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

I acknowledge one Baptism for the remission of sins; and I look for the resurrection of the dead, and the life of the world to come. Amen.

The Creed of Athanasius.

Written against the Arians.

Whosoever will be saved, before all things it is necessary that he hold the Catholic faith.

Which faith except every one do keep whole and undefiled, without doubt he shall perish everlastingly.

Dies ist aber der rechte christliche Glaube, daß wir einen einigen Gott in drei Personen und drei Personen in einiger Gottheit ehren

Und nicht die Personen ineinandermengen, noch das göttliche Wesen zertrennen.

Eine andere Person ist der Vater, eine andere der Sohn, eine andere der Heilige Geist.

Aber der Vater und Sohn und Heilige Geist ist ein einiger Gott, gleich in der Herrlichkeit, gleich in ewiger Majestät.

Welcherlei der Vater ist, solcherlei ist der Sohn, solcherlei ist auch der Heilige Geist.

Der Vater ist nicht geschaffen, der Sohn ist nicht geschaffen, der Heilige Geist ist nicht geschaffen.

Der Vater ist unmeßlich, der Sohn ist unmeßlich, der Heilige Geist ist unmeßlich.

Der Vater ist ewig, der Sohn ist ewig, der Heilige Geist ist ewig;

Und sind doch nicht drei Ewige, sondern es ist ein Ewiger,

Gleichwie auch nicht drei Ungeschaffene noch drei Unmeßliche, sondern es ist ein Ungeschaffener und ein Unmeßlicher.

Also auch der Vater ist allmächtig, der Sohn ist allmächtig, der Heilige Geist ist allmächtig;

Und sind doch nicht drei Allmächtige, sondern es ist ein Allmächtiger.

Also der Vater ist Gott, der Sohn ist Gott, der Heilige Geist ist Gott;

Und sind doch nicht drei Götter, sondern es ist ein Gott.

Also der Vater ist der HErr, der Sohn ist der HErr, der Heilige Geist ist der HErr;

Und sind doch nicht drei HErren, sondern es ist ein HErr.

Denn gleichwie wir müssen nach christlicher Wahrheit eine jegliche Person für sich Gott und HErrn bekennen,

Also können wir im christlichen Glauben nicht drei Götter oder drei HErren nennen.

Der Vater ist von niemand weder gemacht noch geschaffen noch geboren.

Der Sohn ist allein vom Vater, nicht gemacht noch geschaffen, sondern geboren.

Der Heilige Geist ist vom Vater und Sohn, nicht gemacht, nicht geschaffen, nicht geboren, sondern ausgehend.

So ist's nun ein Vater, nicht drei Väter, ein Sohn, nicht drei Söhne, ein Heiliger Geist, nicht drei Heilige Geister.

Und unter diesen drei Personen ist keine die erste, keine die letzte, keine die größte, keine die kleinste,

Sondern alle drei Personen sind miteinander gleich ewig, gleich groß,

Auf daß also, wie gesagt ist, drei Personen in einer Gottheit und ein Gott in drei Personen geehrt werde.

Wer nun will selig werden, der muß also von den drei Personen in Gott halten.

Es ist aber auch not zur ewigen Seligkeit, daß man treulich glaube, daß JEsus Christus, unser HErr, sei wahrhaftiger Mensch.

So ist nun dies der rechte Glaube, so wir glauben und bekennen, daß unser HErr JEsus Christus, Gottes Sohn, Gott und Mensch ist.

3] Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur,

4] Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes.

5] Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.

6] Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, coaeterna maiestas.

7] Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus.

8] Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus Sanctus.

9] Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus Spiritus Sanctus.

10] Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus Spiritus Sanctus;

11] Et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus, [R. 3

12] Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus.

13] Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus;

14] Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

15] Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus;

16] Et tamen non tres Dii sunt, sed unus est Deus.

17] Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus;

18] Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19] Quia sicut singulatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri christiana veritate compellimur,

Ita tres Deos, aut tres Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur.

20] Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus.

21] Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.

22] Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens.

23] Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.

24] Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil maius aut minus;

25] Sed totae tres personae coaeternae sibi sunt et coaequales,

Ita ut per omnia, sicut iam supra dictum est, et Trinitas in unitate et unitas in Trinitate veneranda sit.

26] Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27] Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Iesu Christi fideliter credat.

28] Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quod Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus et homo est:

And the Catholic faith is this, that we worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity;

Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance.

For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost.

But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one: the glory equal, the majesty coeternal.

Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost.

The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate.

The Father incomprehensible, the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible.

The Father eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal.

And yet they are not three Eternals, but one Eternal.

As there are not three Uncreated nor three Incomprehensibles, but one Uncreated and one Incomprehensible.

So likewise the Father is almighty, the Son almighty, and the Holy Ghost almighty.

And yet they are not three Almighties, but one Almighty.

So the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God.

And yet they are not three Gods, but one God.

So likewise the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord.

And yet not three Lords, but one Lord.

For like as we are compelled by the Christian verity to acknowledge every Person by Himself to be God and Lord,

So are we forbidden by the catholic religion to say, There be three Gods, or three Lords.

The Father is made of none: neither created nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone: not made, nor created, but begotten.

The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son: neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding.

So there is one Father, not three Fathers; one Son, not three Sons; one Holy Ghost, not three Holy Ghosts.

And in this Trinity none is before or after other; none is greater or less than another;

But the whole three Persons are coeternal together, and coequal: so that in all things, as is aforesaid, the Unity in Trinity and the Trinity in Unity is to be worshiped.

He, therefore, that will be saved must thus think of the Trinity.

Furthermore, it is necessary to everlasting salvation that he also believe faithfully the incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the right faith is, that we believe and confess that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God and Man;

Gott ist er, aus des Vaters Natur vor der Welt geboren; Mensch ist er, aus der Mutter Natur in der Welt geboren:

Ein vollkommener Gott, ein vollkommener Mensch mit vernünftiger Seele und menschlichem Leibe.

Gleich ist er dem Vater nach der Gottheit, kleiner ist er denn der Vater nach der Menschheit.

Und wiewohl er Gott und Mensch ist, so ist er doch nicht zwei, sondern ein Christus:

Einer, nicht daß die Gottheit in die Menschheit verwandelt sei, sondern daß die Gottheit hat die Menschheit an sich genommen.

Ja, einer ist er, nicht daß die zwei Naturen vermengt sind, sondern daß er eine einige Person ist.

Denn gleichwie Leib und Seele ein Mensch ist, so ist Gott und Mensch ein Christus,

Welcher gelitten hat um unserer Seligkeit willen, zur Hölle gefahren, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten,

Aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzet zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters,

Von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.

Und zu seiner Zukunft müssen alle Menschen auferstehen mit ihren eigenen Leibern

Und müssen Rechenschaft geben, was sie getan haben.

Und welche Gutes getan haben, werden ins ewige Leben gehen, welche aber Böses getan, ins ewige Feuer.

Das ist der rechte christliche Glaube; wer denselben nicht fest und treulich glaubt, der kann nicht selig werden.

29] Deus ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, et homo ex substantia matris in saeculo natus: [R. 4

30] Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens;

31] Aequalis Patri secundum divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem,

32] Qui, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

33] Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum.

34] Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae.

35] Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus,

36] Qui passus est pro nostra salute, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis,

37] Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis,

Inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

38] Ad cuius adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis

Et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem,

39] Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam; qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum.

40] Haec est fides catholica; quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.

God of the Substance of the Father, begotten before the worlds; and Man of the substance of His mother, born in the world;

Perfect God and perfect Man, of a reasonable soul and human flesh subsisting.

Equal to the Father as touching His Godhead, and inferior to the Father as touching His manhood;

Who, although He be God and Man, yet He is not two, but one Christ:

One, not by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking the manhood into God;

One altogether; not by confusion of Substance, but by unity of Person.

For as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man, so God and Man is one Christ;

Who suffered for our salvation; descended into hell, rose again the third day from the dead;

He ascended into heaven; He sitteth on the right hand of the Father, God Almighty; from whence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

At whose coming all men shall rise again with their bodies, and shall give an account of their own works.

And they that have done good shall go into life everlasting; and they that have done evil, into everlasting fire.

This is the catholic faith; which except a man believe faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved.

II.

CONFESSIO

[Augsburgiſche Konfeſſion]

oder

Bekenntnis des Glaubens

etlicher Fürſten und Städte,

überantwortet Kaiſerlicher Majeſtät zu Augsburg

Anno 1530.

CONFESSIO FIDEI

exhibita

Invictissimo Imperatori Carolo V. Caesari Augusto

in Comitiis Augustae

Anno MDXXX.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH

which was submitted to

His Imperial Majesty Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg

in the year 1530

[by certain princes and cities].

Pſ. 119, 46: Ich rede von deinen Zeugniſſen vor Königen und ſchäme mich nicht.	Ps. 119, 46: Loquebar de testimoniis tuis in conspectu regum et non confundebar.	Ps. 119, 46: I will speak of Thy testimonies also before kings, and will not be ashamed.

Vorrede.

Allerdurchlauchtigster, großmächtigster, unüberwindlichster Kaiser, allergnädigster Herr! Als Eure Kaiserliche Majestät kurz verschienener [abgelaufener] Zeit einen gemeinen Reichstag allhier gen Augsburg gnädiglich ausgeschrieben mit Anzeige und ernstem Begehr, von Sachen, unsern und des christlichen Namens Erbfeind, den Türken, betreffend, und wie demselben mit beharrlicher Hilfe stattlich widerstanden, auch wie der Zwiespalte halben in dem heiligen Glauben und der christlichen Religion gehandelt möge werden, zu ratschlagen und Fleiß anzukehren, alle eines jeglichen Gutdünken, Opinion und Meinung zwischen uns selbst in Liebe und Gütigkeit zu hören, zu ersehen und zu erwägen und dieselben zu einer einigen christlichen Wahrheit zu bringen und zu vergleichen, alles, so zu beiden Teilen nicht recht ausgelegt oder gehandelt wäre, abzutun und durch uns alle eine einige und wahre Religion anzunehmen und zu halten, und wie wir alle unter einem Christo sind und streiten, also auch alle in einer Gemeinschaft, Kirche und Einigkeit zu leben;

Und wir, die unten benannten Kurfürst und Fürsten samt unsern Verwandten, gleich andern Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen dazu erfordert: so haben wir uns darauf dermaßen erhoben, daß wir sonder Ruhm mit den ersten hierher gekommen.

Und alsdann auch E. K. M. zu untertänigster Folgtuung berührten E. K. M. Ausschreibens und demselben gemäß dieser Sache halben, den Glauben berührend, an Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände insgemein gnädiglich, auch mit höchstem Fleiß und ernstlich begehrt, daß ein jeglicher vermöge vorgemeldeten E. K. M. Ausschreibens sein Gutdünken, Opinion und Meinung derselben Irrungen, Zwiespalte und Mißbräuche halben usw. zu Deutsch und Latein in Schrift stellen und überantworten sollte; darauf dann nach genommenem Bedacht und gehaltenem Rat E. K. M. an vergangenem Mittwoch ist vorgetragen worden, als wollten wir auf unserm Teil das Unsere vermöge E. K. M. Vortrags in Deutsch und Latein auf heute, Freitag, übergeben: hierum und E. K. M. zu untertänigstem Gehorsam überreichen und übergeben wir unserer Pfarrherren, Prediger und ihrer Lehren, auch unsers Glaubens Bekenntnis, was und welchergestalt sie aus Grund göttlicher Heiliger Schrift in unsern Landen, Fürstentümern, Herrschaften, Städten und Gebieten predigen, lehren, halten und Unterricht tun.

Und sind gegen E. K. M., unsern allergnädigsten Herrn, wir in aller Untertänigkeit erbötig, so die andern Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände dergleichen gezwiefachte schriftliche Übergebung ihrer Meinung und Opinion in Latein und Deutsch jetzt auch tun werden, daß wir uns mit ihren

Praefatio ad Caesarem Carolum V.

1] Invictissime Imperator, Caesar Auguste, Domine clementissime. Quum Vestra [R. 5 Caesarea Maiestas indixerit conventum Imperii Augustae, ut deliberetur de auxiliis contra Turcam, atrocissimum, haereditarium atque veterem Christiani nominis ac religionis hostem, quomodo illius scilicet furori et conatibus durabili et perpetuo belli apparatu re-
2] sisti possit, deinde et de dissensionibus in causa nostrae sanctae religionis et Christianae fidei, et ut in hac causa religionis partium opiniones ac sententiae inter sese in caritate, lenitate et mansuetudine mutua audiantur coram, intelligantur et ponderentur,
3] ut illis, quae utrimque in Scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt, sepositis et correctis, res illae ad unam simplicem veritatem et Christianam concordiam componantur et
4] reducantur; ut de cetero a nobis una, sincera et vera religio colatur et servetur, ut, quemadmodum sub uno Christo sumus et militamus, ita in una etiam ecclesia Christiana in unitate et concordia vivere possimus;

Quumque nos infra scripti Elector et [R. 6
5] Principes cum aliis, qui nobis coniuncti sunt, perinde ut alii Electores et Principes et Status ad praedicta [*praefata] comitia evocati sumus [simus], ut Caesareo mandato obedienter obsequeremur, mature venimus Augustam et, quod citra iactantiam dictum volumus, inter primos affuimus.

6] Quum igitur V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et aliis Statibus Imperii etiam hic Augustae sub ipsa initia horum comitiorum inter cetera proponi fecerit, quod singuli status imperii vigore Caesarei edicti suam opinionem et sententiam in Germanica et Latina
7] lingua proponere debeant atque offerre; et habita deliberatione proxima feria quarta rursum responsum est, V. C. M. nos proxima feria sexta articulos nostrae confessionis pro nostra parte oblaturos esse: ideo, ut V. C. M.
8] voluntati obsequamur, offerimus in hac religionis causa nostrorum concionatorum et nostram confessionem, cuiusmodi doctrinam ex Scripturis Sanctis et puro Verbo Dei hactenus illi in nostris terris, ducatibus, ditionibus et urbibus tradiderint ac in ecclesiis tractaverint.

9] Quodsi et ceteri Electores, Principes ac Status Imperii similibus scriptis, Latinis scilicet et Germanicis, iuxta praedictam Caesaream propositionem suas opiniones in hac
10] causa religionis produxerint: hic nos coram V. C. M. tanquam domino nostro cle-

Preface to the Emperor Charles V.

Most Invincible Emperor, Caesar Augustus, Most Clement Lord: Inasmuch as Your Imperial Majesty has summoned a Diet of the Empire here at Augsburg to deliberate concerning measures against the Turk, that most atrocious, hereditary, and ancient enemy of the Christian name and religion, in what way, namely, effectually to withstand his furor and assaults by strong and lasting military provision; and then also concerning dissensions in the matter of our holy religion and Christian Faith, that in this matter of religion the opinions and judgments of the parties might be heard in each other's presence, and considered and weighed among ourselves in mutual charity, leniency, and kindness, in order that, after the removal and correction of such things as have been treated and understood in a different manner in the writings on either side, these matters may be settled and brought back to one simple truth and Christian concord, that for the future one pure and true religion may be embraced and maintained by us, that as we all are under one Christ and do battle under Him, so we may be able also to live in unity and concord in the one Christian Church.

And inasmuch as we, the undersigned Elector and Princes, with others joined with us, have been called to the aforesaid Diet, the same as the other Electors, Princes, and Estates, in obedient compliance with the Imperial mandate, we have promptly come to Augsburg, and — what we do not mean to say as boasting — we were among the first to be here.

Accordingly, since even here at Augsburg, at the very beginning of the Diet, Your Imperial Majesty caused to be proposed to the Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire, amongst other things, that the several Estates of the Empire, on the strength of the Imperial edict, should set forth and submit their opinions and judgments in the German and the Latin language, and since, on the ensuing Wednesday, answer was given to Your Imperial Majesty, after due deliberation, that we would submit the Articles of our Confession for our side on next Wednesday, therefore, in obedience to Your Imperial Majesty's wishes, we offer, in this matter of religion, the Confession of our preachers and of ourselves, showing what manner of doctrine from the Holy Scriptures and the pure Word of God has been up to this time set forth in our lands, dukedoms, dominions, and cities, and taught in our churches.

And if the other Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire will, according to the said Imperial proposition, present similar

Liebden und ihnen gern von bequemen, gleichmäßigen Wegen unterreden und derselben, soviel der Gleichheit nach immer möglich, vereinigen wollen, damit unser beiderseitiges, als Parte, schriftliches Vorbringen und Gebrechen zwischen uns selbst in Liebe und Gütigkeit gehandelt und dieselben Zwiespalte zu einer einigen wahren Religion, wie wir alle unter einem Christo sind und streiten und Christum bekennen sollen, alles nach Laut oftgemeldeten E. K. M. Ausschreibens und nach göttlicher Wahrheit geführt mögen werden. Als [wie] wir denn auch Gott den Allmächtigen mit höchster Demut anrufen und bitten wollen, seine göttliche Gnade dazu zu verleihen. Amen.

Wo aber bei unsern Herren, Freunden und besonders den Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des andern Teils die Handlung dermaßen, wie E. K. M. Ausschreiben vermag, unter uns selbst in Liebe und Gütigkeit bequeme Handlung nicht [*vermag („bequeme Handlung unter uns selbst in Liebe und Gütigkeit") nicht] verfangen noch ersprießlich sein wollte, als doch an uns in keinem, das mit Gott und Gewissen zu christlicher Einigkeit dienstlich sein kann oder mag, erwinden soll; wie E. K. M. auch gemeldete unsere Freunde, die Kurfürsten, Fürsten, Stände und ein jeder Liebhaber christlicher Religion, dem diese Sachen vorkommen, aus nachfolgenden unsern und der Unsern Bekenntnissen gnädiglich, freundlich und genugsam werden zu vernehmen haben.

Nachdem denn E. K. M. vormals Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des Reichs gnädiglich zu verstehen gegeben und sonderlich durch eine öffentlich verlesene Instruktion auf dem Reichstage, so im Jahr der mindern Zahl 26 zu Speier gehalten, daß E. K. M. in Sachen, unsern heiligen Glauben belangend, zu schließen lassen, aus Ursachen, so dabei gemeldet, nicht gemeint, sondern bei dem Papst um ein Konzilium fleißigen und Anhaltung tun wollten; und vor einem Jahr auf dem letzten Reichstag zu Speier vermöge einer schriftlichen Instruktion Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des Reichs, durch E. K. M. Statthalter im Reich, Königliche Würden zu Ungarn und Böhmen usw. samt E. K. M. Orator und verordneten Kommissarien dies unter andern haben vortragen und anzeigen lassen, daß E. K. M. derselben Statthalter, Amtsverwalter und Räte des kaiserlichen Regiments, auch der abwesenden Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände Botschafter, so auf dem ausgeschriebenen Reichstag zu Regensburg versammelt gewesen, Gutdünken, das Generalkonzilium belangend, nachgedacht und solches anzusetzen auch für fruchtbar erkannt; und weil sich aber diese Sachen zwischen E. K. M. und dem Papst zu gutem, christlichem Verstand schicken, daß E. K. M. gewiß wäre, daß durch den [*Papst das Generalkonzilium zu halten nicht geweigert: so wäre E. K. M. gnädiges Erbieten zu fordern und zu handeln, daß der] Papst solch Generalkonzilium neben E. K. M. zum ersten auszuschreiben bewilligen und daran kein Mangel erscheinen sollte.

mentissimo paratos offerimus, nos cum praefatis Principibus et amicis nostris de tolerabilibus modis ac viis amice conferre, ut quantum honeste fieri potest, conveniamus, et re inter nos, partes, citra odiosam contentionem pacifice agitata, Deo dante, dissensio dirimatur et ad unam veram concordem reli- 11] gionem reducatur; sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus et unum Christum confiteri debemus, iuxta tenorem edicti V. C. M., et omnia ad veritatem Dei perducantur, id quod ardentissimis votis a Deo petimus.

12] Si autem, quod ad ceteros Electo- [R. 7 res, Principes et Status, ut partem alteram, attinet, haec tractatio causae religionis eo modo, quo V. C. M. agendam et tractandam sapienter duxit, scilicet cum tali mutua praesentatione scriptorum ac sedata collatione inter nos non processerit, nec aliquo fructu facta 13] fuerit: nos quidem testatum clare relinquimus, hic nihil nos, quod ad Christianam concordiam (quae cum Deo et bona conscientia fieri possit) conciliandam conducere queat, ullo modo detrectare; quemadmodum 14] et V. C. M., deinde et ceteri Electores et Status Imperii et omnes, quicunque sincero religionis amore ac studio tenentur, quicunque hanc causam aequo animo audituri sunt, ex hac nostra et nostrorum confessione hoc clementer cognoscere et intelligere dignabuntur.

15] Quum etiam V. C. M. Electoribus, Principibus et reliquis Statibus Imperii non una vice, sed saepe clementer significaverit et in comitiis Spirensibus, quae anno Domini cet. XXVI. habita sunt, ex data et praescripta forma Vestrae Caesareae instructionis et commissionis recitari et publice praelegi fecerit: 16] V. M. in hoc negotio religionis ex causis certis, quae V. M. nomine allegatae sunt, non velle quidquam determinare, nec concludere posse, sed apud Pontificem Romanum pro officio V. C. M. diligenter daturam operam de congregando concilio generali. Quemadmodum 17] idem latius expositum est ante annum in publico proximo conventu, qui Spirae congre- 18] gatus fuit. Ubi V. C. M. per Dominum Ferdinandum, Bohemiae et Ungariae Regem, amicum et dominum clementem nostrum, deinde per Oratorem et Commissarios Caesareos haec inter cetera proponi fecit, quod V. C. M. intellexisset et expendisset Locum-tenentis [R. 8 V. C. M. in Imperio et Praesidentis et Consiliariorum in regimine et Legatorum ab aliis Statibus, qui Ratisbonae convenerant, delibe- 19] rationem de concilio congregando, et quod iudicaret etiam V. C. M. utile esse, ut congregaretur concilium, et quia causae, quae tum tractabantur inter V. C. M. et Romanum Pontificem, vicinae essent concordiae et Christianae reconciliationi, non dubitaret V. C. M., quin Romanus Pontifex adduci posset ad 20] habendum generale concilium: ideo significabat se V. C. M. operam daturam, ut praefatus pontifex maximus una cum V. C. M. tale generale concilium primo quoque tempore emissis litteris publicandum congregare consentiret.

writings, to wit, in Latin and German, giving their opinions in this matter of religion, we, with the Princes and friends aforesaid, here before Your Imperial Majesty, our most clement Lord, are prepared to confer amicably concerning all possible ways and means, in order that we may come together, as far as this may be honorably done, and, the matter between us on both sides being peacefully discussed without offensive strife, the dissension, by God's help, may be done away and brought back to one true accordant religion; for as we all are under one Christ and do battle under Him, we ought to confess the one Christ, after the tenor of Your Imperial Majesty's edict, and everything ought to be conducted according to the truth of God; and this it is what, with most fervent prayers, we entreat of God.

However, as regards the rest of the Electors, Princes, and Estates, who constitute the other part, if no progress should be made, nor some result be attained by this treatment of the cause of religion after the manner in which Your Imperial Majesty has wisely held that it should be dealt with and treated, namely, by such mutual presentation of writings and calm conferring together among ourselves, we at least leave with you a clear testimony, that we here in no wise are holding back from anything that could bring about Christian concord, — such as could be effected with God and a good conscience, — as also Your Imperial Majesty and, next, the other Electors and Estates of the Empire, and all who are moved by sincere love and zeal for religion, and who will give an impartial hearing to this matter, will graciously deign to take notice and to understand this from this Confession of ours and of our associates.

Your Imperial Majesty also, not only once, but often, graciously signified to the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire, and at the Diet of Spires held A. D. 1526, according to the form of Your Imperial instruction and commission given and prescribed, caused it to be stated and publicly proclaimed that Your Majesty, in dealing with this matter of religion, for certain reasons which were alleged in Your Majesty's name, was not willing to decide and could not determine anything, but that Your Majesty would diligently use Your Majesty's office with the Roman Pontiff for the convening of a General Council. The same matter was thus publicly set forth at greater length a year ago at the last Diet which met at Spires. There Your Imperial Majesty, through His Highness Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, our friend and clement Lord, as well as through the Orator and Imperial Commissioners, caused this, among other things, to be submitted: that Your Imperial Majesty had taken notice of, and pondered, the resolution of Your Majesty's Representative in the Empire, and of the President and Imperial Counselors, and the Legates from other Estates convened at Ratisbon, concerning the calling of a Council, and that your Imperial Majesty also judged it to be expedient to convene a Council; and that Your Imperial Majesty did not doubt the Roman Pontiff could be induced to hold a General Council, because the matters to be adjusted between Your Imperial Majesty and the Roman Pontiff were nearing agreement and Christian reconciliation; therefore Your Imperial Majesty himself signified that he would endeavor to secure the said Chief Pontiff's consent for convening, together with your Imperial Majesty, such General Council, to be published as soon as possible by letters that were to be sent out.

So erbieten gegen E. K. M. wir uns hiemit in aller Untertänigkeit und zum Überfluß, in berührtem Fall ferner auf ein solch gemein, frei, christlich Konzilium, darauf auf allen Reichstagen, so E. K. M. bei Ihrer Regierung im Reich gehalten, durch Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände aus hohen und tapfern Bewegungen geschlossen, an welches auch zusamt E. K. M. wir uns von wegen dieser großwichtigsten Sache in rechtlicher Weise und Form verschienener [abgelaufener] Zeit berufen und appelliert haben, der wir hiemit nochmals anhängig bleiben und uns durch diese oder nachfolgende Handlung (es werden denn diese zwiespaltigen Sachen endlich in Liebe und Gütigkeit, laut E. K. M. Ausschreibens, gehört, erwogen, beigelegt und zu einer christlichen Einigkeit verglichen) nicht zu begeben wissen, davon wir hiemit öffentlich bezeugen und protestieren. Und sind das unsere und der Unsern Bekenntnisse, wie unterschiedlich von Artikel zu Artikel hernach folgt.

21] In eventum ergo talem, quod in causa religionis dissensiones inter nos et partes amice et in caritate non fuerint compositae, tunc coram V. C. M. hic in omni obedientia nos offerimus ex superabundanti compariturosque et causam dicturos in tali generali, libero et Christiano concilio, de quo congregando in omnibus comitiis imperialibus, quae quidem annis Imperii V. C. M. habita sunt, per Electores, Principes et reliquos Status Imperii semper concorditer actum et congruentibus suf-
22] fragiis conclusum est. Ad cuius etiam generalis concilii conventum, simul et ad V. C. M. in hac longe maxima et gravissima causa iam ante etiam debito modo et in forma iuris provocavimus et appellavimus. Cui ap-
23] pellationi ad V. C. M. simul et concilium adhuc adhaeremus, neque eam per hunc vel alium tractatum (nisi causa inter nos et partes iuxta tenorem Caesareae proximae citationis amice in caritate composita, sedata et ad Christianam concordiam reducta fuerit) dese-
24] rere intendimus aut possumus; de quo hic etiam solenniter et publice protestamur.

Artikel des Glaubens und der Lehre.

Der I. Artikel. Von Gott.

Erstlich wird einträchtiglich gelehrt und gehalten, laut des Beschlusses Concilii Nicaeni, daß **ein einig göttlich Wesen sei,** welches genannt wird und wahrhaftiglich ist Gott, und sind doch drei Personen in demselben einigen göttlichen Wesen, gleich gewaltig, gleich ewig, Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott Heiliger Geist, alle drei ein göttlich Wesen, ewig, ohne Stücke, ohne Ende, unermeßlicher Macht, Weisheit und Güte, ein Schöpfer und Erhalter aller sichtbaren und unsichtbaren Dinge. Und wird durch das Wort Persona verstanden nicht ein Stück, nicht eine Eigenschaft in einem andern, sondern das selbst besteht, wie denn die Väter in dieser Sache dies Wort gebraucht haben.

Derhalben werden verworfen alle Ketzereien, so diesem Artikel zuwider sind, als Manichäi, die zwei Götter gesetzt haben, einen bösen und einen guten; item Valentiniani, Ariani, Eunomiani, Mahometisten und alle dergleichen, auch Samosateni, alte und neue, so nur eine Person setzen und von diesen zweien, Wort und Heiligem Geist, Sophisterei machen und sagen, daß es nicht müssen unterschiedene Personen sein, sondern Wort bedeute leiblich Wort oder Stimme, und der Heilige Geist sei erschaffene Regung in Kreaturen.

Der II. Artikel. Von der Erbsünde.

Weiter wird bei uns gelehrt, daß nach Adams Fall alle Menschen, so natürlich geboren werden, **in Sünden empfangen und geboren werden,** das ist, daß sie alle von Mutterleibe an voll böser Lust und Neigung sind und keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben können; daß auch dieselbe **angeborne Seuche** und **Erbsünde** wahrhaftiglich Sünde sei und verdamme alle die unter ewigen Gotteszorn, so nicht durch die Taufe und Heiligen Geist wiederum neugeboren werden.

ARTICULI FIDEI PRAECIPUI.

Art. I. De Deo.

1] Ecclesiae magno consensu apud nos docent, decretum Nicaenae synodi *de unitate essentiae divinae et de tribus personis* [R. 9
verum et sine ulla dubitatione credendum
2] esse, videlicet, quod sit una essentia divina, quae et appellatur et est Deus, aeternus, incorporeus, impartibilis, immensa potentia, sapientia, bonitate, Creator et Conservator omnium rerum, visibilium et invisibilium; et
3] tamen tres sint personae eiusdem essentiae et potentiae, et coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Et nomine *personae* utun-
4] tur ea significatione, qua usi sunt in hac causa scriptores ecclesiastici, ut significet non partem aut qualitatem in alio, sed quod proprie subsistit.

5] Damnant omnes haereses, contra hunc articulum exortas, ut Manichaeos, qui duo principia ponebant, bonum et malum, item Valentinianos, Arianos, Eunomianos, Mahometistas et omnes horum similes. Damnant
6] et Samosatenos, veteres et neotericos, qui, quum tantum unam personam esse contendant, de Verbo et de Spiritu Sancto astute et impie rhetoricantur, quod non sint personae distinctae, sed quod Verbum significet verbum vocale et Spiritus motum in rebus creatum.

Art. II. De Peccato Originis.

1] Item docent, quod post lapsum Adae omnes homines, secundum naturam propagati, *nascantur cum peccato*, hoc est, sine [R. 10
metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum et cum con-
2] cupiscentia, quodque hic *morbus* seu *vitium originis* vere sit peccatum, damnans et afferens nunc quoque aeternam mortem his, qui non renascuntur per baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum.

If the outcome, therefore, should be such that the differences between us and the other parties in the matter of religion should not be amicably and in charity settled, then here, before Your Imperial Majesty, we make the offer in all obedience, in addition to what we have already done, that we will all appear and defend our cause in such a general, free, Christian Council, for the convening of which there has always been accordant action and agreement of votes in all the Imperial Diets held during Your Majesty's reign, on the part of the Electors, Princes, and other Estates of the Empire. To the assembly of this General Council, and at the same time to Your Imperial Majesty, we have, even before this, in due manner and form of law, addressed ourselves and made appeal in this matter, by far the greatest and gravest. To this appeal, both to Your Imperial Majesty and to a Council, we still adhere; neither do we intend, nor would it be possible for us, to relinquish it by this or any other document, unless the matter between us and the other side, according to the tenor of the latest Imperial citation, should be amicably and charitably settled, allayed, and brought to Christian concord; and regarding this we even here solemnly and publicly testify.

CHIEF ARTICLES OF FAITH.

Article I: Of God.

Our Churches, with common consent, do teach that the decree of the Council of Nicaea *concerning the Unity of the Divine Essence and concerning the Three Persons*, is true and to be believed without any doubting; that is to say, there is one Divine Essence which is called and which is God: eternal, without body, without parts, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness, the Maker and Preserver of all things, visible and invisible; and yet there are three Persons, of the same essence and power, who also are coeternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And the term "person" they use as the Fathers have used it, to signify, not a part or quality in another, but that which subsists of itself.

They condemn all heresies which have sprung up against this article, as the Manichaeans, who assumed two principles, one Good and the other Evil; also the Valentinians, Arians, Eunomians, Mohammedans, and all such. They condemn also the Samosatenes, old and new, who, contending that there is but one Person, sophistically and impiously argue that the Word and the Holy Ghost are not distinct Persons, but that "Word" signifies a spoken word, and "Spirit" signifies motion created in things.

Article II: Of Original Sin.

Also they teach that since the fall of Adam, all men begotten in the natural way are born with sin, that is, without the fear of God, without trust in God, and with concupiscence; and that this *disease*, or *vice of origin*, is truly sin, even now condemning and bringing eternal death upon those not born again through Baptism and the Holy Ghost.

Hieneben werden verworfen die Pelagianer und andere, so die Erbsünde nicht für Sünde haben, damit sie die Natur fromm machen durch natürliche Kräfte, zu Schmach dem Leiden und Verdienst Christi.

Der III. Artikel. Von dem Sohne Gottes.

Item, es wird gelehrt, daß **Gott der Sohn** sei **Mensch geworden,** geboren aus der reinen Jungfrau Maria, und daß die zwei Naturen, göttliche und menschliche, in einer Person, also unzertrennlich vereinigt, ein Christus sind, welcher wahrer Gott und Mensch ist, wahrhaftig geboren, gelitten, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben, daß er ein Opfer wäre nicht allein für die Erbsünde, sondern auch für alle andern Sünden, und Gottes Zorn versöhnte.

Item, daß derselbe Christus sei abgestiegen zur Hölle, wahrhaftig am dritten Tage von den Toten auferstanden, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, daß er ewig herrsche über alle Kreaturen und regiere, daß er alle, so an ihn glauben, durch den Heiligen Geist heilige, reinige, stärke und tröste, ihnen auch Leben und allerlei Gaben und Güter austeile und [sie] wider den Teufel und wider die Sünde schütze und beschirme.

Item, daß derselbe HErr Christus endlich wird öffentlich kommen, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten usw., laut des Symboli Apostolorum.

Der IV. Artikel. Von der Rechtfertigung.

Weiter wird gelehrt, daß wir **Vergebung der Sünden und Gerechtigkeit vor Gott nicht erlangen mögen durch unser Verdienst, Werke und Genugtun,** sondern daß wir **Vergebung der Sünden bekommen** und **vor Gott gerecht werden aus Gnaden, um Christus' willen, durch den Glauben,** so wir glauben, daß Christus für uns gelitten hat, und daß uns um seinetwillen die Sünden vergeben, Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben geschenkt wird. Denn diesen Glauben will Gott für Gerechtigkeit vor ihm **halten** und **zurechnen,** wie St. Paulus sagt zu den Römern am 3. und 4.

Der V. Artikel. Vom Predigtamt.

Solchen Glauben zu erlangen, hat Gott das **Predigtamt eingesetzt, Evangelium und Sakramente** gegeben, dadurch er, als durch Mittel, den Heiligen Geist gibt, welcher den Glauben, wo und wann er will, in denen, so das Evangelium hören, wirkt, welches da lehrt, daß wir durch Christus' Verdienst, nicht durch unser Verdienst, einen gnädigen Gott haben, so wir solches glauben.

Und werden verdammt die Wiedertäufer und andere, so lehren, daß wir ohne das leibliche Wort des Evangelii den Heiligen Geist durch eigene Bereitung, Gedanken und Werke erlangen.

Der VI. Artikel. Vom neuen Gehorsam.

Auch wird gelehrt, daß **solcher Glaube gute Früchte und gute Werke bringen soll,** und daß man müsse gute Werke tun, allerlei, so Gott geboten hat, um Gottes willen, doch nicht auf solche Werke zu vertrauen, dadurch Gnade vor Gott zu verdienen. Denn wir empfangen Vergebung der

3] Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui vitium originis negant esse peccatum et, ut extenuent gloriam meriti et beneficiorum Christi, disputant hominem propriis viribus rationis coram Deo iustificari posse.

Art. III. De Filio Dei.

1] Item docent, quod *Verbum*, hoc est, *Filius Dei*, assumserit *humanam naturam* in 2] utero beatae Mariae virginis, ut sint duae naturae, divina et humana, in unitate personae inseparabiliter coniunctae, unus Christus, vere Deus et vere homo, natus ex virgine Maria, vere passus, crucifixus, mortuus et 3] sepultus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem et hostia esset non tantum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus actualibus hominum peccatis.

4] Idem descendit ad inferos et vere resurrexit tertia die, deinde ascendit ad coelos, ut sedeat at dexteram Patris, et perpetuo regnet et dominetur omnibus creaturis, sanctificet 5] credentes in ipsum, misso in corda eorum Spiritu Sancto, qui regat, consoletur ac vivificet eos ac defendat adversus diabolum et vim peccati.

6] Idem Christus palam est rediturus, ut iudicet vivos et mortuos etc. iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum.

Art. IV. De Iustificatione.

1] Item docent, quod homines non possint *iustificari coram Deo propriis viribus, meritis aut operibus, sed gratis iustificentur propter* 2] *Christum per fidem*, quum credunt se in gratiam recipi et peccata remitti propter Christum, qui sua morte pro nostris peccatis 3] satisfecit. Hanc fidem *imputat* Deus pro iustitia coram ipso, Rom. 3 et 4.

Art. V. De Ministerio Ecclesiastico.

1] Ut hanc fidem consequamur, *institutum est ministerium docendi evangelii et porrigendi sacramenta.* Nam per Verbum et [R. 11 sacramenta tamquam per instrumenta dona- 2] tur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt 3] evangelium, scilicet quod Deus non propter nostra merita, sed propter Christum iustificet hos, qui credunt se propter Christum in gratiam recipi.

4] Damnant Anabaptistas et alios, qui sentiunt Spiritum Sanctum contingere sine Verbo externo hominibus per ipsorum praeparationes et opera.

Art. VI. De Nova Obedientia.

1] Item docent, quod *fides illa debeat bonos fructus parere*, et quod oporteat bona opera mandata a Deo facere propter voluntatem Dei, non ut confidamus per ea opera iustificatio- 2] nem coram Deo mereri. Nam remissio peccatorum et iustificatio fide apprehenditur,

They condemn the Pelagians and others who deny that original depravity is sin, and who, to obscure the glory of Christ's merit and benefits, argue that man can be justified before God by his own strength and reason.

Article III: Of the Son of God.

Also they teach that *the Word*, that is, *the Son of God*, did assume *the human nature* in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably conjoined in one Person, one Christ, true God and true man, who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, that He might reconcile the Father unto us, and be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

He also descended into hell, and truly rose again the third day; afterward He ascended into heaven that He might sit on the right hand of the Father, and forever reign and have dominion over all creatures, and sanctify them that believe in Him, by sending the Holy Ghost into their hearts, to rule, comfort, and quicken them, and to defend them against the devil and the power of sin.

The same Christ shall openly come again to judge the quick and the dead, etc., according to the Apostles' Creed.

Article IV: Of Justification.

Also they teach that men cannot be *justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith*, when they believe that they are received into favor, and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, has made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight. Rom. 3 and 4.

Article V: Of the Ministry.

That we may obtain this faith, *the Ministry of Teaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments was instituted.* For through the Word and Sacraments, as through instruments, the Holy Ghost is given, who works faith, where and when it pleases God, in them that hear the Gospel, to wit, that God, not for our own merits, but for Christ's sake, justifies those who believe that they are received into grace for Christ's sake.

They condemn the Anabaptists and others who think that the Holy Ghost comes to men without the external Word, through their own preparations and works.

Article VI: Of New Obedience.

Also they teach that *this faith is bound to bring forth good fruits*, and that it is necessary to do good works commanded by God, because of God's will, but that we should not rely on those works to merit justification before God. For remission of sins and justification is apprehended by faith, as also the

Sünden und Gerechtigkeit durch den Glauben an Christum, wie Christus selbst spricht Luk. 17, 10: „So ihr dies alles getan habt, sollt ihr sprechen: Wir sind untüchtige Knechte.“ Also lehren auch die Väter. Denn Ambrosius spricht: „Also ist's beschlossen bei Gott, daß, wer an Christum glaubt, selig sei und nicht durch Werke, sondern allein durch den Glauben, ohne Verdienst, Vergebung der Sünden habe.“

Der VII. Artikel. Von der Kirche.

Es wird auch gelehrt, daß allezeit müsse **eine heilige christliche Kirche** sein und bleiben, welche ist die Versammlung aller Gläubigen, bei welchen das Evangelium rein gepredigt und die heiligen Sakramente laut des Evangelii gereicht werden.

Denn dieses ist genug zu wahrer Einigkeit der christlichen Kirche, daß da einträchtiglich nach reinem Verstand das Evangelium gepredigt und die Sakramente dem göttlichen Wort gemäß gereicht werden. Und ist nicht not zu wahrer Einigkeit der christlichen Kirche, daß allenthalben gleichförmige Zeremonien, von den Menschen eingesetzt, gehalten werden; wie Paulus spricht Eph. 4, 5. 6: „Ein Leib, ein Geist, wie ihr berufen seid zu einerlei Hoffnung eures Berufs; ein HErr, ein Glaube, eine Taufe.“

Der VIII. Artikel. Was die Kirche sei.

Item, wiewohl die **christliche Kirche** eigentlich nichts anderes ist denn die Versammlung aller Gläubigen und Heiligen, jedoch dieweil in diesem Leben viel falsche Christen und Heuchler sind, auch öffentliche Sünder unter den Frommen bleiben, so sind die Sakramente gleichwohl kräftig, obschon die Priester, dadurch sie gereicht werden, nicht fromm sind; wie denn Christus selbst anzeigt Matth. 23, 2: „Auf dem Stuhl Mosis sitzen die Pharisäer“ usw.

Derhalben werden die Donatisten und alle andern verdammt, so anders halten.

Der IX. Artikel. Von der Taufe.

Von der **Taufe** wird gelehrt, daß sie nötig sei, und daß dadurch Gnade angeboten werde, daß man auch die Kinder taufen soll, welche durch solche Taufe Gott überantwortet und gefällig werden.

Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, welche lehren, daß die Kindertaufe nicht recht sei.

Der X. Artikel. Vom heiligen Abendmahl.

Vom **Abendmahl des HErrn** wird also gelehrt, daß wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen wird. Derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehre verworfen.

Der XI. Artikel. Von der Beichte.

Von der **Beichte** wird also gelehrt, daß man in der Kirche privatam absolutionem erhalten und nicht fallen lassen soll; wiewohl in der Beichte nicht not ist, alle Missetat und Sünden zu erzählen, dieweil doch solches nicht möglich ist, Ps. 19, 13: „Wer kennt die Missetat?“

sicut testatur et vox Christi Luc. 17, 10: *Quum feceritis haec omnia, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.* Idem docent et veteres scripto-
3] res ecclesiastici. Ambrosius enim inquit: *Hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut, qui credit in Christum, salvus sit sine opere, sola fide gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum.*

Art. VII. De Ecclesia.

1] Item docent, quod *una sancta ecclesia* perpetuo mansura sit. Est autem ecclesia congregatio sanctorum, in qua evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur sacramenta.

2] Et ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis est consentire de doctrina evangelii et admini-
3] stratione sacramentorum. Nec necesse est ubique esse similes traditiones humanas, seu ritus aut ceremonias ab hominibus institutas.
4] Sicut inquit Paulus Eph. 4, 5. 6: *Una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium* etc.

Art. VIII. Quid sit Ecclesia.

1] Quamquam *ecclesia* proprie sit congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, tamen, quum in hac vita multi hypocritae et mali admixti sint, licet uti sacramentis, quae per malos administrantur, iuxta vocem [R. 12 Christi Matth. 23, 2: *Sedent scribae et Phari-*
2] *saei in cathedra Mosis* etc. Et sacramenta et Verbum propter ordinationem et mandatum Christi sunt efficacia, etiamsi per malos exhibeantur.

3] Damnant Donatistas et similes, qui negabant licere uti ministerio malorum in ecclesia, et sentiebant ministerium malorum inutile et inefficax esse.

Art. IX. De Baptismo.

1] De *baptismo* docent, quod sit necessa-
2] rius ad salutem, quodque per baptismum offeratur gratia Dei, et quod pueri sint baptizandi, qui per baptismum oblati Deo recipiantur in gratiam Dei.

3] Damnant Anabaptistas, qui improbant baptismum puerorum et affirmant pueros sine baptismo salvos fieri.

Art. X. De Coena Domini.

1] De *coena Domini* docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur
2] vescentibus in coena Domini; et improbant secus docentes.

Art. XI. De Confessione.

1] De *confessione* docent, quod absolutio privata in ecclesiis retinenda sit, quamquam in confessione non sit necessaria omnium
2] delictorum enumeratio. Est enim impossibilis iuxta Psalmum 19, 13: *Delicta quis intelligit?*

voice of Christ attests: *When ye shall have done all these things, say: We are unprofitable servants.* Luke 17, 10. The same is also taught by the Fathers. For Ambrose says: *It is ordained of God that he who believes in Christ is saved, freely receiving remission of sins, without works, by faith alone.*

Article VII: Of the Church.

Also they teach that *one holy Church* is to continue forever. The Church is the congregation of saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the Sacraments are rightly administered.

And to the true unity of the Church it is enough to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments. Nor is it necessary that human traditions, that is, rites or ceremonies, instituted by men, should be everywhere alike. As Paul says: *One faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all,* etc. Eph. 4, 5. 6.

Article VIII: What the Church Is.

Although *the Church* properly is the congregation of saints and true believers, nevertheless, since in this life many hypocrites and evil persons are mingled therewith, it is lawful to use Sacraments administered by evil men, according to the saying of Christ: *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses' seat,* etc. Matt. 23, 2. Both the Sacraments and Word are effectual by reason of the institution and commandment of Christ, notwithstanding they be administered by evil men.

They condemn the Donatists, and such like, who denied it to be lawful to use the ministry of evil men in the Church, and who thought the ministry of evil men to be unprofitable and of none effect.

Article IX: Of Baptism.

Of Baptism they teach that it is necessary to salvation, and that through Baptism is offered the grace of God; and that children are to be baptized, who, being offered to God through Baptism, are received into God's grace.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who reject the baptism of children, and say that children are saved without Baptism.

Article X: Of the Lord's Supper.

Of the Supper of the Lord they teach that the Body and Blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord; and they reject those that teach otherwise.

Article XI: Of Confession.

Of Confession they teach that Private Absolution ought to be retained in the churches, although in confession an enumeration of all sins is not necessary. For it is impossible, according to the Psalm: *Who can understand his errors?* Ps. 19, 12.

Der XII. Artikel. Von der Buße.

Von der **Buße** wird gelehrt, daß diejenigen, so nach der Taufe gesündigt haben, zu aller Zeit, so sie zur Buße kommen, mögen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, und ihnen die Absolution von der Kirche nicht soll geweigert werden. Und ist wahre, rechte Buße eigentlich, Reue und Leid oder Schrecken haben über die Sünde und doch daneben glauben an das Evangelium und Absolution, daß die Sünden vergeben und durch Christum Gnade erworben sei; welcher Glaube wiederum das Herz tröstet und zufrieden macht. Danach soll auch Besserung folgen, und daß man von Sünden lasse; denn dies sollen die Früchte der Buße sein, wie Johannes spricht Matth. 3, 8: „Wirket rechtschaffene Früchte der Buße."

Hier werden verworfen die, so lehren, daß diejenigen, so einst [einmal] sind fromm geworden, nicht wieder fallen mögen.

Dagegen werden auch verdammt die Novatiani, welche die Absolution denen, so nach der Taufe gesündigt hatten, weigerten.

Auch werden die verworfen, so nicht lehren, daß man durch Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlange, sondern durch unser Genugtun.

Der XIII. Artikel. Vom Gebrauch der Sakramente.

Vom **Gebrauch der Sakramente** wird gelehrt, daß die Sakramente eingesetzt sind nicht allein darum, daß sie Zeichen seien, dabei man äußerlich die Christen kennen möge, sondern daß es Zeichen und Zeugnisse sind göttliches Willens gegen uns, unsern Glauben dadurch zu erwecken und zu stärken; derhalben sie auch Glauben fordern und dann recht gebraucht werden, so man's im Glauben empfängt und den Glauben dadurch stärkt.

Der XIV. Artikel. Vom Kirchenregiment.

Vom **Kirchenregiment** wird gelehrt, daß niemand in der Kirche öffentlich lehren oder predigen oder Sakramente reichen soll ohne ordentlichen Beruf.

Der XV. Artikel. Von Kirchenordnungen.

Von **Kirchenordnungen,** von Menschen gemacht, lehrt man diejenigen halten, so ohne Sünde mögen gehalten werden und zum Frieden, zu guter Ordnung in der Kirche dienen, als gewisse Feier, Feste und dergleichen. Doch geschieht Unterricht dabei, daß man die Gewissen nicht damit beschweren soll, als sei solch Ding nötig zur Seligkeit. Darüber wird gelehrt, daß alle Satzungen und Traditionen, von Menschen dazu gemacht, daß man dadurch Gott versöhne und Gnade verdiene, dem Evangelio und der Lehre vom Glauben an Christum entgegen sind; derhalben seien Klostergelübde und andere Traditionen von Unterschied der Speise, Tage usw., dadurch man vermeint Gnade zu verdienen und für Sünden genugzutun, untüchtig und wider das Evangelium.

Art. XII. De Poenitentia.

1] De *poenitentia* docent, quod lapsis post baptismum contingere possit remissio peccatorum quocunque tempore, quum convertun-
2] tur, et quod ecclesia talibus redeuntibus ad poenitentiam absolutionem impertiri debeat. Constat autem poenitentia proprie his
3] duabus partibus. Altera est contritio seu
4] terrores incussi conscientiae agnito peccato; altera est fides, quae concipitur ex evan-
5] gelio seu absolutione, et credit propter Christum remitti peccata, et consolatur con-
6] scientiam et ex terroribus liberat. Deinde sequi debent bona opera, quae sunt fructus poenitentiae.

7] Damnant Anabaptistas, qui negant semel iustificatos posse amittere Spiritum Sanctum; item, qui contendunt, quibusdam tantam [R. 13
8] perfectionem in hac vita contingere, ut peccare non possint.

9] Damnantur et Novatiani, qui nolebant absolvere lapsos, post baptismum redeuntes ad poenitentiam.

10] Reiiciuntur et isti, qui non docent remissionem peccatorum per fidem contingere, sed iubent nos mereri gratiam per satisfactiones nostras.

Art. XIII. De Usu Sacramentorum.

1] De *usu sacramentorum* docent, quod sacramenta instituta sint, non modo ut sint notae professionis inter homines, sed magis ut sint signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei
2] erga nos, ad excitandam et confirmandam fidem in his, qui utuntur, proposita. Itaque utendum est sacramentis ita, ut fides accedat, quae credat promissionibus, quae per sacramenta exhibentur et ostenduntur.

3] Damnant igitur illos, qui docent, quod sacramenta ex opere operato iustificent, nec docent fidem requiri in usu sacramentorum, quae credat remitti peccata.

Art. XIV. De Ordine Ecclesiastico.

De *ordine ecclesiastico* docent, quod nemo debeat in ecclesia publice docere aut sacramenta administrare, nisi rite vocatus.

Art. XV. De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis.

1] De *ritibus ecclesiasticis* docent, quod ritus illi servandi sint, qui sine peccato servari possunt et prosunt ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in ecclesia, sicut certae feriae, festa et similia.

2] De talibus rebus tamen admonentur homines, ne conscientiae onerentur, tamquam talis cultus ad salutem necessarius sit.

3] Admonentur etiam, quod traditiones humanae institutae ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis adversentur evangelio et doctrinae [R. 14
fidei; quare vota et traditiones de cibis et
4] diebus etc. institutae ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro peccatis inutiles sint et contra evangelium.

Article XII: Of Repentance.

Of Repentance they teach that for those who have fallen after Baptism there is remission of sins whenever they are converted; and that the Church ought to impart absolution to those thus returning to repentance. Now, repentance consists properly of these two parts: One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which is born of the Gospel, or of absolution, and believes that, for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience, and delivers it from terrors. Then good works are bound to follow, which are the fruits of repentance.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who deny that those once justified can lose the Holy Ghost. Also those who contend that some may attain to such perfection in this life that they cannot sin.

The Novatians also are condemned, who would not absolve such as had fallen after Baptism, though they returned to repentance.

They also are rejected who do not teach that remission of sins comes through faith, but command us to merit grace through satisfactions of our own.

Article XIII: Of the Use of the Sacraments.

Of the Use of the Sacraments they teach that the Sacraments were ordained, not only to be marks of profession among men, but rather to be signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith in those who use them. Wherefore we must so use the Sacraments that faith be added to believe the promises which are offered and set forth through the Sacraments.

They therefore condemn those who teach that the Sacraments justify by the outward act, and who do not teach that, in the use of the Sacraments, faith which believes that sins are forgiven, is required.

Article XIV: Of Ecclesiastical Order.

Of Ecclesiastical Order they teach that no one should publicly teach in the Church or administer the Sacraments unless he be regularly called.

Article XV: Of Ecclesiastical Usages.

Of Usages in the Church they teach that those ought to be observed which may be observed without sin, and which are profitable unto tranquillity and good order in the Church, as particular holy-days, festivals, and the like.

Nevertheless, concerning such things men are admonished that consciences are not to be burdened, as though such observance was necessary to salvation.

They are admonished also that human traditions instituted to propitiate God, to merit grace, and to make satisfaction for sins, are opposed to the Gospel and the doctrine of faith. Wherefore vows and traditions concerning meats and days, etc., instituted to merit grace and to make satisfaction for sins, are useless and contrary to the Gospel.

Der XVI. Artikel.
Von Polizei und weltlichem Regiment.

Von **Polizei** und **weltlichem Regiment** wird gelehrt, daß alle Obrigkeit in der Welt und geordnete Regimente und Gesetze, gute Ordnung, von Gott geschaffen und eingesetzt sind; und daß Christen mögen in Obrigkeit-, Fürsten- und Richteramt ohne Sünde sein, nach kaiserlichen und andern üblichen Rechten Urteil und Recht sprechen, übeltäter mit dem Schwert strafen, rechte Kriege führen, streiten, kaufen und verkaufen, aufgelegte Eide tun, Eigenes haben, ehelich sein usw.

Hier werden verdammt die Wiedertäufer, so lehren, daß der Obangezeigten keines christlich sei.

Auch werden diejenigen verdammt, so lehren, daß christliche Vollkommenheit sei, Haus und Hof, Weib und Kind leiblich verlassen und sich der vorberührten Stücke äußern, so doch dies allein rechte Vollkommenheit ist: rechte Furcht Gottes und rechter Glaube an Gott. Denn das Evangelium lehrt nicht ein äußerlich, zeitlich, sondern innerlich, ewig Wesen und Gerechtigkeit des Herzens und stößt nicht um weltlich Regiment, Polizei und Ehestand, sondern will, daß man solches alles halte als wahrhaftige Ordnung [*Gottes], und in solchen Ständen christliche Liebe und rechte, gute Werke, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf, beweise.

Art. XVI. De Rebus Civilibus.

1] De *rebus civilibus* docent, quod legitimae ordinationes civiles sint bona opera Dei, quod 2] Christianis liceat gerere magistratus, exercere iudicia, iudicare res ex imperatoriis et aliis praesentibus legibus, supplicia iure constituere, iure bellare, militare, lege contrahere, tenere proprium, iusiurandum postulantibus magistratibus dare, ducere uxorem, nubere.

3] Damnant Anabaptistas, qui interdicunt haec civilia officia Christianis.

4] Damnant et illos, qui evangelicam perfectionem non collocant in timore Dei et fide, sed in deserendis civilibus officiis, quia evan- 5] gelium tradit iustitiam aeternam cordis. Interim non dissipat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed maxime postulat conservare tamquam ordinationes Dei et in talibus ordina- 6] tionibus exercere caritatem. Itaque necessario debent Christiani obedire magistratibus 7] suis et legibus; nisi quum iubent peccare, tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus. Act. 5, 29.

Derhalben sind die Christen schuldig, der Obrigkeit untertan und ihren Geboten gehorsam zu sein in allem, so ohne Sünde geschehen mag. Denn so der Obrigkeit Gebot ohne Sünde nicht geschehen mag, soll man Gott mehr gehorsam sein denn den Menschen. Act. 5, 29.

Der XVII. Artikel.
Von der Wiederkunft Christi zum Gericht.

Auch wird gelehrt, daß unser **HErr JEsus Christus am Jüngsten Tage kommen wird,** zu richten, und alle Toten auferwecken, den Gläubigen und Auserwählten ewiges Leben und ewige Freude geben, die gottlosen Menschen aber und die Teufel in die Hölle und ewige Strafe verdammen [wird].

Derhalben werden die Wiedertäufer verworfen, so lehren, daß die Teufel und [die] verdammten Menschen nicht ewige Pein und Qual haben werden.

Item, hier werden verworfen etliche jüdische Lehren, die sich auch jetzund ereignen, daß vor der Auferstehung der Toten eitel Heilige, Fromme ein weltlich Reich haben und alle Gottlosen vertilgen werden.

Art. XVII.
De Christi Reditu ad Iudicium.

1] Item docent, quod *Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad iudicandum,* et 2] mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam aeternam et perpetua gaudia, im- 3] pios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

4] Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem poenarum futurum esse.

5] Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Iudaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubique oppressis impiis.

Der XVIII. Artikel. Vom freien Willen.

Vom **freien Willen** wird gelehrt, daß der Mensch etlichermaßen einen freien Willen hat, äußerlich ehrbar zu leben und zu wählen unter den Dingen, so die Vernunft begreift; aber ohne Gnade, Hilfe und Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes vermag der Mensch nicht Gott gefällig [zu] werden, Gott herzlich zu fürchten oder zu glauben oder die angeborne böse Lust aus dem Herzen zu werfen, sondern solches geschieht durch den Heiligen Geist, welcher durch Gottes Wort gegeben wird. Denn Paulus spricht 1 Kor. 2, 14: „Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geist Gottes."

Und damit man erkennen möge, daß hierin keine Neuigkeit gelehrt werde, so sind das die klaren Worte Augustini vom freien Willen, wie jetzund hierbei geschrieben aus dem 3. Buch „Hypognosti-

Art. XVIII. De Libero Arbitrio.

1] De *libero arbitrio* docent, quod humana voluntas habeat aliquam libertatem ad [R. 15 efficiendam civilem iustitiam et deligendas 2] res rationi subiectas. Sed non habet vim sine Spiritu Sancto efficiendae iustitiae Dei seu iustitiae spiritualis, quia animalis homo 3] non percipit ea, quae sunt Spiritus Dei, 1 Cor. 2, 14; sed haec fit in cordibus, quum 4] per Verbum Spiritus Sanctus concipitur. Haec totidem verbis dicit Augustinus lib. III. *Hypognosticon: Esse fatemur liberum arbitrium omnibus hominibus, habens quidem iudicium rationis, non per quod sit idoneum in iis, quae ad Deum pertinent, sine Deo aut inchoare aut certe peragere, sed tantum in operibus vitae praesentis, tam bonis quam* 5] *etiam malis. Bonis dico, quae de bono*

Article XVI: Of Civil Affairs.

Of Civil Affairs they teach that lawful civil ordinances are good works of God, and that it is right for Christians to bear civil office, to sit as judges, to judge matters by the Imperial and other existing laws, to award just punishments, to engage in just wars, to serve as soldiers, to make legal contracts, to hold property, to make oath when required by the magistrates, to marry a wife, to be given in marriage.

They condemn the Anabaptists who forbid these civil offices to Christians.

They condemn also those who do not place evangelical perfection in the fear of God and in faith, but in forsaking civil offices; for the Gospel teaches an eternal righteousness of the heart. Meanwhile, it does not destroy the State or the family, but very much requires that they be preserved as ordinances of God, and that charity be practised in such ordinances. Therefore, Christians are necessarily bound to obey their own magistrates and laws, save only when commanded to sin; for then they ought to obey God rather than men. Acts 5, 29.

Article XVII: Of Christ's Return to Judgment.

Also they teach that *at the Consummation of the World Christ will appear for judgment,* and will raise up all the dead; He will give to the godly and elect eternal life and everlasting joys, but ungodly men and the devils He will condemn to be tormented without end.

They condemn the Anabaptists, who think that there will be an end to the punishments of condemned men and devils.

They condemn also others, who are now spreading certain Jewish opinions, that before the resurrection of the dead the godly shall take possession of the kingdom of the world, the ungodly being everywhere suppressed.

Article XVIII: Of Free Will.

Of Free Will they teach that man's will has some liberty to choose civil righteousness, and to work things subject to reason. But it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness; since the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, 1 Cor. 2, 14; but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word. These things are said in as many words by Augustine in his *Hypognosticon,* Book III: *We grant that all men have a free will, free, inasmuch as it has the judgment of reason; not that it is thereby capable, without God, either to begin, or, at least, to complete aught in things pertaining to God, but only in works of this life, whether good or evil. "Good" I call those works which spring from the good in nature, such as, willing to labor in the field, to eat and drink, to have a friend, to clothe oneself, to build a house, to marry a wife, to raise cattle, to*

kon" [Verfasser dieser antipelagianischen Schrift ist nicht Augustin, sondern Marius Mercator oder der Presbyter Sixtus, der nach Cölestin Bischof zu Rom wurde]: „Wir bekennen, daß in allen Menschen ein freier Wille ist; denn sie haben je alle natürlichen, angebornen Verstand und Vernunft, nicht daß sie etwas vermögen, mit Gott zu handeln, als, Gott von Herzen zu lieben, zu fürchten; sondern allein in äußerlichen Werken dieses Lebens haben sie Freiheit, Gutes oder Böses zu wählen. Gutes, meine ich, das die Natur vermag, als auf dem Acker zu arbeiten oder nicht, zu essen, zu trinken, zu einem Freunde zu gehen oder nicht, ein Kleid an- oder auszutun, zu bauen, ein Weib zu nehmen, ein Handwerk zu treiben und dergleichen etwas Nützliches und Gutes zu tun; welches alles doch ohne Gott nicht ist noch besteht, sondern alles aus ihm und durch ihn ist. Dagegen kann der Mensch auch Böses aus eigener Wahl vornehmen, als vor einem Abgott niederzuknien, einen Totschlag zu tun usw."

Der XIX. Artikel.
Von der Ursache der Sünde.

Von [der] **Ursache der Sünde** wird bei uns gelehrt, daß, wiewohl Gott der Allmächtige die ganze Natur geschaffen hat und erhält, so wirkt doch der verkehrte Wille die Sünde in allen Bösen und Verächtern Gottes; wie denn des Teufels Wille ist und aller Gottlosen, welcher alsbald, so Gott die Hand abgetan, sich von Gott zum Argen gewandt hat, wie Christus spricht Joh. 8, 44: „Der Teufel redet Lügen aus seinem Eigenen."

Der XX. Artikel.
Vom Glauben und guten Werken.

Den Unsern wird mit Unwahrheit aufgelegt, daß sie **gute Werke** verbieten. Denn ihre Schriften von [den] zehn Geboten und andere beweisen, daß sie von rechten christlichen Ständen und Werken guten, nützlichen Bericht und Ermahnung getan haben, davon man vor dieser Zeit wenig gelehrt hat, sondern allermeist in allen Predigten auf kindische, unnötige Werke, als Rosenkränze, Heiligendienst, Mönchwerden, Wallfahrten, gesetzte Fasten, Feier, Brüderschaften usw., getrieben. Solche unnötige Werke rühmt auch unser Widerpart nun nicht mehr so hoch als vorzeiten; dazu haben sie auch gelernt, nun vom Glauben zu reden, davon sie doch in Vorzeiten gar nichts gepredigt haben; lehren dennoch nun, daß wir nicht allein aus Werken gerecht werden vor Gott, sondern setzen den Glauben an Christum dazu, sprechen, Glaube und Werke machen uns gerecht vor Gott, welche Rede mehr Trost bringen möge, denn so man allein lehrt, auf Werke zu vertrauen.

Dieweil nun die Lehre vom Glauben, die das Hauptstück ist in christlichem Wesen, so lange Zeit, wie man bekennen muß, nicht getrieben worden, sondern allein Werklehre an allen Orten gepredigt, ist davon durch die Unsern solcher Unterricht geschehen:

Erstlich, daß uns unsere Werke nicht mögen mit Gott versöhnen und Gnade erwerben, sondern solches geschieht allein durch den Glauben, so man glaubt, daß uns um Christus' willen die Sünden vergeben werden, welcher allein der Mittler ist,

naturae oriuntur, id est, velle laborare in agro, velle manducare et bibere, velle habere amicum, velle habere indumenta, velle fabricare domum, uxorem velle ducere, pecora nutrire, artem discere diversarum rerum bonarum, vel quidquid bonum ad praesentem 6] *pertinet vitam. Quae omnia non sine divino gubernaculo subsistunt, imo ex ipso et per ipsum sunt et esse coeperunt. Malis* 7] *vero dico, ut est velle idolum colere, velle homicidium* etc.

8] Damnant Pelagianos et alios, qui docent, quod sine Spiritu Sancto solis naturae viribus possimus Deum super omnia diligere, item praecepta Dei facere quoad substantiam actuum. Quamquam enim externa opera 9] aliquo modo efficere natura possit (potest enim continere manus a furto, a caede), tamen interiores motus non potest efficere, ut timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, castitatem, patientiam etc.

Art. XIX. De Causa Peccati.

De *causa peccati* docent, quod, tametsi Deus creat et conservat naturam, tamen causa peccati est voluntas malorum, videlicet diaboli et impiorum, quae, non adiuvante Deo, avertit se a Deo, sicut Christus ait Ioh. 8, 44: *Quum loquitur mendacium, ex se ipso loquitur.*

Art. XX. De Bonis Operibus.

1] Falso accusantur nostri, quod *bona opera* 2] prohibeant. Nam scripta eorum, quae exstant de decem praeceptis, et alia simili [R. 16 argumento testantur, quod utiliter docuerint de omnibus vitae generibus et officiis, quae genera vitae, quae opera in qualibet voca- 3] tione Deo placeant. De quibus rebus olim parum docebant concionatores, tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant, ut certas ferias, certa ieiunia, fraternitates, peregrinationes, cultus sanctorum, rosaria, mona- 4] chatum et similia. Haec adversarii nostri admoniti nunc dediscunt, nec perinde praedi- 5] cant haec inutilia opera ut olim. Praeterea incipiunt fidei mentionem facere, de qua 6] olim mirum erat silentium. Docent nos non tantum operibus iustificari, sed coniungunt fidem et opera, et dicunt nos fide et 7] operibus iustificari. Quae doctrina tolerabilior est priore, et plus afferre potest consolationis quam vetus ipsorum doctrina.

8] Quum igitur *doctrina de fide*, quam oportet in ecclesia praecipuam esse, tamdiu iacuerit ignota, quemadmodum fateri omnes necesse est, de fidei iustitia altissimum silentium fuisse in concionibus, tantum doctrinam operum versatam esse in ecclesiis, nostri *de fide* sic admonuerunt ecclesias:

9] Principio, quod opera nostra non possint reconciliare Deum, aut mereri remissionem peccatorum et gratiam et iustificationem, sed hanc tantum fide consequimur, credentes, quod propter Christum recipiamur in gra-

learn divers useful arts, or whatsoever good pertains to this life. For all of these things are not without dependence on the providence of God; yea, of Him and through Him they are and have their beginning. "Evil" I call such works as willing to worship an idol, to commit murder, etc.

They condemn the Pelagians and others, who teach that without the Holy Ghost, by the power of nature alone, we are able to love God above all things; also to do the commandments of God as touching "the substance of the act." For, although nature is able in a manner to do the outward work, (for it is able to keep the hands from theft and murder,) yet it cannot produce the inward motions, such as the fear of God, trust in God, chastity, patience, etc.

Article XIX: Of the Cause of Sin.

Of the Cause of Sin they teach that, although God does create and preserve nature, yet the cause of sin is the will of the wicked, that is, of the devil and ungodly men; which will, unaided of God, turns itself from God, as Christ says John 8, 44: *When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own.*

Article XX: Of Good Works.

Our teachers are falsely accused of forbidding *Good Works.* For their published writings on the Ten Commandments, and others of like import, bear witness that they have taught to good purpose concerning all estates and duties of life, as to what estates of life and what works in every calling be pleasing to God. Concerning these things preachers heretofore taught but little, and urged only childish and needless works, as particular holy-days, particular fasts, brotherhoods, pilgrimages, services in honor of saints, the use of rosaries, monasticism, and such like. Since our adversaries have been admonished of these things, they are now unlearning them, and do not preach these unprofitable works as heretofore. Besides, they begin to mention faith, of which there was heretofore marvelous silence. They teach that we are justified not by works only, but they conjoin faith and works, and say that we are justified by faith and works. This doctrine is more tolerable than the former one, and can afford more consolation than their old doctrine.

Forasmuch, therefore, as *the doctrine concerning faith,* which ought to be the chief one in the Church, has lain so long unkown, as all must needs grant that there was the deepest silence in their sermons concerning the righteousness of faith, while only the doctrine of works was treated in the churches, our teachers have instructed the churches *concerning faith* as follows: —

First, that our works cannot reconcile God or merit forgiveness of sins, grace, and justification, but that we obtain this only by faith, when we believe that we are received into favor for Christ's sake, who alone has been set forth the Mediator and Propitiation, 1 Tim. 2, 5, in order that the Father may be reconciled through Him. Whoever, therefore,

den Vater zu versöhnen. 1 Tim. 2, 5. Wer nun vermeint, solches durch Werke auszurichten und Gnade zu verdienen, der verachtet Christum und sucht einen eigenen Weg zu Gott, wider das Evangelium.

Diese Lehre vom Glauben ist öffentlich und klar im Paulo an vielen Orten gehandelt, sonderlich zu den Ephesern am 2, 8: „Aus Gnaden seid ihr selig worden durch den Glauben, und dasselbige nicht aus euch, sondern es ist Gottes Gabe; nicht aus Werken, damit sich niemand rühme" usw.

Und daß hierin kein neuer Verstand eingeführt sei, kann man aus Augustino beweisen, der diese Sache fleißig handelt und auch also lehrt, daß wir durch den Glauben an Christum Gnade erlangen und vor Gott gerecht werden und nicht durch Werke, wie sein ganzes Buch De Spiritu et Litera ausweist.

Wiewohl nun diese Lehre bei unversuchten Leuten sehr verachtet wird, so befindet sich's doch, daß sie den blöden und erschrockenen Gewissen sehr tröstlich und heilsam ist. Denn das Gewissen kann nicht zu Ruhe und Frieden kommen durch Werke, sondern allein durch [den] Glauben, so es bei sich gewißlich schließt, daß es um Christus' willen einen gnädigen Gott habe, wie auch Paulus spricht Röm. 5, 1: „So wir durch den Glauben sind gerecht worden, haben wir Ruhe und Frieden mit Gott."

Diesen Trost hat man vorzeiten nicht getrieben in Predigten, sondern die armen Gewissen auf eigene Werke getrieben, und sind mancherlei Werke vorgenommen. Denn etliche hat das Gewissen in die Klöster gejagt, der Hoffnung, daselbst Gnade zu erwerben durch Klosterleben; etliche haben andere Werke erdacht, damit Gnade zu verdienen und für Sünde genugzutun. Derselben viele haben erfahren, daß man dadurch nicht ist zum Frieden gekommen. Darum ist not gewesen, diese Lehre vom Glauben an Christum zu predigen und fleißig zu treiben, daß man wisse, daß man allein durch den Glauben, ohne Verdienst, Gottes Gnade ergreift.

Es geschieht auch Unterricht, daß man hier nicht von solchem Glauben redet, den auch die Teufel und [die] Gottlosen haben, die auch die Historien glauben, daß Christus gelitten habe und auferstanden sei von [den] Toten, sondern man redet von wahrem Glauben, der da glaubt, daß wir durch Christum Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen.

Und der nun weiß, daß er einen gnädigen Gott durch Christum hat, kennt also Gott, ruft ihn an und ist nicht ohne Gott wie die Heiden. Denn der Teufel und [die] Gottlosen glauben diesen Artikel, Vergebung der Sünden, nicht, darum sind sie Gott feind, können ihn nicht anrufen,

tiam, qui solus positus est mediator et propitiatorium, per quem reconcilietur Pater.
10] Itaque qui confidit operibus se mereri gratiam, is aspernatur Christi meritum et gratiam, et quaerit sine Christo humanis viribus viam ad Deum, quum Christus de se dixerit Ioh. 14, 6: *Ego sum via, veritas et vita.*

11] Haec doctrina de fide ubique in Paulo tractatur; Eph. 2, 8: *Gratia salvi facti estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis, Dei donum est, non ex operibus* etc.

12] Et ne quis cavilletur a nobis novam Pauli interpretationem excogitari, tota haec causa habet testimonia patrum. Nam [R. 17
13] Augustinus multis voluminibus defendit gratiam et iustitiam fidei contra merita ope-
14] rum. Et similia docet Ambrosius [Prosper Aquitanus] *De Vocatione Gentium* et alibi. Sic enim inquit *De Vocatione Gentium: Vilesceret redemptio sanguinis Christi, nec misericordiae Dei humanorum operum praerogativa succumberet, si iustificatio, quae fit per gratiam, meritis praecedentibus deberetur, ut non munus largientis, sed merces esset operantis.*

15] Quamquam autem haec doctrina contemnitur ab imperitis, tamen experiuntur piae ac pavidae conscientiae plurimum eam consolationis afferre, quia conscientiae non possunt reddi tranquillae per ulla opera, sed tantum fide, quum certo statuunt, quod propter Christum habeant placatum Deum, quem-
16] admodum Paulus docet Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati per fidem, pacem habemus apud Deum.*
17] Tota haec doctrina ad illud certamen perterrefactae conscientiae referenda est, nec sine illo certamine intelligi potest. Quare
18] male iudicant de ea re homines imperiti et profani, qui Christianam iustitiam nihil esse somniant nisi civilem et philosophicam iustitiam.

19] Olim vexabantur conscientiae doctrina operum, non audiebant ex evangelio consola-
20] tionem. Quosdam conscientia expulit in desertum, in monasteria, sperantes ibi se gratiam merituros esse per vitam monasticam.
21] Alii alia excogitaverunt opera ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro pec-
22] catis. Ideo magnopere fuit opus hanc doctrinam de fide in Christum tradere et renovare, ne deesset consolatio pavidis conscientiis, sed scirent, fide in Christum apprehendi gratiam et remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem.

23] Admonentur etiam homines, quod hic nomen fidei non significet tantum historiae notitiam, qualis est in impiis et diabolo, [R. 18 sed significet fidem, quae credit non tantum historiam, sed etiam effectum historiae, videlicet hunc articulum, remissionem peccatorum, quod videlicet per Christum habeamus gratiam, iustitiam et remissionem peccatorum.
24] Iam qui scit se per Christum habere propitium Patrem, is vere novit Deum, scit se ei curae esse, invocat eum, denique non est
25] sine Deo, sicut gentes. Nam diaboli et impii non possunt hunc articulum credere: remissionem peccatorum. Ideo Deum tam-

trusts that by works he merits grace, despises the merit and grace of Christ, and seeks a way to God without Christ, by human strength, although Christ has said of Himself: *I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* John 14, 6.

This doctrine concerning faith is everywhere treated by Paul, Eph. 2, 8: *By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, not of works,* etc.

And lest any one should craftily say that a new interpretation of Paul has been devised by us, this entire matter is supported by the testimonies of the Fathers. For Augustine, in many volumes, defends grace and the righteousness of faith, over against the merits of works. And Ambrose, in his *De Vocatione Gentium,* and elsewhere, teaches to like effect. For in his *De Vocatione Gentium* he says as follows: *Redemption by the blood of Christ would become of little value, neither would the preeminence of man's works be superseded by the mercy of God, if justification, which is wrought through grace, were due to the merits going before, so as to be, not the free gift of a donor, but the reward due to the laborer.*

But, although this doctrine is despised by the inexperienced, nevertheless God-fearing and anxious consciences find by experience that it brings the greatest consolation, because consciences cannot be set at rest through any works, but only by faith, when they take the sure ground that for Christ's sake they have a reconciled God. As Paul teaches Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* This whole doctrine is to be referred to that conflict of the terrified conscience; neither can it be understood apart from that conflict. Therefore inexperienced and profane men judge ill concerning this matter, who dream that Christian righteousness is nothing but civil and philosophical righteousness.

Heretofore consciences were plagued with the doctrine of works; they did not hear the consolation from the Gospel. Some persons were driven by conscience into the desert, into monasteries, hoping there to merit grace by a monastic life. Some also devised other works whereby to merit grace and make satisfaction for sins. Hence there was very great need to treat of, and renew, this doctrine of faith in Christ, to the end that anxious consciences should not be without consolation, but that they might know that grace and forgiveness of sins and justification are apprehended by faith in Christ.

Men are also admonished that here the term "faith" does not signify merely the knowledge of the history, such as is in the ungodly and in the devil, but signifies a faith which believes, not merely the history, but also the effect of the history — namely, this article: the forgiveness of sins, to wit, that we have grace, righteousness, and forgiveness of sins through Christ.

Now he that knows that he has a Father gracious to him through Christ, truly knows God; he knows also that God cares for him,

nichts Gutes von ihm hoffen. Und also, wie jetzt angezeigt ist, redet die Schrift vom Glauben, und heißt nicht Glauben ein solches Wissen, das Teufel und gottlose Menschen haben. Denn also wird vom Glauben gelehrt zu den Hebräern am 11., daß glauben sei nicht allein die Historien wissen, sondern Zuversicht haben zu Gott, seine Zusage zu empfangen. Und Augustinus erinnert uns auch, daß wir das Wort „Glaube" in der Schrift verstehen sollen, daß es heiße Zuversicht zu Gott, daß er uns gnädig sei, und heiße nicht allein solche Historien wissen, wie auch die Teufel wissen.

Ferner wird gelehrt, daß gute Werke sollen und müssen geschehen, nicht daß man darauf vertraue, Gnade damit zu verdienen, sondern um Gottes willen und Gott zu Lob. Der Glaube ergreift allezeit allein Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden. Und dieweil durch den Glauben der Heilige Geist gegeben wird, so wird auch das Herz geschickt, gute Werke zu tun. Denn zuvor, dieweil es ohne den Heiligen Geist ist, so ist es zu schwach, dazu ist es in des Teufels Gewalt, der die arme menschliche Natur zu vielen Sünden treibt; wie wir sehen in den Philosophen, welche sich unterstanden, ehrlich und unsträflich zu leben, haben aber dennoch solches nicht ausgerichtet, sondern sind in viele große, öffentliche Sünde gefallen. Also geht es mit dem Menschen, so er außer dem rechten Glauben ohne den Heiligen Geist ist und sich allein durch eigene menschliche Kräfte regiert.

Derhalben ist die Lehre vom Glauben nicht zu schelten, daß sie gute Werke verbiete, sondern vielmehr zu rühmen, daß sie lehre, gute Werke zu tun, und Hilfe anbiete, wie man zu guten Werken kommen möge. Denn außer dem Glauben und außerhalb Christo ist menschliche Natur und Vermögen viel zu schwach, gute Werke zu tun, Gott anzurufen, Geduld zu haben im Leiden, den Nächsten zu lieben, befohlene Ämter fleißig auszurichten, gehorsam zu sein, böse Lüste zu meiden. Solche hohe und rechte Werke mögen nicht geschehen ohne die Hilfe Christi, wie er selbst spricht Joh. 15, 5: „Ohne mich könnt ihr nichts tun."

Der XXI. Artikel. Vom Dienst der Heiligen.

Vom **Heiligendienst** wird von den Unsern also gelehrt, daß man der Heiligen gedenken soll, auf daß wir unsern Glauben stärken, so wir sehen, wie ihnen Gnade widerfahren, auch wie ihnen durch Glauben geholfen ist; dazu, daß man Exempel nehme von ihren guten Werken, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf, gleichwie die Kaiserliche Majestät seliglich und göttlich dem Exempel Davids folgen mag, Kriege wider den Türken zu führen; denn beide sind sie in dem königlichen Amt, welches Schutz und Schirm ihrer Untertanen fordert. Durch Schrift aber mag man nicht beweisen, daß man die Heiligen anrufen oder Hilfe bei ihnen suchen soll. Denn es ist allein ein einiger Versöhner und Mittler gesetzt zwischen Gott und den Menschen, JEsus Christus, 1 Tim. 2, 5, welcher ist der einige

quam hostem oderunt, non invocant eum, **26**] nihil boni ab eo exspectant. Augustinus etiam de fidei nomine hoc modo admonet lectorem et docet in Scripturis nomen fidei accipi non pro notitia, qualis est in impiis, sed pro fiducia, quae consolatur et erigit perterrefactas mentes.

27] Praeterea docent nostri, quod necesse sit bona opera facere, non ut confidamus per ea gratiam mereri, sed propter voluntatem **28**] Dei. Tantum fide apprehenditur remissio **29**] peccatorum ac gratia. Et quia per fidem accipitur Spiritus Sanctus, iam corda renovantur et induunt novos affectus, ut parere **30**] bona opera possint. Sic enim ait Ambrosius [*De Vocatione Gentium*]: *Fides bonae voluntatis et iustae actionis genitrix est.* **31**] Nam humanae vires sine Spiritu Sancto plenae sunt impiis affectibus et sunt imbecilliores, quam ut bona opera possint efficere **32**] coram Deo. Adhaec sunt in potestate diaboli, qui impellit homines ad varia pec**33**] cata, ad impias opiniones, ad manifesta scelera; quemadmodum est videre in philosophis, qui et ipsi conati honeste vivere, tamen id non potuerunt efficere, sed conta**34**] minati sunt multis manifestis sceleribus. Talis est imbecillitas hominis, quum est sine fide et sine Spiritu Sancto et tantum humanis viribus se gubernat.

35] Hinc facile apparet, hanc doctrinam non esse accusandam, quod bona opera [R. 19 prohibeat, sed multo magis laudandam, quod ostendit, quomodo bona opera facere possi**36**] mus. Nam sine fide nullo modo potest humana natura primi aut secundi praecepti **37**] opera facere. Sine fide non invocat Deum, a Deo nihil exspectat, non tolerat crucem, sed quaerit humana praesidia, confidit humanis **38**] praesidiis. Ita regnant in corde omnes cupiditates et humana consilia, quum abest **39**] fides et fiducia erga Deum. Quare et Christus dixit: *Sine me nihil potestis facere,* **40**] Ioh. 15, 5. Et ecclesia canit: *Sine tuo numine nihil est in homine, nihil est innoxium.*

Art. XXI. De Cultu Sanctorum.

1] De *cultu sanctorum* docent, quod memoria sanctorum proponi potest, ut imitemur fidem eorum et bona opera iuxta vocationem, ut Caesar imitari potest exemplum Davidis in bello gerendo ad depellendos Turcas a patria. **2**] Nam uterque rex est. Sed Scriptura non docet invocare sanctos, seu petere auxilium a sanctis, quia unum Christum nobis proponit mediatorem, propitiatorium, pontificem et **3**] intercessorem. Hic invocandus est, et promisit se exauditurum esse preces nostras, et hunc cultum maxime probat, videlicet ut in**4**] vocetur in omnibus afflictionibus. 1 Ioh. 2, 1: *Si quis peccat, habemus advocatum apud Deum* etc.

and calls upon God; in a word, he is not without God, as the heathen. For devils and the ungodly are not able to believe this article: the forgiveness of sins. Hence, they hate God as an enemy, call not upon Him, and expect no good from Him. Augustine also admonishes his readers concerning the word "faith," and teaches that the term "faith" is accepted in the Scriptures, not for knowledge such as is in the ungodly, but for confidence which consoles and encourages the terrified mind.

Furthermore, it is taught on our part that it is necessary to do good works, not that we should trust to merit grace by them, but because it is the will of God. It is only by faith that forgiveness of sins is apprehended, and that, for nothing. And because through faith the Holy Ghost is received, hearts are renewed and endowed with new affections, so as to be able to bring forth good works. For Ambrose says: *Faith is the mother of a good will and right doing.* For man's powers without the Holy Ghost are full of ungodly affections, and are too weak to do works which are good in God's sight. Besides, they are in the power of the devil, who impels men to divers sins, to ungodly opinions, to open crimes. This we may see in the philosophers, who, although they endeavored to live an honest life, could not succeed, but were defiled with many open crimes. Such is the feebleness of man when he is without faith and without the Holy Ghost, and governs himself only by human strength.

Hence it may be readily seen that this doctrine is not to be charged with prohibiting good works, but rather the more to be commended, because it shows how we are enabled to do good works. For without faith human nature can in no wise do the works of the First or of the Second Commandment. Without faith it does not call upon God, nor expect anything from God, nor bear the cross, but seeks, and trusts in, man's help. And thus, when there is no faith and trust in God, all manner of lusts and human devices rule in the heart. Wherefore Christ said, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing;* and the Church sings:

> Lacking Thy divine favor,
> There is nothing found in man,
> Naught in him is harmless.

Article XXI:
Of the Worship of the Saints.

Of the Worship of Saints they teach that the memory of saints may be set before us, that we may follow their faith and good works, according to our calling, as the Emperor may follow the example of David in making war to drive away the Turk from his country. For both are kings. But the Scripture teaches not the invocation of saints, or to ask help of saints, since it sets before us the one Christ as the Mediator, Propitiation, High Priest, and Intercessor. He is to be prayed to, and has promised that He will hear our prayer; and this worship He ap-

Heiland, der einige oberste Priester, Gnadenstuhl und Fürsprecher vor Gott, Röm. 8, 34. Und der hat allein zugesagt, daß er unser Gebet erhören wolle. Das ist auch der höchste Gottesdienst nach der Schrift, daß man denselben JEsum Christum in allen Nöten und Anliegen von Herzen suche und anrufe. 1 Joh. 2, 1: „So jemand sündigt, haben wir einen Fürsprecher bei Gott, der gerecht ist, JEsum."

Dies ist fast die Summa der Lehre, welche in unsern Kirchen zu rechtem christlichen Unterricht und Trost der Gewissen, auch zur Besserung der Gläubigen gepredigt und gelehrt ist, wie wir denn unsere eigene Seele und Gewissen je nicht gerne wollten vor Gott mit Mißbrauch göttliches Namens oder Worts in die höchste und größte Fahr [Gefahr] setzen oder auf unsere Kinder und Nachkommen eine andere Lehre, denn so dem reinen göttlichen Wort und christlicher Wahrheit gemäß, fällen [fallen lassen] oder erben. So denn dieselbe in Heiliger Schrift klar gegründet und dazu auch gemeiner christlicher, ja römischer Kirche, soviel aus der Väter Schriften zu vermerken, nicht zuwider noch entgegen ist, so achten wir auch, unsere Widersacher können in obangezeigten Artikeln nicht uneinig mit uns sein. Derhalben handeln diejenigen ganz unfreundlich, geschwind und wider alle christliche Einigkeit und Liebe, so die Unsern derhalben als Ketzer abzusondern, zu verwerfen und zu meiden ihnen selbst ohne einigen beständigen Grund göttlicher Gebote oder Schrift vornehmen. Denn die Irrung und Zank ist vornehmlich über etlichen Traditionen und Mißbräuchen. So denn nun an den Hauptartikeln kein befindlicher Ungrund oder Mangel, und dies unser Bekenntnis göttlich und christlich ist, sollten sich billig die Bischöfe, wenn schon bei uns der Tradition halben ein Mangel wäre, gelinder erzeigen, wiewohl wir verhoffen, beständigen Grund und Ursachen darzutun, warum bei uns etliche Traditionen und Mißbräuche geändert sind.

1] Haec fere summa est doctrinae apud nos, in qua cerni potest nihil inesse, quod discrepet a Scripturis, vel ab ecclesia catholica, vel ab ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est. Quod quum ita sit, inclementer iudicant isti, qui nostros pro 2] haereticis haberi postulant. Sed dissensio est de quibusdam abusibus, qui sine certa auctoritate in ecclesias irrepserunt, in quibus etiam, si qua esset dissimilitudo, tamen [R. 20 decebat haec lenitas episcopos, ut propter confessionem, quam modo recensuimus, tolerarent nostros, quia ne canones quidem tam duri sunt, ut eosdem ritus ubique esse postulent, neque similes unquam omnium ecclesiarum 3] ritus fuerunt. Quamquam apud nos magna ex parte veteres ritus diligenter servantur. 4] Falsa enim calumnia est, quod omnes ceremoniae, omnia vetera instituta in ecclesiis 5] nostris aboleantur. Verum publica querela fuit abusus quosdam in vulgaribus ritibus haerere. Hi, quia non poterant bona conscientia probari, aliqua ex parte correcti sunt.

Artikel, von welchen Zwiespalt ist, da erzählt werden die Mißbräuche, so geändert sind.

So nun von den Artikeln des Glaubens in unsern Kirchen nicht gelehrt wird zuwider der Heiligen Schrift oder gemeiner christlicher Kirche, sondern allein etliche Mißbräuche geändert sind, welche zum Teil mit der Zeit selbst eingerissen, zum Teil mit Gewalt aufgerichtet [sind], fordert unsere Notdurft, dieselben zu erzählen und Ursache darzutun, warum hierin Änderung geduldet ist, damit Kaiserliche Majestät erkennen möge, daß nicht hierin unchristlich oder freventlich gehandelt, sondern daß wir durch Gottes Gebot, welches billig höher zu achten denn alle Gewohnheit, gedrungen sind, solche Änderung zu gestatten.

ARTICULI, IN QUIBUS RECENSENTUR ABUSUS MUTATI.

1] Quum ecclesiae apud nos de nullo articulo fidei dissentiant ab ecclesia catholica, tantum paucos quosdam abusus omittant, qui novi sunt et contra voluntatem canonum vitio temporum recepti, rogamus, ut Caesarea Maiestas clementer audiat, et quid sit mutatum, et quae fuerint causae, quo minus coactus sit populus illos abusus contra con- 2] scientiam observare. Nec habeat fidem Caesarea Maiestas istis, qui, ut inflamment odia hominum adversus nostros, miras calu- 3] mnias spargunt in populum. Hoc modo irritatis animis bonorum virorum initio praebuerunt occasionem huic dissidio, et eadem 4] arte conantur nunc augere discordias. Nam Caesarea Maiestas haud dubie comperiet tolerabiliorem esse formam et doctrinae et ceremoniarum apud nos, quam qualem homines iniqui 5] et malevoli describunt. Porro veritas ex vulgi rumoribus aut maledictis inimicorum col- 6] ligi non potest. Facile autem hoc iudicari potest, nihil magis prodesse ad dignitatem ceremoniarum conservandam et alendam reverentiam ac pietatem in populo, quam si ceremoniae rite fiant in ecclesiis.

Der XXII. Artikel.
Von beider Gestalt des Sakraments.

Den Laien wird bei uns **beide Gestalt des Sakraments** gereicht aus dieser Ursache, daß dies ist ein klarer Befehl und Gebot Christi, Matth. 26, 27: „Trinket alle daraus!" Da gebietet Christus mit klaren Worten von dem Kelch, daß sie alle daraus trinken sollen.

Und damit niemand diese Worte anfechten und glossieren könne, als gehöre es allein den Priestern zu, so zeigt Paulus 1 Kor. 11, 26 an, daß die

I. De Utraque Specie.

1] Laicis datur *utraque species sacramenti in coena Domini*, quia hic mos habet [R. 21 mandatum Domini Matth. 26, 27: *Bibite ex* 2] *hoc omnes*. Ubi manifeste praecepit Christus de poculo, ut omnes bibant.

3] Et ne quis possit cavillari, quod hoc ad sacerdotes tantum pertineat, Paulus ad Corinthios 11, 26 exemplum recitat, in quo ap-

proves above all, to wit, that in all afflictions He be called upon, 1 John 2, 1: *If any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father,* etc.

This is about the Sum of our Doctrine, in which, as can be seen, there is nothing that varies from the Scriptures, or from the Church Catholic, or from the Church of Rome as known from its writers. This being the case, they judge harshly who insist that our teachers be regarded as heretics. There is, however, disagreement on certain Abuses, which have crept into the Church without rightful authority. And even in these, if there were some difference, there should be proper lenity on the part of bishops to bear with us by reason of the Confession which we have now reviewed; because even the Canons are not so severe as to demand the same rites everywhere, neither, at any time, have the rites of all churches been the same; although, among us, in large part, the ancient rites are diligently observed. For it is a false and malicious charge that all the ceremonies, all the things instituted of old, are abolished in our churches. But it has been a common complaint that some abuses were connected with the ordinary rites. These, inasmuch as they could not be approved with a good conscience, have been to some extent corrected.

ARTICLES IN WHICH ARE REVIEWED THE ABUSES WHICH HAVE BEEN CORRECTED.

Inasmuch, then, as our churches dissent in no article of the faith from the Church Catholic, but only omit some abuses which are new, and which have been erroneously accepted by the corruption of the times, contrary to the intent of the Canons, we pray that Your Imperial Majesty would graciously hear both what has been changed, and what were the reasons why the people were not compelled to observe those abuses against their conscience. Nor should Your Imperial Majesty believe those who, in order to excite the hatred of men against our part, disseminate strange slanders among the people. Having thus excited the minds of good men, they have first given occasion to this controversy, and now endeavor, by the same arts, to increase the discord. For Your Imperial Majesty will undoubtedly find that the form of doctrine and of ceremonies with us is not so intolerable as these ungodly and malicious men represent. Besides, the truth cannot be gathered from common rumors or the revilings of enemies. But it can readily be judged that nothing would serve better to maintain the dignity of ceremonies, and to nourish reverence and pious devotion among the people than if the ceremonies were observed rightly in the churches.

Article XXII:

Of Both Kinds in the Sacrament.

To the laity are given *Both Kinds in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,* because this usage has the commandment of the Lord in Matt. 26, 27: *Drink ye all of it,* where Christ has manifestly commanded concerning the cup that all should drink.

And lest any man should craftily say that this refers only to priests, Paul in 1 Cor. 11, 27 recites an example from which it appears that the whole congregation did use

ganze Versammlung der Korintherkirchen beide Gestalt gebraucht hat. Und dieser Brauch ist lange Zeit in der Kirche geblieben, wie man durch die Historien und der Väter Schriften beweisen kann. Cyprianus gedenkt an vielen Orten, daß den Laien der Kelch die Zeit gereicht sei. So spricht St. Hieronymus, daß die Priester, so das Sakrament reichen, dem Volk das Blut Christi austeilen. So gebietet Gelasius, der Papst, selbst, daß man das Sakrament nicht teilen soll, distinct. 2. De Consecrat., cap. Comperimus. Man findet auch nindert [nirgend] keinen Kanon, der da gebiete, allein eine Gestalt zu nehmen. Es kann auch niemand wissen, wann oder durch welche diese Gewohnheit, eine Gestalt zu nehmen, eingeführt ist, wiewohl der Kardinal Cusanus gedenkt, wann diese Weise approbiert sei. Nun ist's öffentlich, daß solche Gewohnheit, wider Gottes Gebot, auch wider die alten Canones eingeführt, unrecht ist. Derhalben hat sich nicht gebührt, derjenigen Gewissen, so das heilige Sakrament nach Christus' Einsetzung zu gebrauchen begehrt haben, zu beschweren und [sie zu] zwingen, wider unsers HErrn Christi Ordnung zu handeln. Und dieweil die Teilung des Sakraments der Einsetzung Christi zuentgegen ist, wird auch bei uns die gewöhnliche Prozession mit dem Sakrament unterlassen.

Der XXIII. Artikel.
Vom Ehestand der Priester.

Es ist bei jedermann, hohen und niedern Standes, eine große, mächtige Klage in der Welt gewesen von großer Unzucht und wildem Wesen und Leben der Priester, so nicht vermochten, Keuschheit zu halten, und war auch je mit solchen greulichen Lastern aufs höchste gekommen. So viel häßliches, großes Ärgernis, Ehebruch und andere Unzucht zu vermeiden, haben sich etliche Priester bei uns in [den] ehelichen Stand begeben. Dieselben zeigen an diese Ursachen, daß sie dahin gedrungen und bewegt sind aus hoher Not ihrer Gewissen, nachdem die Schrift klar meldet, der eheliche Stand sei von Gott dem HErrn eingesetzt, Unzucht zu vermeiden, wie Paulus sagt 1 Kor. 7, 2: „Die Unzucht zu vermeiden, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib", item V. 9: „Es ist besser, ehelich werden denn brennen." Und nachdem Christus sagt Matth. 19, 12: „Sie fassen nicht alle das Wort", da zeigt Christus an (welcher wohl gewußt hat, was am Menschen sei), daß wenig Leute die Gabe, keusch zu leben, haben; denn Gott hat den Menschen Männlein und Fräulein geschaffen, Gen. 1, 28. Ob es nun in menschlicher Macht oder Vermögen sei, ohne sonderliche Gabe und Gnade Gottes durch eigen Vornehmen oder Gelübde Gottes der hohen Majestät Geschöpfe besser zu machen oder zu ändern, hat die Erfahrung allzuklar gegeben. Denn was Gutes, was ehrbaren, züchtigen Lebens, was christlichen, ehrlichen oder redlichen Wandels an vielen daraus erfolgt, wie greuliche, schreckliche Unruhe und Qual ihrer Gewissen viele an ihrem letzten Ende derhalben gehabt, ist am Tage, und ihrer viele haben es selbst bekannt. So denn Gottes Wort und Gebot durch kein menschlich Gelübde oder Gesetz mag geändert werden, haben aus dieser und andern Ursachen und Gründen die Priester und andere Geistliche Eheweiber genommen.

So ist es auch aus den Historien und der Väter Schriften zu beweisen, daß in der christlichen Kirche vor alters der Brauch gewesen, daß

paret totam ecclesiam utraque specie usam
4] esse. Et diu mansit hic mos in ecclesia, nec constat, quando aut quo auctore mutatus sit, tametsi Cardinalis Cusanus recitet,
5] quando sit approbatus. Cyprianus aliquot locis testatur populo sanguinem datum esse.
6] Idem testatur Hieronymus, qui ait: *Sacerdotes eucharistiae ministrant et sanguinem Christi populis dividunt.* Imo Gelasius Papa
7] mandat, ne dividatur sacramentum, dist. 2. *De Consecrat.*, cap. *Comperimus* [Gelasius: „Comperimus autem, quod quidam sumpta tantummodo corporis sacri portione a calice sacrati cruoris abstineant; qui procul dubio aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius eiusdemque mysterii sine grandi sacrilegio non
8] potest provenire"]. Tantum consuetudo non ita vetus aliud habet. Constat autem,
9] quod consuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta non sit probanda, ut testantur canones, dist. 8., cap. *Veritate*, cum sequentibus.
10] Haec vero consuetudo non solum contra Scripturam, sed etiam contra veteres canones
11] et exemplum ecclesiae recepta est. Quare si qui maluerunt utraque specie sacramenti uti, non fuerunt cogendi, ut aliter facerent cum offensione conscientiae. Et quia divisio
12] sacramenti non convenit cum institutione Christi, solet apud nos omitti processio, quae hactenus fieri solita est.

II. De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

1] Publica querela fuit de exemplis sacer-
2] dotum, qui non continebant. Quam ob causam et Pius Papa dixisse fertur, fuisse aliquas causas, cur ademptum sit sacerdotibus coniugium, sed multo maiores esse [R. 22 causas, cur reddi debeat. Sic enim scribit Platina [Platina, *Vita Pii II.*: „Sacerdotibus magna ratione sublatas nuptias maiori resti-
3] tuendas videri"]. Quum igitur sacerdotes apud nos publica illa scandala vitare vellent, duxerunt uxores, ac docuerunt, quod liceat ipsis contrahere matrimonium. Primum, quia
4] Paulus dicit 1 Cor. 7, 2. 9: *Unusquisque habeat uxorem suam propter fornicationem.* Item: *Melius est nubere, quam uri.* Secundo,
5] Christus inquit Matth. 19, 12: *Non omnes capiunt verbum hoc;* ubi docet non omnes homines ad coelibatum idoneos esse, quia Deus creavit hominem ad procreationem, Gen. 1, 28.
6] Nec est humanae potestatis, sine singulari dono et opere Dei creationem mutare. Igitur
7] qui non sunt idonei ad coelibatum, debent
8] contrahere matrimonium. Nam mandatum Dei et ordinationem Dei nulla lex humana, nullum votum tollere potest. Ex his causis
9] docent sacerdotes sibi licere uxores ducere.
10] Constat etiam in ecclesia veteri sacer-
11] dotes fuisse maritos. Nam et Paulus ait 1 Tim. 3, 2, *episcopum eligendum esse, qui sit*

both kinds. And this usage has long remained in the Church, nor is it known when, or by whose authority, it was changed; although Cardinal Cusanus mentions the time when it was approved. Cyprian in some places testifies that the blood was given to the people. The same is testified by Jerome, who says: *The priests administer the Eucharist, and distribute the blood of Christ to the people.* Indeed, Pope Gelasius commands that the Sacrament be not divided (dist. II., *De Consecratione,* cap. Comperimus). Only custom, not so ancient, has it otherwise. But it is evident that any custom introduced against the commandments of God is not to be allowed, as the Canons witness (dist. III., cap. Veritate, and the following chapters). But this custom has been received, not only against the Scripture, but also against the old Canons and the example of the Church. Therefore, if any preferred to use both kinds of the Sacrament, they ought not to have been compelled with offense to their consciences to do otherwise. And because the division of the Sacrament does not agree with the ordinance of Christ, we are accustomed to omit the procession, which hitherto has been in use.

Article XXIII:

Of the Marriage of Priests.

There has been common complaint concerning the examples of priests who were not chaste. For that reason also Pope Pius is reported to have said that there were certain causes why marriage was taken away from priests, but that there were far weightier ones why it ought to be given back; for so Platina writes. Since, therefore, our priests were desirous to avoid these open scandals, they married wives, and taught that it was lawful for them to contract matrimony. First, because Paul says, 1 Cor. 7, 2. 9: *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.* Also: *It is better to marry than to burn.* Secondly, Christ says, Matt. 19, 11: *All men cannot receive this saying,* where He teaches that not all men are fit to lead a single life; for God created man for procreation, Gen. 1, 28. Nor is it in man's power, without a singular gift and work of God, to alter this creation. [For it is manifest, and many have confessed that no good, honest, chaste life, no Christian, sincere, upright conduct has resulted (from the attempt), but a horrible, fearful unrest and torment of conscience has been felt by many until the end.] Therefore, those who are not fit to lead a single life ought to contract matrimony. For no man's law, no vow, can annul the commandment and ordinance of God. For these reasons the priests teach that it is lawful for them to marry wives.

It is also evident that in the ancient Church priests were married men. For Paul says,

die Priester und Diakonen Eheweiber gehabt [haben]. Darum sagt Paulus 1 Tim. 3, 2: „Es soll ein Bischof unsträflich sein, eines Weibes Mann.“ Es sind auch in Deutschland erst vor vierhundert Jahren die Priester zum Gelübde der Keuschheit vom Ehestand mit Gewalt abgedrungen, welche sich dagegen sämtlich, auch so ganz ernstlich und hart gesetzt haben, daß ein Erzbischof zu Mainz, welcher das päpstliche neue Edikt derhalben verkündigt, gar nahe in einer Empörung der ganzen Priesterschaft in einem Gedränge wäre umgebracht [worden]. Und dasselbe Verbot ist bald im Anfang so geschwind und unschicklich vorgenommen, daß der Papst die Zeit nicht allein die künftige Ehe den Priestern verboten, sondern auch derjenigen Ehe, so schon in dem Stand lange gewesen, zerrissen; welches doch nicht allein wider alle göttlichen, natürlichen und weltlichen Rechte, sondern auch den Canonibus (so die Päpste selbst gemacht) und den berühmtesten Conciliis ganz entgegen und zuwider ist.

12] *maritus.* Et in Germania primum ante annos quadringentos sacerdotes vi coacti sunt ad coelibatum, qui quidem adeo adversati sunt, ut archiepiscopus Moguntinus, publicaturus edictum Romani pontificis de ea re, paene ab iratis sacerdotibus per tumultum op-
13] pressus sit. Et res gesta est tam inciviliter, ut non solum in posterum coniugia prohiberentur, sed etiam praesentia, contra omnia iura divina et humana, contra ipsos etiam canones, factos non solum a pontificibus, sed a laudatissimis synodis, distraherentur.

Auch ist bei viel hohen, gottesfürchtigen, verständigen Leuten dergleichen Rede und Bedenken oft gehört, daß solch gedrungener Zölibat und Beraubung des Ehestandes (welchen Gott selbst eingesetzt und frei gelassen) nie kein Gutes, sondern viel großer, böser Laster und viel Arges eingeführt habe. Es hat auch einer von [den] Päpsten, Pius II., selbst, wie seine Historie anzeigt, diese Worte oft geredet und von sich schreiben lassen: es möge wohl etliche Ursachen haben, warum den Geistlichen die Ehe verboten sei; es habe aber viel höhere, größere und wichtigere Ursachen, warum man ihnen die Ehe solle wieder frei lassen. Ungezweifelt, es hat Papst Pius, als ein verständiger, weiser Mann, dies Wort aus großem Bedenken geredet.

Derhalben wollen wir uns in Untertänigkeit zu Kaiserlicher Majestät vertrösten, daß Ihre Majestät, als ein christlicher, hochlöblicher Kaiser, gnädiglich beherzigen werde, daß jetzund in [den] letzten Zeiten und Tagen, von welchen die Schrift meldet, die Welt immer je ärger und die Menschen gebrechlicher und schwächer werden.

14] Et quum senescente mundo paulatim natura humana fiat imbecillior, convenit prospicere, ne plura vitia serpant in Germaniam.

Derhalben wohl hochnötig, nützlich und christlich ist, diese fleißige Einsehung zu tun, damit, wo der Ehestand verboten, nicht ärgere und schändlichere Unzucht und Laster in deutschen Landen möchten einreißen. Denn es wird je diese Sache niemand weislicher oder besser ändern oder machen können denn Gott selbst, welcher den Ehestand, menschlicher Gebrechlichkeit zu helfen und Unzucht zu wehren, eingesetzt hat.

15] Porro Deus instituit coniugium, ut esset remedium humanae infirmitatis. Ipsi
16] canones veterem rigorem interdum posterioribus temporibus propter imbecillitatem hominum laxandum esse dicunt, quod [R. 23 optandum est, ut fiat et in hoc negotio.
17] Ac videntur ecclesiis aliquando defuturi pastores, si diutius prohibeatur coniugium.

So sagen die alten Canones auch, man müsse zuzeiten die Schärfe und rigorem lindern und nachlassen um menschlicher Schwachheit willen, und [um] Ärgeres zu verhüten und zu meiden.

Nun wäre das in diesem Fall auch wohl christlich und ganz hoch vonnöten. Was kann auch der Priester und der Geistlichen Ehestand gemeiner christlicher Kirche nachteilig sein, sonderlich der Pfarrherren und anderer, die der Kirche dienen sollen? Es würde wohl künftig an Priestern und Pfarrherren mangeln, so dies harte Verbot des Ehestandes länger währen sollte.

So nun dieses, nämlich daß die Priester und Geistlichen mögen ehelich werden, gegründet ist auf das göttliche Wort und Gebot, dazu die Historien beweisen, daß die Priester ehelich gewesen, so auch das Gelübde der Keuschheit so viele häßliche, unchristliche Ärgernisse, so viel Ehebruch, schreckliche, ungehörte Unzucht und greuliche Laster hat angerichtet, daß auch etliche unter Tumherren, [*auch etliche] Kurtisane zu Rom solches oft selbst bekannt und kläglich angezogen, wie solche Laster im Clero zu greulich und übermacht [maßlos seien, und] Gottes Zorn würde erregt werden: so ist's je erbärmlich, daß man den christlichen Ehestand nicht allein verboten, sondern an etlichen Orten aufs geschwindeste, wie um große Übeltat, zu strafen sich unterstanden hat [*so doch Gott in der Heiligen Schrift den Ehestand in allen Ehren zu haben geboten hat]. So ist auch der Ehestand in kaiserlichen Rechten und in allen Monarchien, wo je Gesetz und Recht gewesen, hoch gelobt. Allein, dieser Zeit beginnt man die Leute unschuldig, allein um der Ehe willen, zu martern, und dazu Priester, deren man vor andern schonen sollte, und geschieht nicht allein wider göttliche Rechte, sondern auch wider die Canones. Paulus der

18] Quum autem exstet mandatum Dei, quum mos ecclesiae notus sit, quum impurus coelibatus plurima pariat scandala, adulteria et alia scelera digna animadversione boni magistratus: tamen mirum est nulla in re maiorem exerceri saevitiam quam adversus
19] coniugium sacerdotum. Deus praecipit honore afficere coniugium. Leges in omnibus
20] rebus publicis bene constitutis, etiam apud ethnicos, maximis honoribus ornaverunt.
21] At nunc capitalibus poenis excruciantur, et quidem sacerdotes, contra canonum voluntatem, nullam aliam ob causam nisi propter
22] coniugium. Paulus vocat *doctrinam daemoniorum, quae prohibet coniugium,* 1 Tim.
23] 4, 1 sqq. Id facile nunc intelligi potest, quum talibus suppliciis prohibitio coniugii defenditur.

1 Tim. 3, 2, that *a bishop should be chosen who is the husband of one wife.* And in Germany, four hundred years ago for the first time, the priests were violently compelled to lead a single life, who indeed offered such resistance that the Archbishop of Mayence, when about to publish the Pope's decree concerning this matter, was almost killed in the tumult raised by the enraged priests. And so harsh was the dealing in the matter that not only were marriages forbidden for the future, but also existing marriages were torn asunder, contrary to all laws, divine and human, contrary even to the Canons themselves, made not only by the Popes, but by most celebrated Synods. [Moreover, many God-fearing and intelligent people in high station are known frequently to have expressed misgivings that such enforced celibacy and depriving men of marriage (which God Himself has instituted and left free to men) has never produced any good results, but has brought on many great and evil vices and much iniquity.]

Seeing also that, as the world is aging, man's nature is gradually growing weaker, it is well to guard that no more vices steal into Germany.

Furthermore, God ordained marriage to be a help against human infirmity. The Canons themselves say that the old rigor ought now and then, in the latter times, to be relaxed because of the weakness of men; which it is to be wished were done also in this matter. And it is to be expected that the churches shall at some time lack pastors if marriage is any longer forbidden.

But while the commandment of God is in force, while the custom of the Church is well known, while impure celibacy causes many scandals, adulteries, and other crimes deserving the punishments of just magistrates, yet it is a marvelous thing that in nothing is more cruelty exercised than against the marriage of priests. God has given commandment to honor marriage. By the laws of all well-ordered commonwealths, even among the heathen, marriage is most highly honored. But now men, and that, priests, are cruelly put to death, contrary to the intent of the Canons, for no other cause than marriage. Paul, in 1 Tim. 4, 3, calls *that a doctrine of devils which forbids marriage.* This may now be readily understood when the law against marriage is maintained by such penalties.

Apostel, 1 Tim. 4, 1 ff., nennt die Lehren, so die Ehe verbieten, Teufelslehren. So sagt Christus selbst Joh. 8, 44, der Teufel sei ein Mörder von Anbeginn; welches denn wohl zusammenstimmt, daß es freilich Teufelslehren sein müssen, die Ehe verbieten und sich unterstehen, solche Lehre mit Blutvergießen zu erhalten.

Wie aber kein menschlich Gesetz Gottes Gebot kann wegtun oder ändern, also kann auch kein Gelübde Gottes Gebot ändern. Darum gibt auch St. Cyprianus den Rat, daß die Weiber, so die gelobte Keuschheit nicht halten, sollen ehelich werden, und sagt Lib. I, epist. 11 also: „So sie aber Keuschheit nicht halten wollen oder nicht vermögen, so ist's besser, daß sie ehelich werden, denn daß sie durch ihre Lust ins Feuer fallen, und sollen sich wohl vorsehen, daß sie den Brüdern und Schwestern kein Ärgernis anrichten."

Zudem, so brauchen auch alle Canones größere Gelindigkeit und Äquität gegen diejenigen, so in der Jugend Gelübde getan; wie denn Priester und Mönche des mehreren Teils in der Jugend in solchen Stand aus Unwissenheit gekommen sind.

Der XXIV. Artikel. Von der Messe.

Man legt den Unsern mit Unrecht auf, daß sie **die Messe** sollen abgetan haben. Denn das ist öffentlich, daß die Messe, ohne Ruhm zu reden, bei uns mit größerer Andacht und Ernst gehalten wird denn bei den Widersachern. So werden auch die Leute mit höchstem Fleiß zum öfternmal unterrichtet vom heiligen Sakrament, wozu es eingesetzt und wie es zu gebrauchen sei, als nämlich die erschrockenen Gewissen damit zu trösten, dadurch das Volk zur Kommunion und Messe gezogen wird. Dabei geschieht auch Unterricht wider andere unrechte Lehre vom Sakrament. So ist auch in den öffentlichen Zeremonien der Messe keine merkliche Änderung geschehen, denn daß an etlichen Orten deutsche Gesänge (das Volk damit zu lehren und zu üben) neben lateinischem Gesang gesungen werden, sintemal alle Zeremonien vornehmlich dazu dienen sollen, daß das Volk daran lerne, was ihm zu wissen von Christo not ist.

Nachdem aber die Messe auf mancherlei Weise vor dieser Zeit gemißbraucht, wie am Tage ist, daß ein Jahrmarkt daraus gemacht, daß man sie gekauft und verkauft hat, und das mehrere Teil in allen Kirchen um Geldes willen gehalten worden, ist solcher Mißbrauch zu mehreren Malen, auch vor dieser Zeit, von gelehrten und frommen Leuten gestraft worden. Als nun die Prediger bei uns davon gepredigt und die Priester erinnert sind der schrecklichen Bedrohung (so denn billig einen jeden Christen bewegen soll), daß, wer das Sakrament unwürdiglich braucht, der sei schuldig am Leib und Blut Christi, darauf sind solche Kaufmessen und Winkelmessen (welche bis anher aus Zwang um Geldes und der Präbenden willen gehalten worden) in unsern Kirchen gefallen.

Dabei ist auch der greuliche Irrtum gestraft, daß man gelehrt hat, unser HErr Christus habe durch seinen Tod allein für die Erbsünde genuggetan und die Messe eingesetzt zu einem Opfer für die andern Sünden, und also die Messe zu einem Opfer gemacht für die Lebendigen und

24] Sicut autem nulla lex humana potest mandatum Dei tollere, ita nec votum potest 25] tollere mandatum Dei. Proinde etiam Cyprianus suadet, ut mulieres nubant, quae non servant promissam castitatem. Verba eius sunt haec, Lib. I, epist. 11: *Si autem perseverare nolunt aut non possunt, melius est, ut nubant, quam ut in ignem deliciis suis cadant; certe nullum fratribus aut sororibus scandalum faciant.*

26] Et aequitate quadam utuntur ipsi canones erga hos, qui ante iustam aetatem voverunt, quomodo fere hactenus fieri consuevit.

III. De Missa.

1] Falso accusantur ecclesiae nostrae, quod *missam* aboleant. Retinetur enim missa apud 2] nos et summa reverentia celebratur. Servantur et usitatae ceremoniae fere omnes, praeterquam quod Latinis cantionibus admiscentur alicubi Germanicae, quae additae 3] sunt ad docendum populum. Nam ad hoc unum opus est ceremoniis, ut doceant [R. 24 4] imperitos. Et non modo Paulus 1 Cor. 14, 2 sq. praecipit uti lingua intellecta populo in ecclesia, sed etiam ita constitutum est hu- 5] mano iure. Assuevit populus, ut una utantur sacramento, si qui sunt idonei; id quoque auget reverentiam ac religionem publicarum 6] ceremoniarum. Nulli enim admittuntur, 7] nisi antea explorati. Admonentur etiam homines de dignitate et usu sacramenti, quantam consolationem afferat pavidis conscientiis, ut discant Deo credere et omnia bona a Deo 8] exspectare et petere. Hic cultus delectat Deum, talis usus sacramenti alit pietatem 9] erga Deum. Itaque non videntur apud adversarios missae maiore religione fieri quam apud nos.

10] Constat autem hanc quoque publicam et longe maximam querelam omnium bonorum virorum diu fuisse, quod missae turpiter profanarentur, collatae ad quaestum. Neque 11] enim obscurum est, quam late pateat hic abusus in omnibus templis, a qualibus celebrentur missae tantum propter mercedem aut stipendium, quam multi contra interdictum 12] canonum celebrent. Paulus autem graviter minatur his, qui indigne tractant eucharistiam, quum ait 1 Cor. 11, 27: *Qui ederit panem hunc, aut biberit calicem Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini.* 13] Itaque quum apud nos admonerentur sacerdotes de hoc peccato, desierunt apud nos privatae missae, quum fere nullae privatae missae nisi quaestus causa fierent.

14] Neque ignoraverunt hos abusus episcopi; qui si correxissent eos in tempore, minus nunc esset dissensionum. Antea sua 15] dissimulatione multa vitia passi sunt in ecclesiam serpere. Nunc sero incipiunt queri 16] de calamitatibus ecclesiae, quum hic tu-

But as no law of man can annul the commandment of God, so neither can it be done by any vow. Accordingly, Cyprian also advises that women who do not keep the chastity they have promised should marry. His words are these (Book I, Epistle XI): *But if they be unwilling or unable to persevere, it is better for them to marry than to fall into the fire by their lusts; they should certainly give no offense to their brethren and sisters.*

And even the Canons show some leniency toward those who have taken vows before the proper age, as heretofore has generally been the case.

Article XXIV: Of the Mass.

Falsely are our churches accused of abolishing *the Mass;* for the Mass is retained among us, and celebrated with the highest reverence. Nearly all the usual ceremonies are also preserved, save that the parts sung in Latin are interspersed here and there with German hymns, which have been added to teach the people. For ceremonies are needed to this end alone that the unlearned be taught [what they need to know of Christ]. And not only has Paul commanded to use in the church a language understood by the people, 1 Cor. 14, 2. 9, but it has also been so ordained by man's law. The people are accustomed to partake of the Sacrament together, if any be fit for it, and this also increases the reverence and devotion of public worship. For none are admitted except they be first examined. The people are also advised concerning the dignity and use of the Sacrament, how great consolation it brings anxious consciences, that they may learn to believe God, and to expect and ask of Him all that is good. [In this connection they are also instructed regarding other and false teachings on the Sacrament.] This worship pleases God; such use of the Sacrament nourishes true devotion toward God. It does not, therefore, appear that the Mass is more devoutly celebrated among our adversaries than among us.

But it is evident that for a long time this also has been the public and most grievous complaint of all good men that Masses have been basely profaned and applied to purposes of lucre. For it is not unknown how far this abuse obtains in all the churches by what manner of men Masses are said only for fees or stipends, and how many celebrate them contrary to the Canons. But Paul severely threatens those who deal unworthily with the Eucharist when he says, 1 Cor. 11, 27: *Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord.* When, therefore, our priests were admonished concerning this sin, Private Masses were discontinued among us, as scarcely any Private Masses were celebrated except for lucre's sake.

Neither were the bishops ignorant of these abuses, and if they had corrected them in time, there would now be less dissension. Heretofore, by their own connivance, they suffered many corruptions to creep into the

Toten, dadurch Sünden wegzunehmen und Gott zu versöhnen. Daraus ist weiter gefolgt, daß man disputiert hat, ob eine Messe, für viele gehalten, also viel verdiene, als so man für einen jeglichen eine sonderliche hielte. Daher ist die große, unzählige Menge der Messen gekommen, daß man mit diesem Werk hat wollen bei Gott alles erlangen, das man bedurft hat, und ist daneben des Glaubens an Christum und rechten Gottesdienstes vergessen worden.

multus non aliunde sumserit occasionem quam ex illis abusibus, qui tam manifesti erant, ut tolerari amplius non possent. Magnae [R. 25 17] dissensiones de missa, de sacramento ex- 18] stiterunt. Fortasse dat poenas orbis tam diuturnae profanationis missarum, quam in ecclesiis tot saeculis toleraverunt isti, qui 19] emendare et poterant et debebant. Nam in Decalogo, Ex. 20, 7, scriptum est: *Qui Dei nomine abutitur, non erit impunitus.* At ab 20] initio mundi nulla res divina ita videtur unquam ad quaestum collata fuisse ut missa. 21] Accessit opinio, quae auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam, in qua fieret oblatio pro quo- 22] tidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus. Hinc manavit publica opinio, quod missa sit 23] opus delens peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato. Hic coeptum est disputari, utrum una missa dicta pro pluribus tantumdem valeat, quantum singulae pro singulis. Haec disputatio peperit istam infinitam multitudinem missarum.

Darum ist davon Unterricht geschehen, wie ohne Zweifel die Not gefordert, daß man wüßte, wie das Sakrament recht zu gebrauchen wäre. Und erstlich, daß kein Opfer für [die] Erbsünde und andere Sünde sei denn der einige Tod Christi, zeigt die Schrift an vielen Orten an. Denn also steht geschrieben zu den Hebräern, 10, 10, daß sich Christus einmal geopfert hat und dadurch für alle Sünden genuggetan. Es ist eine unerhörte Neuigkeit, in der Kirche lehren, daß Christus' Tod sollte allein für die Erbsünde und sonst nicht auch für andere Sünde genuggetan haben; derhalben zu hoffen, daß männiglich [jedermann] verstehe, daß solcher Irrtum nicht unbillig gestraft sei.

24] De his opinionibus nostri admonuerunt, quod dissentiant a Scripturis Sanctis et laedant gloriam passionis Christi. Nam passio 25] Christi fuit oblatio et satisfactio non solum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus reliquis peccatis, ut ad Hebraeos, 10, 10, 26] scriptum est: *Sanctificati sumus per oblationem Iesu Christi semel.* Item 10, 14: 27] *Una oblatione consummavit in perpetuum sanctificatos.*

Zum andern, so lehrt St. Paulus, daß wir vor Gott Gnade erlangen durch [den] Glauben und nicht durch Werke. Dawider ist öffentlich dieser Mißbrauch der Messe, so man vermeint, durch dieses Werk Gnade zu erlangen, wie man denn weiß, daß man die Messe dazu gebraucht, dadurch Sünde abzulegen und Gnade und alle Güter bei Gott zu erlangen, nicht allein der Priester für sich, sondern auch für die ganze Welt und für andere, Lebendige und Tote.

28] Item Scriptura docet nos coram Deo iustificari per fidem in Christum, quum credimus, nobis remitti peccata propter Chri- 29] stum. Iam si missa delet peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato, contingit iustificatio ex opere missarum, non ex fide, quod Scriptura non patitur.

Zum dritten, so ist das heilige Sakrament eingesetzt, nicht damit für die Sünde ein Opfer anzurichten (denn das Opfer ist zuvor geschehen), sondern daß unser Glaube dadurch erweckt und die Gewissen getröstet werden, welche durchs Sakrament erinnert werden, daß ihnen Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden von Christo zugesagt ist. Derhalben fordert dies Sakrament Glauben und wird ohne Glauben vergeblich gebraucht.

30] Sed Christus iubet *facere in sui memoriam*, Luc. 22, 19. Quare missa instituta est, ut fides in iis, qui utuntur sacramento, recordetur, quae beneficia accipiat per Christum, et erigat et consoletur pavidam conscientiam. Nam id est meminisse Christi, beneficia [R. 26 31] meminisse ac sentire, quod vere exhibean- 32] tur nobis. Nec satis est historiam recordari, quia hanc etiam Iudaei et impii recor- 33] dari possunt. Est igitur ad hoc facienda missa, ut ibi porrigatur sacramentum his, quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait: *Quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere medicinam.*

Dieweil nun die Messe nicht ein Opfer ist für andere, Lebendige oder Tote, ihre Sünden wegzunehmen, sondern soll eine Kommunion sein, da der Priester und andere das Sakrament empfangen für sich, so wird diese Weise bei uns gehalten, daß man an Feiertagen, auch sonst, so Kommunikanten da sind, Messe hält und etliche, so das begehren, kommuniziert. Also bleibt die Messe bei uns in ihrem rechten Brauch, wie sie vorzeiten in der Kirche gehalten, wie man beweisen mag aus St. Paulo, 1 Kor. 11, dazu auch vieler Väter Schriften. Denn Chrysostomus spricht, wie der Priester täglich stehe und fordere

34] Quum autem missa sit talis communicatio sacramenti, servatur apud nos una communis missa singulis feriis atque aliis etiam diebus, si qui sacramento velint uti, ubi porrigitur sacramentum his, qui petunt. Neque 35] hic mos in ecclesia novus est. Nam veteres ante Gregorium non faciunt mentionem privatae missae; de communi missa plurimum loquuntur. Chrysostomus ait: *Sacer-* 36] *dotem quotidie stare ad altare et alios ad* 37] *communionem accersere, alios arcere.* Et ex canonibus veteribus apparet unum aliquem celebrasse missam, a quo reliqui presbyteri et

Church. Now, when it is too late, they begin to complain of the troubles of the Church, while this disturbance has been occasioned simply by those abuses which were so manifest that they could be borne no longer. There have been great dissensions concerning the Mass, concerning the Sacrament. Perhaps the world is being punished for such long-continued profanations of the Mass as have been tolerated in the churches for so many centuries by the very men who were both able and in duty bound to correct them. For in the Ten Commandments it is written, Ex. 20, 7: *The Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.* But since the world began, nothing that God ever ordained seems to have been so abused for filthy lucre as the Mass.

There was also added the opinion which infinitely increased Private Masses, namely, that Christ, by His passion, had made satisfaction for original sin, and instituted the Mass wherein an offering should be made for daily sins, venial and mortal. From this has arisen the common opinion that the Mass takes away the sins of the living and the dead by the outward act. Then they began to dispute whether one Mass said for many were worth as much as special Masses for individuals, and this brought forth that infinite multitude of Masses. [With this work men wished to obtain from God all that they needed, and in the mean time faith in Christ and the true worship were forgotten.]

Concerning these opinions our teachers have given warning that they depart from the Holy Scriptures and diminish the glory of the passion of Christ. For Christ's passion was an oblation and satisfaction, not for original guilt only, but also for all other sins, as it is written to the Hebrews, 10, 10: *We are sanctified through the offering of Jesus Christ, once for all.* Also, 10, 14: *By one offering He hath perfected forever them that are sanctified.* [It is an unheard-of innovation in the Church to teach that Christ by His death made satisfaction only for original sin and not likewise for all other sin. Accordingly, it is hoped that everybody will understand that this error has not been reproved without due reason.]

Scripture also teaches that we are justified before God through faith in Christ, when we believe that our sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. Now if the Mass take away the sins of the living and the dead by the outward act, justification comes of the work of Masses, and not of faith, which Scripture does not allow.

But Christ commands us, Luke 22, 19: *This do in remembrance of Me;* therefore the Mass was instituted that the faith of those who use the Sacrament should remember what benefits it receives through Christ, and cheer and comfort the anxious conscience. For to remember Christ is to remember His benefits, and to realize that they are truly offered unto us. Nor is it enough only to remember the history; for this also the Jews and the ungodly can remember. Wherefore the Mass is to be used to this end, that there the Sacrament [Communion] may be administered to them that have need of consolation; as Ambrose says: *Because I always sin, I am always bound to take the medicine.* [Therefore this Sacrament requires faith, and is used in vain without faith.]

Now, forasmuch as the Mass is such a giving of the Sacrament, we hold one communion every holy-day, and, if any desire the Sacrament, also on other days, when it is given to such as ask for it. And this custom is not new in the Church; for the Fathers before Gregory make no mention of any private Mass, but of the common Mass [the Communion] they speak very much. Chrysostom says *that the priest stands daily at the altar, inviting some to the Communion and keeping back others.* And it appears from the ancient Canons that some one celebrated the Mass from whom all the other presbyters and deacons received the body of the Lord; for thus the words of the Nicene Canon say: *Let the deacons, according to*

etliche zur Kommunion, etlichen verbiete er hinzuzutreten. Auch zeigen die alten Canones an, daß einer das Amt gehalten hat und die andern Priester und Diakonen kommuniziert. Denn also lauten die Worte im canone Nicaeno: „Die Diakonen sollen nach den Priestern ordentlich das Sakrament empfangen vom Bischof oder Priester."

So man nun keine Neuigkeit hierin, die in der Kirche vor alters nicht gewesen, vorgenommen hat, und in den öffentlichen Zeremonien der Messe keine merkliche Änderung geschehen ist, allein daß die andern unnötigen Messen, etwa durch einen Mißbrauch gehalten, neben der Pfarrmesse, gefallen sind, soll billig diese Weise, Messe zu halten, nicht für ketzerisch und unchristlich verdammt werden. Denn man hat vorzeiten auch in den großen Kirchen, da viel Volks gewesen, auch auf die Tage, so das Volk zusammenkam, nicht täglich Messe gehalten, wie Tripartita Historia, lib. 9, anzeigt, daß man zu Alexandria am Mittwoch und Freitag die Schrift gelesen und ausgelegt habe und sonst alle Gottesdienste gehalten ohne die Messe.

Der XXV. Artikel. Von der Beichte.

Die Beichte ist durch die Prediger dieses Teils nicht abgetan. Denn diese Gewohnheit wird bei uns gehalten, das Sakrament nicht zu reichen denen, so nicht zuvor verhört und absolviert sind. Dabei wird das Volk fleißig unterrichtet, wie tröstlich das Wort der Absolution sei, wie hoch und teuer die Absolution zu achten; denn es sei nicht des gegenwärtigen Menschen Stimme oder Wort, sondern Gottes Wort, der da die Sünde vergibt. Denn sie wird an Gottes Statt und aus Gottes Befehl gesprochen. Von diesem Befehl und Gewalt der Schlüssel, wie tröstlich, wie nötig sie sei den erschrockenen Gewissen, wird mit großem Fleiß gelehrt; dazu, wie Gott fordert, dieser Absolution zu glauben, nicht weniger, denn so Gottes Stimme vom Himmel erschölle, und uns dero [deren] fröhlich trösten und wissen, daß wir durch solchen Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Von diesen nötigen Stücken haben vorzeiten die Prediger, so von der Beichte viel lehrten, nicht ein Wörtlein gerührt, sondern allein die Gewissen gemartert mit langer Erzählung der Sünden, mit Genugtun, mit Ablaß, mit Wallfahrten und dergleichen. Und viele unserer Widersacher bekennen selbst, daß dieses Teils von rechter christlicher Buße schicklicher denn zuvor in langer Zeit geschrieben und gehandelt sei.

Und wird **von der Beichte** also gelehrt, daß man niemand dringen soll, die Sünde namhaftig zu erzählen. Denn solches ist unmöglich, wie der Psalm 19, 13 spricht: „Wer kennet die Missetat?" Und Jeremias 17, 9 spricht: „Des Menschen Herz ist so arg, daß man es nicht auslernen kann." Die elende menschliche Natur steckt also tief in Sünden, daß sie dieselbe nicht alle sehen oder kennen kann, und sollten wir allein von denen absolviert werden, die wir zählen können, wäre uns wenig geholfen. Derhalben ist nicht not, die Leute zu dringen, die Sünde namhaftig zu erzählen. Also haben auch die Väter gehalten, wie man findet distinct. 1, De Poenitentia, da die Worte Chrysostomi angezogen werden: „Ich sage nicht, daß du dich selbst sollst öffentlich dargeben, noch bei einem andern dich selbst verklagen oder schuldig geben, sondern gehorche dem Propheten, welcher spricht: Offenbare dem HErrn deine Wege,

diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini. Sic enim
38] sonant verba canonis Nicaeni: *Accipiant diaconi secundum ordinem post presbyteros ab episcopo vel a presbytero sacram commu-*
39] *nionem.* Et Paulus 1 Cor. 11, 33 de communione iubet, ut alii alios exspectent, ut fiat communis participatio.

40] Postquam igitur missa apud nos habet exemplum ecclesiae, ex Scriptura et patribus, confidimus improbari eam non posse, maxime quum publicae ceremoniae magna ex parte similes usitatis serventur. Tantum numerus missarum est dissimilis, quem propter maxi-
41] mos et manifestos abusus certe moderari prod-esset. Nam olim etiam in ecclesiis frequentissimis non fiebat quotidie missa, ut testatur *Historia Tripartita,* lib. 9, c. 38: *Rursus autem in Alexandria quarta et sexta feria Scripturae leguntur easque doctores interpretantur, et omnia fiunt praeter solennem oblationis morem.*

IV. De Confessione.

1] Confessio in ecclesiis apud nos non est abolita. Non enim solet porrigi corpus [R. 27 Domini nisi antea exploratis et absolutis. Et
2] docetur populus diligentissime de fide absolutionis, de qua ante haec tempora magnum
3] erat silentium. Docentur homines, ut absolutionem plurimi faciant, quia sit vox Dei
4] et mandato Dei pronuntietur. Ornatur potestas clavium et commemoratur, quantam consolationem afferat perterrefactis conscientiis et quod requirat Deus fidem, ut illi absolutioni tamquam voci de coelo sonanti credamus, et quod illa fides in Christum vere consequatur et accipiat remissionem peccatorum. Antea immodice extollebantur satis-
5] factiones; fidei vero et meriti Christi ac iustitiae fidei nulla fiebat mentio. Quare in hac parte minime sunt culpandae ecclesiae nostrae. Nam hoc etiam adversarii tribuere
6] nobis coguntur, quod doctrina de poenitentia diligentissime a nostris tractata ac patefacta sit.

7] Sed *de confessione* docent, quod enumeratio delictorum non sit necessaria, nec sint onerandae conscientiae cura enumerandi omnia delicta, quia impossibile est omnia delicta recitare, ut testatur Psalmus 19, 13: *Delicta quis intelligit?* Item Ieremias 17, 9:
8] *Pravum est cor hominis et inscrutabile.* Quodsi nulla peccata nisi recitata remitte-
9] rentur, nunquam acquiescere conscientiae possent, quia plurima peccata neque vident,
10] neque meminisse possunt. Testantur et veteres scriptores enumerationem non esse necessariam. Nam in decretis citatur Chryso-
11] stomus, qui sic ait: *Non tibi dico, ut te prodas in publicum, neque apud alios te accuses; sed obedire te volo prophetae dicenti: Revela ante Deum viam tuam. Ergo tua confitere peccata apud Deum, verum iudicem, cum oratione. Delicta tua pronuncia non* [R. 28

their order, receive the Holy Communion after the presbyters, from the bishop or from a presbyter. And Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 33, commands concerning the Communion: *Tarry one for another,* so that there may be a common participation.

Forasmuch, therefore, as the Mass with us has the example of the Church, taken from the Scripture and the Fathers, we are confident that it cannot be disapproved, especially since public ceremonies, for the most part like those hitherto in use, are retained; only the number of Masses differs, which, because of very great and manifest abuses, doubtless might be profitably reduced. For in olden times, even in churches most frequented, the Mass was not celebrated every day, as the *Tripartite History* (Book 9, chap. 33) testifies: *Again in Alexandria, every Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures are read, and the doctors expound them, and all things are done, except the solemn rite of Communion.*

Article XXV: Of Confession.

Confession in the churches is not abolished among us; for it is not usual to give the body of the Lord, except to them that have been previously examined and absolved. And the people are most carefully taught concerning faith in the absolution, about which formerly there was profound silence. Our people are taught that they should highly prize the absolution, as being the voice of God, and pronounced by God's command. The power of the Keys is set forth in its beauty, and they are reminded what great consolation it brings to anxious consciences; also, that God requires faith to believe such absolution as a voice sounding from heaven, and that such faith in Christ truly obtains and receives the forgiveness of sins. Aforetime, satisfactions were immoderately extolled; of faith and the merit of Christ and the righteousness of faith no mention was made; wherefore, on this point, our churches are by no means to be blamed. For this even our adversaries must needs concede to us that the doctrine concerning repentance has been most diligently treated and laid open by our teachers.

But *of Confession* they teach that an enumeration of sins is not necessary, and that consciences be not burdened with anxiety to enumerate all sins, for it is impossible to recount all sins, as the Psalm testifies, 19, 13: *Who can understand his errors?* Also Jeremiah, 17, 9: *The heart is deceitful; who can know it?* But if no sins were forgiven, except those that are recounted, consciences could never find peace; for very many sins they neither see nor can remember. The ancient writers also testify that an enumeration is not necessary. For in the Decrees, Chrysostom is quoted, who says thus: *I say not to you that you should disclose yourself in public, nor that you accuse yourself before others, but I would have you obey the prophet who says: "Disclose thy way before God."*

Ps. 37, 5. Derhalben beichte Gott dem HErrn, dem wahrhaftigen Richter, neben deinem Gebet; nicht sage deine Sünde mit der Zunge, sondern in deinem Gewissen." Hier sieht man klar, daß Chrysostomus nicht zwingt, die Sünde namhaftig zu erzählen. So lehrt auch die Glossa in Decretis, De Poenitentia, distinct. 5, cap. Consideret, daß die Beichte nicht durch die Schrift geboten, sondern durch die Kirche eingesetzt sei. Doch wird durch die Prediger dieses Teils fleißig gelehrt, daß die Beichte von wegen der Absolution, welche das Hauptstück und das Vornehmste darin ist, zum Trost der erschrockenen Gewissen, dazu um etlicher anderer Ursachen willen zu erhalten sei.

lingua, sed conscientiae tuae memoria etc.
12] Et glossa *De Poenitentia*, dist. 5, cap. Consideret, fatetur humani iuris esse con-
13] fessionem. Verum confessio cum propter maximum absolutionis beneficium tum propter alias conscientiarum utilitates apud nos retinetur.

Der XXVI. Artikel.
Vom Unterschied der Speise.

Vorzeiten hat man also gelehrt, gepredigt und geschrieben, daß **Unterschied der Speisen** und dergleichen Traditionen, von Menschen eingesetzt, dazu dienen, daß man dadurch Gnade verdiene und für die Sünde genugtue. Aus diesem Grunde hat man täglich neue Fasten, neue Zeremonien, neue Orden und dergleichen erdacht und auf solches heftig und hart getrieben, als wären solche Dinge nötige Gottesdienste, dadurch man Gnade verdiene, so man's halte, und große Sünde geschehe, so man's nicht halte. Daraus sind viel schädliche Irrtümer in der Kirche erfolgt.

Erstlich ist dadurch die Gnade Christi und die Lehre vom Glauben verdunkelt, welche uns das Evangelium mit großem Ernst vorhält und treibt hart darauf, daß man das Verdienst Christi hoch und teuer achte und wisse, daß glauben an Christum hoch und weit über alle Werke zu setzen sei. Derhalben hat St. Paulus heftig wider das Gesetz Mosis und menschliche Traditionen gefochten, daß wir lernen sollen, daß wir vor Gott nicht fromm werden aus unsern Werken, sondern allein durch den Glauben an Christum, daß wir Gnade erlangen um Christus' willen. Solche Lehre ist schier ganz erloschen dadurch, daß man gelehrt, Gnade zu verdienen mit Gesetzen, Fasten, Unterschied der Speisen, Kleidern usw.

Zum andern haben auch solche Traditionen Gottes Gebot verdunkelt; denn man setzte diese Traditionen weit über Gottes Gebot. Dies hielt man allein für christliches Leben, wer die Feier also hielt, also betete, also fastete, also gekleidet war; das nannte man geistliches, christliches Leben. Daneben hielt man andere, nötige gute Werke für ein weltliches, ungeistliches Wesen, nämlich die, so jeder nach seinem Beruf zu tun schuldig ist, als daß der Hausvater arbeitet, Weib und Kind zu ernähren und zu Gottesfurcht aufzuziehen, die Hausmutter Kinder gebiert und wartet ihrer, ein Fürst und Obrigkeit Land und Leute regiert usw. Solche Werke, von Gott geboten, mußten ein weltliches und unvollkommenes Wesen sein, aber die Traditionen mußten den prächtigen Namen haben, daß sie allein heilige, vollkommene Werke hießen. Derhalben war kein Maß noch Ende, solche Traditionen zu machen.

Zum dritten, solche Traditionen sind zu hoher Beschwerung der Gewissen geraten. Denn es war

V. De Discrimine Ciborum.

1] Publica persuasio fuit non tantum vulgi, sed etiam docentium in ecclesiis, quod *discrimina ciborum* et similes traditiones humanae sint opera utilia ad promerendam gratiam et satisfactoria pro peccatis. Et quod sic
2] senserit mundus, apparet ex eo, quia quotidie instituebantur novae ceremoniae, novi ordines, novae feriae, nova ieiunia, et doctores in templis exigebant haec opera tamquam necessarium cultum ad promerendam gratiam, et vehementer terrebant conscientias, si quid
3] omitterent. Ex hac persuasione de traditionibus multa incommoda in ecclesia secuta sunt.

4] Primo obscurata est doctrina de gratia et iustitia fidei, quae est praecipua pars evangelii, et quam maxime oportet exstare et eminere in ecclesia, ut meritum Christi bene cognoscatur et fides, quae credit remitti peccata propter Christum, longe supra opera collocetur. Quare et Paulus in hunc locum
5] maxime incumbit, legem et traditiones humanas removet, ut ostendat iustitiam Christianam aliud quiddam esse quam huiusmodi opera, videlicet fidem, quae credit peccata
6] gratis remitti propter Christum. At haec doctrina Pauli paene tota oppressa est per traditiones, quae pepererunt opinionem, quod per discrimina ciborum et similes cultus
7] oporteat mereri gratiam et iustitiam. In poenitentia nulla mentio fiebat de fide, tantum haec opera satisfactoria proponebantur; in his videbatur poenitentia tota consistere.

8] Secundo hae traditiones obscuraverunt praecepta Dei, quia traditiones longe praeferebantur praeceptis Dei. Christianismus [R. 29 totus putabatur esse observatio certarum feriarum, rituum, ieiuniorum, vestitus. Hae
9] observationes erant in possessione honestissimi tituli, quod essent vita spiritualis et vita perfecta. Interim mandata Dei iuxta
10] vocationem nullam laudem habebant, quod paterfamilias educabat sobolem, quod mater pariebat, quod princeps regebat rempublicam. Haec putabantur esse opera mundana et imperfecta et longe deteriora illis splendidis observationibus. Et hic error valde cruciavit
11] pias conscientias, quae dolebant se teneri imperfecto vitae genere, in coniugio, in magistratibus aut aliis functionibus civilibus, mirabantur monachos et similes, et falso putabant illorum observationes Deo gratiores esse.

12] Tertio traditiones attulerunt magna pericula conscientiis, quia impossibile erat

Therefore confess your sins before God, the true Judge, with prayer. Tell your errors, not with the tongue, but with the memory of your conscience, etc. And the Gloss (*Of Repentance,* Distinct. V, *Cap. Consideret*) admits that Confession is of human right only [not commanded by Scripture, but ordained by the Church]. Nevertheless, on account of the great benefit of absolution, and because it is otherwise useful to the conscience, Confession is retained among us.

Article XXVI:
Of the Distinction of Meats.

It has been the general persuasion, not of the people alone, but also of those teaching in the churches, that making *Distinctions of Meats,* and like traditions of men, are works profitable to merit grace, and able to make satisfactions for sins. And that the world so thought, appears from this, that new ceremonies, new orders, new holy-days, and new fastings were daily instituted, and the teachers in the churches did exact these works as a service necessary to merit grace, and did greatly terrify men's consciences, if they should omit any of these things. From this persuasion concerning traditions much detriment has resulted in the Church.

First, the doctrine of grace and of the righteousness of faith has been obscured by it, which is the chief part of the Gospel, and ought to stand out as the most prominent in the Church, in order that the merit of Christ may be well known, and faith, which believes that sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, be exalted far above works. Wherefore Paul also lays the greatest stress on this article, putting aside the Law and human traditions, in order to show that Christian righteousness is something else than such works, to wit, the faith which believes that sins are freely forgiven for Christ's sake. But this doctrine of Paul has been almost wholly smothered by traditions, which have produced an opinion that, by making distinctions in meats and like services, we must merit grace and righteousness. In treating of repentance, there was no mention made of faith; only those works of satisfaction were set forth; in these the entire repentance seemed to consist.

Secondly, these traditions have obscured the commandments of God, because traditions were placed far above the commandments of God. Christianity was thought to consist wholly in the observance of certain holy-days, rites, fasts, and vestures. These observances had won for themselves the exalted title of being the spiritual life and the perfect life. Meanwhile the commandments of God, according to each one's calling, were without honor; namely, that the father brought up his offspring, that the mother bore children, that the prince governed the commonwealth, — these were accounted works that were worldly and imperfect, and far below those glittering observances. And this error greatly tormented devout consciences, which grieved that they were held in an imperfect state of life, as in marriage, in the office of magistrate, or in other civil ministrations; on the other hand, they admired the monks and such like, and falsely imagined that the observances of such men were more acceptable to God.

Thirdly, traditions brought great danger to consciences; for it was impossible to keep all traditions, and yet men judged these ob-

nicht möglich, alle Traditionen zu halten, und waren doch die Leute in der Meinung, als wäre solches ein nötiger Gottesdienst, und schreibt Gerson, daß viele hiemit in Verzweiflung gefallen, etliche haben sich auch selbst umgebracht, derhalben, daß sie keinen Trost von der Gnade Christi gehört haben. Denn man sieht bei den Summisten und Theologen, wie die Gewissen verwirrt, welche sich unterstanden haben, die Traditionen zusammenzuziehen, und ἐπιεικείας gesucht, daß sie den Gewissen hülfen, haben so viel damit zu tun gehabt, daß dieweil alle heilsame christliche Lehre von nötigeren Sachen, als vom Glauben, vom Trost in hohen Anfechtungen und dergleichen, daniedergelegen ist. Darüber haben auch viel fromme Leute vor dieser Zeit sehr geklagt, daß solche Traditionen viel Zank in der Kirche anrichten, und daß fromme Leute, damit verhindert, zu rechter Erkenntnis Christi nicht kommen möchten. Gerson und etliche mehr haben heftig darüber geklagt. Ja, es hat auch Augustino mißfallen, daß man die Gewissen mit so viel Traditionen beschwert [hat]. Derhalben er dabei Unterricht gibt, daß man's nicht für nötige Dinge halten soll.

Darum haben die Unsern nicht aus Frevel oder Verachtung geistlicher Gewalt von diesen Sachen gelehrt, sondern es hat die hohe Not gefordert, Unterricht zu tun von obangezeigten Irrtümern, welche aus Mißverstand der Tradition gewachsen sind. Denn das Evangelium zwingt, daß man die Lehre vom Glauben solle und müsse in [den] Kirchen treiben, welche doch nicht mag verstanden werden, so man vermeint, durch eigenerwählte Werke Gnade zu verdienen.

Und ist also davon gelehrt, daß man durch Haltung gedachter menschlicher Traditionen nicht kann Gnade verdienen oder Gott versöhnen oder für die Sünde genugtun. Und soll derhalben kein nötiger Gottesdienst daraus gemacht werden. Dazu wird Ursache aus der Schrift angezogen. Christus entschuldigt Matth. 15, 3. 9 die Apostel, daß sie gewöhnliche Traditionen nicht gehalten haben, und spricht dabei: „Sie ehren mich vergeblich mit Menschengeboten." So er nun dies einen vergeblichen Dienst nennt, muß er nicht nötig sein. Und bald hernach: „Was zum Munde eingehet, verunreiniget den Menschen nicht." Item Paulus spricht Röm. 14, 17: „Das Himmelreich stehet nicht in Speise oder Trank." Kol. 2, 16: „Niemand soll euch richten in Speise, Trank, Sabbat" usw. Act. 15, 10 spricht Petrus: „Warum versucht ihr Gott mit Auflegung des Jochs auf der Jünger Hälse, welches weder unsere Väter noch wir haben mögen tragen? Sondern wir glauben durch die Gnade unsers HErrn JEsu Christi selig zu werden." Da verbietet Petrus, daß man die Gewissen nicht beschweren soll mit mehr äußerlichen Zeremonien, es sei Mosis oder andern. Und 1 Tim. 4, 1—3 werden solche Verbote, als Speise verbieten, Ehe verbieten usw., Teufelslehren genannt. [*Denn also lauten St. Paulus' Worte: „Der Geist aber sagt deutlich, daß in den letzten Zeiten werden etliche von dem Glauben abtreten und anhangen den veromnes traditiones servare, et tamen homines arbitrabantur has observationes necessarios esse cultus. Gerson scribit multos incidisse 13] in desperationem, quosdam etiam sibi mortem conscivisse, quia senserant se non posse satisfacere traditionibus, et interim consolationem nullam de iustitia fidei et de 14] gratia audierant. Videmus summistas et theologos colligere traditiones et quaerere ἐπιεικείας, ut levent conscientias; non satis tamen expediunt, sed interdum magis in- 15] iiciunt laqueos conscientiis. Et in colligendis traditionibus ita fuerunt occupatae scholae et conciones, ut non vacaverit attingere Scripturam et quaerere utiliorem [R. 30 doctrinam de fide, de cruce, de spe, de dignitate civilium rerum, de consolatione conscien- 16] tiarum in arduis tentationibus. Itaque Gerson et alii quidam theologi graviter questi sunt se his rixis traditionum impediri, quominus versari possent in meliore genere doctrinae. Et Augustinus vetat onerare con- 17] scientias huiusmodi observationibus, et prudenter admonet Ianuarium, ut sciat eas indifferenter observandas esse; sic enim loquitur [Augustinus, Epist. 119 ad Ianuarium: „Quod enim neque contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores iniungitur, indifferenter est habendum et pro eorum, inter quos vivitur, societate servandum est"].

18] Quare nostri non debent videri hanc causam temere attigisse aut odio episcoporum, 19] ut quidam falso suspicantur. Magna necessitas fuit de illis erroribus, qui nati erant ex traditionibus male intellectis, admo- 20] nere ecclesias. Nam evangelium cogit urgere doctrinam in ecclesiis de gratia et iustitia fidei, quae tamen intelligi non potest, si putent homines se mereri gratiam per observationes ab ipsis electas.

21] Sic igitur docuerunt, quod per observationem traditionum humanarum non possimus gratiam mereri aut iustificari. Quare non est sentiendum, quod huiusmodi obser- 22] vationes sint necessarius cultus. Addunt testimonia ex Scriptura. Christus Matth. 15, 3. 9 excusat apostolos, qui non servaverant usitatam traditionem, quae tamen videbatur de re non illicita, sed media esse, et habere cognationem cum baptismatibus legis, et dicit: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.* 23] Igitur non exigit cultum inutilem. Et paulo post addit: *Omne, quod intrat in os, non inquinat hominem.* Item Rom. 14, 17: 24] *Regnum Dei non est esca aut potus.* 25] Col. 2, 16. 20. 21: *Nemo iudicet vos in cibo, potu, sabbato aut die festo.* Item: *Si* 26] *mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quare tamquam viventes in mundo decreta facitis: Ne attingas, ne gustes, ne contrectes?* Act. 15, 10 ait Petrus: *Quare* 27] *tentatis Deum, imponentes iugum super cervices discipulorum, quod neque nos neque patres nostri portare potuimus? Sed per gratiam Domini nostri Iesu Christi credimus* 28] *salvari, quemadmodum et illi.* Hic vetat Petrus onerare conscientias pluribus ritibus 29] sive Mosis, sive aliis. Et 1 Tim. 4, 1—3 vocat prohibitionem ciborum *doctrinam* [R. 31 *daemoniorum,* quia pugnat cum evangelio talia

servances to be necessary acts of worship. Gerson writes that many fell into despair, and that some even took their own lives, because they felt that they were not able to satisfy the traditions; and they had all the while not heard any consolation of the righteousness of faith and grace. We see that the summists and theologians gather the traditions, and seek mitigations whereby to ease consciences, and yet they do not sufficiently unfetter, but sometimes entangle, consciences even more. And with the gathering of these traditions, the schools and sermons have been so much occupied that they have had no leisure to touch upon Scripture, and to seek the more profitable doctrine of faith, of the cross, of hope, of the dignity of civil affairs, of consolation of sorely tried consciences. Hence Gerson and some other theologians have grievously complained that by these strivings concerning traditions they were prevented from giving attention to a better kind of doctrine. Augsutine also forbids that men's consciences should be burdened with such observances, and prudently advises Januarius that he must know that they are to be observed as things indifferent; for such are his words.

Wherefore our teachers must not be looked upon as having taken up this matter rashly or from hatred of the bishops, as some falsely suspect. There was great need to warn the churches of these errors, which had arisen from misunderstanding the traditions. For the Gospel compels us to insist in the churches upon the doctrine of grace, and of the righteousness of faith; which, however, cannot be understood, if men think that they merit grace by observances of their own choice.

Thus, therefore, they have taught that by the observance of human traditions we cannot merit grace or be justified; and hence we must not think such observances necessary acts of worship. They add hereunto testimonies of Scripture. Christ, Matt. 15, 3, defends the Apostles who had not observed the usual tradition, which, however, evidently pertains to a matter not unlawful, but indifferent, and to have a certain affinity with the purifications of the Law, and says, 9: *In vain do they worship Me with the commandments of men.* He, therefore, does not exact an unprofitable service. Shortly after He adds: *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man.* So also Paul, Rom. 14, 17: *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink.* Col. 2, 16: *Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the Sabbath-day;* also: *If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances: Touch not, taste not, handle not?* And Peter says, Acts 15, 10: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? But we believe that through the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ we shall be saved, even as they.* Here Peter forbids to burden the consciences with many rites, either of Moses or of others. And

führerischen Geistern und Lehren der Teufel durch die, so in Gleisnerei Lügenredner sind und Brandmal in ihrem Gewissen haben und verbieten, ehelich zu werden und zu meiden die Speise, die Gott geschaffen hat, zu nehmen mit Danksagung, den Gläubigen und denen, die die Wahrheit erkannt haben."] Denn dies ist stracks dem Evangelio entgegen, solche Werke einsetzen oder tun, daß man damit Vergebung der Sünden verdiene, oder als möge niemand [ein] Christ sein ohne solche Dienste.

Daß man aber den Unsern hie schuld gibt, als verböten sie Kasteiung und Zucht, wie Jovinianus, wird sich viel anders aus ihren Schriften befinden. Denn sie haben allezeit gelehrt vom heiligen Kreuz, daß Christen zu leiden schuldig sind; und dieses ist rechte, ernstliche und nicht erdichtete Kasteiung.

Daneben wird auch gelehrt, daß ein jeglicher schuldig ist, sich mit leiblicher Übung, als Fasten und anderer Übung, also zu halten, daß er nicht Ursache zu Sünden gebe, nicht, daß er mit solchen Werken Gnade verdiene. Diese leibliche Übung soll nicht allein etliche bestimmte Tage, sondern stetig getrieben werden. Davon redet Christus Luk. 21, 34: „Hütet euch, daß eure Herzen nicht beschweret werden mit Völlerei!" Item Matth. 17, 21: „Die Teufel werden nicht ausgeworfen denn durch Fasten und Gebet." Und Paulus spricht 1 Kor. 9, 27, er kasteie seinen Leib und bringe ihn zum Gehorsam, damit [womit] er anzeigt, daß Kasteiung dienen soll, nicht damit Gnade zu verdienen, sondern den Leib geschickt zu halten, daß er nicht verhindere, was einem jeglichen nach seinem Beruf zu schaffen befohlen ist. Und wird also nicht das Fasten verworfen, sondern daß man einen nötigen Dienst daraus auf-bestimmte Tage und Speisen zur Verwirrung der Gewissen gemacht hat.

Auch werden dieses Teils viele Zeremonien und Traditionen gehalten, als Ordnung der Messe und andere Gesänge, Feste usw., welche dazu dienen, daß in der Kirche Ordnung gehalten werde. Daneben aber wird das Volk unterrichtet, daß solcher äußerliche Gottesdienst nicht fromm macht vor Gott, und daß man's ohne Beschwerung des Gewissens halten soll, also daß, so man es nachläßt ohne Ärgernis, nicht daran gesündigt wird. Diese Freiheit in äußerlichen Zeremonien haben auch die alten Väter gehalten. Denn im Orient hat man das Osterfest auf andere Zeit denn zu Rom gehalten. Und da etliche diese Ungleichheit für eine Trennung in der Kirche halten wollten, sind sie vermahnt von andern, daß nicht not ist, in solchen Gewohnheiten Gleichheit zu halten. Und spricht Irenäus also: „Ungleichheit im Fasten trennt nicht die Einigkeit des Glaubens." Wie auch distinct. 12. von solcher Ungleichheit in menschlichen Ordnungen geschrieben, daß sie der Einigkeit der Christenheit nicht zuwider sei. Und Tripartita Hist., lib. 9, zieht zusammen viel ungleiche Kirchengewohnheiten und setzt einen nützlichen christlichen Spruch: „Der Apostel Meinung ist nicht gewesen, Feiertage einzusetzen, sondern Glauben und Liebe zu lehren."

Der XXVII. Artikel. Von Klostergelübden.

Von **Klostergelübden** zu reden, ist not, erstlich zu bedenken, wie es bis anher damit gehalten, welch Wesen sie in Klöstern gehabt, und daß sehr

opera instituere aut facere, ut per ea mereamur gratiam, aut quod non possit existere Christianismus sine tali cultu.

30] Hic obiiciunt adversarii, quod nostri prohibeant disciplinam et mortificationem carnis, sicut Iovinianus. Verum aliud depre-
31] hendetur ex scriptis nostrorum. Semper enim docuerunt de cruce, quod Christianos oporteat tolerare afflictiones. Haec est vera,
32] seria et non simulata mortificatio, variis afflictionibus exerceri et crucifigi cum Christo.
33] Insuper docent, quod quilibet Christianus debeat se corporali disciplina aut corporalibus exercitiis et laboribus sic exercere et coercere, ne saturitas aut desidia exstimulet ad peccandum, non ut per illa exercitia mereamur gratiam aut satisfaciamus pro pec-
34] catis. Et hanc corporalem disciplinam oportet semper urgere, non solum paucis et constitutis diebus, sicut Christus praecipit
35] Luc. 21, 34: *Cavete, ne corpora vestra*
36] *graventur crapula.* Item Matth. 17, 21: *Hoc genus daemoniorum non eiicitur nisi*
37] *ieiunio et oratione.* Et Paulus ait 1 Cor. 9, 27: *Castigo corpus meum et redigo in ser-*
38] *vitutem.* Ubi clare ostendit se ideo castigare corpus, non ut per eam disciplinam mereatur remissionem peccatorum, sed ut corpus habeat obnoxium et idoneum ad res spirituales et ad faciendum officium iuxta
39] vocationem suam. Itaque non damnantur ipsa ieiunia, sed traditiones, quae certos dies, certos cibos praescribunt cum periculo conscientiae, tamquam istiusmodi opera sint necessarius cultus.
40] Servantur tamen apud nos pleraeque traditiones, quae conducunt ad hoc, ut res ordine geratur in ecclesia, ut ordo lectionum
41] in missa et praecipuae feriae. Sed interim homines admonentur, quod talis cultus non iustificet coram Deo, et quod non sit [R. 32 ponendum peccatum in talibus rebus, si omit-
42] tantur sine scandalo. Haec libertas in ritibus humanis non fuit ignota patribus.
43] Nam in Oriente alio tempore servaverunt pascha quam Romae, et quum Romani propter hanc dissimilitudinem accusarent Orientem schismatis, admoniti sunt ab aliis, tales mores
44] non oportere ubique similes esse. Et Irenaeus inquit: *Dissonantia ieiunii fidei consonantiam non solvit* [*Ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι*], sicut et distinct. 12 Gregorius Papa significat, talem dissimilitudinem non laedere unitatem eccle-
45] siae. Et in *Historia Tripartita*, lib. 9, multa colliguntur exempla dissimilium rituum et recitantur haec verba: *Mens apostolorum fuit non de diebus festis sancire, sed praedicare bonam conversationem et pietatem.*

VI. De Votis Monachorum.

1] Quid *de votis monachorum* apud nos doceatur, melius intelliget, si quis meminerit, qualis status fuerit monasteriorum, quam

in 1 Tim. 4, 1. 3 Paul calls the prohibition of meats *a doctrine of devils;* for it is against the Gospel to institute or to do such works that by them we may merit grace, or as though Christianity could not exist without such service of God.

Here our adversaries object that our teachers are opposed to discipline and mortification of the flesh, as Jovinian. But the contrary may be learned from the writings of our teachers. For they have always taught concerning the cross that it behooves Christians to bear afflictions. This is the true, earnest, and unfeigned mortification, to wit, to be exercised with divers afflictions, and to be crucified with Christ.

Moreover, they teach that every Christian ought to train and subdue himself with bodily restraints, or bodily exercises and labors, that neither satiety nor slothfulness tempt him to sin, but not that we may merit grace or make satisfaction for sins by such exercises. And such external discipline ought to be urged at all times, not only on a few and set days. So Christ commands, Luke 21, 34: *Take heed lest your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting;* also Matt. 17, 21: *This kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting.* Paul also says, 1 Cor. 9, 27: *I keep under my body and bring it into subjection.* Here he clearly shows that he was keeping under his body, not to merit forgiveness of sins by that discipline, but to have his body in subjection and fitted for spiritual things, and for the discharge of duty according to his calling. Therefore, we do not condemn fasting in itself, but the traditions which prescribe certain days and certain meats, with peril of conscience, as though such works were a necessary service.

Nevertheless, very many traditions are kept on our part, which conduce to good order in the Church, as the Order of Lessons in the Mass and the chief holy-days. But, at the same time, men are warned that such observances do not justify before God, and that in such things it should not be made sin if they be omitted without offense. Such liberty in human rites was not unknown to the Fathers. For in the East they kept Easter at another time than at Rome, and when, on account of this diversity, the Romans accused the Eastern Church of schism, they were admonished by others that such usages need not be alike everywhere. And Irenaeus says: *Diversity concerning fasting does not destroy the harmony of faith;* as also Pope Gregory intimates in Dist. XII, that such diversity does not violate the unity of the Church. And in the *Tripartite History,* Book 9, many examples of dissimilar rites are gathered, and the following statement is made: *It was not the mind of the Apostles to enact rules concerning holy-days, but to preach godliness and a holy life* [, *to teach faith and love*].

Article XXVII: Of Monastic Vows.

What is taught on our part *concerning Monastic Vows,* will be better understood if it be remembered what has been the state of

viel darin täglich nicht allein wider Gottes Wort, sondern auch päpstlichen Rechten zuentgegen [zuwider] gehandelt ist. Denn zu St. Augustini Zeiten sind Klosterstände frei gewesen; folgend [hernach], da die rechte Zucht und Lehre zerrüttet, hat man Klostergelübde erdacht und damit eben als mit einem erdachten Gefängnis die Zucht wiederum aufrichten wollen.

Über das hat man neben den Klostergelübden viel andere Stücke mehr aufgebracht und mit solchen Banden und Beschwerden ihrer viele, auch vor gebührenden Jahren, beladen.

So sind auch viele Personen aus Unwissenheit zu solchem Klosterleben gekommen, welche, wiewohl sie sonst nicht zu jung gewesen, haben doch ihr Vermögen nicht genugsam ermessen und verstanden. Dieselben alle, also verstrickt und verwickelt, sind gezwungen und gedrungen, in solchen Banden zu bleiben, ungeachtet dessen, daß auch [das] päpstliche Recht ihrer viele freigibt. Und das ist beschwerlicher gewesen in Jungfrauenklöstern denn Mönchsklöstern, so sich doch geziemt hätte, der Weibsbilder als der Schwachen zu verschonen. Dieselbe Strenge und Härtigkeit hat auch viel frommen Leuten in Vorzeiten mißfallen; denn sie haben wohl gesehen, daß beide Knaben und Maidlein um Erhaltung willen des Leibes in die Klöster sind versteckt worden. Sie haben auch wohl gesehen, wie übel dasselbe Vornehmen geraten ist, was Ärgernis, was Beschwerung der Gewissen es gebracht, und haben viele Leute geklagt, daß man in solcher gefährlichen Sache die Canones so gar nicht geachtet [hat]. Zudem, so hat man eine solche Meinung von den Klostergelübden, die unverborgen [ist], die auch viel Mönchen übel gefallen hat, die wenig ein [die ein wenig] Verstand gehabt [haben].

Denn sie gaben vor, daß Klostergelübde der Taufe gleich wären, und daß man mit dem Klosterleben Vergebung der Sünden und Rechtfertigung vor Gott verdiene. Ja, sie setzten noch mehr dazu, daß man mit dem Klosterleben verdiente nicht allein Gerechtigkeit und Frömmigkeit, sondern auch, daß man damit hielte die Gebote und Räte, im Evangelio verfaßt, und wurden also die Klostergelübde höher gepriesen denn die Taufe; item, daß man mehr verdiente mit dem Klosterleben denn mit allen andern Ständen, so von Gott geordnet sind, als Pfarrherr- und Predigerstand, Obrigkeit-, Fürsten-, Herrenstand und dergleichen, die alle nach Gottes Gebot, Wort und Befehl in ihrem Beruf ohne erdichtete Geistlichkeit dienen, wie denn dieser Stücke keines verneint werden mag, denn man findet's in ihren eigenen Büchern. Über das, wer also gefangen und ins Kloster gekommen [war], lernte wenig von Christo.

Etwa [vorzeiten] hat man Schulen der Heiligen Schrift und anderer Künste, so der christlichen Kirche dienstlich sind, in den Klöstern gehalten, daß man aus den Klöstern Pfarrherren und Bischöfe genommen hat; jetzt aber hat's viel eine andere Gestalt. Denn vorzeiten kamen sie der Meinung zusammen im Klosterleben, daß man die Schrift lerne. Jetzt geben sie vor, das Klosterleben sei ein solch Wesen, daß man Gottes Gnade und Frömmigkeit vor Gott damit verdiene, ja, es sei ein Stand der Vollkommenheit, und setzen's den andern Ständen, so von Gott eingesetzt, weit vor. Das alles wird darum angezogen, ohne alle Verunglimpfung, damit man je desto baß [besser] vernehmen und verstehen möge, was und wie die Unsern predigen und lehren.

Erstlich lehren sie bei uns von denen, die zur Ehe greifen, also, daß alle die, so zum ledigen

multa contra canones in ipsis monasteriis
2] quotidie fiebant. Augustini tempore erant libera collegia; postea, corrupta disciplina, ubique addita sunt vota, ut tamquam excogitato carcere disciplina restitueretur.

3] Additae sunt paulatim supra vota aliae
4] multae observationes. Et haec vincula multis ante iustam aetatem contra canones iniecta sunt.

5] Multi inciderunt errore in hoc vitae genus, quibus, etiamsi non deessent anni, tamen iudicium de suis viribus defuit. Qui
6] sic irretiti erant, cogebantur manere, etiamsi quidam beneficio canonum liberari
7] possent. Et hoc accidit magis etiam in monasteriis virginum quam monachorum, quum sexui imbecilliori magis parcendum
8] esset. Hic rigor displicuit multis bonis viris ante haec tempora, qui videbant [R. 33 puellas et adolescentes in monasteria detrudi propter victum. Videbant, quam infeliciter succederet hoc consilium, quae scandala pareret, quos laqueos conscientiis iniiceret. Dole-
9] bant auctoritatem canonum in re periculosissima omnino negligi et contemni. Ad
10] haec mala accedebat talis persuasio de votis, quam constat etiam olim displicuisse ipsis monachis, si qui paulo cordatiores fue-
11] runt. Docebant vota paria esse baptismo; docebant se hoc vitae genere mereri remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem coram Deo.
12] Imo addebant vitam monasticam non tantum iustitiam mereri coram Deo, sed amplius etiam, quia servaret non modo praecepta, sed etiam consilia evangelica.

13] Ita persuadebant monasticam professionem longe meliorem esse baptismo, vitam monasticam plus mereri quam vitam magistratuum, vitam pastorum et similium, qui in mandatis Dei sine factitiis religionibus
14] suae vocationi serviunt. Nihil horum negari potest; exstant enim in libris eorum.

15] Quid fiebat postea in monasteriis? Olim erant scholae sacrarum litterarum et aliarum disciplinarum, quae sunt utiles ecclesiae, et sumebantur inde pastores et episcopi: nunc alia res est; nihil opus est recitare nota.
16] Olim ad discendum conveniebant: nunc fingunt institutum esse vitae genus ad promerendam gratiam et iustitiam, imo praedicant, esse statum perfectionis, et longe praeferunt omnibus aliis vitae generibus, a Deo ordinatis.
17] Haec ideo recitavimus nihil odiose exaggerantes, ut melius intelligi posset de hac re doctrina nostrorum.

18] Primum de his, qui matrimonia contrahunt, sic docent apud nos, quod liceat omni-

the monasteries, and how many things were daily done in those very monasteries, contrary to the Canons. In Augustine's time they were free associations. Afterward, when discipline was corrupted, vows were everywhere added for the purpose of restoring discipline, as in a carefully planned prison.

Gradually, many other observances were added besides vows. And these fetters were laid upon many before the lawful age, contrary to the Canons.

Many also entered into this kind of life through ignorance, being unable to judge their own strength, though they were of sufficient age. Being thus ensnared, they were compelled to remain, even though some could have been freed by the kind provision of the Canons. And this was more the case in convents of women than of monks, although more consideration should have been shown the weaker sex. This rigor displeased many good men before this time, who saw that young men and maidens were thrown into convents for a living. They saw what unfortunate results came of this procedure, and what scandals were created, what snares were cast upon consciences! They were grieved that the authority of the Canons in so momentous a matter was utterly set aside and despised. To these evils was added such a persuasion concerning vows as, it is well known, in former times displeased even those monks who were more considerate. They taught that vows were equal to Baptism; they taught that by this kind of life they merited forgiveness of sins and justification before God. Yea, they added that the monastic life not only merited righteousness before God, but even greater things, because it kept not only the precepts, but also the so-called "evangelical counsels."

Thus they made men believe that the profession of monasticism was far better than Baptism, and that the monastic life was more meritorious than that of magistrates, than the life of pastors, and such like, who serve their calling in accordance with God's commands, without any man-made services. None of these things can be denied; for they appear in their own books. [Moreover, a person who has been thus ensnared and has entered a monastery learns little of Christ.]

What, then, came to pass in the monasteries? Aforetime they were schools of theology and other branches, profitable to the Church; and thence pastors and bishops were obtained. Now it is another thing. It is needless to rehearse what is known to all. Aforetime they came together to learn; now they feign that it is a kind of life instituted to merit grace and righteousness; yea, they preach that it is a state of perfection, and they put it far above all other kinds of life ordained of God. These things we have rehearsed without odious exaggeration, to the end that the doctrine of our teachers on this point might be better understood.

First, concerning such as contract matrimony, they teach on our part that it is law-

Stand nicht geschickt sind, Macht, Fug und Recht haben, sich zu verehelichen. Denn die Gelübde vermögen nicht Gottes Ordnung und Gebot aufzuheben. Nun lautet Gottes Gebot also 1 Kor. 7, 2: „Um der Hurerei willen habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Weib, und eine jegliche habe ihren eigenen Mann.“ Dazu dringt, zwingt und treibt nicht allein Gottes Gebot, sondern auch Gottes Geschöpf und Ordnung alle die zum Ehestand, die ohne sonderes [besonderes] Gotteswerk mit der Gabe der Jungfrauschaft nicht begnadet sind, laut dieses Spruchs Gottes selbst Gen. 2, 18: „Es ist nicht gut, daß der Mensch allein sei; wir wollen ihm eine Gehilfin machen, die um ihn sei.“

Was mag man nun dawider aufbringen? Man rühme das Gelübde und Pflicht, wie hoch man wolle, man mutze es auf, als [so] hoch man kann, so mag [kann] man dennoch nicht erzwingen, daß Gottes Gebot dadurch aufgehoben werde. Die Doctores sagen, daß die Gelübde, auch wider des Papsts Recht, unbündig [nicht verbindlich] sind, wieviel weniger sollen sie denn binden, Statt und Kraft haben wider Gottes Gebot!

Wo die Pflichten der Gelübde keine anderen Ursachen hätten, daß sie möchten aufgehoben werden, so hätten die Päpste auch nicht dawider dispensiert oder erlaubt. Denn es gebührt keinem Menschen die Pflicht, so aus göttlichen Rechten herwächst, zu zerreißen. Darum haben die Päpste wohl bedacht, daß in dieser Pflicht eine Aquität soll gebraucht werden, und haben zum öfternmal dispensiert, als, mit einem Könige von Aragonien und vielen andern. So man nun zur Erhaltung zeitlicher Dinge dispensiert hat, soll viel billiger dispensiert werden um Notdurft willen der Seelen.

Folgends [ferner], warum treibt der Gegenteil so hart, daß man die Gelübde halten muß, und sieht nicht zuvor an, ob das Gelübde seine Art habe? Denn das Gelübde soll in möglichen Sachen willig und ungezwungen sein. Wie aber die ewige Keuschheit in des Menschen Gewalt und Vermögen stehe, weiß man wohl; auch sind wenig, beide Manns- und Weibspersonen, die von ihnen selbst, willig und wohlbedacht, das Klostergelübde getan haben. Ehe sie zum rechten Verstand kommen, so überredet man sie zum Klostergelübde; zuweilen werden sie auch dazu gezwungen und gedrungen. Darum ist es je nicht billig, daß man so schwind [scharf] und hart von der Gelübdepflicht disputiere, angesehen, daß sie alle bekennen, daß solches wider die Natur und Art des Gelübdes ist, daß es nicht willig und mit gutem Rat und Bedacht gelobt wird.

Etliche Canones und päpstliche Rechte zerreißen die Gelübde, die unter fünfzehn Jahren geschehen sind. Denn sie halten's dafür, daß man vor derselben Zeit so viel Verstandes nicht hat, daß man die Ordnung des ganzen Lebens, wie dasselbe anzustellen, beschließen könne. Ein anderer Kanon gibt der menschlichen Schwachheit noch mehr Jahre zu; denn er verbietet, das Klostergelübde unter achtzehn Jahren zu tun. Daraus hat der meiste Teil Entschuldigung und Ursachen, aus den Klöstern zu gehen; denn sie des mehreren Teils in der Kindheit vor diesen Jahren in Klöster gekommen sind.

Endlich, wenngleich die Verbrechung [das Brechen] des Klostergelübdes möchte getadelt werden, so könnte aber dennoch nicht daraus folgen, daß

bus, qui non sunt idonei ad coelibatum, contrahere matrimonium, quia vota non possunt ordinationem ac mandatum Dei tollere. Est 19] autem hoc mandatum Dei 1 Cor. 7, 2: *Propter fornicationem habeat unusquisque* 20] *uxorem suam.* Neque mandatum solum, sed etiam creatio et ordinatio Dei cogit [R. 34 hos ad coniugium, qui sine singulari Dei opere non sunt excepti, iuxta illud: *Non est bonum* 21] *homini esse solum*, Gen. 2, 18. Igitur non peccant isti, qui obtemperant huic mandato et ordinationi Dei.

22] Quid potest contra haec opponi? Exaggeret aliquis obligationem voti, quantum volet, tamen non poterit efficere, ut votum 23] tollat mandatum Dei. Canones docent in omni voto ius superioris excipi; quare multo minus haec vota contra mandata Dei valent!

24] Quodsi obligatio votorum nullas haberet causas, cur mutari possit: nec Romani pontifices dispensassent. Neque enim licet homini obligationem, quae simpliciter est iuris 25] divini, rescindere. Sed prudenter iudicaverunt Romani pontifices aequitatem in hac obligatione adhibendam esse; ideo saepe de 26] votis dispensasse leguntur. Nota est historia de rege Arragonum revocato ex monasterio; et exstant exempla nostri temporis.

27] Deinde, cur obligationem exaggerant adversarii seu effectum voti, quum interim de ipsa voti natura sileant, quod debet esse in re possibili, quod debet esse voluntarium, sponte 28] et consulto conceptum? At quomodo sit in potestate hominis perpetua castitas, non 29] est ignotum. Et quotusquisque sponte et consulto vovit? Puellae et adolescentes, priusquam iudicare possunt, persuadentur ad vovendum, interdum etiam coguntur. Quare 30] non est aequum tam rigide de obligatione disputare, quum omnes fateantur contra voti naturam esse, quod non sponte, quod inconsulto, admittitur.

31] Plerique canones rescindunt vota, ante annum quintum decimum contracta, quia ante illam aetatem non videtur tantum esse iudicii, ut de perpetua vita constitui possit. 32] Alius canon, plus concedens hominum imbecillitati, addit annos aliquot; vetat [R. 35 enim ante annum duodevicesimum votum fieri. 33] Sed utrum sequemur? Maxima pars habet excusationem, cur monasteria deserant, quia plurimi ante hanc aetatem voverunt.

34] Postremo, etiamsi voti violatio reprehendi posset, tamen non videtur statim sequi, quod coniugia talium personarum dissolvenda

ful for all men who are not fitted for single life to contract matrimony, because vows cannot annul the ordinance and commandment of God. But the commandment of God is, 1 Cor. 7, 2: *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.* Nor is it the commandment only, but also the creation and ordinance of God, which forces those to marry who are not excepted by a singular work of God, according to the text Gen. 2, 18: *It is not good that the man should be alone.* Therefore they do not sin who obey this commandment and ordinance of God.

What objection can be raised to this? Let men extol the obligation of a vow as much as they list, yet shall they not bring to pass that the vow annuls the commandment of God. The Canons teach that the right of the superior is excepted in every vow; [that vows are not binding against the decision of the Pope;] much less, therefore, are these vows of force which are against the commandments of God.

Now, if the obligation of vows could not be changed for any cause whatever, the Roman Pontiffs could never have given dispensation; for it is not lawful for man to annul an obligation which is simply divine. But the Roman Pontiffs have prudently judged that leniency is to be observed in this obligation, and therefore we read that many times they have dispensed from vows. The case of the King of Aragon who was called back from the monastery is well known, and there are also examples in our own times. [Now, if dispensations have been granted for the sake of securing temporal interests, it is much more proper that they be granted on account of the distress of souls.]

In the second place, why do our adversaries exaggerate the obligation or effect of a vow, when, at the same time, they have not a word to say of the nature of the vow itself, that it ought to be in a thing possible, that it ought to be free, and chosen spontaneously and deliberately? But it is not unknown to what extent perpetual chastity is in the power of man. And how few are there who have taken the vow spontaneously and deliberately! Young maidens and men, before they are able to judge, are persuaded, and sometimes even compelled, to take the vow. Wherefore it is not fair to insist so rigorously on the obligation, since it is granted by all that it is against the nature of a vow to take it without spontaneous and deliberate action.

Most canonical laws rescind vows made before the age of fifteen; for before that age there does not seem sufficient judgment in a person to decide concerning a perpetual life. Another Canon, granting more to the weakness of man, adds a few years; for it forbids a vow to be made before the age of eighteen. But which of these two Canons shall we follow? The most part have an excuse for leaving the monasteries, because most of them have taken the vows before they reached these ages.

Finally, even though the violation of a vow might be censured, yet it seems not forth-

man derſelben Ehe zerreißen ſollte. Denn St. Auguſtinus ſagt 27. quaest., 1. cap., Nuptiarum, daß man ſolche Ehe nicht zerreißen ſoll. Nun iſt je St. Auguſtin nicht in geringem Anſehen in der chriſtlichen Kirche, obgleich etliche hernach anders gehalten [haben].

Wiewohl nun Gottes Gebot von dem Eheſtande ihrer ſehr viele vom Kloſtergelübde frei und ledig gemacht [hat], ſo wenden doch die Unſern noch mehr Urſachen vor, daß Kloſtergelübde nichtig und unbündig ſeien. Denn aller Gottesdienſt, von den Menſchen ohne Gottes Gebot und Befehl eingeſetzt und erwählt, Gerechtigkeit und Gottes Gnade zu erlangen, ſei wider Gott und dem Evangelio und Gottes Befehl entgegen; wie denn Chriſtus ſelbſt ſagt Matth. 15, 9: „Sie dienen mir vergebens mit Menſchengeboten.“ So lehret's auch St. Paulus überall, daß man Gerechtigkeit nicht ſoll ſuchen aus unſern Geboten und Gottesdienſten, ſo von Menſchen erdichtet ſind, ſondern daß Gerechtigkeit und Frömmigkeit vor Gott kommt aus dem Glauben und Vertrauen, daß wir glauben, daß uns Gott um ſeines einigen Sohnes Chriſtus willen zu Gnaden annimmt.

Nun iſt es je am Tage, daß die Mönche gelehrt und gepredigt haben, daß die erdachte Geiſtlichkeit genugtue für die Sünde und Gottes Gnade und Gerechtigkeit erlange. Was iſt nun dies anders, denn die Herrlichkeit und Preis der Gnade Chriſti vermindern und die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens verleugnen? Darum folgt aus dem, daß ſolche gewöhnliche Gelübde unrechte, falſche Gottesdienſte geweſen [ſind]. Derhalben ſind ſie auch unbündig. Denn ein gottlos Gelübde, und das wider Gottes Gebot geſchehen, iſt unbündig und nichtig; wie auch die Canones lehren, daß der Eid nicht ſoll ein Band zur Sünde ſein.

St. Paulus ſagt zu den Galatern am 5, 4: „Ihr ſeid ab von Chriſto, die ihr durch das Geſetz rechtfertig werden wollt, und habt der Gnade gefehlt.“ Derhalben auch die, ſo durch Gelübde wollen rechtfertig werden, ſind von Chriſto ab und fehlen der Gnade Gottes. Denn dieſelben rauben Chriſto ſeine Ehre, der allein gerecht macht, und geben ſolche Ehre ihren Gelübden und Kloſterleben.

Man kann auch nicht leugnen, daß die Mönche gelehrt und gepredigt haben, daß ſie durch ihre Gelübde und Kloſterweſen und -weiſe gerecht werden und Vergebung der Sünden verdienen; ja, ſie haben noch wohl ungeſchicktere Dinge erdichtet und geſagt, daß ſie ihre guten Werke den andern mitteilen. Wenn nun einer dies alles wollte unglimpflich treiben und aufmutzen, wie viele Stücke könnte er zuſammenbringen, deren ſich die Mönche jetzt ſelbſt ſchämen und nicht wollen getan haben! Über das alles haben ſie auch die Leute überredet, daß die erdichteten geiſtlichen Ordensſtände ſind chriſtliche Vollkommenheit [*daß die erdichteten geiſtlichen Orden Stände ſind chriſtlicher Vollkommenheit]. Dies iſt ja die Werke rühmen, daß man dadurch gerecht werde. Nun iſt es nicht ein geringes Ärgernis in der chriſtlichen Kirche, daß man dem Volk einen ſolchen Gottesdienſt vorträgt, den die Menſchen ohne Gottes Gebot erdichtet haben, und lehren, daß ein ſolcher Gottesdienſt die Menſchen vor Gott fromm und gerecht macht. Denn Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, die man am meiſten in der Kirche treiben ſoll, wird verdunkelt, wenn den Leuten die Augen aufgeſperrt werden mit dieſer ſeltſamen Engelsgeiſtlichkeit und falſchem Vorgeben der Armut, Demut und Keuſchheit.

35] sint. Nam Augustinus negat debere dissolvi, 27. quaest., 1. cap., *Nuptiarum;* cuius non est levis auctoritas, etiamsi alii postea aliter senserunt [Augustinus, De Bono Viduitatis: „Coniugia voventium non sunt dissolvenda“].

36] Quamquam autem mandatum Dei de coniugio videatur plerosque liberare a votis, tamen afferunt nostri et aliam rationem de votis, quod sint irrita, quia omnis cultus Dei, ab hominibus sine mandato Dei institutus et electus ad promerendam iustificationem et gratiam, impius est, sicut Christus ait Matth. 37] 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.* Et Paulus ubique docet iustitiam non esse quaerendam ex nostris observationibus et cultibus, qui sint excogitati ab hominibus, sed contingere eam per fidem credentibus, se recipi in gratiam a Deo propter Christum.

38] Constat autem monachos docuisse, quod factitiae religiones satisfaciant pro peccatis, mereantur gratiam et iustificationem. Quid hoc est aliud, quam de gloria Christi detrahere et obscurare ac negare iustitiam fidei? 39] Sequitur igitur ista vota usitata impios 40] cultus fuisse, quare sunt irrita. Nam votum impium et factum contra mandata Dei non valet; neque enim debet votum vinculum esse iniquitatis, ut canon dicit.

41] Paulus dicit Gal. 5, 4: *Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in lege iustificamini; a gratia* 42] *excidistis.* Ergo etiam qui votis iustificari volunt, evacuantur a Christo et a gratia 43] excidunt. Nam et hi, qui votis tribuunt iustificationem, tribuunt propriis operibus hoc, quod proprie ad gloriam Christi pertinet.

44] Neque vero negari potest, quin monachi docuerint se per vota et observationes [R. 36 suas iustificari et mereri remissionem peccatorum; imo affinxerunt absurdiora, dixerunt 45] se aliis mutuari sua opera. Haec si quis velit odiose exaggerare, quam multa possit colligere, quorum iam ipsos monachos pudet! 46] Adhaec persuaserunt hominibus factitias religiones esse statum Christianae perfectio- 47] nis. An non est hoc iustificationem tri- 48] buere operibus? Non est leve scandalum in ecclesia, populo proponere certum cultum ab hominibus excogitatum sine mandato Dei, et docere, quod talis cultus iustificet homines. Quia iustitia fidei, quam maxime oportet tradi in ecclesia, obscuratur, quum illae mirificae religiones angelorum, simulatio paupertatis et humilitatis et coelibatus offunduntur oculis hominum.

with to follow that the marriages of such persons must be dissolved. For Augustine denies that they ought to be dissolved (XXVII. Quaest. I, Cap. *Nuptiarum*); and his authority is not lightly to be esteemed, although other men afterwards thought otherwise.

But although it appears that God's command concerning marriage delivers very many from their vows, yet our teachers introduce also another argument concerning vows to show that they are void. For every service of God, ordained and chosen of men without the commandment of God to merit justification and grace, is wicked; as Christ says, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain do they worship Me with the commandments of men.* And Paul teaches everywhere that righteousness is not to be sought from our own observances and acts of worship, devised by men, but that it comes by faith to those who believe that they are received by God into grace for Christ's sake.

But it is evident that monks have taught that services of man's making satisfy for sins and merit grace and justification. What else is this than to detract from the glory of Christ and to obscure and deny the righteousness of faith? It follows, therefore, that the vows thus commonly taken have been wicked services, and, consequently, are void. For a wicked vow, taken against the commandment of God, is not valid; for (as the Canon says) no vow ought to bind men to wickedness.

Paul says, Gal. 5, 4: *Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the Law; ye are fallen from grace.* To those, therefore, who want to be justified by their vows Christ is made of no effect, and they fall from grace. For also these who ascribe justification to vows ascribe to their own works that which properly belongs to the glory of Christ.

Nor can it be denied, indeed, that the monks have taught that, by their vows and observances, they were justified, and merited forgiveness of sins, yea, they invented still greater absurdities, saying that they could give others a share in their works. If any one should be inclined to enlarge on these things with evil intent, how many things could he bring together whereof even the monks are now ashamed! Over and above this, they persuaded men that services of man's making were a state of Christian perfection. And is not this assigning justification to works? It is no light offense in the Church to set forth to the people a service devised by men, without the commandment of God, and to teach that such service justifies men. For the righteousness of faith, which chiefly ought to be taught in the Church, is obscured when these wonderful angelic forms of worship, with their show of poverty, humility, and celibacy, are cast before the eyes of men.

Überdas werden auch die Gebote Gottes und der rechte und wahre Gottesdienst dadurch verdunkelt, wenn die Leute hören, daß allein die Mönche im Stand der Vollkommenheit sein sollen. Denn die christliche Vollkommenheit ist, daß man Gott von Herzen und mit Ernst fürchtet und doch auch eine herzliche Zuversicht und Glauben, auch Vertrauen faßt, daß wir um Christus' willen einen gnädigen, barmherzigen Gott haben, daß wir mögen und sollen von Gott bitten und begehren, was uns not ist, und Hilfe von ihm in allen Trübsalen gewißlich nach eines jeden Beruf und Stand gewarten; daß wir auch indes sollen äußerlich mit Fleiß gute Werke tun und unsers Berufs warten. Darin steht die rechte Vollkommenheit und der rechte Gottesdienst, nicht im Betteln oder in einer schwarzen oder grauen Kappe usw. Aber das gemeine Volk faßt viel schädliche Meinungen aus falschem Lob des Klosterlebens. So sie es hören, daß man den ledigen Stand ohne alle Maßen lobt, folgt, daß es mit beschwertem Gewissen im Ehestand ist. Denn daraus, so der gemeine Mann hört, daß die Bettler allein sollen vollkommen sein, kann er nicht wissen, daß er ohne Sünde Güter haben und hantieren möge. So das Volk hört, es sei nur ein Rat, nicht Rache üben, folgt, daß etliche vermeinen, es sei nicht Sünde, außerhalb des Amtes Rache zu üben. Etliche meinen, Rache gezieme den Christen gar nicht, auch nicht der Obrigkeit.

Man liest auch der Exempel viele, daß etliche Weib und Kind, auch ihr Regiment verlassen und sich in Klöster gesteckt haben. Dasselbe, haben sie gesagt, heißt aus der Welt fliehen und ein solch Leben suchen, das Gott baß [besser] gefiele denn der andern Leben. Sie haben auch nicht können wissen, daß man Gott dienen soll in den Geboten, die er gegeben hat, und nicht in den Geboten, die von Menschen erdichtet sind. Nun ist je das ein guter und vollkommener Stand des Lebens, welcher Gottes Gebot für sich hat; das aber ist ein gefährlicher Stand des Lebens, der Gottes Gebot nicht für sich hat. Von solchen Sachen ist vonnöten gewesen, den Leuten guten Bericht zu tun.

Es hat auch Gerson in Vorzeiten den Irrtum der Mönche von der Vollkommenheit gestraft und zieht an, daß bei seinen Zeiten dieses eine neue Rede gewesen sei, daß das Klosterleben ein Stand der Vollkommenheit sein solle.

So viel gottlose Meinungen und Irrtümer kleben in den Klostergelübden: daß sie sollen rechtfertigen und fromm vor Gott machen, daß sie die christliche Vollkommenheit sein sollen, daß man damit beide des Evangeliums Räte und Gebote halte, daß sie haben die Übermaß der Werke [*daß sie haben die übermaßwerke], die man Gott nicht schuldig sei. Dieweil denn solches alles falsch, eitel und erdichtet ist, so macht es auch die Klostergelübde nichtig und unbündig.

Der XXVIII. Artikel.
Von der Bischöfe Gewalt.

Von **der Bischöfe Gewalt** ist vorzeiten viel und mancherlei geschrieben und haben etliche ungeschicklich **die Gewalt der Bischöfe und das weltliche Schwert** untereinander gemengt, und sind aus diesem unordentlichen Gemenge sehr große Kriege, Aufruhre und Empörungen erfolgt, aus dem, daß die Bischöfe im Schein ihrer Gewalt, die ihnen von Christo gegeben, nicht allein neue Gottesdienste angerichtet haben und mit Vorbehaltung etlicher Fälle und mit gewaltsamem Bann die

49] Praeterea obscurantur praecepta Dei et verus cultus Dei, quum audiunt homines solos monachos esse in statu perfectionis, quia perfectio Christiana est serio timere Deum et rursus concipere magnam fidem et confidere propter Christum, quod habeamus Deum placatum, petere a Deo et certo exspectare auxilium in omnibus rebus gerendis iuxta vocationem; interim foris diligenter facere bona 50] opera et servire vocationi. In his rebus est vera perfectio et verus cultus Dei; non est in coelibatu aut mendicitate aut veste 51] sordida. Verum populus concipit multas perniciosas opiniones ex illis falsis praeconiis 52] vitae monasticae. Audit sine modo laudari coelibatum: ideo cum offensione con- 53] scientiae versatur in coniugio. Audit solos mendicos esse perfectos: ideo cum offensione conscientiae retinet possessiones, nego- 54] tiatur. Audit consilium evangelicum esse de non vindicando: ideo alii in privata vita non verentur ulcisci; audiunt enim consi- 55] lium esse, non praeceptum. Alii omnes magistratus et civilia officia iudicant indigna esse Christianis.

56] Leguntur exempla hominum, qui [R. 37 deserto coniugio, deserta reipublicae administratione abdiderunt se in monasteria. Id 57] vocabant fugere ex mundo et quaerere vitae genus, quod Deo magis placeret; nec videbant Deo serviendum esse in illis mandatis, quae ipse tradidit, non in mandatis, quae 58] sunt excogitata ab hominibus. Bonum et perfectum vitae genus est, quod habet man- 59] datum Dei. De his rebus necesse est admonere homines.

60] Et ante haec tempora reprehendit Gerson errorem monachorum de perfectione et testatur, suis temporibus novam vocem fuisse, quod vita monastica sit status perfectionis.

61] Tam multae impiae opiniones haerent in votis: quod iustificent, quod sint perfectio Christiana, quod servent consilia et praecepta, quod habeant opera supererogationis. Haec 62] omnia quum sint falsa et inania, faciunt vota irrita.

VII. De Potestate Ecclesiastica.

1] Magnae disputationes fuerunt de *potestate episcoporum*, in quibus nonnulli incommode commiscuerunt *potestatem ecclesia- 2] sticam et potestatem gladii*. Et ex hac confusione maxima bella, maximi motus exstiterunt, dum pontifices, freti potestate clavium, non solum novos cultus instituerunt, reservatione casuum, violentis excommunicationibus conscientias oneraverunt, sed etiam regna mundi transferre et imperatoribus ad-

Furthermore, the precepts of God and the true service of God are obscured when men hear that only monks are in a state of perfection. For Christian perfection is to fear God from the heart, and yet to conceive great faith, and to trust that for Christ's sake we have a God who has been reconciled, to ask of God, and assuredly to expect His aid in all things that, according to our calling, are to be done; and meanwhile, to be diligent in outward good works, and to serve our calling. In these things consist the true perfection and the true service of God. It does not consist in celibacy, or in begging, or in vile apparel. But the people conceive many pernicious opinions from the false commendations of monastic life. They hear celibacy praised above measure; therefore they lead their married life with offense to their consciences. They hear that only beggars are perfect; therefore they keep their possessions and do business with offense to their consciences. They hear that it is an evangelical counsel not to seek revenge; therefore some in private life are not afraid to take revenge, for they hear that it is but a counsel, and not a commandment. Others judge that the Christian cannot properly hold a civil office or be a magistrate.

There are on record examples of men who, forsaking marriage and the administration of the Commonwealth, have hid themselves in monasteries. This they called fleeing from the world, and seeking a kind of life which would be more pleasing to God. Neither did they see that God ought to be served in those commandments which He Himself has given, and not in commandments devised by men. A good and perfect kind of life is that which has for it the commandment of God. It is necessary to admonish men of these things.

And before these times, Gerson rebukes this error of the monks concerning perfection, and testifies that in his day it was a new saying that the monastic life is a state of perfection.

So many wicked opinions are inherent in the vows, namely, that they justify, that they constitute Christian perfection, that they keep the counsels and commandments, that they have works of supererogation. All these things, since they are false and empty, make vows null and void.

Article XXVIII: Of Ecclesiastical Power.

There has been great controversy concerning *the Power of Bishops*, in which some have awkwardly confounded *the power of the Church* and *the power of the sword*. And from this confusion very great wars and tumults have resulted, while the Pontiffs, emboldened by the power of the Keys, not only have instituted new services and burdened consciences with reservation of cases and ruthless excommunications, but have also undertaken to transfer the kingdoms of this

Gewissen beschwert, sondern auch sich unterwunden [haben], Kaiser und Könige zu setzen und [zu] entsetzen ihres Gefallens, welchen Frevel auch lange Zeit hiervor gelehrte und gottesfürchtige Leute in der Christenheit gestraft haben. Derhalben die Unsern zu[m] Trost der Gewissen gezwungen sind worden, den Unterschied der geistlichen und weltlichen Gewalt, Schwerts und Regiments anzuzeigen, und haben gelehrt, daß man beide Regimente und Gewalten um Gottes Gebots willen mit aller Andacht ehren und wohl halten solle als zwei höchste Gaben Gottes auf Erden.

Nun lehren die Unsern also, daß die Gewalt der Schlüssel oder der Bischöfe sei laut des Evangeliums eine Gewalt und Befehl Gottes, das Evangelium zu predigen, die Sünde zu vergeben und zu behalten und die Sakramente zu reichen und zu handeln. Denn Christus hat die Apostel mit dem Befehl ausgesandt Joh. 20, 21 ff.: „Gleichwie mich mein Vater gesandt hat, also sende ich euch auch. Nehmet hin den Heiligen Geist! Welchen ihr die Sünden erlassen werdet, denen sollen sie erlassen sein, und denen ihr sie vorbehalten werdet, denen sollen sie vorbehalten sein."

Dieselbe Gewalt der Schlüssel oder Bischöfe übt und treibt man allein mit der Lehre und Predigt Gottes Worts und mit Handreichung der Sakramente gegen viele oder einzelne Personen, danach der Beruf ist. Denn damit werden gegeben nicht leibliche, sondern ewige Dinge und Güter, als nämlich ewige Gerechtigkeit, der Heilige Geist und das ewige Leben. Diese Güter kann man anders nicht erlangen denn durch das Amt der Predigt und durch die Handreichung der heiligen Sakramente. Denn St. Paulus spricht Röm. 1, 16: „Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen alle, die daran glauben." Dieweil nun die Gewalt der Kirche oder Bischöfe ewige Güter gibt und allein durch das Predigtamt geübt und getrieben wird, so hindert sie die Polizei und das weltliche Regiment nichts überall. Denn das weltliche Regiment geht mit viel andern Sachen um denn das Evangelium; welche Gewalt schützt nicht die Seelen, sondern Leib und Gut wider äußerliche Gewalt mit dem Schwert und leiblichen Pönen [Strafen].

Darum soll man die zwei Regimente, das geistliche und weltliche, nicht ineinandermengen und -werfen. Denn die geistliche Gewalt hat ihren Befehl, das Evangelium zu predigen und die Sakramente zu reichen, soll auch nicht in ein fremd Amt fallen, soll nicht Könige setzen oder entsetzen, soll weltlich Gesetz und Gehorsam der Obrigkeit nicht aufheben oder zerrütten, soll weltlicher Gewalt nicht Gesetze machen und stellen von weltlichen Händeln; wie denn auch Christus selbst gesagt hat Joh. 18, 36: „Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt." Item Luk. 12, 14: „Wer hat mich zu einem Richter zwischen euch gesetzt?" Und St. Paulus zu den Philippern am 3, 20: „Unsere Bürgerschaft ist im Himmel." Und in der zweiten zu den Korinthern, 10, 4: „Die Waffen unserer Ritterschaft sind nicht fleischlich, sondern mächtig vor Gott, zu verstören die Anschläge und alle Höhe, die sich erhebt wider die Erkenntnis Gottes."

Diesergestalt unterscheiden die Unsern beider Regimente und Gewalten Amt und heißen sie beide als die höchste Gabe Gottes auf Erden in Ehren halten.

3] imere imperium conati sunt. Haec vitia multo ante reprehenderunt in ecclesia homines 4] pii et eruditi. Itaque nostri ad consolandas conscientias coacti sunt ostendere discrimen ecclesiasticae potestatis et potestatis gladii, et docuerunt, utramque propter mandatum Dei religiose venerandam et honore afficiendam esse tamquam summa Dei beneficia in terris.

5] Sic autem sentiunt, potestatem clavium seu potestatem episcoporum iuxta evangelium potestatem esse seu mandatum Dei praedicandi evangelii, remittendi et retinendi [R. 38 peccata et administrandi sacramenta. Nam 6] cum hoc mandato Christus mittit apostolos Ioh. 20, 21 sqq.: *Sicut misit me Pater, ita et ego mitto vos. Accipite Spiritum Sanctum; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittuntur eis, et quorum retinueritis peccata, retenta sunt.* 7] Marc. 16, 15: *Ite, praedicate evangelium omni creaturae* etc.

8] Haec potestas tantum exercetur docendo seu praedicando Verbum et porrigendo sacramenta vel multis, vel singulis iuxta vocationem, quia conceduntur non res corporales, sed res aeternae, iustitia aeterna, Spiritus San- 9] ctus, vita aeterna. Haec non possunt contingere nisi per ministerium Verbi et sacramentorum, sicut Paulus dicit Rom. 1, 16: *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni* 10] *credenti.* Itaque quum potestas ecclesiastica concedat res aeternas et tantum exerceatur per ministerium Verbi, non impedit politicam administrationem, sicut ars canendi nihil impedit politicam administrationem. 11] Nam politica administratio versatur circa alias res quam evangelium. Magistratus defendit non mentes, sed corpora et res corporales adversus manifestas iniurias, et coercet homines gladio et corporalibus poenis, ut iustitiam civilem et pacem retineat.

12] Non igitur commiscendae sunt potestates ecclesiastica et civilis. Ecclesiastica suum mandatum habet evangelii docendi et 13] administrandi sacramenta. Non irrumpat in alienum officium, non transferat regna mundi, non abroget leges magistratuum, non tollat legitimam obedientiam, non impediat iudicia de ullis civilibus ordinationibus aut contractibus, non praescribat leges magistra- 14] tibus de forma reipublicae; sicut dicit Christus Ioh. 18, 36: *Regnum meum non est* 15] *de hoc mundo.* Item Luc. 12, 14: *Quis constituit me iudicem aut divisorem super* 16] *vos?* Et Paulus ait Phil. 3, 2: *Nostra* 17] *politia in coelis est.* 2 Cor. 10, 4: *Arma militiae nostrae non sunt carnalia, sed* [R. 39 *potentia Deo ad destruendas cogitationes* etc.

18] Ad hunc modum discernunt nostri utriusque potestatis officia, et iubent utramque honore afficere et agnoscere, utramque Dei donum et beneficium esse.

world, and to take the Empire from the Emperor. These wrongs have long since been rebuked in the Church by learned and godly men. Therefore our teachers, for the comforting of men's consciences, were constrained to show the difference between the power of the Church and the power of the sword, and taught that both of them, because of God's commandment, are to be held in reverence and honor, as the chief blessings of God on earth.

But this is their opinion, that the power of the Keys, or the power of the bishops, according to the Gospel, is a power or commandment of God, to preach the Gospel, to remit and retain sins, and to administer Sacraments. For with this commandment Christ sends forth His Apostles, John 20, 21 sqq.: *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Mark 16, 15: *Go, preach the Gospel to every creature.*

This power is exercised only by teaching or preaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments, according to their calling, either to many or to individuals. For thereby are granted, not bodily, but eternal things, as eternal righteousness, the Holy Ghost, eternal life. These things cannot come but by the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments, as Paul says, Rom. 1, 16: *The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Therefore, since the power of the Church grants eternal things, and is exercised only by the ministry of the Word, it does not interfere with civil government; no more than the art of singing interferes with civil government. For civil government deals with other things than does the Gospel. The civil rulers defend not minds, but bodies and bodily things against manifest injuries, and restrain men with the sword and bodily punishments in order to preserve civil justice and peace.

Therefore the power of the Church and the civil power must not be confounded. The power of the Church has its own commission, to teach the Gospel and to administer the Sacraments. Let it not break into the office of another; let it not transfer the kingdoms of this world; let it not abrogate the laws of civil rulers; let it not abolish lawful obedience; let it not interfere with judgments concerning civil ordinances or contracts; let it not prescribe laws to civil rulers concerning the form of the Commonwealth. As Christ says, John 18, 36: *My kingdom is not of this world;* also Luke 12, 14: *Who made Me a judge or a divider over you?* Paul also says, Phil. 3, 20: *Our citizenship is in heaven;* 2 Cor. 10, 4: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the casting down of imaginations.*

After this manner our teachers discriminate between the duties of both these powers, and command that both be honored and acknowledged as gifts and blessings of God.

Wo aber die Bischöfe weltlich Regiment und Schwert haben, so haben sie dieselben nicht als Bischöfe aus göttlichen Rechten, sondern aus menschlichen, kaiserlichen Rechten, geschenkt von Kaisern und Königen zu weltlicher Verwaltung ihrer Güter, und geht das Amt des Evangeliums gar nichts an.

Derhalben ist das bischöfliche Amt nach göttlichen Rechten: das Evangelium predigen, Sünden vergeben, Lehre urteilen und die Lehre, so dem Evangelio entgegen, verwerfen und die Gottlosen, deren gottlos Wesen offenbar ist, aus [der] christlichen Gemeinde ausschließen, ohne menschliche Gewalt, sondern allein durch Gottes Wort. Und diesfalls sind die Pfarrleute und Kirchen schuldig, den Bischöfen gehorsam zu sein, laut dieses Spruchs Christi, Lucä am 10, 16: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich." Wo sie aber etwas dem Evangelio entgegen lehren, setzen oder aufrichten, haben wir Gottes Befehl in solchem Fall, daß wir nicht sollen gehorsam sein, Matthäi am 7, 15: „Sehet euch vor vor den falschen Propheten!" Und St. Paulus zu den Galatern am 1, 8: „So auch wir oder ein Engel vom Himmel euch ein ander Evangelium predigen würde, denn das wir euch gepredigt haben, der sei verflucht!" Und in der 2. Epistel zu den Korinthern am 13, 8. 10: „Wir haben keine Macht wider die Wahrheit, sondern für die Wahrheit." Item: „Nach der Macht, welche mir der HErr zu bessern und nicht zu verderben gegeben hat." Also gebietet auch das geistliche Recht 2., q. 7., in cap. Sacerdotes und in cap. Oves. Und St. Augustin schreibt in der Epistel wider Petilianus: „Man soll auch den Bischöfen, so ordentlich gewählt, nicht folgen, wo sie irren oder etwas wider die heilige göttliche Schrift lehren oder ordnen."

Daß aber die Bischöfe sonst Gewalt und Gerichtszwang haben in etlichen Sachen, als nämlich Ehesachen oder Zehnten, dieselben haben sie aus Kraft menschlicher Rechte. Wo aber die Ordinarien nachlässig in solchem Amt, so sind die Fürsten schuldig, sie tun's auch gern oder ungern, hierin ihren Untertanen um Friedens willen Recht zu sprechen, zu[r] Verhütung Unfriedens und großer Unruhe in Ländern.

Weiter disputiert man, ob auch Bischöfe Macht haben, Zeremonien in der Kirche aufzurichten, desgleichen Satzungen von Speisen, Feiertagen, von unterschiedlichen Orden der Kirchendiener. Denn die den Bischöfen diese Gewalt geben, ziehen diesen Spruch Christi an, Joh. 16, 12: „Ich habe euch noch viel zu sagen, ihr aber könnet's jetzt nicht tragen; wenn aber der Geist der Wahrheit kommen wird, der wird euch in alle Wahrheit führen." Dazu führen sie auch das Exempel Actorum am 15, 20. 29, da sie Blut und Ersticktes verboten haben. So zieht man auch das an, daß der Sabbat in Sonntag verwandelt ist worden wider die zehn Gebote, dafür sie es achten, und wird kein Exempel so hoch getrieben und angezogen als die Verwandlung des Sabbats, und wollen damit erhalten, daß die Gewalt der Kirche groß sei, dieweil sie mit den zehn Geboten dispensiert und etwas daran verändert hat.

Aber die Unsern lehren in dieser Frage also, daß die Bischöfe nicht Macht haben, etwas wider das Evangelium zu setzen und aufzurichten; wie denn oben angezeigt ist, und die geistlichen Rechte durch die ganze neunte Distinktion lehren. Nun

19] Si quam habent episcopi potestatem gladii, hanc non habent episcopi ex mandato evangelii, sed iure humano, donatam a regibus et imperatoribus ad administrationem civilem suorum bonorum. Haec interim alia functio est quam ministerium evangelii.

20] Quum igitur de iurisdictione episcoporum quaeritur, discerni debet imperium ab
21] ecclesiastica iurisdictione. Porro secundum evangelium seu, ut loquuntur, de iure divino nulla iurisdictio competit episcopis ut episcopis, hoc est, his, quibus est commissum ministerium Verbi et sacramentorum, nisi remittere peccata, item cognoscere doctrinam et doctrinam ab evangelio dissentientem reiicere et impios, quorum nota est impietas, excludere a communione ecclesiae sine vi humana,
22] sed Verbo. Hic necessario et de iure divino debent eis ecclesiae praestare obedientiam, iuxta illud Luc. 10, 16: *Qui vos audit,*
23] *me audit.* Verum quum aliquid contra evangelium docent aut statuunt, tunc habent ecclesiae mandatum Dei, quod obedientiam prohibet, Matth. 7, 15: *Cavete a pseudopro-*
24] *phetis!* Gal. 1, 8: *Si angelus de coelo aliud evangelium evangelizaverit, anathema*
25] *sit!* 2 Cor. 13, 8: *Non possumus aliquid*
26] *contra veritatem, sed pro veritate.* Item: *Data est nobis potestas ad aedificationem, non*
27] *ad destructionem.* Sic et canones praecipiunt, 2, q. 7, cap. Sacerdotes, et cap. Oves.
28] Et Augustinus contra Petiliani epistolam inquit: *Nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte falluntur, aut contra canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid sentiunt.*

29] Si quam habent aliam vel potestatem vel iurisdictionem in cognoscendis certis [R. 40 causis, videlicet matrimonii aut decimarum etc., hanc habent humano iure, ubi cessantibus ordinariis coguntur principes vel inviti suis subditis ius dicere, ut pax retineatur.

30] Praeter haec disputatur, utrum episcopi seu pastores habeant ius instituendi ceremonias in ecclesia et leges de cibis, feriis, gradibus ministrorum seu ordinibus etc. con-
31] dendi. Hoc ius, qui tribuunt episcopis, allegant testimonium Ioh. 16, 12: *Adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo. Quum autem venerit ille Spiritus veritatis, docebit vos omnem veri-*
32] *tatem.* Allegant etiam exemplum apostolorum Act. 15, 20, qui prohibuerunt abstinere
33] a sanguine et suffocato. Allegant sabbatum, mutatum in diem dominicum contra Decalogum, ut videtur. Nec ullum exemplum magis iactatur quam mutatio sabbati. Magnam contendunt ecclesiae potestatem esse, quod dispensaverit de praecepto Decalogi.

34] Sed de hac quaestione nostri sic docent, quod episcopi non habent potestatem statuendi aliquid contra evangelium, ut supra ostensum est. Docent idem canones 9. distinct.
35] Porro contra Scripturam est traditiones

If bishops have any power of the sword, that power they have, not as bishops, by the commission of the Gospel, but by human law, having received it of kings and emperors for the civil administration of what is theirs. This, however, is another office than the ministry of the Gospel.

When, therefore, the question is concerning the jurisdiction of bishops, civil authority must be distinguished from ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Again, according to the Gospel, or, as they say, by divine right, there belongs to the bishops as bishops, that is, to those to whom has been committed the ministry of the Word and the Sacraments, no jurisdiction except to forgive sins, to judge doctrine, to reject doctrines contrary to the Gospel, and to exclude from the communion of the Church wicked men, whose wickedness is known, and this without human force, simply by the Word. Herein the congregations of necessity and by divine right must obey them, according to Luke 10, 16: *He that heareth you heareth Me.* But when they teach or ordain anything against the Gospel, then the congregations have a commandment of God prohibiting obedience, Matt. 7, 15: *Beware of false prophets;* Gal. 1, 8: *Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel, let him be accursed;* 2 Cor. 13, 8: *We can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.* Also: *The power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.* So, also, the Canonical Laws command (II. Q. VII. Cap., *Sacerdotes,* and Cap. *Oves*). And Augustine (*Contra Petiliani Epistolam*): *Neither must we submit to Catholic bishops if they chance to err, or hold anything contrary to the Canonical Scriptures of God.*

If they have any other power or jurisdiction, in hearing and judging certain cases, as of matrimony or of tithes, etc., they have it by human right, in which matters princes are bound, even against their will, when the ordinaries fail, to dispense justice to their subjects for the maintenance of peace.

Moreover, it is disputed whether bishops or pastors have the right to introduce ceremonies in the Church, and to make laws concerning meats, holy-days and grades, that is, orders of ministers, etc. They that give this right to the bishops refer to this testimony John 16, 12. 13: *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth.* They also refer to the example of the Apostles, who commanded to abstain from blood and from things strangled, Acts 15, 29. They refer to the Sabbath-day as having been changed into the Lord's Day, contrary to the Decalog, as it seems. Neither is there any example whereof they make more than concerning the changing of the Sabbath-day. Great, say they, is the power of the Church, since it has dispensed with one of the Ten Commandments!

But concerning this question it is taught on our part (as has been shown above) that bishops have no power to decree anything

ist dieses öffentlich wider Gottes Befehl und Wort, der Meinung Gesetze zu machen oder zu gebieten, daß man dadurch für die Sünden genugtue und Gnade erlange. Denn es wird die Ehre des Verdienstes Christi verlästert, wenn wir uns mit solchen Satzungen unterwinden, Gnade zu verdienen. Es ist auch am Tage, daß um dieser Meinung willen in der Christenheit menschliche Aufsatzungen unzählig überhandgenommen haben, und indes die Lehre vom Glauben und die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens gar ist unterdrückt gewesen. Man hat täglich neue Feiertage, neue Fasten geboten, neue Zeremonien und neue Ehrerbietung der Heiligen eingesetzt, mit solchen Werken Gnade und alles Gute bei Gott zu verdienen.

Item, die menschliche Satzungen aufrichten, tun auch damit wider Gottes Gebot, daß sie Sünde setzen in der Speise, in Tagen und dergleichen Dingen und beschweren also die Christenheit mit der Knechtschaft des Gesetzes, eben als müßte bei den Christen ein solcher Gottesdienst sein, Gottes Gnade zu verdienen, der gleich wäre dem levitischen Gottesdienst, welchen Gott sollte den Aposteln und Bischöfen befohlen haben aufzurichten, wie denn etliche davon schreiben; [es] steht auch wohl zu glauben, daß etliche Bischöfe mit dem Exempel des Gesetzes Mosis sind betrogen worden, daher so unzählige Satzungen gekommen sind, daß [es] eine Todsünde sein soll, wenn man an Feiertagen eine Handarbeit tue, auch ohne Ärgernis der andern; daß [es] eine Todsünde sei, wenn man die Siebenzeit nachläßt; daß etliche Speisen das Gewissen verunreinigen; daß Fasten ein solch Werk sei, damit man Gott versöhne; daß die Sünde in einem vorbehaltenen Fall werde nicht vergeben, man ersuche denn zuvor den Vorbehalter des Falls, unangesehen, daß die geistlichen Rechte nicht von Vorbehaltung der Schuld, sondern von Vorbehaltung der Kirchenpönen reden.

Woher haben denn die Bischöfe Recht und Macht, solche Auffätze der Christenheit aufzulegen, die Gewissen zu verstricken? Denn St. Petrus verbietet in [den] Geschichten der Apostel am 15, 10, das Joch auf der Jünger Hälse zu legen. Und St. Paulus sagt zu den Korinthern, daß ihnen die Gewalt zu bessern und nicht zu verderben gegeben sei. Warum mehren sie denn die Sünde mit solchen Auffätzen?

Doch hat man helle Sprüche der göttlichen Schrift, die da verbieten, solche Auffätze aufzurichten, die Gnade Gottes damit zu verdienen, oder als sollten sie vonnöten zur Seligkeit sein. So sagt St. Paulus zu den Kolossern, 2, 16. 20: „So laßt nun niemand euch Gewissen machen über Speise oder über Trank oder über bestimmte Tage, nämlich die Feiertage oder neue Monde oder Sabbate, welches ist der Schatten von dem, das zukünftig war, aber der Körper selbst ist in Christo.“ Item: „So ihr denn gestorben seid mit Christo von den weltlichen Satzungen, was lasset ihr euch denn fangen mit Satzungen, als wäret ihr lebendig? Die da sagen: Du sollst das nicht anrühren, du sollst das nicht essen noch trinken, du sollst das nicht anlegen, welches sich doch alles unter Händen verzehret, und sind Menschengebote und -lehren und haben einen Schein der Wahrheit.“ Item, St. Paulus zu Tito am 1, 14 verbietet öffentlich, man soll nicht achten auf jüdische Fabeln und Menschengebote, welche die Wahrheit abwenden.

So redet auch Christus selbst Matth. am 15, 14. 13 von denen, so die Leute auf Menschengebote treiben: „Laßt sie fahren; sie sind der Blinden

condere aut exigere, ut per eam observationem satisfaciamus pro peccatis, aut mereamur gra-
36] tiam et iustitiam. Laeditur enim gloria meriti Christi, quum talibus observationibus
37] conamur mereri iustificationem. Constat autem, propter hanc persuasionem in ecclesia paene in infinitum crevisse traditiones, oppressa interim doctrina de fide et iustitia fidei, quia subinde plures feriae factae sunt, ieiunia indicta, ceremoniae novae, novi honores sanctorum instituti sunt, quia arbitrabantur se auctores talium rerum his operibus mereri
38] gratiam. Sic olim creverunt canones poenitentiales, quorum adhuc in satisfactionibus vestigia quaedam videmus.

39] Item auctores traditionum faciunt contra mandatum Dei, quum collocant peccatum in cibis, in diebus et similibus rebus, et [R. 41 onerant ecclesiam servitute legis, quasi oporteat apud Christianos ad promerendam iustificationem cultum esse similem Levitico, cuius ordinationem commiserit Deus apostolis et
40] episcopis. Sic enim scribunt quidam, et videntur pontifices aliqua ex parte exemplo
41] legis Mosaicae decepti esse. Hinc sunt illa onera, quod peccatum mortale sit etiam sine offensione aliorum in feriis laborare manibus, quod sit peccatum mortale omittere horas canonicas, quod certi cibi polluant conscientiam, quod ieiunia sint opera placantia Deum, quod peccatum in casu reservato non possit remitti, nisi accesserit auctoritas reservantis; quum quidem ipsi canones non de reservatione culpae, sed de reservatione poenae ecclesiasticae loquantur.

42] Unde habent ius episcopi has traditiones imponendi ecclesiis ad illaqueandas conscientias, quum Petrus vetet Act. 15, 10 *imponere iugum discipulis*, quum Paulus dicat 2 Cor. 13, 10, *potestatem ipsis datam esse ad aedificationem, non ad destructionem.* Cur igitur augent peccata per has traditiones?

43] Verum exstant clara testimonia, quae prohibent condere tales traditiones ad promerendam gratiam, aut tamquam necessarias ad
44] salutem. Paulus Col. 2, 16. 20: *Nemo vos iudicet in cibo, potu, parte diei festi, novi-*
45] *lunio aut sabbatis.* Item: *Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quare tamquam viventes in mundo decreta facitis: Non attingas, non gustes, non contrectes? Quae omnia pereunt usu et sunt mandata et doctrinae hominum, quae habent speciem sapien-*
46] *tiae.* Item ad Titum 1, 14, aperte prohibet traditiones: *Non attendentes Iudaicis fabulis et mandatis hominum, aversantium veritatem.*

47] Et Christus Matth. 15, 14. 13 inquit de his, qui exigunt traditiones: *Sinite illos;*
48] *caeci sunt et duces caecorum;* et impro-

against the Gospel. The Canonical Laws teach the same thing (Dist. IX). Now, it is against Scripture to establish or require the observance of any traditions, to the end that by such observance we may make satisfaction for sins, or merit grace and righteousness. For the glory of Christ's merit suffers injury when, by such observances, we undertake to merit justification. But it is manifest that, by such belief, traditions have almost infinitely multiplied in the Church, the doctrine concerning faith and the righteousness of faith being meanwhile suppressed. For gradually more holy-days were made, fasts appointed, new ceremonies and services in honor of saints instituted, because the authors of such things thought that by these works they were meriting grace. Thus in times past the Penitential Canons increased, whereof we still see some traces in the satisfactions.

Again, the authors of traditions do contrary to the command of God when they find matters of sin in foods, in days, and like things, and burden the Church with bondage of the law, as if there ought to be among Christians, in order to merit justification, a service like the Levitical, the arrangement of which God had committed to the Apostles and bishops. For thus some of them write; and the Pontiffs in some measure seem to be misled by the example of the law of Moses. Hence are such burdens, as that they make it mortal sin, even without offense to others, to do manual labor on holy-days, a mortal sin to omit the Canonical Hours, that certain foods defile the conscience, that fastings are works which appease God, that sin in a reserved case cannot be forgiven but by the authority of him who reserved it; whereas the Canons themselves speak only of the reserving of the ecclesiastical penalty, and not of the reserving of the guilt.

Whence have the bishops the right to lay these traditions upon the Church for the ensnaring of consciences, when Peter, Acts 15, 10, forbids to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, and Paul says, 2 Cor. 13, 10, that the power given him was to edification, not to destruction? Why, therefore, do they increase sins by these traditions?

But there are clear testimonies which prohibit the making of such traditions, as though they merited grace or were necessary to salvation. Paul says, Col. 2, 16—23: *Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days. If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances (touch not; taste not; handle not, which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments and doctrines of men? which things have indeed a show of wisdom.* Also in Titus 1, 14 he openly forbids traditions: *Not giving heed to Jewish fables and commandments of men that turn from the truth.*

And Christ, Matt. 15, 14. 13, says of those who require traditions: *Let them alone;*

blinde Leiter"; und verwirft solchen Gottesdienst und sagt: „Alle Pflanzen, die mein himmlischer Vater nicht gepflanzet hat, die werden ausgereutet."

So nun die Bischöfe Macht haben, die Kirchen mit unzähligen Aufsätzen zu beschweren und die Gewissen zu verstricken, warum verbietet denn die göttliche Schrift so oft, die menschlichen Aufsätze zu machen und zu hören? Warum nennt sie dieselben Teufelslehren? Sollte denn der Heilige Geist solches alles vergeblich verwarnt haben?

Derhalben, dieweil solche Ordnungen, als nötig aufgerichtet, damit Gott zu versöhnen und Gnade zu verdienen, dem Evangelio entgegen sind, so ziemt sich keineswegs den Bischöfen, solche Gottesdienste zu erzwingen. Denn man muß in der Christenheit die Lehre von der christlichen Freiheit behalten, als nämlich, daß die Knechtschaft des Gesetzes nicht nötig ist zur Rechtfertigung, wie denn St. Paulus zu den Galatern schreibt am 5, 1: „So bestehet nun in der Freiheit, damit uns Christus befreiet hat, und laßt euch nicht wieder in das knechtische Joch verknüpfen!" Denn es muß je der vornehmste Artikel des Evangeliums erhalten werden, daß wir die Gnade Gottes durch den Glauben an Christum ohne unser Verdienst erlangen und nicht durch Dienst, von Menschen eingesetzt, verdienen.

Was soll man denn halten vom Sonntag und dergleichen andern Kirchenordnungen und Zeremonien? Dazu geben die Unsern diese Antwort, daß die Bischöfe oder Pfarrherren mögen Ordnungen machen, damit es ordentlich in der Kirche zugehe, nicht damit Gottes Gnade zu erlangen, auch nicht damit für die Sünden genugzutun oder die Gewissen damit zu verbinden, solches für nötigen Gottesdienst zu halten und es dafür zu achten, daß sie Sünde täten, wenn sie ohne Ärgernis dieselben brechen. Also hat St. Paulus zu den Korinthern, 1 Kor. 11, 5. 6, verordnet, daß die Weiber in der Versammlung ihr Haupt sollen decken; item, daß die Prediger in der Versammlung nicht zugleich alle reden, sondern ordentlich, einer nach dem andern.

Solche Ordnung gebührt der christlichen Versammlung um der Liebe und [des] Friedens willen zu halten und den Bischöfen und Pfarrherren in diesen Fällen gehorsam zu sein und dieselben sofern zu halten, daß einer den andern nicht ärgere, damit in der Kirche keine Unordnung oder wüstes Wesen sei; doch also, daß die Gewissen nicht beschwert werden, daß man's für solche Dinge halte, die not sein sollten zur Seligkeit, und es dafür achte, daß sie Sünde täten, wenn sie dieselben ohne der andern Ärgernis brechen; wie denn niemand sagt, daß das Weib Sünde tue, die mit bloßem Haupt ohne Ärgernis der Leute ausgeht.

Also ist die Ordnung vom Sonntag, von der Osterfeier, von den Pfingsten und dergleichen Feier und Weise. Denn die es dafür achten, daß die Ordnung vom Sonntag für den Sabbat als nötig aufgerichtet sei, die irren sehr. Denn die Heilige Schrift hat den Sabbat abgetan und lehrt, daß alle Zeremonien des alten Gesetzes nach Eröffnung des Evangeliums mögen nachgelassen werden; und dennoch, weil vonnöten gewesen ist, einen gewissen Tag zu verordnen, auf daß das Volk wüßte, wann es zusammenkommen sollte, hat die christliche Kirche den Sonntag dazu verordnet und zu

bat tales cultus: *Omnis plantatio, quam* [R. 42 *non plantavit Pater meus coelestis, eradicabitur.*

49] Si ius habent episcopi, onerandi ecclesias infinitis traditionibus et illaqueandi conscientias, cur toties prohibet Scriptura condere et audire traditiones? Cur vocat eas doctrinas daemoniorum, 1 Tim. 4, 1? Num frustra haec praemonuit Spiritus Sanctus?

50] Relinquitur igitur, quum ordinationes, institutae tamquam necessariae aut cum opinione promerendae gratiae, pugnent cum evangelio, quod non liceat ullis episcopis tales 51] cultus instituere aut exigere. Necesse est enim in ecclesiis retineri doctrinam de libertate Christiana, quod non sit necessaria servitus legis ad iustificationem, sicut in Galatis, 5, 1, scriptum est: *Nolite iterum iugo* 52] *servitutis subiici.* Necesse est retineri praecipuum evangelii locum, quod gratiam per fidem in Christum gratis consequamur, non propter certas observationes aut propter cultus ab hominibus institutos.

53] Quid igitur sentiendum est de die dominico et similibus ritibus templorum? Ad haec respondent, quod liceat episcopis seu pastoribus facere ordinationes, ut res ordine gerantur in ecclesia, non ut per illas mereamur gratiam, aut satisfaciamus pro peccatis, aut obligentur conscientiae, ut iudicent esse necessarios cultus, ac sentiant se peccare, quum 54] sine offensione aliorum violant. Sic Paulus 1 Cor. 11, 5. 6 ordinat, ut in congregatione *mulieres velent capita,* 1 Cor. 14, 30, ut *ordine audiantur in ecclesia interpretes* etc.

55] Tales ordinationes convenit ecclesias propter caritatem et tranquillitatem servare eatenus, ne alius alium offendat, ut ordine et sine tumultu omnia fiant in ecclesiis, 1 Cor. 56] 14, 40; cf. Phil. 2, 14; verum ita, ne conscientiae onerentur, ut ducant res esse necessarias ad salutem, ac judicent se peccare, quum violant eas sine aliorum offensione; sicut nemo dixerit peccare mulierem, quae in publicum non velato capite procedit sine offensione hominum.

57] Talis est observatio diei dominici, paschatis, pentecostes et similium feriarum et 58] rituum. Nam qui iudicant ecclesiae [R. 43 auctoritate pro sabbato institutam esse diei dominici observationem tamquam necessariam, 59] longe errant. Scriptura abrogavit sabbatum, quae docet omnes ceremonias Mosaicas post revelatum evangelium omitti posse. Et 60] tamen quia opus erat constituere certum diem, ut sciret populus, quando convenire deberet, apparet ecclesiam ei rei destinasse diem dominicum, qui ob hanc quoque causam vide-

they be blind leaders of the blind; and He rejects such services: *Every plant which My heavenly Father hath not planted shall be plucked up.*

If bishops have the right to burden churches with infinite traditions, and to ensnare consciences, why does Scripture so often prohibit to make, and to listen to, traditions? Why does it call them "doctrines of devils"? 1 Tim. 4, 1. Did the Holy Ghost in vain forewarn of these things?

Since, therefore, ordinances instituted as things necessary, or with an opinion of meriting grace, are contrary to the Gospel, it follows that it is not lawful for any bishop to institute or exact such services. For it is necessary that the doctrine of Christian liberty be preserved in the churches, namely, that the bondage of the Law is not necessary to justification, as it is written in the Epistle to the Galatians, 5, 1: *Be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* It is necessary that the chief article of the Gospel be preserved, to wit, that we obtain grace freely by faith in Christ, and not for certain observances or acts of worship devised by men.

What, then, are we to think of the Sunday and like rites in the house of God? To this we answer that it is lawful for bishops or pastors to make ordinances that things be done orderly in the Church, not that thereby we should merit grace or make satisfaction for sins, or that consciences be bound to judge them necessary services, and to think that it is a sin to break them without offense to others. So Paul ordains, 1 Cor. 11, 5, that *women should cover their heads* in the congregation, 1 Cor. 14, 30, that *interpreters be heard in order in the church,* etc.

It is proper that the churches should keep such ordinances for the sake of love and tranquillity, so far that one do not offend another, that all things be done in the churches in order, and without confusion, 1 Cor. 14, 40; comp. Phil. 2, 14; but so that consciences be not burdened to think that they are necessary to salvation, or to judge that they sin when they break them without offense to others; as no one will say that a woman sins who goes out in public with her head uncovered, provided only that no offense be given.

Of this kind is the observance of the Lord's Day, Easter, Pentecost, and like holy-days and rites. For those who judge that by the authority of the Church the observance of the Lord's Day instead of the Sabbath-day was ordained as a thing necessary, do greatly err. Scripture has abrogated the Sabbath-day; for it teaches that, since the Gospel has been revealed, all the ceremonies of Moses can be omitted. And yet, because it was necessary to appoint a certain day, that the people might know when they ought to come together, it appears that the Church designated the Lord's Day for this purpose; and this day seems to have been chosen all the more for this additional reason, that men might

dieſer Veränderung deſto mehr Gefallens und Willens gehabt, damit die Leute ein Exempel hätten der chriſtlichen Freiheit, daß man wüßte, daß weder die Haltung des Sabbats noch eines andern Tags vonnöten ſei.

Es ſind viel unrichtige Disputationen von der Verwandlung des Geſetzes, von den Zeremonien des Neuen Teſtaments, von der Veränderung des Sabbats, welche alle entſprungen ſind aus falſcher und irriger Meinung, als müßte man in der Chriſtenheit einen ſolchen Gottesdienſt haben, der dem levitiſchen oder jüdiſchen Gottesdienſt gemäß wäre, und als ſollte Chriſtus den Apoſteln und Biſchöfen befohlen haben, neue Zeremonien zu erdenken, die zur Seligkeit nötig wären. Dieſelben Irrtümer haben ſich in die Chriſtenheit eingeflochten, da man die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens nicht lauter und rein gelehrt und gepredigt hat. Etliche disputieren alſo vom Sonntag, daß man ihn halten müſſe, wiewohl nicht aus göttlichen Rechten [*dennoch ſchier als viel als aus göttlichen Rechten], ſtellen Form und Maß, wiefern man am Feiertag arbeiten mag. Was ſind aber ſolche Disputationes anders denn Fallſtricke des Gewiſſens? Denn wiewohl ſie ſich unterſtehen, menſchliche Aufſätze zu lindern und epiizieren, ſo kann man doch keine ἐπιείκειαν oder Linderung treffen, ſolange die Meinung ſteht und bleibt, als ſollten ſie vonnöten ſein. Nun muß dieſelbe Meinung bleiben, wenn man nichts weiß von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens und von der chriſtlichen Freiheit.

Die Apoſtel haben geheißen, man ſolle ſich enthalten des Blutes und [des] Erſtickten. Wer hält's aber jetzo? Aber dennoch tun die keine Sünde, die es nicht halten; denn die Apoſtel haben auch ſelbſt die Gewiſſen nicht wollen beſchweren mit ſolcher Knechtſchaft, ſondern haben's um Ärgerniſſes willen eine Zeitlang verboten. Denn man muß Achtung haben in dieſer Satzung auf das Hauptſtück chriſtlicher Lehre, das durch dieſes Dekret nicht aufgehoben wird.

Man hält ſchier keine alten Canones, wie ſie lauten; es fallen auch derſelben Satzungen täglich viele weg, auch bei denen, die ſolche Aufſätze allerfleißigſt halten. Da kann man den Gewiſſen nicht raten noch helfen, wo dieſe Linderung nicht gehalten wird, daß wir wiſſen, ſolche Aufſätze alſo zu halten, daß man's nicht dafürhalte, daß ſie nötig ſeien, daß [es] auch den Gewiſſen unſchädlich ſei, obgleich ſolche Aufſätze fallen.

Es würden aber die Biſchöfe leichtlich den Gehorſam erhalten, wo ſie nicht darauf drängen, diejenigen Satzungen zu halten, ſo doch ohne Sünde nicht mögen gehalten werden. Jetzo aber tun ſie ein Ding und verbieten beide Geſtalten des heiligen Sakraments; item den Geiſtlichen den Eheſtand; nehmen niemand auf, ehe er denn zuvor einen Eid getan habe, er wolle dieſe Lehre, ſo doch ohne Zweifel dem heiligen Evangelio gemäß iſt, nicht predigen. Unſere Kirchen begehren nicht, daß die Biſchöfe mit Nachteil ihrer Ehren und Würden wiederum Frieden und Einigkeit machen, wiewohl ſolches den Biſchöfen in der Not auch zu tun gebührte. Allein bitten ſie darum, daß die Biſchöfe etliche unbillige Beſchwerungen nachlaſſen, die doch vorzeiten auch in der Kirche nicht geweſen und angenommen ſind wider den Gebrauch der chriſtlichen gemeinen Kirche; welche vielleicht im Anheben etliche Urſachen gehabt, aber ſie reimen ſich nicht zu unſern Zeiten. So iſt es auch unleugbar, daß etliche Satzungen aus Unverſtand angenommen ſind. Darum ſollten die Biſchöfe der Gütigkeit ſein, dieſelben Satzungen zu mildern, ſintemal

tur magis placuisse, ut haberent homines exemplum Christianae libertatis, et scirent nec sabbati nec alterius diei observationem necessariam esse.

61] Exstant prodigiosae disputationes de mutatione legis, de ceremoniis novae legis, de mutatione sabbati, quae omnes ortae sunt ex falsa persuasione, quod oporteat in ecclesia cultum esse similem Levitico, et quod Christus commiserit apostolis et episcopis excogitare novas ceremonias, quae sint ad salutem 62] necessariae. Hi errores serpserunt in ecclesiam, quum iustitia fidei non satis clare 63] doceretur. Aliqui disputant diei dominici observationem non quidem iuris divini esse, sed quasi iuris divini; praescribunt de feriis, quatenus liceat operari. Huiusmodi 64] disputationes quid sunt aliud nisi laquei conscientiarum? Quamquam enim conentur epiikeizare traditiones, tamen nunquam potest aequitas deprehendi, donec manet opinio necessitatis, quam manere necesse est, ubi ignorantur iustitia fidei et libertas Christiana.

65] Apostoli iusserunt, Act. 15, 20, *abstinere a sanguine.* Quis nunc observat? Neque tamen peccant, qui non observant, quia ne ipsi quidem apostoli voluerunt onerare conscientias tali servitute, sed ad tempus prohi- 66] buerunt propter scandalum. Est enim perpetua voluntas evangelii consideranda in decreto.

67] Vix ulli canones servantur accurate et multi quotidie exolescunt apud illos etiam, qui diligentissime defendunt traditiones. [R. 44 68] Nec potest conscientiis consuli, nisi haec aequitas servetur, ut sciamus eos sine opinione necessitatis servari nec laedi conscientias, etiamsi traditiones exolescant.

69] Facile autem possent episcopi legitimam obedientiam retinere, si non urgerent servare traditiones, quae bona conscientia ser- 70] vari non possunt. Nunc imperant coelibatum, nullos recipiunt, nisi iurent se puram 71] evangelii doctrinam nolle docere. Non petunt ecclesiae, ut episcopi honoris sui iactura sarciant concordiam; quod tamen 72] decebat bonos pastores facere. Tantum petunt, ut iniusta onera remittant, quae nova sunt et praeter consuetudinem ecclesiae catho- 73] licae recepta. Fortassis initio quaedam constitutiones habuerunt probabiles causas; quae tamen posterioribus temporibus non con- 74] gruunt. Apparet etiam quasdam errore receptas esse. Quare pontificiae clementiae esset illas nunc mitigare, quia talis mutatio non labefacit ecclesiae unitatem. Multae enim traditiones humanae tempore mutatae 75] sunt, ut ostendunt ipsi canones. Quodsi non potest impetrari, ut relaxentur observationes, quae sine peccato non possunt praestari, oportet nos regulam apostolicam, Act.

have an example of Christian liberty, and might know that the keeping neither of the Sabbath nor of any other day is necessary.

There are monstrous disputations concerning the changing of the law, the ceremonies of the new law, the changing of the Sabbath-day, which all have sprung from the false belief that there must needs be in the Church a service like to the Levitical, and that Christ had given commission to the Apostles and bishops to devise new ceremonies as necessary to salvation. These errors crept into the Church when the righteousness of faith was not taught clearly enough. Some dispute that the keeping of the Lord's Day is not indeed of divine right, but in a manner so. They prescribe concerning holy-days, how far it is lawful to work. What else are such disputations than snares of consciences? For although they endeavor to modify the traditions, yet the mitigation can never be perceived as long as the opinion remains that they are necessary, which must needs remain where the righteousness of faith and Christian liberty are not known.

The Apostles commanded Acts 15, 20 *to abstain from blood.* Who does now observe it? And yet they that do it not sin not; for not even the Apostles themselves wanted to burden consciences with such bondage; but they forbade it for a time, to avoid offense. For in this decree we must perpetually consider what the aim of the Gospel is.

Scarcely any Canons are kept with exactness, and from day to day many go out of use even among those who are the most zealous advocates of traditions. Neither can due regard be paid to consciences unless this mitigation be observed, that we know that the Canons are kept without holding them to be necessary, and that no harm is done consciences, even though traditions go out of use.

But the bishops might easily retain the lawful obedience of the people if they would not insist upon the observance of such traditions as cannot be kept with a good conscience. Now they command celibacy; they admit none unless they swear that they will not teach the pure doctrine of the Gospel. The churches do not ask that the bishops should restore concord at the expense of their honor; which, nevertheless, it would be proper for good pastors to do. They ask only that they would release unjust burdens which are new and have been received contrary to the custom of the Church Catholic. It may be that in the beginning there were plausible reasons for some of these ordinances; and yet they are not adapted to later times. It is also evident that some were adopted through erroneous conceptions. Therefore it would be befitting the clemency of the Pontiffs to mitigate them now, because such a modification does not shake the unity of the Church. For many human traditions have been changed in process of

eine solche Änderung nichts schadet, die Einigkeit christlicher Kirche zu erhalten; denn viele Satzungen, von den Menschen aufgekommen, sind mit der Zeit selbst gefallen und nicht nötig zu halten, wie die päpstlichen Rechte selbst zeugen. Kann's aber je nicht sein, [ist] es auch bei ihnen nicht zu erhalten, daß man solche menschlichen Satzungen mäßige und abtue, welche man ohne Sünde nicht kann halten, so müssen wir der Apostel Regel folgen, die uns gebietet, wir sollen Gott mehr gehorsam sein denn den Menschen.

5, 29, sequi, quae praecipit, *Deo magis obedire, quam hominibus.*

St. Petrus verbietet den Bischöfen die Herrschaft, als hätten sie Gewalt, die Kirchen, wozu sie wollten, zu zwingen. Jetzt geht man nicht damit um, wie man den Bischöfen ihre Gewalt nehme, sondern man bittet und begehrt, sie wollten die Gewissen nicht zu Sünden zwingen. Wenn sie aber solches nicht tun werden und diese Bitte verachten, so mögen sie gedenken, wie sie werden deshalben Gott Antwort geben müssen, dieweil sie mit solcher ihrer Härtigkeit Ursache geben zu Spaltung und Schisma, das sie doch billig sollten verhüten helfen.

76] Petrus vetat episcopos dominari et ec-
77] clesiis imperare, 1 Petr. 5, 3. Nunc non id agitur, ut dominatio eripiatur episcopis, sed hoc unum petitur, ut patiantur evangelium pure doceri, et relaxent paucas quasdam observationes, quae sine peccato servari non
78] possunt. Quodsi nihil remiserint, ipsi viderint, quomodo Deo rationem reddituri sint, quod pertinacia sua causam schismati praebent.

Schluß.

Dies sind die vornehmsten Artikel, die für streitig geachtet werden. Denn wiewohl man viel mehr Mißbräuche und Unrichtigkeit hätte anziehen können, so haben wir doch, die Weitläuftigkeit und Länge zu verhüten, allein die vornehmsten vermeldet, daraus die andern leichtlich zu ermessen [sind]. Denn man [hat] in Vorzeiten sehr geklagt über den Ablaß, über Wallfahrten, über Mißbrauch des Bannes. Es hatten auch die Pfarrer unendlich Gezänk mit den Mönchen von wegen des Beichthörens, des Begräbnisses, der Leichenpredigten [*Beipredigten] und unzähliger anderer Stücke mehr. Solches alles haben wir im besten und Glimpfs willen übergangen, damit man die vornehmsten Stücke in dieser Sache desto baß [besser] vermerken möchte. Dafür soll es auch nicht gehalten werden, daß in dem jemand ichtes zu Haß, wider oder Unglimpf geredet [daß mit dem im Bekenntnis Gesagten jemand etwas zu Haß, zuwider oder zu Unglimpf geredet] oder angezogen sei, sondern wir haben allein die Stücke erzählt, die wir für nötig anzuziehen und zu vermelden geachtet haben, damit man daraus desto baß [besser] zu vernehmen habe, daß bei uns nichts weder mit Lehre noch mit Zeremonien angenommen ist, das entweder der Heiligen Schrift oder gemeiner christlicher Kirche zuentgegen [zuwider] wäre. Denn es ist je am Tage und öffentlich, daß wir mit allem Fleiß mit Gottes Hilfe (ohne Ruhm zu reden) verhütet haben, damit je keine neue und gottlose Lehre sich in unsern Kirchen einflechte, einreiße und überhandnehme.

Epilogus.

1] Hi sunt praecipui articuli, qui videntur habere controversiam. Quamquam enim [R. 45 de pluribus abusibus dici poterat, tamen, ut fugeremus prolixitatem, praecipua complexi sumus, ex quibus cetera facile iudicari pos-
2] sunt. Magnae querelae fuerunt de indulgentiis, de peregrinationibus, de abusu excommunicationis. Parochiae multipliciter vexabantur per stationarios. Infinitae contentiones erant pastoribus cum monachis de iure parochiali, de confessionibus, de sepulturis, de extraordinariis concionibus et de
3] aliis innumerabilibus rebus. Huiusmodi negotia praetermisimus, ut illa, quae sunt in hac causa praecipua, breviter proposita faci-
4] lius cognosci possent. Neque hic quidquam ad ullius contumeliam dictum aut col-
5] lectum est. Tantum ea recitata sunt, quae videbantur necessario dicenda esse, ut intelligi possit, in doctrina ac ceremoniis apud nos nihil esse receptum contra Scripturam aut ecclesiam catholicam, quia manifestum est, nos diligentissime cavisse, ne qua nova et impia dogmata in ecclesias nostras serperent.

Die obgemeldeten Artikel haben wir dem Ausschreiben nach übergeben wollen zu einer Anzeigung unsers Bekenntnisses und der Unsern Lehre. Und ob jemand befunden würde, der daran Mangel hätte, dem ist man ferner Bericht mit Grund göttlicher Heiliger Schrift zu tun erbötig.

6] Hos articulos supra scriptos voluimus exhibere iuxta edictum Caesareae Maiestatis, in quibus confessio nostra exstaret et eorum, qui apud nos docent, doctrinae summa cerneretur. 7] Si quid in hac confessione desiderabitur, parati sumus latiorem informationem, Deo volente, iuxta Scripturas exhibere.

Eurer Kaiserlicher Majestät

Untertänigste:

Johannes, Herzog zu Sachsen, Kurfürst.
Georg, Markgraf zu Brandenburg.
Ernst, Herzog zu Lüneburg.
Philipp, Landgraf zu Hessen.

Wolfgang, Fürst zu Anhalt.
Die Stadt Nürnberg.
Die Stadt Reutlingen.

8] **Caesareae Maiestatis Vestrae**

fideles et subditi:

9] *Ioannes, Dux Saxoniae, Elector.*
10] *Georgius, Marchio Brandenburgensis.*
11] *Ernestus, Dux Luneburgensis.*
12] *Philippus, Landgravius Hessorum.*
13] *Ioannes Fridericus, Dux Saxoniae.*
14] *Franciscus, Dux Luneburgensis.*
15] *Volfgangus, Princeps ab Anhalt.*
16] *Senatus Magistratusque Nurnbergensis.*
17] *Senatus Reutlingensis.*

time, as the Canons themselves show. But if it be impossible to obtain a mitigation of such observances as cannot be kept without sin, we are bound to follow the apostolic rule, Acts 5, 29, which commands us *to obey God rather than men.*

Peter, 1 Pet. 5, 3, forbids bishops to be lords, and to rule over the churches. It is not our design now to wrest the government from the bishops, but this one thing is asked, namely, that they allow the Gospel to be purely taught, and that they relax some few observances which cannot be kept without sin. But if they make no concession, it is for them to see how they shall give account to God for furnishing, by their obstinacy, a cause for schism.

Conclusion.

These are the chief articles which seem to be in controversy. For although we might have spoken of more abuses, yet, to avoid undue length, we have set forth the chief points, from which the rest may be readily judged. There have been great complaints concerning indulgences, pilgrimages, and the abuse of excommunications. The parishes have been vexed in many ways by the dealers in indulgences. There were endless contentions between the pastors and the monks concerning the parochial right, confessions, burials, sermons on extraordinary occasions, and innumerable other things. Issues of this sort we have passed over, so that the chief points in this matter, having been briefly set forth, might be the more readily understood. Nor has anything been here said or adduced to the reproach of any one. Only those things have been recounted whereof we thought that it was necessary to speak, in order that it might be understood that in doctrine and ceremonies nothing has been received on our part against Scripture or the Church Catholic. For it is manifest that we have taken most diligent care that no new and ungodly doctrine should creep into our churches.

The above articles we desire to present in accordance with the edict of Your Imperial Majesty, in order to exhibit our Confession and let men see a summary of the doctrine of our teachers. If there is anything that any one might desire in this Confession, we are ready, God willing, to present ampler information according to the Scriptures.

Your Imperial Majesty's

faithful subjects:

John, Duke of Saxony, Elector.
George, Margrave of Brandenburg.
Ernest, Duke of Lueneburg.
Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.
John Frederick, Duke of Saxony.
Francis, Duke of Lueneburg.
Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt.
Senate and Magistracy of Nuremburg.
Senate of Reutlingen.

III.

APOLOGIA

Confessionis Augustanae.

Apologia der Konfession.

APOLOGY

of the

AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

APOLOGIA CONFESSIONIS.

[R. 47

Philippus Melanchthon Lectori S. D.

1] Postquam confessio Principum nostrorum publice praelecta est, theologi quidam ac monachi adornaverunt confutationem nostri scripti, quam quum Caesarea Maiestas curasset etiam in consessu Principum praelegi, postulavit a nostris Principibus, ut illi confutationi assentirentur.

Apologia der Konfession.

Aus dem Latein verdeutscht durch Justus Jonas.

Vorrede.

Philippus Melanchthon dem Leser.

Als das Bekenntnis unserer gnädigsten und gnädigen Herren, des Kurfürsten zu Sachsen und der Fürsten dieses Teils, zu Augsburg öffentlich vor kaiserlicher Majestät und den Ständen des Reichs ist verlesen worden, haben etliche Theologi und Mönche wider dasselbe Bekenntnis und Konfession eine Antwort und Verlegung [Widerlegung] gestellt, welche dann kaiserliche Majestät hernach vor Ihrer Majestät, den Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Ständen des Reichs verlesen lassen, und hat begehrt, daß unsere Fürsten auf solche Meinung forthin wollten zu glauben, auch zu lehren und zu halten willigen.

2] Nostri autem, quia audierant multos articulos improbatos esse, quos abiicere sine offensione conscientiae non poterant, rogaverunt sibi exhiberi exemplum confutationis, ut et videre, quid damnarent adversarii, et rationes eorum refellere possent.

Dieweil aber die Unsern angehört, daß in solcher Antwort der Theologen viele Artikel verworfen, welche sie ohne Beschwerung der Gewissen und mit Gott nicht könnten lassen verwerfen, haben sie der Antwort oder [der] Konfutation Abschrift gebeten, damit sie eigentlich sehen und erwägen möchten, was die Widersacher zu verdammen sich unterstünden, und desto richtiger auf ihre Ursache und vorgebrachten Gründe wieder antworten möchten.

Et in tali causa, quae ad religionem et ad docendas conscientias pertinet, arbitrabantur fore, ut non gravatim exhiberent suum scriptum adversarii.

Und in dieser großen, hochwichtigsten Sache, welche nicht Zeitliches, sondern eine gemeine Religion, aller Heil und Wohlfahrt der Gewissen und wiederum auch große Fährlichkeit und Beschwerung derselben belangt, haben es die Unsern gewiß dafürgehalten, daß die Widersacher solche Abschrift ohne alle Beschwerung ganz willig und gern überreichen oder auch uns anbieten würden.

Sed non potuerunt id impetrare nostri nisi periculosissimis conditionibus, quas recipere non poterant.

Aber die Unsern haben solches gar nicht anders erlangen mögen denn mit fast [sehr] beschwerlichen angehefteten Verpflichtungen und Konditionen, welche sie in keinem Weg haben willigen mögen.

3] Instituta est autem deinde pacificatio, in qua apparuit, nostros nullum onus quamlibet incommodum detrectare, quod sine of-
4] fensione conscientiae suscipi posset. Sed adversarii obstinate hoc postulabant, ut quosdam manifestos abusus atque errores approbarèmus; quod quum non possemus facere, iterum postulavit Caesarea Maiestas, ut Principes nostri assentirentur confutationi. Id facere Principes nostri recusaverunt.

Danach ist eine Unterhandlung und etliche Wege der Güte oder Sühne vorgenommen, da sich denn die Unsern aufs höchste erboten, alles gern zu tragen, zu dulden und zu tun, was ohne Beschwerung der Gewissen geschehen könnte. Aber die Widersacher haben darauf allein hart gestanden, daß wir in etliche öffentliche Mißbräuche und Irrtümer haben willigen sollen, und so wir das nicht tun könnten noch wollten, hat die kaiserliche Majestät wieder begehrt, daß unsere Herren und Fürsten willigen sollten, so zu glauben, so zu halten, wie der Theologen Konfutation lautet, welches unsere Fürsten ganz und gar abgeschlagen [haben].

Quomodo enim assentirentur in causa religionis scripto non inspecto? Et audierant articulos quosdam damnatos esse, in quibus non poterant iudicia adversariorum sine scelere comprobare.

[R. 48

Denn wie sollten Ihre Kur- und Fürstlichen Gnaden in so hoher, allerwichtigsten Sache, vieler und ihre eigene Seele und Gewissen belangend, in eine Schrift willigen, die man ihnen nicht übergeben noch zu überlesen vergönnen oder überreichen wollte, sonderlich so sie in der Verlesung angehört, daß solche Artikel verworfen waren, die sie nicht möchten noch könnten nachgeben, sie wollten denn öffentlich wider Gott und Ehrbarkeit handeln?

THE APOLOGY OF THE CONFESSION.

Philip Melanchthon Presents His Greeting to the Reader.

After the Confession of our princes had been publicly read, certain theologians and monks prepared a confutation of our writing; and when His Imperial Majesty had caused this also to be read in the assembly of the princes, he demanded of our princes that they should assent to this Confutation.

But as our princes had heard that many articles were disapproved, which they could not abandon without offense to conscience, they asked that a copy of the Confutation be furnished them, that they might be able both to see what the adversaries condemned, and to refute their arguments.

And, indeed, in a cause of such importance, pertaining to religion and the instruction of consciences, they thought that the adversaries would produce their writing without any hesitation [, or even offer it to us].

But this our princes could not obtain, unless on the most perilous conditions, which it was impossible for them to accept.

Then, too, negotiations for peace were begun, in which it was apparent that our princes declined no burden, however grievous, that could be assumed without offense to conscience. But the adversaries obstinately demanded this, namely, that we should approve certain manifest abuses and errors; and as we could not do this, His Imperial Majesty again demanded that our princes should assent to the Confutation. This our princes refused to do.

For in a matter pertaining to religion, how could they assent to a writing into which they had not looked, especially, as they had heard that some articles were condemned, in which it was impossible for them, without grievous sin, to approve the opinions of the adversaries?

5] Iusserant autem me et alios quosdam parare *apologiam confessionis*, in qua exponerentur Caesareae Maiestati causae, quare non reciperemus confutationem, et ea, quae obiece-
6] rant adversarii, diluerentur. Quidam enim ex nostris inter praelegendum capita locorum
7] et argumentorum exceperant. Hanc apologiam obtulerunt ad extremum Caesareae Maiestati, ut cognosceret nos maximis et gravissimis causis impediri, quominus confutationem approbaremus. Verum Caesarea Maiestas non recepit oblatum scriptum.

Derhalben Ihre Kur- und Fürstlichen Gnaden mir und andern befohlen, **eine Schutzrede oder Apologie unsers ersten Bekenntnisses** zu stellen, in welcher der kaiserlichen Majestät Ursachen angezeigt würden, warum wir die Konfutation nicht annehmen, und warum dieselbe nicht gegründet wäre. Denn ob man uns wohl Abschrift und Kopie über unser Flehen, Bitten und höchstes Ansuchen versagt, so hatten die Unsern doch in Verlesung der Konfutation die Summa der Argumente fast in Eile und als im Fluge gefangen und aufgezeichnet, darauf wir die Apologie dasmal, so uns Kopie endlich versagt, stellen mußten. Dieselbe Apologie haben die Unsern zuletzt, als sie von Augsburg Abschied genommen, der kaiserlichen Majestät überantwortet, damit Ihre Majestät verstehen möchte, daß es ganz große, hochwichtige Ursache hätte, warum wir die Konfutation nicht hätten mögen willigen. Aber die kaiserliche Majestät hat die überantwortete Apologie geweigert anzunehmen.

8] Postea editum est decretum quoddam, in quo gloriantur adversarii, quod nostram confessionem ex Scripturis confutaverint.

Danach ist gleichwohl ein Dekret ausgegangen, darin die Widersacher sich mit Ungrund rühmen, daß sie unser Bekenntnis aus der Heiligen Schrift verlegt [widerlegt] haben.

9] Habes igitur, lector, nunc apologiam nostram, ex qua intelliges, et quid adversarii iudicaverint (retulimus enim bona fide), et quod articulos aliquot contra manifestam Scripturam Spiritus Sancti damnaverint, tantum abest, ut nostras sententias per Scripturas labefactaverint.

Dagegen aber hat jedermann unsere Apologie und Schutzrede, daraus er wird sehen, wie und was die Widersacher geurteilt haben. Denn wir haben es hier eigentlich erzählt, wie es ergangen, und nicht anders, weiß Gott! So haben wir auch hier klar angezeigt, wie sie etliche Artikel wider die öffentliche, helle Schrift und klare Worte des Heiligen Geistes verdammt haben, und dürfen nimmermehr mit der Wahrheit sagen, daß sie einen Tüttel aus der Heiligen Schrift wider uns verantwortet hätten.

10] Quamquam autem initio apologiam instituimus communicato cum aliis consilio, tamen ego inter excudendum quaedam adieci. Quare meum nomen profiteor, ne quis queri possit sine certo auctore librum editum esse.

Wiewohl ich nun anfänglich zu Augsburg diese Apologie hatte angefangen mit Rat und Bedenken etlicher anderer, so habe ich doch jetzund, so dieselbe in Druck ausgehen sollte, etwas dazugetan. Darum schreibe ich auch hier meinen Namen dran, damit niemand klagen möge, das Buch sei ohne Namen ausgegangen.

11] Semper hic meus mos fuit in his controversiis, ut, quantum omnino facere possem, retinerem formam usitatae doctrinae, ut facilius aliquando coire concordia posset. Neque multo secus nunc facio, etsi recte possem longius abducere huius aetatis homines ab adversariorum opinionibus.

Ich habe mich bisher, soviel mir möglich gewesen, geflissen, von christlicher Lehre nach gewöhnlicher Weise zu reden und zu handeln, damit man mit der Zeit desto leichtlicher zusammenrücken und sich vergleichen könnte, wiewohl ich diese Sache mit Fug weiter von ihrer gewöhnlichen Weise hätte führen mögen [können].

12] Sed adversarii sic agunt causam, ut ostendant se neque veritatem neque concordiam quaerere, sed ut sanguinem nostrum exsorbeant.

Die Widersacher handeln aber diese Sache dagegen also unfreundlich, daß sie sich genug merken lassen, daß sie weder Wahrheit noch Einigkeit suchen, sondern allein unser Blut zu saufen.

13] Et nunc scripsi, quam moderatissime potui; ac si quid videtur dictum asperius, hic mihi praefandum est, me cum theologis ac monachis, qui scripserunt confutationem, litigare, non cum Caesare aut Principibus,
14] quos, ut debeo, veneror. Sed vidi nuper confutationem et animadverti adeo insidiose et calumniose scriptam esse, ut fallere [R. 49 etiam cautos in certis locis posset.

Nun habe ich auf diesmal auch noch aufs gelindeste geschrieben; wo aber etwas Geschwindes in diesem Buche ist, will ich solches nicht wider kaiserliche Majestät oder die Fürsten, welchen ich gebührliche Ehre gern erzeige, sondern wider die Mönche und Theologen geredet haben. Denn ich habe erst neulich die Konfutation bekommen recht zu lesen und merke, daß viel darin so gefährlich, so giftig und neidisch geschrieben, daß es auch an etlichen Orten fromme Leute betrügen möchte.

15] Non tractavi tamen omnes cavillationes; esset enim infinitum opus; sed praecipua argumenta complexus sum, ut exstet apud omnes nationes testimonium de nobis, quod recte et pie sentiamus de evangelio
16] Christi. Non delectat nos discordia, nec nihil movemur periculo nostro, quod quantum sit in tanta acerbitate odiorum, quibus intelligimus accensos esse adversarios, facile

Ich habe aber nicht alle zänkischen, mutwilligen Ränke der Widersacher gehandelt; denn da wären unzählige Bücher von zu schreiben. Ihre besten, höchsten Gründe habe ich gefaßt, daß bei hohen und niedern Ständen, bei den jetzigen und unsern Nachkommen, bei allen eingebornen Deutschen, auch sonst aller Welt, allen fremden Nationen ein klar Zeugnis vor Augen sei und ewig stehen bleibe, daß wir rein, göttlich, recht von dem

They had, however, commanded me and some others to prepare an *Apology of the Confession*, in which the reasons why we could not receive the Confutation should be set forth to His Imperial Majesty, and the objections made by the adversaries should be refuted. For during the reading some of us had taken down the chief points of the topics and arguments. This Apology they finally [at last when they took their departure from Augsburg] offered to His Imperial Majesty, that he might know that we were hindered, by the greatest and most important reasons, from approving the Confutation. But His Imperial Majesty did not receive the offered writing.

Afterwards a certain decree was published, in which the adversaries boast that they have refuted our Confession from the Scriptures.

You have now, therefore, reader, our Apology, from which you will understand not only what the adversaries have judged (for we have reported in good faith), but also that they have condemned several articles contrary to the manifest Scripture of the Holy Ghost; so far are they from overthrowing our propositions by means of the Scriptures.

Now, although originally we drew up the Apology by taking counsel with others, nevertheless, as it passed through the press, I have made some additions. Wherefore I give my name, so that no one can complain that the book has been published anonymously.

It has always been my custom in these controversies to retain, so far as I was at all able, the form of the customarily received doctrine, in order that at some time concord could be reached the more readily. Nor, indeed, am I now departing far from this custom, although I could justly lead away the men of this age still farther from the opinions of the adversaries.

But the adversaries are treating the case in such a way as to show that they are seeking neither truth nor concord, but to drain our blood.

And now I have written with the greatest moderation possible; and if any expression appears too severe, I must say here beforehand that I am contending with the theologians and monks who wrote the Confutation, and not with the Emperor or the princes, whom I hold in due esteem. But I have recently seen the Confutation, and have noticed how cunningly and slanderously it was written, so that on some points it could deceive even the cautious.

Yet I have not discussed all their sophistries, for it would be an endless task; but I have comprised the chief arguments, that there might be among all nations a testimony concerning us that we hold the Gospel of Christ correctly and in a pious way. Discord does not delight us, neither are we indifferent to our danger; for we readily understand the extent of it in such a bitterness of

intelligimus. Sed non possumus abiicere manifestam veritatem et ecclesiae necessariam.

Evangelio Christi gelehrt haben. Wir haben wahrlich nicht Lust oder Freude an Uneinigkeit; auch sind wir nicht so gar stock- oder steinhart, daß wir unsere Fahr [Gefahr] nicht bedenken. Denn wir sehen und merken, wie die Widersacher in dieser Sache uns so mit großem Gift und Bitterkeit suchen und bis hieher gesucht haben an Leib, Leben und allem, was wir haben. Aber wir wissen die öffentliche göttliche Wahrheit, ohne welche die Kirche Christi nicht kann sein oder bleiben, und das ewige heilige Wort des Evangelii nicht zu verleugnen oder zu verwerfen.

Quare incommoda et pericula propter gloriam Christi et utilitatem ecclesiae perferenda esse sentimus, et confidimus Deo probari hoc nostrum officium, et speramus aequiora de nobis iudicia posteritatis fore.

Derhalben, so wir um des HErrn Christi und um dieser allerhöchsten, wichtigsten Sache willen, an welcher der ganze heilige christliche Glaube, die ganze christliche Kirche gelegen ist, noch größern Widerstand, Fahr oder Verfolgung warten oder ausstehen sollen, wollen wir in so ganz göttlicher, rechter Sache gern leiden und vertrösten uns des gänzlich, sind's auch gewiß, daß der heiligen, göttlichen Majestät im Himmel und unserm lieben Heiland JEsu Christo dieses wohlgefällt, und nach dieser Zeit werden Leute sein und unsere Nachkommen, die gar viel anders und mit mehr Trauen von diesen Sachen urteilen werden.

17] Neque enim negari potest, quin multi loci doctrinae Christianae, quos maxime prodest exstare in ecclesia, a nostris patefacti et illustrati sint; qui, qualibus et quam periculosis opinionibus obruti, olim iacuerint apud monachos, canonistas et theologos sophistas, non libet hic recitare.

Denn es können die Widersacher selbst nicht verneinen noch leugnen, daß viele und die höchsten, nötigsten Artikel der christlichen Lehre, ohne welche die christliche Kirche samt der ganzen christlichen Lehre und Namen würde vergessen und untergehen, durch die Unsern wieder an Tag gebracht seien. Denn mit was zänkischen, vergeblichen, unnützen, kindischen Lehren viele nötige Stücke vor wenig Jahren bei Mönchen, Theologen, Kanonisten und Sophisten unterdrückt gewesen, will ich hier diesmal nicht erzählen; es soll noch wohl kommen.

18] Habemus publica testimonia multorum bonorum virorum, qui Deo gratias agunt pro hoc summo beneficio, quod de multis necessariis locis docuerit meliora, quam passim leguntur apud adversarios nostros.

Wir haben, Gott Lob! Zeugnis von vielen hohen, ehrlichen, redlichen, gottesfürchtigen Leuten, welche Gott von Herzen danken für die unaussprechlichen Gaben und Gnaden, daß sie in den allernötigsten Stücken der ganzen Schrift von uns viel klarere, gewissere, eigentlichere, richtigere Lehre und Trost der Gewissen haben, denn in allen Büchern der Widersacher immer [je] gefunden ist.

19] Commendabimus itaque causam nostram Christo, qui olim iudicabit has controversias, quem oramus, ut respiciat afflictas et dissipatas ecclesias et in concordiam piam et perpetuam redigat.

Darum wollen wir, so die erkannte helle Wahrheit je mit Füßen getreten wird, diese Sache hier Christo und Gott im Himmel befehlen, der der Waisen und Witwen Vater und aller Verlassenen Richter ist; der wird (das wissen wir je fürwahr) diese Sache urteilen und recht richten. Und du, HErr JEsu Christ, dein heiliges Evangelium, deine Sache ist es; wollest ansehen so manch betrübt Herz und Gewissen und deine Kirchen und Häuflein, die vom Teufel Angst und Not leiden, erhalten und stärken deine Wahrheit! Mache zuschanden alle Heuchelei und Lügen und gib also Frieden und Einigkeit, daß deine Ehre vorgehe und dein Reich wider alle Pforten der Hölle kräftig ohne Unterlaß wachse und zunehme!

APOLOGIA CONFESSIONIS. [R. 50

Art. I. De Deo.

1] Primum articulum confessionis nostrae probant nostri adversarii, in quo exponimus, nos credere et docere, quod sit *una essentia divina, individua* etc., et tamen *tres* sint distinctae *personae* eiusdem essentiae divinae et coaeternae, Pater, Filius et Spiritus San-2] ctus. Hunc articulum semper docuimus et defendimus, et sentimus eum habere certa et firma testimonia in Scripturis Sanctis, quae labefactari non queant. Et constanter affirmamus, aliter sentientes extra ecclesiam Christi et idololatras esse et Deum contumelia afficere.

Apologia der Konfession,

verdeutscht aus dem Latein durch Justus Jonas.

Artikel I. Von Gott.

Den ersten Artikel unsers Bekenntnisses lassen ihnen die Widersacher gefallen, in welchem angezeigt wird, wie wir glauben und lehren, daß da sei **ein ewiges, einiges, unzerteiltes göttliches Wesen** und doch drei unterschiedene **Personen** in einem göttlichen Wesen, gleich mächtig, gleich ewig, Gott Vater, Gott Sohn, Gott Heiliger Geist. Diesen Artikel haben wir allzeit also rein gelehrt und verfochten, halten auch und sind gewiß, daß derselbe so starken, guten, gewissen Grund in der Heiligen Schrift hat, daß [es] niemand möglich, den zu tadeln oder umzustoßen. Darum schließen wir frei, daß alle diejenigen abgöttisch, Gotteslästerer und außerhalb der Kirche Christi seien, die da anders halten oder lehren.

hatred wherewith we see that the adversaries have been inflamed. But we cannot abandon truth that is manifest and necessary to the Church.

Wherefore we believe that troubles and dangers for the glory of Christ and the good of the Church should be endured, and we are confident that this our fidelity to duty is approved of God, and we hope that the judgment of posterity concerning us will be more just.

For it is undeniable that many topics of Christian doctrine whose existence in the Church is of the greatest moment have been brought to view by our theologians and explained; in reference to which we are not disposed here to recount under what sort of opinions, and how dangerous, they formerly lay covered in the writings of the monks, canonists, and sophistical theologians. [This may have to be done later.]

We have the public testimonials of many good men, who give God thanks for this greatest blessing, namely, that concerning many necessary topics it has taught better things than are read everywhere in the books of our adversaries.

We shall commend our cause, therefore, to Christ, who some time will judge these controversies, and we beseech Him to look upon the afflicted and scattered churches, and to bring them back to godly and perpetual concord. [Therefore, if the known and clear truth is trodden under foot, we will resign this cause to God and Christ in heaven, who is the Father of orphans and the Judge of widows and of all the forsaken, who (as we certainly know) will judge and pass sentence upon this cause aright. Lord Jesus Christ, it is Thy holy Gospel, it is Thy cause; look Thou upon the many troubled hearts and consciences, and maintain and strengthen in Thy truth Thy churches and little flocks, who suffer anxiety and distress from the devil. Confound all hypocrisy and lies, and grant peace and unity, so that Thy glory may advance, and Thy kingdom, strong against all the gates of hell, may continually grow and increase.]

APOLOGY OF THE CONFESSION.

Article I: Of God.

The First Article of our Confession our adversaries approve, in which we declare that we believe and teach that there is *one divine essence, undivided,* etc., and yet, that there are three distinct *persons,* of the same divine essence, and coeternal, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This article we have always taught and defended, and we believe that it has, in Holy Scripture, sure and firm testimonies that cannot be overthrown. And we constantly affirm that those thinking otherwise are outside of the Church of Christ, and are idolaters, and insult God.

Art. II. (I.) De Peccato Originali.

1] Secundum articulum, *de peccato originis*, probant adversarii, verum ita, ut reprehendant tamen definitionem peccati originalis, quam nos obiter recitavimus. Hic in ipso statim vestibulo deprehendet Caesarea Maiestas, non solum iudicium, sed etiam candorem istis defuisse, qui confutationem scripserunt. Nam quum nos simplici animo obiter recensere voluerimus illa, quae peccatum originis complectitur, isti, acerba interpretatione conficta, sententiam per se nihil habentem incommodi arte depravant. Sic inquiunt: *Sine metu Dei, sine fide esse est culpa actualis;* igitur negant esse culpam originalem.

Artikel II. (I.) Von der Erbsünde.

Den andern Artikel, **von der Erbsünde,** lassen ihnen auch die Widersacher gefallen, doch fechten sie an, als haben wir's nicht recht getroffen, da wir gesagt, was die Erbsünde sei, so wir doch zufällig allein des Orts davon geredet. Da wird alsbald im Eingang die kaiserliche Majestät befinden, daß unsere Widerwärtigen in dieser hochwichtigen Sache oft gar nichts merken noch verstehen, wiederum auch oft unsere Worte böslich und mit Fleiß uns verkehren oder je zu Mißverstand deuten. Denn so wir aufs allereinfältigste und klärste davon geredet, was die Erbsünde sei oder nicht sei, so haben sie aus eitel Gift und Bitterkeit die Worte, so an ihnen selbst recht und schlecht geredet, mit Fleiß übel und unrecht gedeutet. Denn also sagen sie: „Ihr sprecht, die Erbsünde sei dieses, daß uns ein solcher Sinn und Herz angeboren ist, darin keine Furcht Gottes, kein Vertrauen gegen Gott ist, das ist je eine wirkliche Schuld und selbst ein Werk oder actualis culpa; darum ist's nicht Erbsünde."

2] Has argutias satis apparet in scholis natas esse, non in consilio Caesaris. Quamquam autem haec cavillatio facillime refelli possit, tamen, ut omnes boni viri intelligant, nos nihil absurdi de hac causa docere, [R. 51 primum petimus, ut inspiciatur Germanica confessio; haec absolvet nos suspicione novitatis. Sic enim ibi scriptum est: *Weiter wird gelehrt, dass nach dem Fall Adams alle Menschen, so natuerlich geboren werden, in Suenden empfangen und geboren werden, das ist, dass sie alle von Mutterleibe an voll boeser Lueste und Neigung sind, keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von* 3] *Natur haben koennen.* Hic locus testatur nos non solum actus, sed potentiam seu dona efficiendi timorem et fiduciam erga Deum adimere propagatis secundum carnalem naturam. Dicimus enim, ita natos habere concupiscentiam, nec posse efficere verum timorem et fiduciam erga Deum. Quid hic reprehendi potest? Bonis viris quidem arbitramur nos satis purgatos esse. Nam in hanc sententiam Latina descriptio potentiam naturae detrahit, hoc est, dona et vim efficiendi timorem et fiduciam erga Deum detrahit et in adultis actus. Ut quum nominamus concupiscentiam, non tantum actus seu fructus intelligimus, sed perpetuam naturae inclinationem.

Es ist leichtlich zu merken und abzunehmen, daß solche cavillatio von Theologen, nicht von des Kaisers Rat herkommt. Wiewohl wir nun solche neidische, gefährliche, mutwillige Deutungen wohl wissen zu verlegen [widerlegen], doch, daß alle redlichen und ehrbaren Leute verstehen mögen, daß wir in dieser Sache nichts Ungeschicktes lehren, so bitten wir, sie wollen unsere vorige deutsche Konfession, so zu Augsburg überantwortet, ansehen; die wird genug anzeigen, daß wir nichts Neues oder Ungehörtes lehren. Denn in derselben ist also geschrieben: „Weiter wird gelehrt, daß nach dem Fall Adams alle Menschen, so natürlich geboren werden, in Sünden empfangen und geboren werden, das ist, daß sie alle von Mutterleibe an voll böser Lüste und Neigung sind, keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben können." In diesem erscheint genug, daß wir von allen, so aus Fleisch geboren sind, sagen, daß sie untüchtig sind zu allen Gottessachen, Gott nicht herzlich fürchten, ihm nicht glauben noch vertrauen können. Da reden wir von angeborner böser Art des Herzens, nicht allein von actuali culpa oder von wirklicher Schuld und Sünde. Denn wir sagen, daß in allen Adamskindern eine böse Neigung und Lust sei, und daß niemand ihm selbst ein Herz könne oder vermöge zu machen, das Gott erkenne oder Gott herzlich vertraue, herzlich fürchte. Ich wollte doch gerne hören, was sie da schelten wollen oder möchten. Denn fromme, redliche Leute, denen die Wahrheit lieb, sehen ohne allen Zweifel, daß dieses recht und wahr ist. Denn auf die Meinung sagen wir in unserm lateinischen Bekenntnis, daß in einem natürlichen Menschen nicht potentia, das ist, nicht so viel Tügens [Taugens, Könnens], Vermögens sei, auch nicht an unschuldigen Kindlein, welche auch aus Adam untüchtig sind, immer herzlich Gott zu fürchten und herzlich Gott zu lieben. In den Alten aber und Erwachsenen sind noch über die angeborne böse Art des Herzens auch noch actus und wirkliche Sünden. Darum wenn wir angeborne böse Lust nennen, meinen wir nicht allein die actus, böse Werke oder Früchte, sondern inwendig die böse Neigung, welche nicht aufhört, solange wir nicht neugeboren werden durch Geist und Glauben.

4] Sed postea ostendemus pluribus verbis, nostram descriptionem consentire cum usitata ac veteri definitione. Prius enim consilium nostrum aperiendum est, cur his potissimum verbis hoc loco usi simus. Adversarii in scholis fatentur *materiale*, ut vocant, *peccati originalis esse concupiscentiam.* Quare in definiendo non fuit praetereunda, praesertim hoc tempore, quum de ea nonnulli parum religiose philosophantur.

Aber danach wollen wir mit mehr Worten anzeigen, daß wir von der Erbsünde, nämlich was dieselbe sei oder nicht, auch auf geübte, alte Weise der Scholastiker und nicht so ungewöhnlich geredet haben. Ich muß aber erst anzeigen, aus was Ursachen ich an dem Ort vornehmlich solcher und nicht anderer Worte habe brauchen wollen. Die Widersacher selbst reden also davon in ihren Schulen und bekennen, daß **die Materie oder Materiale der Erbsünde,** wie sie es nennen, **sei böse Lust.** Darum, so ich habe wollen sagen, was Erb-

Article II (I): Of Original Sin.

The Second Article, *Of Original Sin*, the adversaries approve, but in such a way that they, nevertheless, censure the definition of original sin, which we incidentally gave. Here, immediately at the very threshold, His Imperial Majesty will discover that the writers of the Confutation were deficient not only in judgment, but also in candor. For whereas we, with a simple mind, desired, in passing, to recount those things which original sin embraces, these men, by framing an invidious interpretation, artfully distort a proposition that has in it nothing which of itself is wrong. Thus they say: "To be without the fear of God, to be without faith, is actual guilt"; and therefore they deny that it is original guilt.

It is quite evident that such subtilties have originated in the schools, not in the council of the Emperor. But although this sophistry can be very easily refuted; yet, in order that all good men may understand that we teach in this matter nothing that is absurd, we ask first of all that the German Confession be examined. This will free us from the suspicion of novelty. For there it is written: *Weiter wird gelehrt, dass nach dem Fall Adams alle Menschen, so natuerlich geboren werden, in Suenden empfangen und geboren werden, das ist, dass sie alle von Mutterleibe an voll boeser Lueste und Neigung sind, keine wahre Gottesfurcht, keinen wahren Glauben an Gott von Natur haben koennen.* [It is further taught that since the Fall of Adam all men who are naturally born are conceived and born in sin, *i. e.*, that they all, from their mother's womb, are full of evil desire and inclination, and can have by nature no true fear of God, no true faith in God.] This passage testifies that we deny to those propagated according to carnal nature not only the acts, but also the power or gifts of producing fear and trust in God. For we say that those thus born have concupiscence, and cannot produce true fear and trust in God. What is there here with which fault can be found? To good men, we think, indeed, that we have exculpated ourselves sufficiently. For in this sense the Latin description denies to nature [even to innocent infants] the power, *i. e.*, it denies the gifts and energy by which to produce fear and trust in God, and, in adults [over and above this innate evil disposition of the heart, also] the acts, so that, when we mention concupiscence, we understand not only the acts or fruits, but the constant inclination of the nature [the evil inclination within, which does not cease as long as we are not born anew through the Spirit and faith].

But hereafter we will show more fully that our description agrees with the usual and ancient definition. For we must first show our design in preferring to employ these words in this place. In their schools the adversaries confess that "*the material*," as they call it, "*of original sin is concupiscence.*" Wherefore, in framing the definition, this should not have been passed by, especially at this time, when some are philosophizing concerning it in a manner unbecoming teachers of religion [are speaking concerning this innate, wicked desire more after the manner of heathen from philosophy than according to God's Word, or Holy Scripture].

sünde sei, ist das nicht zu übergehen gewesen, sonderlich dieser Zeit, da etliche von derselben angebornen bösen Lust mehr heidnisch aus der Philosophie denn nach dem göttlichen Wort oder nach der Heiligen Schrift reden.

5] Quidam enim disputant, peccatum originis non esse aliquod in natura hominis vitium seu corruptionem, sed tantum servitutem seu conditionem mortalitatis, quam propagati ex Adam sustineant sine aliquo proprio vitio propter alienam culpam. Praeterea addunt neminem damnari morte aeterna propter peccatum originis, sicut ex ancilla servi nascuntur et hanc conditionem sine naturae [R. 52 vitiis, sed propter calamitatem matris susti-6] nent. Nos ut hanc impiam opinionem significaremus nobis displicere, *concupiscentiae* mentionem fecimus, optimo animo *morbos* nominavimus et exposuimus, quod *natura hominum corrupta et vitiosa nascatur.*

Denn etliche reden also davon, daß die Erbsünde an der menschlichen Natur nicht sei eine angeborne böse Art, sondern allein ein Gebrechen und aufgelegte Last oder Bürde, die alle Adamskinder um fremder Sünde willen, nämlich Adams Sünde halben, tragen müssen, und darum alle sterblich seien, nicht daß sie selbst alle von Art und aus Mutterleibe Sünde ererbten. Darüber sagen sie dazu, daß kein Mensch ewig verdammt werde allein um der Erbsünde oder Erbjammers willen, sondern gleichwie von einer leibeigenen Magd leibeigene Leute und Erbknechte geboren werden, nicht ihrer eigenen Schuld halben, sondern daß sie der Mutter Unglücks und Elends entgelten und tragen müssen, so sie doch an ihnen selbst, wie andere Menschen, ohne Wandel geboren werden: so sei die Erbsünde auch nicht ein angebornes Übel, sondern allein ein Gebrechen und Last, die wir von Adam tragen, aber für uns selbst darum nicht in Sünden und Erbungnaden stecken. Damit ich nun anzeigte, daß uns solche unchristliche Meinung nicht gefiele, habe ich dieser Worte gebraucht: „Alle Menschen von Mutterleibe an sind alle voll böser Lüste und Neigung" und nenne die Erbsünde auch darum eine Seuche, anzuzeigen, daß nicht ein Stück, sondern **der ganze Mensch mit seiner ganzen Natur mit einer Erbseuche von Art in Sünden geboren wird.**

7] Neque vero tantum concupiscentiam nominavimus, sed diximus etiam *deesse timorem Dei et fidem.* Id hoc consilio adiecimus. Extenuant peccatum originis et scholastici doctores, non satis intelligentes definitionem peccati originalis, quam acceperunt a patribus. De fomite disputant, quod sit qualitas corporis, et, ut suo more sint inepti, quaerunt, utrum qualitas illa contagione pomi an ex afflatu serpentis contracta sit, utrum augeatur medicamentis. Huiusmodi quaestionibus oppresserunt principale negotium. 8] Itaque quum de peccato originis loquuntur, graviora vitia humanae naturae non commemorant, scilicet ignorationem Dei, contemptum Dei, vacare metu et fiducia Dei, odisse iudicium Dei, fugere Deum iudicantem, irasci Deo, desperare gratiam, habere fiduciam rerum praesentium etc. Hos morbos, qui maxime adversantur legi Dei, non animadvertunt scholastici; imo tribuunt interim humanae naturae integras vires ad diligendum Deum super omnia, ad facienda praecepta Dei, quoad substantiam actuum; nec vident 9] se pugnantia dicere. Nam propriis viribus posse diligere Deum super omnia, facere praecepta Dei, quid aliud est, quam habere iusti-10] tiam originis? Quodsi has tantas vires habet humana natura, ut per sese possit diligere Deum super omnia, ut confidenter affirmant scholastici, quid erit peccatum originis? Quorsum autem opus erit gratia Christi, si nos possumus fieri iusti propria iustitia? Quorsum opus erit Spiritu Sancto, si vires humanae per sese possunt Deum super omnia 11] diligere et praecepta Dei facere? Quis non videt, quam praepostere sentiant adversarii? Leviores morbos in natura hominis agnoscunt, graviores morbos non agnoscunt, de quibus tamen ubique admonet nos [R. 53 Scriptura et prophetae perpetuo conqueruntur, videlicet de carnali securitate, de contemptu Dei, de odio Dei et similibus vitiis 12] nobiscum natis. Sed postquam schola-

Darum nennen wir es auch nicht allein eine böse Lust, sondern sagen auch, daß alle Menschen in Sünden **ohne Gottesfurcht, ohne Glauben geboren werden.** Dasselbe setzen wir nicht ohne Ursache dazu. Die Schulzänker oder Scholastici, die reden von der Erbsünde, als sei es allein ein liederliches [leichtes], geringes Gebrechen, und verstehen nicht, was die Erbsünde sei, oder wie es die andern heiligen Väter gemeint haben. Wenn die Sophisten schreiben, was Erbsünde sei, was der fomes oder böse Neigung sei, reden sie unter andern davon, als sei es ein Gebrechen am Leibe, wie sie denn wunderkindisch von Sachen zu reden pflegen, und geben Fragen vor: ob dasselbe Gebrechen aus Vergiftung des verbotenen Apfels im Paradies oder aus Anblasen der Schlange Adam erst angekommen sei; item, ob es mit dem Gebrechen die Arznei je länger, je ärger macht. Mit solchen zänkischen Fragen haben sie diese ganze Hauptsache und die vornehmste Frage, was die Erbsünde doch sei, gar verwirrt und unterdrückt. Darum, wenn sie von der Erbsünde reden, lassen sie das Größte und Nötigste außen, und unsers rechten, größten Jammers gedenken sie gar nicht, nämlich daß wir Menschen alle also von Art geboren werden, daß wir Gott oder Gottes Werk nicht kennen, nicht sehen noch merken, Gott verachten, Gott nicht ernstlich fürchten noch vertrauen, seinem Gericht oder Urteil feind sind; item, daß wir alle von Natur vor Gott als einem Tyrannen fliehen, wider seinen Willen zürnen und murren, item, uns auf Gottes Güte gar nicht lassen [verlassen] noch wagen, sondern allzeit mehr auf Geld, Gut, Freunde [uns] verlassen. Diese geschwinde Erbseuche, durch welche die ganze Natur verderbt, durch welche wir alle solch Herz, Sinn und Gedanken von Adam ererben, welches stracks wider Gott und das erste, höchste Gebot Gottes ist, übergehen die Scholastici und reden davon, als sei die menschliche Natur unverderbt, vermöge, Gott groß zu achten, zu lieben über alles, Gottes Gebote zu halten usw., und sehen nicht, daß sie wider sich selbst sind. Denn solches aus eigenen Kräften ver-

For some contend that original sin is not a depravity or corruption in the nature of man, but only servitude, or a condition of mortality [not an innate evil nature, but only a blemish or imposed load, or burden], which those propagated from Adam bear because of the guilt of another [namely, Adam's sin], and without any depravity of their own. Besides, they add that no one is condemned to eternal death on account of original sin, just as those who are born of a bond-woman are slaves, and bear this condition without any natural blemish, but because of the calamity of their mother [while, of themselves, they are born without fault, like other men: thus original sin is not an innate evil, but a defect and burden which we bear since Adam, but we are not on that account personally in sin and inherited disgrace]. To show that this impious opinion is displeasing to us, we made mention of "*concupiscence*," and, with the best intention, have termed and explained it as "*diseases*," that "*the nature of men is born corrupt and full of faults*" [*not a part of man, but the entire person with its entire nature is born in sin as with a hereditary disease*].

Nor, indeed, have we only made use of the term concupiscence, but we have also said that "*the fear of God and faith are wanting.*" This we have added with the following design: The scholastic teachers also, not sufficiently understanding the definition of original sin, which they have received from the Fathers, extenuate the sin of origin. They contend concerning the *fomes* [or evil inclination] that it is a quality of [blemish in the] body, and, with their usual folly, ask whether this quality be derived from the contagion of the apple or from the breath of the serpent, and whether it be increased by remedies. With such questions they have suppressed the main point. Therefore, when they speak of the sin of origin, they do not mention the more serious faults of human nature, to wit, ignorance of God, contempt for God, being destitute of fear and confidence in God, hatred of God's judgment, flight from God [as from a tyrant] when He judges, anger toward God, despair of grace, putting one's trust in present things [money, property, friends], etc. These diseases, which are in the highest degree contrary to the Law of God, the scholastics do not notice; yea, to human nature they meanwhile ascribe unimpaired strength for loving God above all things, and for fulfilling God's commandments according to the substance of the acts; nor do they see that they are saying things that are contradictory to one another. For what else is the being able in one's own strength to love God above all things, and to fulfil His commandments, than to have original righteousness [to be a new creature in Paradise, entirely pure and holy]? But if human nature have such strength as to be able of itself to love God above all things, as the scholastics confidently affirm, what will *original sin* be? For what will there be need of the grace of Christ if we can be justified by

stici admiscuerunt doctrinae Christianae philosophiam de perfectione naturae, et plus, quam satis erat, libero arbitrio et actibus elicitis tribuerunt, et homines philosophica seu civili iustitia, quam et nos fatemur rationi subiectam esse et aliquo modo in potestate nostra esse, iustificari coram Deo docuerunt: non potuerunt videre interiorem **13**] immunditiam naturae hominum. Neque enim potest iudicari nisi ex Verbo Dei, quod scholastici in suis disputationibus non saepe tractant.

mögen, nämlich Gott groß zu achten, herzlich zu lieben, seine Gebote zu halten, was wäre das anders, denn eine neue Kreatur im Paradies, gar rein und heilig sein? So wir nun aus unsern Kräften so Großes vermöchten, Gott über alles zu lieben, seine Gebote zu halten, wie die Scholastici tapfer dürfen heraussagen, was wäre dann die Erbsünde? Und so wir aus eigenen Kräften gerecht würden, so ist die Gnade Christi vergeblich; was dürften wir auch des Heiligen Geistes, so wir aus menschlichen Kräften Gott über alles lieben und seine Gebote halten können? Hier sieht je jedermann, wie ungeschickt die Widersacher von diesem hohen Handel reden. Sie bekennen die kleinen Gebrechen an der sündlichen Natur, und des allergrößten Erbjammers und Elendes gedenken sie nicht, da doch die Apostel alle über klagen, das die ganze Schrift allenthalben meldet, da alle Propheten über schreien, wie der 13. [14.] Psalm und etliche andere Psalmen sagen: „Da ist nicht, der gerecht sei, auch nicht e i n e r; da ist nicht, der nach Gott fraget; da ist nicht, der Gutes tut, auch nicht e i n e r." „Ihr Schlund ist ein offenes Grab, Otterngift ist unter ihren Lippen. Es ist keine Furcht Gottes vor ihren Augen", Ps. 5, 10. So doch auch die Schrift klar sagt, daß uns solches alles nicht angeflogen, sondern angeboren sei. Dieweil aber die Scholastici unter die christliche Lehre viel Philosophie gemengt und viel von dem Licht der Vernunft und den actibus elicitis reden, halten sie zu viel vom freien Willen und unsern Werken. Darüber haben sie gelehrt, daß die Menschen durch ein äußerlich ehrbar Leben vor Gott fromm werden, und haben nicht gesehen die angeborne Unreinigkeit inwendig der Herzen, welche niemand gewahr wird denn allein durch das Wort Gottes, welches die Scholastici in ihren Büchern fast [sehr] spärlich und selten handeln. Wir sagen auch wohl, daß äußerlich ehrbar zu leben etlichermaßen in unserm Vermögen stehe, aber vor Gott fromm und heilig zu werden, ist nicht unsers Vermögens.

14] Hae fuerunt causae, cur *in descriptione peccati originis* et concupiscentiae mentionem fecimus, et detraximus naturalibus viribus hominis timorem et fiduciam erga Deum. Voluimus enim significare, quod peccatum originis hos quoque morbos contineat: ignorationem Dei, contemptum Dei, vacare metu Dei et fiducia erga Deum, non posse diligere Deum. Haec sunt praecipua vitia naturae humanae, pugnantia proprie cum prima tabula Decalogi.

Das sind die Ursachen, warum ich des Orts, als ich habe wollen sagen, **was die Erbsünde sei,** der angebornen bösen Lust gedacht habe und gesagt, daß aus natürlichen Kräften kein Mensch vermag Gott zu fürchten oder ihm zu vertrauen. Denn ich habe wollen anzeigen, daß die Erbsünde auch diesen Jammer in sich begreife, nämlich, daß kein Mensch Gott kennt oder achtet, keiner ihn herzlich fürchten oder lieben oder ihm vertrauen kann. Das sind die größten Stücke der Erbseuche, durch welche wir alle aus Adam stracks wider Gott, wider die erste Tafel Mosis und das größte, höchste göttliche Gebot gesinnt und geartet sind.

15] Neque novi quidquam diximus. Vetus definitio recte intellecta prorsus idem dicit, quum ait, *peccatum originis carentiam esse iustitiae originalis.* Quid est autem iustitia? Scholastici hic rixantur de dialecticis quaestionibus, non explicant, quid sit iustitia **16**] originalis. Porro iustitia in Scripturis continet non tantum secundam tabulam Decalogi, sed primam quoque, quae praecipit de **17**] timore Dei, de fide, de amore Dei. Itaque iustitia originalis habitura erat non solum aequale temperamentum qualitatum corporis, sed etiam haec dona: notitiam Dei certiorem, timorem Dei, fiduciam Dei, aut certe [R. 54 **18**] rectitudinem et vim ista efficiendi. Idque testatur Scriptura, quum inquit hominem *ad imaginem et similitudinem* Dei conditum esse. Quod quid est aliud, nisi in homine hanc sapientiam et iustitiam effigiatam esse, quae Deum apprehenderet et in qua reluceret Deus, hoc est, homini dona esse data: notitiam Dei, timorem Dei, fiduciam erga Deum et similia? **19**] Sic enim interpretantur similitudinem Dei Irenaeus et Ambrosius, qui quum alia multa in hanc sententiam dicit, tum ita inquit: *Non est ergo anima ad imaginem Dei,* **20**] *in qua Deus non semper est.* Et Paulus ad Ephesios 5, 9 et Colossenses 3, 10 ostendit imaginem Dei *notitiam Dei esse, iustitiam et*

Und wir haben da nichts Neues gesagt. Die alten Scholastici, so man sie recht versteht, haben auch gleich dasselbe gesagt; denn sie sagen, **die Erbsünde sei ein Mangel der ersten Reinigkeit und Gerechtigkeit im Paradies.** Was ist aber iustitia originalis oder die erste Gerechtigkeit im Paradies? Gerechtigkeit und Heiligkeit in der Schrift heißt je nicht allein, wenn ich die andere Tafel Mosis halte, gute Werke tue und dem Nächsten diene, sondern denjenigen nennt die Schrift fromm, heilig und gerecht, der die erste Tafel, der das erste Gebot hält, das ist, der Gott von Herzen fürchtet, ihn liebt und sich auf Gott verläßt. Darum ist Adams Reinigkeit und unverrücktes Wesen nicht allein eine feine, vollkommene Gesundheit und allenthalben reines Geblüt, unverderbte Kräfte des Leibes gewesen, wie sie davon reden, sondern das Größte an solcher edlen ersten Kreatur ist gewesen ein helles Licht im Herzen, Gott und sein Werk zu erkennen, eine rechte Gottesfurcht, ein recht herzliches Vertrauen gegen Gott und allenthalben ein rechtschaffener, gewisser Verstand, ein feines, gutes, fröhliches Herz gegen Gott und alle göttlichen Sachen. Und das bezeugt auch die Heilige Schrift, da sie sagt, daß **der Mensch nach Gottes Bild und Gleichnis geschaffen sei.** Denn was ist das anders, denn daß göttliche Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit, die aus Gott ist, sich im Menschen bildet, dadurch wir

our own righteousness [powers]? For what will there be need of the Holy Ghost if human strength can by itself love God above all things, and fulfil God's commandments? Who does not see what preposterous thoughts our adversaries entertain? The lighter diseases in the nature of man they acknowledge, the more severe they do not acknowledge; and yet of these, Scripture everywhere admonishes us, and the prophets constantly complain [as the 13th Psalm, and some other psalms say, Ps. 14, 1—3; 5, 9; 140, 3; 36, 1], namely, of carnal security, of the contempt of God, of hatred toward God, and of similar faults born with us. [For Scripture clearly says that all these things are not blown at us, but born with us.] But after the scholastics mingled with Christian doctrine philosophy concerning the perfection of nature [light of reason], and ascribed to the free will and the acts springing therefrom more than was sufficient, and taught that men are justified before God by philosophic or civil righteousness (which we also confess to be subject to reason, and, in a measure, within our power), they could not see the inner uncleanness of the nature of men. For this cannot be judged except from the Word of God, of which the scholastics, in their discussions, do not frequently treat.

These were the reasons why, *in the description of original sin*, we made mention of concupiscence also, and denied to man's natural strength the fear of God and trust in Him. For we wished to indicate that original sin contains also these diseases, namely, ignorance of God, contempt for God, the being destitute of the fear of God and trust in Him, inability to love God. These are the chief faults of human nature, conflicting especially with the first table of the Decalog.

Neither have we said anything new. The ancient definition understood aright expresses precisely the same thing when it says: "Original sin is the absence of original righteousness" [a lack of the first purity and righteousness in Paradise]. But what is righteousness? Here the scholastics wrangle about dialectic questions; they do not explain what original righteousness is. Now, in the Scriptures, righteousness comprises not only the second table of the Decalog [regarding good works in serving our fellow-man], but the first also, which teaches concerning the fear of God, concerning faith, concerning the love of God. Therefore original righteousness was to embrace not only an even temperament of the bodily qualities [perfect health and, in all respects, pure blood, unimpaired powers of the body, as they contend], but also these gifts, namely, a quite certain knowledge of God, fear of God, confidence in God, or certainly the rectitude and power to yield these affections [but the greatest feature in that noble first creature was a bright light in the heart to know God and His work, etc.]. And Scripture testifies to this, when it says, Gen. 1, 27, that man was fashioned *in the image and likeness of God.* What else is this than that there were em-

21] *veritatem.* Nec Longobardus veretur dicere, quod iustitia originis *sit ipsa similitudo* 22] *Dei, quae homini indita est a Deo.* Recitamus veterum sententias, quae nihil impediunt Augustini interpretationem de imagine.

Gott erkennen, durch welche Gottes Klarheit sich in uns spiegelt, das ist, daß dem Menschen erstlich, als er geschaffen, diese Gaben gegeben seien, rechte, klare Erkenntnis Gottes, rechte Furcht, rechtes Vertrauen und dergleichen? Denn also legt auch solches aus vom Bild und Gleichnis Gottes Irenäus; und Ambrosius, so er allerlei auf die Meinung redet, sagt unter anderm: „Die Seele ist nicht nach dem Bilde Gottes geschaffen, in welcher Gott nicht allzeit ist.“ Und Paulus zu den Ephesern und Kolossern zeigt genug an, daß Gottes Bild in der Schrift nichts anderes heiße denn Erkenntnis Gottes und rechtschaffenes Wesen und Gerechtigkeit vor Gott. Und Longobardus sagt frei heraus, daß „die erstgeschaffene Gerechtigkeit in Adam sei das Bild und Gleichnis Gottes, welches an dem Menschen von Gott gebildet ist“. Ich erzähle die Meinung und Sprüche der Alten, welche an der Auslegung Augustini, wie derselbe vom Bilde Gottes redet, nichts hindern.

23] Itaque vetus definitio, quum inquit peccatum esse carentiam iustitiae, detrahit non solum obedientiam inferiorum virium hominis, sed etiam detrahit notitiam Dei, fiduciam erga Deum, timorem et amorem Dei, aut certe vim ista efficiendi detrahit. Nam et ipsi theologi in scholis tradunt ista non effici sine certis donis et auxilio gratiae. Nos ipsa dona nominamus, ut res intelligi possit, notitiam Dei, timorem et fiduciam erga Deum. Ex his apparet veterem definitionem prorsus idem dicere, quod nos dicimus, detrahentes metum Dei et fiduciam, videlicet non actus tantum, sed dona et vim ad haec efficienda.

Darum die Alten, da sie sagen, was die Erbsünde sei, und sprechen, es sei ein Mangel der ersten angeschaffenen Gerechtigkeit, da ist ihre Meinung, daß der Mensch nicht allein am Leibe oder geringsten, niedersten Kräften verderbt sei, sondern daß er auch dadurch verloren habe diese Gaben: rechte Erkenntnis Gottes, rechte Liebe und Vertrauen gegen Gott und die Kraft, das Licht im Herzen, so ihm zu dem allem Liebe und Lust macht. Denn die Scholastici oder Theologen selbst in Schulen lehren, daß dieselbe angeborne Gerechtigkeit uns nicht möglich wäre gewesen ohne sonderliche Gaben und ohne Hilfe der Gnade. Und dieselben Gaben nennen wir Gottesfurcht, Gotteserkenntnis und Vertrauen gegen Gott, damit man es verstehen möge. Aus diesem allem erscheint genugsam, daß die Alten, da sie sagen, was die Erbsünde sei, gleich mit uns stimmen, und auch ihre Meinung ist, daß wir durch die Erbsünde in den Jammer gekommen, geboren, daß wir kein gutes Herz, welches Gott recht liebt, gegen Gott haben, nicht allein kein reines, gutes Werk zu tun oder [zu] vollbringen vermögen.

24] Eadem est sententia definitionis, quae exstat apud Augustinum, qui solet definire peccatum originis concupiscentiam esse. Significat enim concupiscentiam successisse amissa iustitia. Nam aegra natura, quia non potest Deum timere et diligere, Deo credere, quaerit et amat carnalia; iudicium Dei aut secura contemnit, aut odit perterrefacta. Ita et defectum complectitur Augustinus et [R. 55 25] vitiosum habitum, qui successit. Neque vero concupiscentia tantum corruptio qualitatum corporis est, sed etiam prava conversio ad carnalia in superioribus viribus. Nec vident, quid dicant, qui simul tribuunt homini concupiscentiam non mortificatam a Spiritu Sancto et dilectionem Dei super omnia.

Gleich dasselbe meint auch Augustinus, da er auch will sagen, was die Erbsünde sei, und pflegt die Erbsünde **eine böse Lust** zu nennen; denn er will anzeigen, daß nach Adams Fall anstatt der Gerechtigkeit böse Lust uns angeboren wird. Denn von dem Fall an, dieweil wir, als von Art sündlich geboren, Gott nicht fürchten, lieben noch ihm vertrauen, so tun wir nichts anderes, denn daß wir uns auf uns selbst verlassen, verachten Gott oder erschrecken und fliehen von Gott. Und also ist in Augustinus' Worten auch die Meinung gefaßt und begriffen derjenigen, die da sagen, die Erbsünde sei ein Mangel der ersten Gerechtigkeit, das ist, die böse Lust, welche anstatt derselben Gerechtigkeit uns anhängt. Und ist die böse Lust nicht allein eine Verderbung oder Verrückung der ersten reinen Leibesgesundheit Adams im Paradies, sondern auch eine böse Lust und Neigung, da wir nach den allerbesten, höchsten Kräften und Licht der Vernunft dennoch fleischlich wider Gott geneigt und gesinnt sind. Und diejenigen wissen nicht, was sie sagen, die da lehren, der Mensch vermöge aus seinen Kräften Gott über alles zu lieben, und müssen doch zugleich bekennen, es bleibe, solange dies Leben währt, noch böse Lust, sofern sie vom Heiligen Geist nicht gänzlich getötet ist.

26] Nos igitur recte expressimus utrumque in descriptione peccati originalis, videlicet defectus illos, non posse Deo credere, non posse Deum timere ac diligere, item habere concupiscentiam, quae carnalia quaerit contra Verbum Dei, hoc est, quaerit non solum voluptates corporis, sed etiam sapientiam et iustitiam carnalem, et confidit his bonis, con- 27] temnens Deum. Neque solum veteres, sed etiam recentiores, si qui sunt cordatiores, docent simul ista vere peccatum originis esse, defectus videlicet, quos recensui, et concupiscentiam. Sic enim inquit Thomas: *Peccatum originis habet privationem originalis*

Derhalben wir so eigentlich beides erwähnt und ausgedrückt, da wir haben lehren wollen, was die Erbsünde sei, beide die böse Lust und auch den Mangel der ersten Gerechtigkeit im Paradies, und sagen, derselbe Mangel sei, daß wir Adamskinder Gott von Herzen nicht vertrauen, ihn nicht fürchten noch lieben. Die böse Lust sei, daß natürlich wider Gottes Wort all unser Sinn, Herz und Mut steht, da wir nicht allein suchen allerlei Wollust des Leibes, sondern auch auf unsere Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit vertrauen und dagegen Gottes vergessen und wenig, ja gar nichts achten. Und nicht allein die alten Väter, als Augustinus und dergleichen, sondern auch die neu-

bodied in man such wisdom and righteousness as apprehended God, and in which God was reflected, *i. e.*, to man there were given the gifts of the knowledge of God, the fear of God, confidence in God, and the like? For thus Irenaeus and Ambrose interpret the likeness to God, the latter of whom not only says many things to this effect, but especially declares: *That soul is not, therefore, in the image of God, in which God is not at all times.* And Paul shows in the Epistles to the Ephesians, 5, 9, and Colossians, 3, 10, that the image of God is *the knowledge of God, righteousness, and truth.* Nor does Longobard fear to say that original righteousness *is the very likeness to God which God implanted in man.* We recount the opinions of the ancients, which in no way interfere with Augustine's interpretation of the image.

Therefore the ancient definition, when it says that sin is the lack of righteousness, not only denies obedience with respect to man's lower powers [that man is not only corrupt in his body and its meanest and lowest faculties], but also denies the knowledge of God, confidence in God, the fear and love of God, or certainly the power to produce these affections [the light in the heart which creates a love and desire for these matters]. For even the theologians themselves teach in their schools that these are not produced without certain gifts and the aid of grace. In order that the matter may be understood, we term these very gifts the knowledge of God, and fear and confidence in God. From these facts it appears that the ancient definition says precisely the same thing that we say, denying fear and confidence toward God, to wit, not only the acts, but also the gifts and power to produce these acts [that we have no good heart toward God, which truly loves God, not only that we are unable to do or achieve any perfectly good work].

Of the same import is the definition which occurs in the writings of Augustine, who is accustomed to define original sin as concupiscence [wicked desire]. For he means that when righteousness had been lost, concupiscence came in its place. For inasmuch as diseased nature cannot fear and love God and believe God, it seeks and loves carnal things. God's judgment it either contemns, when at ease, or hates, when thoroughly terrified. Thus Augustine includes both the defect and the vicious habit which has come in its place. Nor indeed is concupiscence only a corruption of the qualities of the body, but also, in the higher powers, a vicious turning to carnal things. Nor do those persons see what they say who ascribe to man at the same time concupiscence that is not entirely destroyed by the Holy Ghost, and love to God above all things.

We, therefore, have been right in expressing, in our description of original sin, both, namely, these defects: the not being able to believe God, the not being able to fear and love God; and, likewise: the having concupiscence, which seeks carnal things contrary to God's Word, *i. e.*, seeks not only the pleasure of the body, but also carnal wisdom and righteousness, and, contemning God, trusts in these as good things. Nor only the ancients [like Augustine and others], but also the more recent [teachers and scholastics], at

iustitiae et cum hoc inordinatam dispositionem partium animae, unde non est privatio pura, sed quidam habitus corruptus [Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, P. II, partic. 1, q. 82: „Sicut aegritudo corporalis habet aliquid de privatione, in quantum tollitur aequalitas sanitatis, et aliquid habet positivi, ipsos scilicet humores inordinate dispositos: ita etiam peccatum originale habet privationem originalis iustitiae et cum hoc inordinatam dispo-
28] sitionem partium animae; unde non est privatio pura, sed est quidam habitus cor-
28] ruptus"]. Et Bonaventura: *Quum quaeritur, quid sit originale peccatum, recte respondetur, quod sit concupiscentia immoderata. Recte etiam respondetur, quod sit debitae iustitiae carentia. Et in una istarum*
29] *responsionum includitur altera.* Idem sensit Hugo, quum ait, *originale peccatum esse ignorantiam in mente et concupiscentiam in carne.* Significat enim, nos nascentes afferre ignorationem Dei, incredulitatem, diffi-
30] dentiam, contemptum, odium Dei. Haec enim complexus est, quum ignorantiam nominat. Et hae sententiae consentiunt cum Scripturis. Nam Paulus interdum expresse nominat defectum, ut 1 Cor. 2, 14: *Animalis homo non percipit ea, quae Spiritus Dei sunt.* Alibi, Rom. 7, 5, concupiscentiam nominat *efficacem in membris et parientem malos*
31] *fructus.* Plures locos citare de utraque parte possemus; sed in re manifesta nihil opus est testimoniis. Et facile iudicare [R. 56 poterit prudens lector, has non tantum culpas actuales esse, sine metu Dei et sine fide esse. Sunt enim durabiles defectus in natura non renovata.

32] Nihil igitur de peccato originis sentimus alienum aut a Scriptura aut a catholica ecclesia, sed gravissimas sententias Scripturae et patrum, obrutas sophisticis rixis theologorum recentium, repurgamus et in lucem restituimus. Nam res ipsa loquitur recen-
33] tiores theologos non animadvertisse, quid vo-
33] luerint patres de defectu loquentes. Est autem necessaria cognitio peccati originis. Neque enim potest intelligi magnitudo gratiae Christi, nisi morbis nostris cognitis. Tota hominis iustitia mera est hypocrisis coram Deo, nisi agnoverimus cor naturaliter
34] vacare amore, timore, fiducia Dei. Ideo propheta Ieremias 31, 19 inquit: *Postquam ostendisti mihi, percussi femur meum.* Item Ps. 116, 11: *Ego dixi in excessu meo: Omnis homo mendax,* id est, non recte sentiens de Deo.

35] Hic flagellant adversarii etiam Lutherum, quod scripserit, *peccatum originis ma-*

lichsten Lehrer und Scholastici, die etwas Verstand gehabt, lehren, daß diese zwei Stücke sämtlich die Erbsünde sind, nämlich der Mangel und die böse Lust. Denn also sagt St. Thomas, daß „Erbsünde ist nicht allein ein Mangel der ersten Gerechtigkeit, sondern auch eine unordentliche Begierde oder Lust in der Seele. Derhalben ist es", sagt er, „nicht allein ein lauterer Mangel, sondern auch aliquid positivum". Und Bonaventura sagt auch klar: „Wenn man fragt, was die Erbsünde sei, ist dies die rechte Antwort, daß es eine ungewehrte böse Lust sei. Auch ist die rechte Antwort, daß es ein Mangel sei der Gerechtigkeit, und eins gibt das andere." Gleich dasselbe meint auch Hugo, da er sagt: „Die Erbsünde ist Blindheit im Herzen und böse Lust im Fleische." Denn er will anzeigen, daß wir Adamskinder alle so geboren werden, daß wir Gott nicht kennen, Gott verachten, ihm nicht vertrauen, ja ihn auch fliehen und hassen. Denn das hat Hugo wollen kurz begreifen, da er gesagt: ignorantia in mente, Blindheit oder Unwissenheit im Herzen. Und die Sprüche auch der neuesten Lehrer stimmen überein mit der Heiligen Schrift. Denn Paulus nennt die Erbsünde unter Zeiten mit klaren Worten einen Mangel göttlichen Lichtes usw. 1 Kor. 2, 14: „Der natürliche Mensch aber vernimmt nichts vom Geiste Gottes." Und an andern Orten nennt er es böse Lust, als zu den Römern am 7, 23, da er sagt: „Ich sehe ein ander Gesetz in meinen Gliedern" usw., welche Lust allerlei böse Früchte gebiert. Ich könnte hier wohl viel mehr Sprüche der Schrift vorbringen von beiden diesen Stücken; aber in dieser öffentlichen Wahrheit ist es nicht not. Ein jeder Verständiger wird leichtlich sehen und merken, daß also ohne Gottesfurcht, ohne Vertrauen im Herzen sein, sind nicht allein actus oder wirkliche Sünden, sondern ein angeborner Mangel des göttlichen Lichtes und alles Guten, welcher da bleibt, solange wir nicht durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren und durch den [ihn] erleuchtet werden.

Wie wir nun bisher von der Erbsünde geschrieben und gelehrt, so lehren wir nichts Neues, nichts anderes denn die Heilige Schrift, die gemeine heilige christliche Kirche; sondern solche nötige, tapfere, klare Sprüche der Heiligen Schrift und der Väter, welche durch ungeschicktes Gezänk der Sophisten unterdrückt gewesen, bringen wir wieder an Tag und wollten gerne die christliche Lehre rein haben. Denn es ist je am Tage, daß die Sophisten und Schulzänker nicht verstanden haben, was die Väter mit dem Wort „Mangel der ersten Gerechtigkeit" gemeint. Dies Stück aber eigentlich und richtig zu lehren, und was die Erbsünde sei oder nicht sei, ist gar hoch vonnöten, und kann niemand sich nach Christo, nach dem unaussprechlichen Schatz göttlicher Huld und Gnade, welche das Evangelium vorträgt, herzlich sehnen oder danach Verlangen haben, der nicht seinen Jammer und Seuche erkennt, wie Christus sagt Matth. 9, 12; Mark. 2, 17: „Die Gesunden bedürfen des Arztes nicht." Alles heilige, ehrbare Leben, alle guten Werke, soviel immer ein Mensch auf Erden tun mag, sind vor Gott eitel Heuchelei und Greuel, wir erkennen denn erst, daß wir von Art elende Sünder sind, welche in Ungnade Gottes sind, Gott weder fürchten noch lieben. Also sagt der Prophet Jeremias 31, 19: „Dieweil du mir es gezeiget hast, bin ich erschrocken." Und der 116. Psalm: „Alle Menschen sind Lügner", das ist, sie sind nicht recht gesinnt von Gott.

Hier schreien nun die Widersacher heftig wider D. Luther, daß er geschrieben hat, **die Erbsünde**

least the wiser ones among them, teach that original sin is at the same time truly these, namely, the defects which I have recounted, and concupiscence. For Thomas says thus: *Original sin comprehends the loss of original righteousness, and with this an inordinate disposition of the parts of the soul; whence it is not pure loss, but a corrupt habit* [something positive]. And Bonaventura: *When the question is asked, What is original sin? the correct answer is, that it is immoderate* [unchecked] *concupiscence. The correct answer is also, that it is want of the righteousness that is due. And in one of these replies the other is included.* The same is the opinion of Hugo, when he says that *original sin is ignorance in the mind and concupiscence in the flesh.* For he thereby indicates that when we are born, we bring with us ignorance of God, unbelief, distrust, contempt, and hatred of God. For when he mentions ignorance, he includes these. And these opinions [even of the most recent teachers] also agree with Scripture. For Paul sometimes expressly calls it a defect [a lack of divine light], as 1 Cor. 2, 14: *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* In another place, Rom. 7, 5, he calls it concupiscence, *working in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.* We could cite more passages relating to both parts; but in regard to a manifest fact there is no need of testimonies. And the intelligent reader will readily be able to decide that to be without the fear of God and without faith are more than actual guilt. For they are abiding defects in our unrenewed nature.

In reference to original sin we therefore hold nothing differing either from Scripture or from the Church catholic, but cleanse from corruptions and restore to light most important declarations of Scripture and of the Fathers, that had been covered over by the sophistical controversies of modern theologians. For it is manifest from the subject itself that modern theologians have not noticed what the Fathers meant when they spake of *defect* [lack of original righteousness]. But the knowledge of original sin is necessary. For the magnitude of the grace of Christ cannot be understood [no one can heartily long and have a desire for Christ, for the inexpressibly great treasure of divine favor and grace which the Gospel offers], unless our diseases be recognized. [As Christ says Matt. 9, 12; Mark 2, 17: *They that are whole need not a physician.*] The entire righteousness of man is mere hypocrisy [and abomination] before God, unless we acknowledge that our heart is naturally destitute of love, fear, and confidence in God [that we are miserable sinners who are in disgrace with God]. For this reason the prophet Jeremiah, 31, 19, says: *After that I was instructed, I smote upon my thigh.* Likewise Ps. 116, 11: *I said in my haste, All men are liars, i. e.,* not thinking aright concerning God.

Here our adversaries inveigh against Luther also because he wrote that "Original sin

nere post Baptismum; addunt, hunc articulum iure damnatum esse a Leone X. Sed Caesarea Maiestas in hoc loco manifestam calumniam deprehendet. Sciunt enim adversarii, in quam sententiam Lutherus hoc dictum velit, quod peccatum originis reliquum sit post Baptismum. Semper ita scripsit, quod Baptismus tollat reatum peccati originalis, etiamsi materiale, ut isti vocant, peccati maneat, videlicet concupiscentia. Addidit etiam de materiali, quod Spiritus Sanctus, datus per Baptismum, incipit mortificare concupiscentiam et novos motus creat in homine.

36] Ad eundem modum loquitur et Augustinus, qui ait: *Peccatum in Baptismo remittitur, non ut non sit, sed ut non imputetur* [Augustinus, De nupt., lib. I, c. 25: „Dimitti concupiscentiam carnis in Baptismo, non ut non sit, sed ut in peccatum non imputetur"]. Hic palam fatetur esse, hoc est, manere peccatum, tametsi non imputetur. Et haec sententia adeo placuit posterioribus, ut recitata sit et in decretis. Et contra Iulianum inquit Augustinus: *Lex ista, quae est in membris, remissa est regeneratione spirituali et manet in carne mortali. Remissa est, quia* [R. 57 *reatus solutus est sacramento, quo renascuntur fideles; manet autem, quia operatur desi-*

37] *deria, contra quae dimicant fideles.* Sic sentire ac docere Lutherum sciunt adversarii, et quum rem improbare non possint, verba tamen calumniantur, ut hoc artificio innocentem opprimant.

bleibe auch nach der Taufe, und sagen dazu, derselbe Artikel sei billig verdammt von Papst Leo X. Aber kaiserliche Majestät wird hier öffentlich finden, daß sie uns ganz unrecht tun; denn die Widersacher verstehen fast [sehr] wohl, auf was Meinung D. Luther das geredet will haben, da er sagt, die Erbsünde bleibe nach der Taufe. Er hat allzeit klar also geschrieben, daß die heilige Taufe die ganze Schuld und Erbpflicht der Erbsünde wegnimmt und austilgt, wiewohl das Material (wie sie es nennen) der Sünde, nämlich die böse Neigung und Lust, bleibt. Darüber in allen seinen Schriften setzt er noch dazu vom selben Material, daß der Heilige Geist, welcher gegeben wird durch die Taufe, anfängt, inwendig die übrigen bösen Lüste täglich zu töten und zu löschen, und bringt ins Herz ein neues Licht, einen neuen Sinn und Mut. Auf die Meinung redet auch Augustinus, da er also sagt: „Die Erbsünde wird in der Taufe vergeben, nicht daß sie nicht mehr sei, sondern daß sie nicht zugerechnet werde." Da bekennt Augustinus öffentlich, daß die Sünde in uns bleibt, wiewohl sie uns nicht zugerechnet wird. Und dieser Spruch Augustini hat den Lehrern hernach so wohl gefallen, daß er auch im Dekret angezogen wird. Und wider Julianus sagt Augustinus: „Das Gesetz, das in unsern Gliedern ist, ist weggetan durch die geistliche Wiedergeburt und bleibt doch im Fleische, welches ist sterblich. Es ist hinweggetan, denn die Schuld ist ganz los durch das Sakrament, dadurch die Gläubigen neugeboren werden; und bleibt noch da, denn es wirkt böse Lüste, wider welche kämpfen die Gläubigen." Daß D. Luther so hält und lehrt, wissen die Widersacher fast wohl, und so sie es nicht können anfechten, sondern selbst bekennen müssen, verkehren sie ihm böslich die Worte und deuten ihm seine Meinung fälschlich, die Wahrheit unterzudrücken [zu unterdrücken] und unschuldig zu verdammen.

38] At disputant concupiscentiam poenam esse, non peccatum. Lutherus defendit peccatum esse. Supra dictum est Augustinum definire peccatum originis, quod sit concupiscentia. Expostulent cum Augustino, si quid

39] habet incommodi haec sententia. Praeterea Paulus ait Rom. 7, 7. 23: *Concupiscentiam nesciebam esse peccatum, nisi lex diceret: Non concupisces;* item: *Video aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captivantem me legi peccati, quae*

40] *est in membris meis.* Haec testimonia nulla cavillatione everti possunt. Clare enim appellant concupiscentiam peccatum, quod tamen his, qui sunt in Christo, non imputatur, etsi res sit natura digna morte, ubi non

41] condonatur. Sic patres citra controversiam sentiunt. Nam Augustinus longa disputatione refellit opinionem istorum, qui sentiebant concupiscentiam in homine non esse vitium, sed *ἀδιάφορον*, ut corporis color aut adversa valetudo *ἀδιάφορον* dicitur.

Aber weiter disputieren die Widersacher, daß die böse Lust eine Last und aufgelegte Strafe sei und sei nicht eine solche Sünde, die des Todes und Verdammnis schuldig [sei]. Dawider sagt D. Luther, es sei eine solche verdammliche Sünde. Ich habe hier oben gesagt, daß Augustinus auch solches meldet, die Erbsünde sei die angeborne böse Lust. Soll dieses übel geredet sein, mögen sie es mit Augustino ausfechten. Darüber sagt Paulus Röm. 7, 7. 23: „Die Sünde erkannte ich nicht ohne durch das Gesetz; denn ich wußte nichts von der Lust, wo das Gesetz nicht gesagt hätte: Laß dich nicht gelüsten." Da sagt je Paulus dürre heraus: Ich wußte nicht, daß die Lust Sünde war usw. Item: „Ich sehe ein ander Gesetz in meinen Gliedern, das da widerstreitet dem Gesetz in meinem Gemüte und nimmt mich gefangen in der Sünde Gesetz, welches ist in meinen Gliedern." Dieses sind Pauli helle, gewisse Worte und klare Sprüche; da vermag keine Glosse, kein listiges Fündlein nichts wider; diese Sprüche werden alle Teufel, alle Menschen nicht mögen [können] umstoßen. Da nennt er klar die böse Lust eine Sünde; doch sagt er, daß solche Sünde denjenigen, so an Christum glauben, nicht wird zugerechnet: doch an ihr selbst ist es gleichwohl wahrlich eine Sünde, des Todes und ewiger Verdammnis schuldig. Und hat keinen Zweifel, daß auch solches der alten Väter Meinung gewesen. Denn Augustinus disputiert und ficht heftig wider diejenigen, die da hielten, daß die böse Neigung und Lust am Menschen nicht Sünde wäre und weder gut noch böse, wie schwarzen oder weißen Leib haben auch weder gut noch böse ist.

42] Quodsi contendent adversarii fomitem esse *ἀδιάφορον*, reclamabunt non solum multae sententiae Scripturae, sed plane tota ec-

Und wenn die Widersacher werden vorgeben, daß fomes oder die böse Neigung weder gut noch böse sei, da werden nicht allein viele Sprüche der

remains after Baptism." They add that this article was justly condemned by Leo X. But His Imperial Majesty will find on this point a manifest slander. For our adversaries know in what sense Luther intended this remark, that original sin remains after Baptism. He always wrote thus, namely, that Baptism removes the guilt of original sin, although the material, as they call it, of the sin, *i. e.*, concupiscence, remains. He also added in reference to the material that the Holy Ghost, given through Baptism, begins to mortify the concupiscence, and creates new movements [a new light, a new sense and spirit] in man. In the same manner, Augustine also speaks, who says: *Sin is remitted in Baptism, not in such a manner that it no longer exists, but so that it is not imputed.* Here he confesses openly that sin exists, *i. e.*, that it remains, although it is not imputed. And this judgment was so agreeable to those who succeeded him that it was recited also in the decrees. Also against Julian, Augustine says: *The Law, which is in the members, has been annulled by spiritual regeneration, and remains in the mortal flesh. It has been annulled because the guilt has been remitted in the Sacrament, by which believers are born again; but it remains, because it produces desires, against which believers contend.* Our adversaries know that Luther believes and teaches thus, and while they cannot reject the matter, they nevertheless pervert his words, in order by this artifice to crush an innocent man.

But they contend that concupiscence is a penalty, and not a sin [a burden and imposed penalty, and is not such a sin as is subject to death and condemnation]. Luther maintains that it is a sin. It has been said above that Augustine defines original sin as concupiscence. If there be anything disadvantageous in this opinion, let them quarrel with Augustine. Besides Paul says, Rom. 7, 7. 23: *I had not known lust* (concupiscence), *except the Law had said, Thou shalt not covet.* Likewise: *I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members.* These testimonies can be overthrown by no sophistry. [All devils, all men cannot overthrow them.] For they clearly call concupiscence sin, which, nevertheless, is not imputed to those who are in Christ, although by nature it is a matter worthy of death where it is not forgiven. Thus, beyond all controversy, the Fathers believe. For Augustine, in a long discussion, refutes the opinion of those who thought that concupiscence in man is not a fault, but an adiaphoron, as color of the body or ill health is said to be an adiaphoron [as to have a black or a white body is neither good nor evil].

But if the adversaries will contend that the *fomes* [or evil inclination] is an adiaphoron, not only many passages of Scripture, but simply the entire Church [and all the Fathers] will contradict them. For [even if not entire consent, but only the inclination and desire be there] who ever dared to say

clesia. Quis enim unquam ausus est dicere haec esse *ἀδιάφορα*, etiamsi perfectus consensus non accederet: dubitare de ira Dei, de gratia Dei, de Verbo Dei, irasci iudiciis Dei, indignari, quod Deus non eripit statim ex afflictionibus, fremere, quod impii meliore fortuna utuntur quam boni, incitari ira, [R. 58 43] libidine, cupiditate gloriae, opum etc. Et haec agnoscunt in se homines pii, ut apparet in psalmis ac prophetis. Sed in scholis transtulerunt huc ex philosophia prorsus alienas sententias, quod propter passiones nec boni nec mali simus, nec laudemur nec vituperemur. Item nihil esse peccatum, nisi voluntarium. Hae sententiae apud philosophos de civili iudicio dictae sunt, non de iudicio Dei. Nihilo prudentius assuunt et alias sententias, naturam non esse malam. Id in loco dictum, non reprehendimus; sed non recte detorquetur ad extenuandum peccatum originis. Et tamen hae sententiae leguntur apud scholasticos, qui intempestive commiscent philosophicam seu civilem doctrinam de moribus cum evangelio. 44] Neque haec in scholis tantum disputabantur, sed ex scholis, ut fit, efferebantur ad populum. Et hae persuasiones regnabant et alebant fiduciam humanarum virium et opprimebant cognitionem gratiae Christi. Ita- 45] que Lutherus, volens magnitudinem peccati originalis et humanae infirmitatis declarare, docuit reliquias illas peccati originalis non esse sua natura in homine *ἀδιάφορα*, sed indigere gratia Christi, ne imputentur, item Spiritu Sancto, ut mortificentur.

Schrift dawider sein, sondern auch die ganze Kirche und alle Väter. Denn alle erfahrenen, christlichen Herzen wissen, daß diese Stücke leider uns in der Haut stecken, angeboren sind, nämlich daß wir Geld, Gut und alle andern Sachen größer denn Gott achten, sicher dahingehen und leben; item, daß wir immer nach Art fleischlicher Sicherheit also gedenken, Gottes Zorn und Ernst sei nicht so groß über die Sünde, als er doch gewiß ist; item, daß wir den edlen, unaussprechlichen Schatz des Evangelii und Versöhnung Christi nicht herzlich [von Herzen] so teuer und edel achten, als sie [er] ist; item, daß wir wider Gottes Werk und Willen murren, daß er in Trübsalen nicht bald hilft und macht's, wie wir wollen. Item, wir erfahren täglich, daß es uns wehe tut, wie auch David und alle Heiligen geklagt, daß [es] den Gottlosen in dieser Welt wohl geht. Darüber fühlen alle Menschen, wie leicht ihr Herz entbrennt, jetzund mit Ehrgeiz, dann mit Grimm und Zorn, dann mit Unzucht. So nun die Widersacher selbst bekennen müssen, daß solcher Unglaube, solcher Ungehorsam wider Gott im Herzen ist, wennschon nicht ganze Verwilligung (wie sie davon reden), sondern allein die Neigung und Lust da ist, wer will so kühn sein, daß er diese groben Stücke weder böse noch gut achte? Nun sind die klaren Psalmen und klaren Worte der Propheten da, daß sie bekennen, daß sie sich also fühlen. Aber die Sophisten in Schulen haben zu dieser Sache wider die klare, öffentliche Schrift geredet und aus der Philosophie ihre eigenen Träume und Sprüche erdichtet, sagen, daß wir um der bösen Lüste willen weder böse noch gut, noch zu schelten noch zu loben sind; item, daß Lüste und Gedanken inwendig nicht Sünde sind, wenn ich nicht ganz drein verwillige. Dieselben Reden und Worte in der Philosophen Büchern sind zu verstehen von äußerlicher Ehrbarkeit vor der Welt und auch [von] äußerlicher Strafe vor der Welt. Denn da ist's wahr, wie die Juristen sagen: L. cogitationis, „Gedanken sind zollfrei und straffrei". Aber Gott erforscht die Herzen; mit Gottes Gericht und Urteil ist's anders. Also flicken sie auch an diese Sache andere ungereimte Sprüche, nämlich: Gottes Geschöpf und die Natur könne an ihr selbst nicht böse sein. Das fechte ich nicht an, wenn es irgend geredet wird, da es statthat; aber dazu soll dieser Spruch nicht angezogen werden, die Erbsünde gering zu machen. Und dieselben Sprüche der Sophisten haben viel unsäglichen Schaden getan, durch welche sie die Philosophie und die Lehre, welche äußerliches Leben vor der Welt belangen, vermischen mit dem Evangelio und haben doch solches nicht allein in der Schule gelehrt, sondern auch öffentlich unverschämt vor dem Volk gepredigt. Und die ungöttlichen, irrigen, gefährlichen, schädlichen Lehren hatten in aller Welt überhandgenommen; da ward nichts gepredigt denn unser Verdienst in aller Welt; dadurch ward die Erkenntnis Christi und das Evangelium ganz unterdrückt. Derhalben hat D. Luther aus der Schrift lehren und erklären wollen, wie eine große Todesschuld die Erbsünde vor Gott sei, und wie in großem Elend wir geboren werden, und daß die übrige Erbsünde, so nach der Taufe bleibt, an ihr selbst nicht indifferens sei, sondern bedarf des Mittlers Christi, daß sie uns Gott nicht zurechne, und ohne Unterlaß des Lichtes und Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes, durch welchen sie ausgefegt und getötet werde.

46] Quamquam scholastici utrumque extenuant, peccatum et poenam, quum docent hominem propriis viribus posse mandata Dei facere: in Genesi aliter describitur poena imposita pro peccato originis. Ibi enim non solum morti et aliis corporalibus malis subiicitur humana natura, sed etiam regno diaboli. Nam ibi, Gen. 3, 15, fertur haec horribilis sententia: *Inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem, et inter semen tuum et semen* 47] *illius.* Defectus et concupiscentia sunt poenae et peccata; mors et alia corporalia mala et tyrannis diaboli proprie poenae sunt. Est enim natura humana in servitutem [R. 59 tradita, et captiva a diabolo tenetur, qui eam impiis opinionibus et erroribus dementat et

Wiewohl nun die Sophisten und Scholastici anders lehren und beide von der Erbsünde und von derselben Strafe der Schrift ungemäß lehren, da sie sagen, der Mensch vermöge aus seinen Kräften Gottes Gebote zu halten, so wird doch die Strafe, so Gott auf Adams Kinder auf die Erbsünde gelegt, im ersten Buch Mosis viel anders beschrieben. Denn da wird die menschliche Natur verurteilt nicht allein zum Tod und [zu] anderm leiblichen Übel, sondern dem Reich des Teufels unterworfen. Denn da wird dieses schreckliche Urteil gefällt: „Ich will Feindschaft zwischen dir und dem Weibe, zwischen ihrem Samen und deinem Samen setzen" usw. Der Mangel erster Gerechtigkeit und die böse Lust sind Sünde und Strafe. Der Tod aber und die andern leiblichen

that these matters, even though perfect agreement could not be attained, were adiaphora, namely, to doubt concerning God's wrath, concerning God's grace, concerning God's Word, to be angry at the judgments of God, to be provoked because God does not at once deliver one from afflictions, to murmur because the wicked enjoy a better fortune than the good, to be urged on by wrath, lust, the desire for glory, wealth, etc.? And yet godly men acknowledge these in themselves, as appears in the Psalms and the prophets. [For all tried, Christian hearts know, alas! that these evils are wrapped up in man's skin, namely, to esteem money, goods, and all other matters more highly than God, and to spend our lives in security; again, that after the manner of our carnal security we always imagine that God's wrath against sin is not as serious and great as it verily is. Again, that we murmur against the doing and will of God, when He does not succor us speedily in our tribulations, and arranges our affairs to please us. Again, we experience every day that it hurts us to see wicked people in good fortune in this world, as David and all the saints have complained. Over and above this, all men feel that their hearts are easily inflamed, now with ambition, now with anger and wrath, now with lewdness.] But in the schools they transferred hither from philosophy notions entirely different, that, because of passions, we are neither good nor evil, we are neither deserving of praise nor blame. Likewise, that nothing is sin, unless it be voluntary [inner desires and thoughts are not sins, if I do not altogether consent thereto]. These notions were expressed among philosophers with respect to civil righteousness, and not with respect to God's judgment. [For there it is true, as the jurists say, *L. cogitationis*, thoughts are exempt from custom and punishment. But God searches the hearts; in God's court and judgment it is different.] With no greater prudence they add also other notions, such as, that [God's creature and] nature is not [cannot in itself be] evil. In its proper place we do not censure this; but it is not right to twist it into an extenuation of original sin. And, nevertheless, these notions are read in the works of scholastics, who inappropriately mingle philosophy or civil doctrine concerning ethics with the Gospel. Nor were these matters only disputed in the schools, but, as is usually the case, were carried from the schools to the people. And these persuasions [godless, erroneous, dangerous, harmful teachings] prevailed, and nourished confidence in human strength, and suppressed the knowledge of Christ's grace. Therefore, Luther wishing to declare the magnitude of original sin and of human infirmity [what a grievous mortal guilt original sin is in the sight of God], taught that these remnants of original sin [after Baptism] are not, by their own nature, adiaphora in man, but that, for their non-imputation, they need the grace of Christ, and, likewise for their mortification, the Holy Ghost.

Although the scholastics extenuate both sin and punishment when they teach that man, by his own strength, can fulfil the commandments of God; in Genesis the punishment, imposed on account of original sin, is described otherwise. For there human nature is subjected not only to death and other bodily evils, but also to the kingdom of the devil. For there, Gen. 3, 15, this fearful sen-

48] impellit ad omnis generis peccata. Sicut autem diabolus vinci non potest nisi auxilio Christi, ita non possumus nos propriis viribus 49] ex ista servitute eximere. Ipsa mundi historia ostendit, quanta sit potentia regni diaboli. Plenus est mundus blasphemiis contra Deum et impiis opinionibus, et his vinculis habet diabolus irretitos sapientes et 50] iustos coram mundo. In aliis ostendunt se crassiora vitia. Quum autem datus sit nobis Christus, qui et haec peccata et has poenas auferat et regnum diaboli, peccatum et mortem destruat: beneficia Christi non poterunt cognosci, nisi intelligamus mala nostra. Ideo de his rebus nostri concionatores diligenter docuerunt, et nihil novi tradiderunt, sed Sanctam Scripturam et sanctorum patrum sententias proposuerunt.

übel, die Tyrannei und Herrschaft des Teufels sind eigentlich die Strafen und poenae der Erbsünde. Denn die menschliche Natur ist durch die Erbsünde unter des Teufels Gewalt dahingegeben und ist also gefangen unter des Teufels Reich, welcher manchen großen, weisen Menschen in der Welt mit schrecklichem Irrtum, Ketzerei und anderer Blindheit betäubt und verführt und sonst die Menschen zu allerlei Lastern dahinreißt. Wie es aber nicht möglich ist, den listigen und gewaltigen Geist, Satan, zu überwinden ohne die Hilfe Christi, also können wir uns aus eigenen Kräften aus dem Gefängnis auch nicht helfen. Es ist in allen Historien vom Anfang der Welt zu sehen und zu finden, wie eine unsäglich große Gewalt das Reich des Teufels sei. Man sieht, daß die Welt vom Höchsten bis zum Niedrigsten voll Gotteslästerung, voll großer Irrtümer, gottloser Lehre wider Gott und sein Wort ist. In den starken Fesseln und Ketten hält der Teufel jämmerlich gefangen viel weise Leute, viel Heuchler, die vor der Welt heilig scheinen. Die andern führt er in andere grobe Laster: Geiz, Hoffart usw. So uns nun Christus darum gegeben ist, daß er dieselben Sünden und schweren Strafen der Sünden wegnehme, die Sünde, den Tod, des Teufels Reich uns zugut überwinde, kann niemand herzlich sich freuen des großen Schatzes, niemand die überschwenglichen Reichtümer der Gnade erkennen, er fühle denn von erst dieselbe Last, unser angebornes großes Elend und Jammer. Darum haben unsere Prediger von dem nötigen Artikel mit allem höchsten Fleiße gelehrt und haben nichts Neues gelehrt, sondern eitel klare Worte der Heiligen Schrift und gewisse Sprüche der Väter, Augustini und der andern.

51] Haec arbitramur satisfactura esse Caesareae Maiestati de puerilibus et frigidis cavillationibus, quibus adversarii articulum nostrum calumniati sunt. Scimus enim nos recte et cum catholica ecclesia Christi sentire. Sed si renovabunt hanc controversiam adversarii, non defuturi sunt apud nos, qui respondeant et veritati patrocinentur. Nam adversarii in hac causa magna ex parte, quid loquantur, non intelligunt. Saepe dicunt pugnantia, nec formale peccati originis nec defectus, quos vocant, recte ac dialectice expediunt. Sed nos hoc loco noluimus istorum rixas nimis subtiliter excutere. Tantum sententiam sanctorum patrum, quam et nos sequimur, communibus et notis verbis duximus esse recitandam.

Dieses, achten wir, solle die kaiserliche Majestät ihr billig lassen genug sein wider das lose, kindische, ungegründete Vorbringen der Widersacher, durch welches sie der Unsern Artikel ohne Ursache ganz unbillig anfechten. Denn sie singen, sagen, wieviel, was und wie lange sie wollen, so wissen wir eigentlich das und sind's fürwahr gewiß, daß wir christlich und recht lehren und mit der gemeinen christlichen Kirche gleich stimmen und halten. Werden sie darüber weiter mutwilligen Zank einführen, so sollen sie sehen, es sollen hier, will's Gott, Leute nicht fehlen, die ihnen antworten und die Wahrheit dennoch erhalten. Denn die Widersacher wissen das mehrere Teil nicht, was sie reden. Denn wie oft reden und schreiben sie ihnen selbst Widerwärtiges? Verstehen auch ihre eigene Dialektika nicht vom Formal der Erbsünde, das ist, was eigentlich an ihrem Wesen die Erbsünde sei oder nicht sei, was auch der Mangel der ersten Gerechtigkeit sei. An diesem Ort aber haben wir nicht wollen von ihrer zänkischen Disputation subtiler oder weiter reden, sondern allein die Sprüche und Meinung der heiligen Väter, welchen wir auch gleichförmig lehren, mit klaren, gemeinen, verständlichen Worten erzählen wollen.

Art. III. De Christo.

52] Tertium articulum probant adversarii, in quo confitemur *duas in Christo naturas*, videlicet naturam humanam, assumptam a Verbo in unitatem personae suae; et quod idem Christus passus sit ac mortuus, ut reconciliaret nobis Patrem; et resuscitatus, ut regnet, iustificet et sanctificet credentes etc. iuxta Symbolum Apostolorum et Symbolum Nicaenum.

Artikel III. Von Christo.

Den dritten Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher gefallen, da wir bekennen, daß **in Christo zwei Naturen** sind, nämlich, daß Gottes Sohn die menschliche Natur hat angenommen und also Gott und Mensch e i n e Person, e i n Christus ist; und daß derselbe für uns hat gelitten und ist gestorben, uns dem Vater zu versöhnen; und daß er auferstanden ist, daß er ein ewig Reich besitze, alle Gläubigen heilige und gerecht mache usw., wie das Credo der Apostel und Symbolum Nicaenum lehrt.

Art. IV. (II.) De Iustificatione.

1] In quarto, quinto, sexto et infra in [R. 60 articulo vicesimo damnant nos, quod docemus, *homines non propter sua merita, sed gratis propter Christum consequi remissionem pec-*

Artikel IV. (II.)
Wie man vor Gott fromm und gerecht wird.

Im vierten, fünften und sechsten und hernach im zwanzigsten Artikel verdammen die Widersacher unser Bekenntnis, daß wir lehren, daß **die Gläubigen Vergebung der Sünden durch Chri-**

tence is proclaimed: *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.* The defects and the concupiscence are punishments and sins. Death and other bodily evils, and the dominion of the devil, are properly punishments. For human nature has been delivered into slavery, and is held captive by the devil, who infatuates it with wicked opinions and errors, and impels it to sins of every kind. But just as the devil cannot be conquered except by the aid of Christ, so by our own strength we cannot free ourselves from this slavery. Even the history of the world shows how great is the power of the devil's kingdom. The world is full of blasphemies against God and of wicked opinions, and the devil keeps entangled in these bands those who are wise and righteous [many hypocrites who appear holy] in the sight of the world. In other persons grosser vices manifest themselves. But since Christ was given to us to remove both these sins and these punishments, and to destroy the kingdom of the devil, sin and death, it will not be possible to recognize the benefits of Christ unless we understand our evils. For this reason our preachers have diligently taught concerning these subjects, and have delivered nothing that is new, but have set forth Holy Scripture and the judgments of the holy Fathers.

We think that this will satisfy His Imperial Majesty concerning the puerile and trivial sophistry with which the adversaries have perverted our article. For we know that we believe aright and in harmony with the Church catholic of Christ. But if the adversaries will renew this controversy, there will be no want among us of those who will reply and defend the truth. For in this case our adversaries, to a great extent, do not understand what they say. They often speak what is contradictory, and neither explain correctly and logically that which is essential to [*i. e.*, that which is or is not properly of the essence of] original sin, nor what they call defects. But we have been unwilling at this place to examine their contests with any very great subtlety. We have thought it worth while only to recite, in customary and well-known words, the belief of the holy Fathers, which we also follow.

Article III: Of Christ.

The Third Article the adversaries approve, in which we confess that there are *in Christ two natures,* namely, a human nature, assumed by the Word into the unity of His person; and that the same Christ suffered and died to reconcile the Father to us; and that He was raised again to reign, and to justify and sanctify believers, etc., according to the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed.

Article IV (II): Of Justification.

In the Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, and, below, in the Twentieth Article, they condemn us, for teaching that *men obtain remission of sins, not because of their own merits, but freely*

catorum fide in Christum. Utrumque enim damnant, et quod *negamus* homines propter sua merita consequi remissionem peccatorum, et quod *affirmamus* homines fide consequi remissionem peccatorum et fide in Christum
2] iustificari. Quum autem in hac controversia praecipuus locus doctrinae Christianae agitetur, qui recte intellectus illustrat et amplificat honorem Christi et affert necessariam et uberrimam consolationem piis conscientiis, rogamus, ut Caesarea Maiestas de rebus tan-
3] tis clementer nos audiat. Nam adversarii, quum neque quid remissio peccatorum, neque quid fides, neque quid gratia, neque quid iustitia sit, intelligant, misere contaminant hunc locum, et obscurant gloriam et beneficia Christi, et eripiunt piis conscientiis proposi-
4] tas in Christo consolationes. Ut autem et confirmare confessionem nostram et diluere ea, quae adversarii obiiciunt, possimus, initio quaedam praefanda sunt, ut fontes utriusque generis doctrinae, et adversariorum et nostrae, cognosci possint.

stum ohne alles Verdienſt allein durch den Glauben erlangen, und verwerfen gar trotziglich beides. Erſtlich, daß wir **nein** dazu ſagen, daß den Menſchen durch ihre Verdienſte ſollten die Sünden vergeben werden. Zum andern, daß wir **halten, lehren und bekennen,** daß niemand Gott verſöhnt wird, niemand Vergebung der Sünden erlangt denn allein durch den Glauben an Chriſtum. Dieweil aber ſolcher Zank iſt über dem höchſten, vornehmſten Artikel der ganzen chriſtlichen Lehre, alſo daß an dieſem Artikel ganz viel gelegen iſt, welcher auch zu klarem, richtigem Verſtande der ganzen Heiligen Schrift vornehmlich dient und zu dem unausſprechlichen Schatze und der rechten Erkenntnis Chriſti allein den Weg weiſt, auch in die ganze Bibel allein die Tür auftut, ohne welchen Artikel auch kein arm Gewiſſen einen rechten, beſtändigen, gewiſſen Troſt haben oder die Reichtümer der Gnade Chriſti erkennen mag: ſo bitten wir, kaiſerliche Majeſtät wolle von dieſer großen, tapfern [ernſten], hochwichtigen Sache nach Notdurft und gnädiglich uns hören. Denn dieweil die Widerſacher gar nicht verſtehen noch wiſſen, was durch dieſe Worte in der Schrift zu verſtehen, was Vergebung der Sünden ſei, was Glaube, was Gnade, was Gerechtigkeit ſei, ſo haben ſie dieſen edeln, hochnötigen, vornehmſten Artikel, ohne welchen niemand Chriſtum erkennen würde, jämmerlich beſudelt und den hohen, teuren Schatz der Erkenntnis Chriſti, oder was Chriſtus und ſein Reich und Gnade ſei, gar unterdrückt und den armen Gewiſſen einen ſolchen, ſo edeln, großen Schatz und ewigen Troſt, daran es gar gelegen, jämmerlich geraubt. Daß wir aber unſer Bekenntnis bekräftigen und was die Widerſacher vorgebracht, verlegen [widerlegen] mögen, ſo wollen wir zuvor erſt anzeigen Grund und Urſache beiderlei Lehre, damit jeder Teil klarer zu vernehmen ſei.

5] Universa Scriptura in hos duos locos praecipuos distribui debet: in legem et promissiones. Alias enim legem tradit, alias tradit promissionem de Christo, videlicet quum aut promittit Christum venturum esse, et pollicetur propter eum remissionem peccatorum, iustificationem et vitam aeternam, aut in evangelio Christus, postquam apparuit, promittit remissionem peccatorum, iustifica-
6] tionem et vitam aeternam. Vocamus autem legem in hac disputatione Decalogi praecepta, ubicunque illa in Scripturis leguntur. De ceremoniis et iudicialibus legibus Mosis in praesentia nihil loquimur.

Die ganze Schrift beide Alten und Neuen Teſtaments wird in die zwei Stücke geteilt und lehrt dieſe zwei Stücke, nämlich Geſetz und göttliche Verheißungen. Denn an etlichen Orten hält ſie uns vor das Geſetz, an etlichen bietet ſie Gnade an durch die herrlichen Verheißungen von Chriſto; als, wenn im Alten Teſtament die Schrift verheißt den zukünftigen Chriſtum und bietet ewigen Segen, Benedeiung, ewiges Heil, Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben durch ihn an, oder im Neuen Teſtament, wenn Chriſtus, ſieder [ſeitdem] er gekommen iſt auf Erden, im Evangelio verheißt Vergebung der Sünden, ewige Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben. Hier aber, an dem Orte, nennen wir das Geſetz die zehn Gebote Gottes, wo dieſelben in der Schrift geleſen werden. Von den Zeremonien und den Geſetzen der Gerichtshändel wollen wir hier nicht reden.

7] Ex his adversarii sumunt legem, [R. 61 quia humana ratio naturaliter intelligit aliquo modo legem (habet enim idem iudicium scriptum divinitus in mente), et per legem quaerunt remissionem peccatorum et iustifi-
8] cationem. Decalogus autem requirit non solum externa opera civilia, quae ratio utcunque efficere potest, sed etiam requirit alia longe supra rationem posita, scilicet vere timere Deum, vere diligere Deum, vere invocare Deum, vere statuere, quod Deus exaudiat, et exspectare auxilium Dei in morte, in omnibus afflictionibus; denique requirit obedientiam erga Deum in morte et omnibus afflictionibus, ne has fugiamus aut aversemur, quum Deus imponit.

Von dieſen zwei Stücken nehmen nun die Widerſacher das Geſetz vor ſich. Denn dieweil das natürliche Geſetz, welches mit dem Geſetz Moſis oder [den] zehn Geboten übereinſtimmt, in aller Menſchen Herzen angeboren und geſchrieben iſt, und alſo die Vernunft etlichermaßen die zehn Gebote faſſen und verſtehen kann, will ſie wähnen, ſie habe genug am Geſetz, und durchs Geſetz könne man Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Die zehn Gebote aber erfordern nicht allein ein äußerlich ehrbar Leben oder gute Werke, welche die Vernunft etlichermaßen vermag zu tun, ſondern erfordern etwas viel Höheres, welches über alle menſchlichen Kräfte, über alles Vermögen der Vernunft iſt; nämlich will das Geſetz von uns haben, daß wir Gott ſollen mit ganzem Ernſt von Herzensgrund fürchten und lieben, ihn in allen Nöten allein anrufen und ſonſt auf nichts einigen Troſt ſetzen. Item, das Geſetz will haben, daß wir nicht weichen noch wanken ſollen, ſondern aufs allergewiſſeſte im Herzen ſchließen, daß Gott bei uns ſei, unſer Gebet erhört, und daß unſer Seufzen und Bitten Ja ſei; item, daß wir von Gott noch Leben

for Christ's sake, through faith in Christ. [They reject quite stubbornly both these statements.] For they condemn us both for *denying* that men obtain remission of sins because of their own merits, and for *affirming* that, through faith, men obtain remission of sins, and through faith in Christ are justified. But since in this controversy the chief topic of Christian doctrine is treated, which, understood aright, illumines and amplifies the honor of Christ [which is of especial service for the clear, correct understanding of the entire Holy Scriptures, and alone shows the way to the unspeakable treasure and right knowledge of Christ, and alone opens the door to the entire Bible], and brings necessary and most abundant consolation to devout consciences, we ask His Imperial Majesty to hear us with forbearance in regard to matters of such importance. For since the adversaries understand neither what the remission of sins, nor what faith, nor what grace, nor what righteousness is, they sadly corrupt this topic, and obscure the glory and benefits of Christ, and rob devout consciences of the consolations offered in Christ. But that we may strengthen the position of our Confession, and also remove the charges which the adversaries advance against us, certain things are to be premised in the beginning, in order that the sources of both kinds of doctrine, *i. e.*, both that of our adversaries and our own, may be known.

All Scripture ought to be distributed into these two principal topics, the Law and the promises. For in some places it presents the Law, and in others the promise concerning Christ, namely, either when [in the Old Testament] it promises that Christ will come, and offers, for His sake, the remission of sins, justification, and life eternal, or when, in the Gospel [in the New Testament], Christ Himself, since He has appeared, promises the remission of sins, justification, and life eternal. Moreover, in this discussion, by Law we designate the Ten Commandments, wherever they are read in the Scriptures. Of the ceremonies and judicial laws of Moses we say nothing at present.

Of these two parts the adversaries select the Law, because human reason naturally understands, in some way, the Law (for it has the same judgment divinely written in the mind); [the natural law agrees with the law of Moses, or the Ten Commandments] and by the Law they seek the remission of sins and justification. Now, the Decalog requires not only outward civil works, which reason can in some way produce, but it also requires other things placed far above reason, namely, truly to fear God, truly to love God, truly to call upon God, truly to be convinced that God hears us, and to expect the aid of God in death and in all afflictions; finally, it requires obedience to God, in death and all afflictions, so that we may not flee from these, or refuse them when God imposes them.

und allerlei Trost erwarten sollen mitten im Tode, in allen Anfechtungen seinem Willen uns gänzlich [an]heimgeben, in Tod und Trübsal nicht von ihm fliehen, sondern ihm gehorsam sein, gerne alles tragen und leiden, wie es uns geht.

9] Hic scholastici secuti philosophos tantum docent iustitiam rationis, videlicet civilia opera, et affingunt, quod ratio sine Spiritu Sancto possit diligere Deum supra omnia. Nam donec humanus animus otiosus est, nec sentit iram aut iudicium Dei, fingere potest, quod velit Deum diligere, quod velit propter Deum benefacere. Ad hunc modum docent homines mereri remissionem peccatorum, faciendo quod est in se, hoc est, si ratio dolens de peccato eliciat actum dilectionis Dei, aut 10] bene operetur propter Deum. Et haec opinio, quia naturaliter blanditur hominibus, peperit et auxit multos cultus in ecclesia, vota monastica, abusus missae, et subinde alii alios cultus atque observationes hac opinione ex- 11] cogitaverunt. Et ut fiduciam talium operum alerent atque augerent, affirmaverunt Deum necessario gratiam dare sic operanti, necessitate non coactionis, sed immutabilitatis.

Hier haben die Scholastici den Philosophis gefolgt, und wenn sie wollen sagen, wie man vor Gott fromm wird, lehren sie allein eine Gerechtigkeit und Frömmigkeit, da ein Mensch äußerlich vor der Welt ein ehrbar Leben führt und gute Werke tut, und erdichten diesen Traum dazu, daß die menschliche Vernunft ohne den Heiligen Geist vermöge Gott über alles zu lieben. Denn wohl ist's wahr, wenn ein Menschenherz müßig ist und nicht in Anfechtungen, und dieweil es Gottes Zorn und Gericht nicht fühlt, so mag es einen solchen Traum ihm erdichten, als liebe es Gott über alles und tue viel Gutes, viele Werke um Gottes willen; aber es ist eitel Heuchelei. Und auf die Weise haben doch die Widersacher gelehrt, daß die Menschen Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, wenn sie so viel tun, als an ihnen ist, das ist, wenn die Vernunft ihr läßt die Sünde leid sein und erdichtet einen Willen dazu, Gott zu lieben. Und diese Meinung und irrige Lehre, dieweil die Leute natürlich dazu geneigt sind, daß ihre Verdienste und Werke vor Gott etwas geachtet und verdienen möchten, hat unzählig viel mißbräuchliche Gottesdienste in der Kirche angerichtet und geursacht, als [da] sind die Klostergelübde, Mißbräuche der Messe, wie denn solches unzählig, immer ein Gottesdienst über den andern, aus diesem Irrtum erdacht ist. Und daß nur solch Vertrauen auf unsere Verdienste und Werke immer weiter ausgebreitet worden, haben sie unverschämt dürfen sagen und schließen, Gott der HErr müsse von Not Gnade geben denjenigen, die also gute Werke tun, nicht daß er gezwungen wäre, sondern da dies die Ordnung also sei, die Gott nicht übergehe noch ändere.

12] In hac opinione multi magni et perniciosi errores haerent, quos longum esset enumerare. Tantum illud cogitet prudens lector: Si haec est iustitia Christiana, quid interest inter philosophiam et Christi doctrinam? Si meremur remissionem peccatorum his nostris actibus elicitis, quid praestat [R. 62 Christus? Si iustificari possumus per rationem et opera rationis, quorsum opus est 13] Christo aut regeneratione? Et ex his opinionibus iam eo prolapsa res est, ut multi irrideant nos, qui docemus aliam iustitiam 14] praeter philosophicam quaerendam esse. Audivimus quosdam pro concione, ablegato evangelio, Aristotelis ethica enarrare. Nec errabant isti, si vera sunt, quae defendunt adversarii. Nam Aristoteles de moribus civilibus adeo scripsit erudite, nihil ut de his requi- 15] rendum sit amplius. Videmus exstare libellos, in quibus conferuntur quaedam dicta Christi cum Socratis, Zenonis et aliorum dictis, quasi ad hoc venerit Christus, ut traderet leges quasdam; per quas mereremur remissionem peccatorum, non acciperemus 16] gratis propter ipsius merita. Itaque si recipimus hic adversariorum doctrinam, quod mereamur operibus rationis remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, nihil iam intererit inter iustitiam philosophicam, aut certe pharisaicam, et Christianam.

Und in diesen Stücken, eben in dieser Lehre, sind viel andere große, ganz schädliche Irrtümer und schreckliche Lästerungen Gottes begriffen und verborgen, welche alle bei Namen zu erzählen jetzt zu lang wäre. Allein das wolle doch um Gottes willen ein jeglicher christlicher Leser bedenken: Können wir durch solche Werke vor Gott fromm und Christen werden, so wollte ich gerne hören (und versucht alle euer Bestes, hier zu antworten), was doch für Unterschied sein wollte zwischen der Philosophen und Christi Lehre. So wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen mögen durch solche unsere Werke oder actus elicitos, was hilft uns dann Christus? Können wir heilig und fromm vor Gott werden durch natürliche Vernunft und unsere eigenen guten Werke, was [be]dürfen wir denn des Blutes und Todes Christi, oder daß wir durch ihn neugeboren werden, wie Petrus 1 Petr. 1, 18 ff. sagt? Und aus dem [ge]fährlichen Irrtum (dieweil man solchen öffentlich in Schulen gelehrt und auf den Predigtstühlen getrieben), ist es leider dahin geraten, daß auch große Theologen zu Löwen, Paris usw. von keiner andern christlichen Frömmigkeit oder Gerechtigkeit gewußt haben (obwohl alle Buchstaben und Syllaben im Paulo anders lehren) denn von der Frömmigkeit, welche die Philosophie lehrt. Und so es uns billig fremd sein sollte, und wir billig sie verlachen sollten, verlachen sie uns, ja verspotten Paulum selbst. Also gar ist der schändliche, greuliche Irrtum eingerissen. Ich habe selbst einen großen Prediger gehört, welcher Christi und des Evangeliums nicht gedacht und Aristotelis „Ethicorum" predigte; heißt das nicht kindisch, närrisch unter Christen gepredigt? Aber ist der Widersacher Lehre wahr, so ist das „Ethicorum" ein köstlich Predigtbuch und eine feine neue Bibel. Denn von äußerlich ehrbarem Leben wird nicht leicht jemand besser schreiben denn Aristoteles. Wir sehen, daß etliche Hochgelehrte haben Bücher geschrieben, darin sie anzeigen, als stimmten die Worte Christi und die Sprüche Sokratis und Zenonis fein zusammen, gleich als sei Christus gekommen, daß er gute Gesetze und Gebote gebe, durch welche wir Vergebung der Sünden verdienen sollten, und nicht

Here the scholastics, having followed the philosophers, teach only a righteousness of reason, namely, civil works, and fabricate besides that without the Holy Ghost reason can love God above all things. For, as long as the human mind is at ease, and does not feel the wrath or judgment of God, it can imagine that it wishes to love God, that it wishes to do good for God's sake. [But it is sheer hypocrisy.] In this manner they teach that men merit the remission of sins by doing what is in them, *i. e.*, if reason, grieving over sin, elicit an act of love to God, or for God's sake be active in that which is good. And because this opinion naturally flatters men, it has brought forth and multiplied in the Church many services, monastic vows, abuses of the mass; and, with this opinion the one has, in the course of time, devised this act of worship and observances, the other that. And in order that they might nourish and increase confidence in such works, they have affirmed that God necessarily gives grace to one thus working, by the necessity not of constraint, but of immutability [not that He is constrained, but that this is the order which God will not transgress or alter].

In this opinion there are many great and pernicious errors, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Let the discreet reader think only of this: If this be Christian righteousness, what difference is there between philosophy and the doctrine of Christ? If we merit the remission of sins by these elicit acts [that spring from our mind], of what benefit is Christ? If we can be justified by reason and the works of reason, wherefore is there need of Christ or regeneration [as Peter declares, 1 Pet. 1, 18 ff.]? And from these opinions the matter has now come to such a pass that many ridicule us because we teach that an other than the philosophic righteousness must be sought after. [Alas! it has come to this, that even great theologians at Louvain, Paris, etc., have known nothing of any other godliness or righteousness (although every letter and syllable in Paul teaches otherwise) than the godliness which philosophers teach. And although we ought to regard this as a strange teaching, and ought to ridicule it, they rather ridicule us, yea, make a jest of Paul himself.] We have heard that some, after setting aside the Gospel, have, instead of a sermon, explained the ethics of Aristotle. [I myself have heard a great preacher who did not mention Christ and the Gospel, and preached the ethics of Aristotle. Is this not a childish, foolish way to preach to Christians?] Nor did such men err if those things are true which the adversaries defend [if the doctrine of the adversaries be true, the Ethics is a precious book of sermons, and a fine new Bible]. For Aristotle wrote concerning civil morals so learnedly that nothing further concerning this need be demanded. We see books extant in which certain sayings of Christ are compared with the sayings of Socrates, Zeno, and others, as though Christ had come for the purpose of delivering certain laws through which we might merit the remission of sins, as though we did not receive this gratuitously, because of His merits. Therefore, if we here receive the doctrine of the adversaries, that by the works of reason we merit the remission of sins and justification, there will be no difference between philosophic, or certainly pharisaic, and Christian righteousness.

vielmehr Gnade und Frieden Gottes zu verkünden und den Heiligen Geist auszuteilen durch sein Verdienst und Blut. Darum so wir der Widersacher Lehre annehmen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden verdienen mögen aus Vermögen natürlicher Vernunft und [durch] unsere Werke, so sind wir schon aristotelisch und nicht christisch, und ist kein Unterschied zwischen ehrbarem, heidnischem, zwischen pharisäischem und christlichem Leben, zwischen der Philosophie und dem Evangelio.

17] Quamquam adversarii, ne Christum omnino praetereant, requirunt notitiam historiae de Christo et tribuunt ei, quod meruerit nobis dari quendam habitum, sive, ut ipsi vocant, primam gratiam, quam intelligunt habitum esse inclinantem, ut facilius diligamus Deum, exiguum tamen est, quod huic habitui tribuunt, quia fingunt actus voluntatis ante habitum illum et post illum habitum eiusdem speciei esse. Fingunt voluntatem posse diligere Deum; sed habitus ille tamen exstimulat, ut idem faciat libentius. Et iubent mereri hunc habitum primum per praecedentia merita; deinde iubent mereri operibus legis incrementum illius habitus et 18] vitam aeternam. Ita sepeliunt Christum, ne eo mediatore utantur homines, et propter ipsum sentiant se gratis accipere remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem, sed [R. 63 somnient se propria impletione legis mereri remissionem peccatorum et propria impletione legis coram Deo iustos reputari; quum tamen legi nunquam satisfiat, quum ratio nihil faciat nisi quaedam civilia opera, interim neque timeat Deum, neque vere credat se Deo curae esse. Et quamquam de habitu illo loquuntur, tamen sine iustitia fidei neque existere dilectio Dei in hominibus, neque quid sit dilectio Dei, intelligi potest.

Wiewohl nun die Widersacher, damit sie des Namens Christi nicht gar als die gottlosen, rohen Heiden schweigen, also vom Glauben reden, daß sie sagen, es sei eine Erkenntnis der Historie von Christo, und wiewohl sie von Christo auch dennoch etwas sagen, nämlich daß er uns verdient habe einen habitum oder, wie sie es nennen, primam gratiam, die erste Gnade, welche sie achten für eine Neigung, dadurch wir dennoch Gott leichter denn sonst lieben können: so ist es doch eine schwache, geringe, kleine, schlechte Wirkung, die Christus also hätte, oder die durch solchen habitus geschähe. Denn sie sagen nichtsdestoweniger, daß die Werke unserer Vernunft und Willens, ehe derselbe habitus da ist, und auch danach, wenn derselbe habitus da ist, eiusdem speciei, das ist, vor und nach einerlei und ein Ding sei. Denn sie sagen, daß unsere Vernunft und menschlicher Wille an ihm selbst vermöge, Gott zu lieben, allein der habitus bringe eine Neigung, daß die Vernunft dasselbe, das sie zuvor wohl vermag, desto lieber und leichter tue. Darum lehren sie auch, daß derselbe habitus müsse verdient werden durch unsere vorgehenden Werke, und daß wir durch die Werke des Gesetzes Vermehrung solcher guten Neigung und das ewige Leben verdienen. Also verbergen uns die Leute Christum und begraben ihn aufs neue, daß wir ihn nicht für einen Mittler erkennen können. Denn sie schweigen gar, daß wir lauter aus Gnaden, ohne Verdienst Vergebung der Sünden durch ihn erlangen, sondern bringen ihre Träume auf, als könnten wir durch gute Werke und des Gesetzes Werke Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, so doch die ganze Schrift sagt, daß wir das Gesetz nicht vermögen zu erfüllen oder zu halten. Und so die Vernunft am Gesetz nichts ausrichtet, denn daß sie allein äußerliche Werke tut, im Herzen aber fürchtet sie Gott nicht, so glaubt sie auch nicht, daß Gott ihrer wahrnehme. Und wiewohl sie von dem habitus also reden, so ist es doch gewiß, daß ohne den Glauben an Christum rechte Gottesliebe in keinem Herzen sein kann; so kann auch niemand verstehen, was Gottes Liebe ist, ohne den Glauben.

19] Et quod fingunt discrimen inter meritum *congrui* et meritum *condigni*, ludunt tantum, ne videantur aperte *πελαγιανίζειν*. Nam si Deus necessario dat gratiam pro merito congrui, iam non est meritum congrui, sed meritum condigni. Quamquam quid dicant, non vident. Post habitum illum dilectionis fingunt, hominem de condigno mereri. Et tamen iubent dubitare, utrum adsit habitus. Quomodo igitur sciunt, utrum de congruo an 20] de condigno mereantur? Sed tota haec res conficta est ab otiosis hominibus, qui non norant, quomodo contingat remissio peccatorum, et quomodo in iudicio Dei et terroribus conscientiae fiducia operum nobis excutiatur. Securi hypocritae semper iudicant se de condigno mereri, sive adsit habitus ille, sive non adsit, quia naturaliter confidunt homines propria iustitia; sed conscientiae perterrefactae ambigunt et dubitant, et subinde alia opera quaerunt et cumulant, ut acquiescant. Hae nunquam sentiunt se de condigno mereri, et ruunt in desperationem, nisi audiant praeter doctrinam legis evangelium de gratuita remissione peccatorum et iustitia fidei.

Daß sie aber einen Unterschied erdichten unter dem meritum congrui und meritum condigni, unter dem gebührlichen Verdienst und rechtem, ganzem Verdienst, spielen und zanken sie allein mit Worten, damit sie sich nicht öffentlich als Pelagianer merken lassen. Denn so Gott von Not muß Gnade geben um Gebührverdienst, so ist es nicht Gebührverdienst, sondern eine rechte Pflicht und ganz Verdienst, wiewohl sie selbst nicht wissen, was sie sagen. Denn sie erdichten und träumen, daß, wenn der habitus der Liebe Gottes (davon oben gesagt), da ist, so verdiene der Mensch gebührlich oder de congruo [de condigno, mit ganzem Verdienst] die Gnade Gottes, und sagen doch, es könne niemand so gewiß sein, ob derselbe habitus da sei. Nun hört, liebe Herren, wie wissen sie denn, oder wann wissen sie es, ob sie gebührlich oder durch ganz Verdienst, für voll oder halb, unserm HErrgott seine Gnade abverdienen? Aber, ach lieber HErr Gott! das sind eitel kalte Gedanken und Träume müßiger, heilloser, unerfahrener Leute, welche die Bibel nicht viel in Praktiken bringen, die gar nicht wissen noch erfahren, wie einem Sünder ums Herz ist, was Anfechtungen des Todes oder des Teufels sind, die gar nicht wissen, wie rein wir alles Verdienstes, aller Werke vergessen, wenn das Herz

Although the adversaries, not to pass by Christ altogether, require a knowledge of the history concerning Christ, and ascribe to Him that it is His merit that a habit is given us, or, as they say, *prima gratia*, "first grace," which they understand as a habit, inclining us the more readily to love God; yet, what they ascribe to this habit is of little importance [is a feeble, paltry, small, poor operation, that would be ascribed to Christ], because they imagine that the acts of the will are of the same kind before and after this habit. They imagine that the will can love God; but nevertheless this habit stimulates it to do the same the more cheerfully. And they bid us first merit this habit by preceding merits; then they bid us merit by the works of the Law an increase of this habit and life eternal. Thus they bury Christ, so that men may not avail themselves of Him as a Mediator, and believe that for His sake they freely receive remission of sins and reconciliation, but may dream that by their own fulfilment of the Law they merit the remission of sins, and that by their own fulfilment of the Law they are accounted righteous before God; while, nevertheless, the Law is never satisfied, since reason does nothing except certain civil works, and, in the mean time, neither [in the heart] fears God, nor truly believes that God cares for it. And although they speak of this habit, yet, without the righteousness of faith, neither the love of God can exist in man, nor can it be understood what the love of God is.

Their feigning a distinction between *meritum congrui* and *meritum condigni* [due merit and true, complete merit] is only an artifice in order not to appear openly to Pelagianize. For, if God necessarily gives grace for the *meritum congrui* [due merit], it is no longer *meritum congrui*, but *meritum condigni* [a true duty and complete merit]. But they do not know what they are saying. After this habit of love [is there], they imagine that man can acquire merit *de condigno*. And yet they bid us doubt whether there be a habit present. How, therefore, do they know whether they acquire merit *de congruo* or *de condigno* [in full, or half]? But this whole matter was fabricated by idle men [But, good God! these are mere inane ideas and dreams of idle, wretched, inexperienced men, who do not much reduce the Bible to practise], who did not know how the remission of sins occurs, and how, in the judgment of God and terrors of conscience, trust in works is driven out of us. Secure hypocrites always judge that they acquire merit *de condigno*, whether the habit be present or be not present, because men naturally trust in their own righteousness; but terrified consciences waver and hesitate, and then seek and accumulate other works in order to find rest. Such consciences never think that they acquire merit *de condigno*, and they rush into despair unless they hear, in addition to the doctrine of the Law, the Gospel concerning the gratuitous remission of sins and the righteousness of faith. [Thus some stories are told that when the

Gottes Zorn fühlt, oder das Gewissen in Ängsten ist. Die sicheren, unerfahrenen Leute gehen wohl immer dahin in dem Wahn, als verdienten sie mit ihren Werken de congruo Gnade. Denn es ist ohne das uns angeboren natürlich, daß wir von uns selbst und unsern Werken gern etwas viel wollten halten. Wenn aber ein Gewissen recht seine Sünde und Jammer fühlt, so ist aller Scherz, so sind alle Spielgedanken aus, und ist eitel großer, rechter Ernst; da läßt sich kein Herz noch Gewissen stillen noch zufriedenstellen, sucht allerlei Werke und aber[mals] Werke und wollte gern Gewißheit, wollte gern Grund fühlen und gewiß auf etwas fußen und ruhen. Aber dieselben erschrockenen Gewissen fühlen wohl, daß man de condigno noch de congruo nichts verdienen kann, sinken bald dahin in Verzagen und Verzweiflung, wenn ihnen nicht ein anderes Wort denn des Gesetzes Lehre, nämlich das Evangelium von Christo, daß der für uns gegeben ist, gepredigt wird. Daher weiß man etliche Historien, daß die Barfüßermönche, wenn sie etlichen guten Gewissen an [in] der Todesstunde lange haben umsonst ihren Orden und gute Werke gelobt, daß sie zuletzt haben müssen ihres Ordens und St. Franziskus schweigen und dies Wort sagen: Lieber Mensch, Christus ist für dich gestorben! Das hat in Ängsten erquickt und erfühlt, Frieden und Trost allein gegeben.

21] Ita nihil docent adversarii nisi iustitiam rationis aut certe legis, in quam intuentur sicut Iudaei in velatam Mosis faciem, et in securis hypocritis, qui putant se legi satisfacere, excitant praesumptionem et inanem fiduciam operum et contemptum gratiae Christi. Econtra pavidas conscientias adigunt ad desperationem, quae operantes [R. 64 cum dubitatione nunquam possunt experiri, quid sit fides et quam sit efficax; ita ad extremum penitus desperant.

Also lehren die Widersacher nichts denn eine äußerliche Frömmigkeit äußerlicher guter Werke, welche Paulus des Gesetzes Frömmigkeit nennt, und sehen also, wie die Juden, das verdeckte Angesicht Mosis, tun nichts, denn daß sie in etlichen sicheren Heuchlern die Sicherheit und Härtigkeit stärken, führen die Leute auf einen Sandgrund, auf ihre eigenen Werke, dadurch Christus und das Evangelium verachtet wird, geben manchen elenden Gewissen Ursache zur Verzweiflung; denn sie tun gute Werke auf ungewissen Wahn, erfahren nimmer, wie ein groß, kräftig Ding der Glaube ist, fallen zuletzt ganz in Verzweiflung.

22] Nos autem de iustitia rationis sic sentimus, quod Deus requirat eam, et quod propter mandatum Dei necessario sint facienda honesta opera, quae Decalogus praecipit, iuxta illud Gal. 3, 24: *Lex est paedagogus;* item 1 Tim. 1, 9: *Lex est iniustis posita.* Vult enim Deus coerceri carnales illa civili disciplina, et ad hanc conservandam dedit leges, litteras, doctrinam, magistratus, poenas. Et **23**] potest hanc iustitiam utcunque ratio suis viribus efficere, quamquam saepe vincitur imbecillitate naturali et impellente diabolo ad **24**] manifesta flagitia. Quamquam autem huic iustitiae rationis libenter tribuimus suas laudes; nullum enim maius bonum habet haec natura corrupta, et recte inquit Aristoteles: *Neque hesperum neque luciferum formosiorem esse iustitia* [Aristoteles, Ethicorum ad Nicomachum, lib. V. c. 3: *Πολλάκις κρατίστη τῶν ἀρετῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ δικαιοσύνη, καὶ οὐθ' ἕσπερος οὐθ' ἕῳος οὕτω θαυμαστός*], ac Deus etiam ornat eam corporalibus praemiis: tamen non debet cum contumelia Christi laudari.

Wir halten und reden von der äußerlichen Frömmigkeit also, daß Gott wohl fordert und haben will ein solch äußerlich ehrbar Leben, und um Gottes Gebotes willen müsse man dieselben guten Werke tun, welche in [den] zehn Geboten werden geboten. Denn das Gesetz ist unser **Zuchtmeister** und das Gesetz ist den **Ungerechten** gegeben. Denn Gott der HErr will, daß den groben Sünden durch eine äußerliche Zucht gewehrt werde, und dasselbe zu erhalten, gibt er Gesetze, ordnet Obrigkeit, gibt gelehrte, weise Leute, die zum Regiment dienen. Und also äußerlich ehrbaren Wandel und Leben zu führen, vermag etlichermaßen die Vernunft aus ihren Kräften, wiewohl sie oft durch angeborne Schwachheit und durch List des Teufels auch daran gehindert wird. Wiewohl ich nun einem solchen äußerlichen Leben und den guten Werken gerne so viel Lobes lasse, als ihm gebührt; denn in diesem Leben und im weltlichen Wesen ist je nichts Besseres denn Redlichkeit und Tugend, wie denn Aristoteles sagt, daß weder der Morgenstern noch Abendstern lieblicher und schöner sei denn Ehrbarkeit und Gerechtigkeit, wie denn Gott solche Tugend auch belohnt mit leiblichen Gaben: so soll man doch gute Werke und solchen Wandel nicht also hoch heben, daß es Christo zur Schmach [ge]reiche.

25] Falsum est enim, quod per opera nostra mereamur remissionem peccatorum.

Denn also schließe ich und bin des gewiß: erdichtet ist's und nicht wahr, daß wir durch unsere Werke sollten Vergebung der Sünden verdienen.

26] Falsum est et hoc, quod homines reputentur esse iusti coram Deo propter iustitiam rationis.

Auch ist's Lüge und nicht wahr, daß ein Mensch vor Gott könne gerecht und fromm werden durch seine Werke und äußerliche Frömmigkeit.

27] Falsum est et hoc, quod ratio propriis viribus possit Deum supra omnia diligere et legem Dei facere, videlicet vere timere Deum, vere statuere, quod Deus exaudiat, velle obedire Deo in morte et aliis ordinationibus Dei, non concupiscere aliena etc., etsi civilia opera efficere ratio potest.

Auch ist es Ungrund und nicht wahr, daß die menschliche Vernunft aus ihren Kräften vermögen sollte, Gott über alles zu lieben, sein Gebot zu halten, ihn zu fürchten, gewiß darauf zu stehen, daß Gott das Gebet erhöre, Gott zu danken und gehorsam zu sein in Trübsalen und anderm, was Gottes Gesetz gebietet, als, nicht fremdes Gut begehren usw. Denn das alles vermag die Vernunft nicht, wiewohl sie äußerlich ehrbares Leben und gute Werke etlichermaßen vermag.

Barefooted monks had in vain praised their order and good works to some good consciences in the hour of death, they at last had to be silent concerning their order and St. Franciscus, and to say: "Dear man, Christ has died for you." This revived and refreshed in trouble, and alone gave peace and comfort.]

Thus the adversaries teach nothing but the righteousness of reason, or certainly of the Law, upon which they look just as the Jews upon the veiled face of Moses; and, in secure hypocrites who think that they satisfy the Law, they excite presumption and empty confidence in works [they place men on a sand foundation, their own works] and contempt of the grace of Christ. On the contrary, they drive timid consciences to despair, which, laboring with doubt, never can experience what faith is, and how efficacious it is; thus, at last they utterly despair.

Now, we think concerning the righteousness of reason thus, namely, that God requires it, and that, because of God's commandment, the honorable works which the Decalog commands must necessarily be performed, according to the passage Gal. 3, 24: *The Law was our schoolmaster;* likewise 1 Tim. 1, 9: *The Law is made for the ungodly.* For God wishes those who are carnal [gross sinners] to be restrained by civil discipline, and to maintain this, He has given laws, letters, doctrine, magistrates, penalties. And this righteousness reason, by its own strength, can, to a certain extent, work, although it is often overcome by natural weakness, and by the devil impelling it to manifest crimes. Now, although we cheerfully assign this righteousness of reason the praises that are due it (for this corrupt nature has no greater good [in this life and in a worldly nature, nothing is ever better than uprightness and virtue], and Aristotle says aright: *Neither the evening star nor the morning star is more beautiful than righteousness,* and God also honors it with bodily rewards), yet it ought not to be praised with reproach to Christ.

For it is false [I thus conclude, and am certain that it is a fiction, and not true] that we merit the remission of sins by our works.

False also is this, that men are accounted righteous before God because of the righteousness of reason [works and external piety].

False also is this, that reason, by its own strength, is able to love God above all things, and to fulfil God's Law, namely, truly to fear God, to be truly confident that God hears prayer, to be willing to obey God in death and other dispensations of God, not to covet what belongs to others, etc.; although reason can work civil works.

28] Falsum est et hoc et contumeliosum in Christum, quod non peccent homines facientes praecepta Dei sine gratia.

29] Huius nostrae sententiae testimonia habemus non solum ex Scripturis, sed etiam ex patribus. Nam Augustinus copiosissime disputat contra Pelagianos, gratiam non dari propter merita nostra. Et *De Natura et Gratia* inquit: *Si possibilitas naturalis per liberum arbitrium et ad cognoscendum,* [R. 65 *quomodo vivere debeat, et ad bene vivendum sufficit sibi, ergo Christus gratis mortuus est, ergo evacuatum est scandalum crucis. Cur* 30] *non etiam ego hic exclamem? Imo exclamabo et istos increpabo dolore Christiano: Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in natura iustificamini; a gratia excidistis,* Gal. 5, 4; cf. 2, 21. *Ignorantes enim iustitiam Dei et vestram volentes constituere, iustitiae Dei non estis subiecti. Sicut enim finis legis, ita etiam naturae humanae vitiosae salvator Christus est ad iustitiam omni credenti.* Rom. 10, 3. 4. 31] Et Ioh. 8, 36: *Si vos Filius liberaverit, vere liberi eritis.* Non igitur possumus per rationem liberari a peccatis et mereri remissionem peccatorum. Et Ioh. 3, 5 scriptum est: *Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum Dei.* Quodsi opus est renasci per Spiritum Sanctum, iustitia rationis non iustificat nos coram Deo, non 32] facit legem. Rom. 3, 23: *Omnes carent gloria Dei,* id est, carent sapientia et iustitia Dei, quae Deum agnoscit et glorificat. Item Rom. 8, 7. 8: *Sensus carnis inimicitia est adversus Deum. Legi enim Dei non est subiectus ac ne potest quidem ei subiici. Qui autem in carne sunt, Deo placere non possunt.* 33] Haec adeo sunt aperta testimonia, ut non desiderent acutum intellectorem, sed attentum auditorem, ut Augustini verbis utamur, quibus ille in eadem causa usus est. Si sensus carnis est inimicitia adversus Deum, certe caro non diligit Deum; si non potest legi Dei subiici, non potest Deum diligere. Si sensus carnis est inimicitia adversus Deum, peccat caro etiam, quum externa civilia opera facimus. Si non potest subiici legi Dei, certe peccat, etiamsi egregia facta et digna laude 34] iuxta humanum iudicium habet. Adversarii intuentur praecepta secundae tabulae, quae iustitiam civilem continent, quam intelligit ratio. Hac contenti putant se [R. 66 legi Dei satisfacere. Interim primam tabulam non vident, quae praecipit, ut diligamus Deum, ut vere statuamus, quod Deus irascatur peccato, ut vere timeamus Deum, ut vere statuamus, quod Deus exaudiat. At humanus animus sine Spiritu Sancto aut securus contemnit iudicium Dei, aut in poena fugit et 35] odit iudicantem Deum. Itaque non obtemperat primae tabulae. Quum igitur haereant in natura hominis contemptus Dei, dubitatio de Verbo Dei, de minis et promissionibus, vere peccant homines etiam, quum honesta opera faciunt sine Spiritu Sancto, quia faciunt ea impio corde, iuxta illud Rom. 14, 23: *Quidquid non est ex fide, peccatum est.* Tales enim operantur cum contemptu Dei,

Auch ist es erdichtet und nicht wahr und eine Lästerung wider Christum, daß diejenigen sollten ohne Sünde sein, die Gottes Gebote allein äußerlich halten ohne Geist und Gnade im Herzen.

Dieses meines Beschlusses habe ich Zeugnis nicht allein aus der Heiligen Schrift, sondern auch aus den alten Vätern. Augustinus redet und handelt solches aufs allerreichlichste wider die Pelagianer, daß die Gnade nicht gegeben wird um unsers Verdienstes willen. Und im Buche De Natura et Gratia, das ist, von der Natur und Gnade, sagt er also: „So das Vermögen der Natur durch den freien Willen genug ist, beide, zu erkennen, wie man leben soll, und also recht zu leben, so ist Christus umsonst gestorben. Warum sollte ich hier auch nicht rufen und schreien mit Paulo? Ich mag billig schreien: ‚Ihr habt Christum verloren, die ihr durch des Gesetzes Werke gerecht werden wollt, und seid von der Gnade gefallen.‘ Denn ihr erkennt die Gerechtigkeit nicht, die vor Gott gilt, und trachtet eure eigene Gerechtigkeit aufzurichten, und seid der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, nicht untertan. Denn wie das Ende des Gesetzes Christus ist, also ist auch der Heiland der verderbten Natur Christus. Item, Joh. 8, 36: ‚So euch der Sohn freimacht, so seid ihr recht frei.‘“ Derhalben können wir durch die Vernunft oder unsere guten Werke nicht frei werden von den Sünden oder Vergebung der Sünden verdienen. Item, Joh. am 3, 5 steht geschrieben: „Es sei denn, daß jemand neugeboren werde aus dem Wasser und Geist, so kann er nicht in das Reich Gottes kommen.“ So nun das dazu gehört, daß wir durch den Heiligen Geist müssen neugeboren werden, so werden uns unsere guten Werke oder eigen Verdienst nicht rechtfertig machen vor Gott, so können wir das Gesetz nicht halten noch erfüllen. Item, Röm. 3, 23: „Sie sind allzumal Sünder und mangeln des Ruhmes, den sie an Gott haben sollten“, das ist, ihnen mangelt die Weisheit und Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, dadurch sie Gott recht erkennen, groß achten und preisen sollten. Item, Röm. 8, 7. 8: „Fleischlich gesinnet sein, ist eine Feindschaft wider Gott, sintemal es dem Gesetz Gottes nicht untertan ist, denn es vermag es auch nicht; die aber fleischlich gesinnet sind, mögen Gott nicht gefallen.“ Das sind so gar klare, helle Sprüche der Schrift, daß sie nicht so scharfes Verstandes bedürfen, sondern allein, daß man's lese und die klaren Worte wohl ansehe, wie auch Augustinus in der Sache sagt. Ist nun die Vernunft und fleischlich gesinnt sein eine Feindschaft wider Gott, so kann kein Mensch ohne den Heiligen Geist herzlich Gott lieben. Item, ist fleischlich gesinnt sein wider Gott, so sind wahrlich die besten guten Werke unrein und Sünde, die immer ein Adamskind tun mag. Item, kann das Fleisch Gottes Gesetz nicht untertan sein, so sündigt wahrlich auch ein Mensch, wenn er gleich edle, schöne, köstliche gute Werke tut, die die Welt großachtet. Die Widersacher sehen allein die Gebote an der andern Tafel Mosis, die da auch von der äußerlichen Ehrbarkeit redet, welche die Vernunft besser vernimmt, und wollen wähnen, mit solchen äußerlichen guten Werken halten sie Gottes Gesetz. Sie sehen aber die erste Tafel nicht an, welche gebietet und von uns haben will, daß wir Gott herzlich sollen lieben, daran gar nicht wanken noch zweifeln

False also and dishonoring Christ is this, that men do not sin who, without grace, do the commandments of God [who keep the commandments of God merely in an external manner, without the Spirit and grace in their hearts].

We have testimonies for this our belief, not only from the Scriptures, but also from the Fathers. For in opposition to the Pelagians, Augustine contends at great length that grace is not given because of our merits. And in *De Natura et Gratia* he says: *If natural ability, through the free will, suffice both for learning to know how one ought to live and for living aright, then Christ has died in vain, then the offense of the Cross is made void. Why may I not also here cry out? Yea, I will cry out, and, with Christian grief, will chide them: Christ has become of no effect unto you whosoever of you are justified by the Law; ye are fallen from grace.* Gal. 5, 4; cf. 2, 21. *For they, being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God. For Christ is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believeth.* Rom. 10, 3. 4. And John 8, 36: *If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* Therefore by reason we cannot be freed from sins and merit the remission of sins. And in John 3, 5 it is written: *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* But if it is necessary to be born again of the Holy Ghost, the righteousness of reason does not justify us before God, and does not fulfil the Law, Rom. 3, 23: *All have come short of the glory of God, i. e.,* are destitute of the wisdom and righteousness of God, which acknowledges and glorifies God. Likewise Rom. 8, 7. 8: *The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be. So then they that are in the flesh cannot please God.* These testimonies are so manifest that, to use the words of Augustine which he employed in this case, they do not need an acute understanding, but only an attentive hearer. If the carnal mind is enmity against God, the flesh certainly does not love God; if it cannot be subject to the Law of God, it cannot love God. If the carnal mind is enmity against God, the flesh sins, even when we do external civil works. If it cannot be subject to the Law of God, it certainly sins even when, according to human judgment, it possesses deeds that are excellent and worthy of praise. The adversaries consider only the precepts of the Second Table, which contain civil righteousness that reason understands. Content with this, they think that they satisfy the Law of God. In the mean time they do not see the First Table, which commands that we love God, that we declare as certain that God is angry with sin, that we truly fear God, that we declare as certain that God hears prayer. But the human heart without the Holy Ghost either in security despises God's judgment, or in

sicut Epicurus non sentit se Deo curae esse, respici aut exaudiri a Deo. Hic contemptus vitiat opera in speciem honesta, quia Deus iudicat corda.

sollen, daß Gott um der Sünde willen zürne, daß wir Gott herzlich fürchten sollen, daß wir uns gewiß in unsern Herzen sollen darauf verlassen, Gott sei nicht ferne, er erhöre unser Gebet usw. Nun sind wir, ehe wir durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren werden, alle der Art aus Adam, daß unser Herz in Sicherheit Gottes Zorn, Urteil und Dräuen verachtet, seinem Urteil und Strafen gehässig und feind ist. So nun alle Adamskinder in so großen Sünden geboren werden, daß wir alle von Art Gott verachten, sein Wort, seine Verheißung und Dräuen in Zweifel setzen, so müssen wahrlich unsere besten guten Werke, die wir tun, ehe wir durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren werden, sündliche und verdammte Werke vor Gott sein, wenn sie gleich vor der Welt schön sind; denn sie gehen aus einem bösen, gottlosen, unreinen Herzen, wie Paulus sagt Röm. 14, 23: „Was nicht aus dem Glauben gehet, das ist Sünde." Denn alle solche Werkheilige tun Werke ohne Glauben, verachten Gott im Herzen und glauben als wenig, daß Gott sich ihrer annehme, als Epikurus geglaubt hat. Die Verachtung Gottes inwendig muß je die Werke unflätig und sündlich machen, wenn sie gleich vor den Leuten schön sind; denn Gott forscht die Herzen.

36] Postremo hoc imprudentissime scribitur ab adversariis, quod homines, rei aeternae irae, mereantur remissionem peccatorum per actum elicitum dilectionis, quum impossibile sit diligere Deum, nisi prius fide apprehendatur remissio peccatorum. Non enim potest cor, vere sentiens Deum irasci, diligere Deum, nisi ostendatur placatus. Donec terret et videtur nos abiicere in aeternam mortem, non potest se erigere natura humana, ut diligat **37**] iratum, iudicantem et punientem. Facile est otiosis fingere ista somnia de dilectione, quod reus peccati mortalis possit Deum diligere super omnia, quia non sentiunt, quid sit ira aut iudicium Dei. At in agone conscientiae et in acie experitur conscientia vanitatem illarum speculationum philosophicarum. **38**] Paulus ait Rom. 4, 15: *Lex iram operatur.* Non dicit, per legem mereri homines remissionem peccatorum. Lex enim semper accusat conscientias et perterrefacit. Non igitur iustificat, quia conscientia perterrefacta lege fugit iudicium Dei. Errant [R. 67 igitur, qui per legem, per opera sua mereri se remissionem peccatorum confidunt. Haec **39**] de iustitia rationis aut legis, quam adversarii docent, satis sit dixisse. Nam paulo post, quum nostram sententiam de iustitia fidei dicemus, res ipsa coget plura testimonia ponere; quae etiam proderunt ad illos errores adversariorum, quos hactenus recensuimus, evertendos.

Zuletzt, so ist je das auch aufs närrischste und ungeschickteste von den Widersachern geredet, daß die Menschen, die auch ewiges Zornes schuldig sind, Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch die Liebe oder actum elicitum dilectionis, so es doch unmöglich ist, Gott zu lieben, wenn das Herz nicht erst durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden ergriffen hat. Denn es kann je ein Herz, das in Ängsten ist und Gottes Zorn recht fühlt, Gott nicht lieben, er gebe denn dem Herzen Luft, er tröste und erzeige sich denn wieder gnädig. Denn dieweil er schreckt und also uns angreift, als wolle er uns in ewiger Ungnade in den ewigen Tod von sich stoßen, so muß der armen schwachen Natur das Herz und Mut entfallen und muß je vor so großem Zorn erzittern, der so greulich schreckt und straft, und kann je alsdann, ehe Gott selbst tröstet, kein Fünklein Liebe fühlen. Müßige und unerfahrene Leute mögen ihnen wohl selbst einen Traum von der Liebe erdichten, darum reden sie auch so kindisch davon, daß einer, der gleich einer Todsünde schuldig ist, könne gleichwohl Gott über alles lieben; denn sie wissen noch nicht recht, was Sünde für eine Last, was für eine große Qual sei, Gottes Zorn fühlen. Aber fromme Herzen, die es im rechten Kampf mit dem Satan und rechten Ängsten des Gewissens erfahren haben, die wissen wohl, daß solche Worte und Gedanken eitel Gedanken, eitel Träume sind. Paulus sagt: „Das Gesetz richtet nur Zorn an", Röm. 4, 15. Er sagt nicht, daß durch das Gesetz die Leute verdienen Vergebung der Sünden. Denn das Gesetz klagt allzeit das Gewissen an und erschreckt's. Derhalben macht das Gesetz niemand fromm und gerecht vor Gott; denn ein erschrocken Gewissen fleucht vor Gott und seinem Urteil. Derhalben irren diejenigen, die durch ihre Werke oder durch das Gesetz wollen verdienen Vergebung der Sünden. Dieses sei genug gesagt von der Gerechtigkeit der Werkheiligen oder der Vernunft, welche die Widersacher lehren. Denn bald hernach, wenn wir werden sagen von der Frömmigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, die aus dem Glauben kommt, wird die Sache an ihr selbst mit sich bringen, mehr Sprüche aus der Schrift einzuführen, welche denn alle auch gleich stark dienen werden, die obangezeigten Irrtümer der Widersacher umzustoßen.

40] Quia igitur non possunt homines viribus suis legem Dei facere, et omnes sunt sub peccato et rei aeternae irae ac mortis: ideo non possumus per legem a peccato liberari ac iustificari, sed data est promissio remissionis peccatorum et iustificationis propter Christum, qui datus est pro nobis, ut satisfaceret pro peccatis mundi, et positus est **41**] mediator ac propitiator. Et haec promissio non habet conditionem meritorum nostrorum, sed gratis offert remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, sicut Paulus ait

Dieweil denn kein Mensch aus seinen Kräften Gottes Gesetz zu halten vermag, und sind alle unter der Sünde, schuldig des ewigen Zornes und Todes, so könnten wir durch das Gesetz der Sünde nicht los noch vor Gott fromm werden, sondern es ist verheißen Vergebung der Sünden und Gerechtigkeit durch Christum, welcher für uns gegeben ist, daß er die Sünden der Welt bezahlte, und ist der einige Mittler und Erlöser. Und diese Verheißung lautet nicht also: Durch Christum habt ihr Gnade, Heil usw., wo ihr's verdient, sondern lauter aus Gnade bietet er an Ver-

punishment flees from, and hates, God when He judges. Therefore it does not obey the First Table. Since, therefore, contempt of God, and doubt concerning the Word of God, and concerning the threats and promises, inhere in human nature, men truly sin, even when, without the Holy Ghost, they do virtuous works, because they do them with a wicked heart, according to Rom. 14, 23: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* For such persons perform their works with contempt of God, just as Epicurus does not believe that God cares for him, or that he is regarded or heard by God. This contempt vitiates works seemingly virtuous, because God judges the heart.

Lastly, it was very foolish for the adversaries to write that men who are under eternal wrath merit the remission of sins by an act of love, which springs from their mind, since it is impossible to love God, unless the remission of sins be apprehended first by faith. For the heart, truly feeling that God is angry, cannot love God, unless He be shown to have been reconciled. As long as He terrifies us, and seems to cast us into eternal death, human nature is not able to take courage, so as to love a wrathful, judging, and punishing God [poor, weak nature must lose heart and courage, and must tremble before such great wrath, which so fearfully terrifies and punishes, and can never feel a spark of love before God Himself comforts]. It is easy for idle men to feign such dreams concerning love, as, that a person guilty of mortal sin can love God above all things, because they do not feel what the wrath or judgment of God is. But in agony of conscience and in conflicts [with Satan] conscience experiences the emptiness of these philosophical speculations. Paul says, Rom. 4, 15: *The Law worketh wrath.* He does not say that by the Law men merit the remission of sins. For the Law always accuses and terrifies consciences. Therefore it does not justify, because conscience terrified by the Law flees from the judgment of God. Therefore they err who trust that by the Law, by their own works, they merit the remission of sins. It is sufficient for us to have said these things concerning the righteousness of reason or of the Law, which the adversaries teach. For after a while, when we will declare our belief concerning the righteousness of faith, the subject itself will compel us to adduce more testimonies, which also will be of service in overthrowing the errors of the adversaries which we have thus far reviewed.

Because, therefore, men by their own strength cannot fulfil the Law of God, and all are under sin, and subject to eternal wrath and death, on this account we cannot be freed by the Law from sin and be justified, but the promise of the remission of sins and of justification has been given us for Christ's sake, who was given for us in order that He might make satisfaction for the sins of the world, and has been appointed as the [only] Mediator and Propitiator. And this promise

Rom. 11, 6: *Si ex operibus, iam non est gratia.* Et alibi, Rom. 3, 21: *Iustitia Dei iam manifestatur sine lege*, id est, gratis offertur remissio peccatorum. Nec pendet reconciliatio
42] ex nostris meritis. Quodsi ex nostris meritis penderet remissio peccatorum et reconciliatio esset ex lege, esset inutilis. Quia enim legem non facimus, sequeretur etiam promissionem reconciliationis nunquam nobis contingere. Sic argumentatur Paulus Rom. 4, 14: *Si ex lege esset hereditas, inanis esset fides et abolita promissio.* Si enim promissio requireret conditionem meritorum nostrorum ac legem, quum legem nunquam faciamus, sequeretur promissionem inutilem esse.

gebung der Sünden, wie Paulus sagt: „So aus den Werken Vergebung der Sünden ist, so ist's nicht Gnade." Und an einem andern Ort: „Diese Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, ist ohne Gesetz offenbart", das ist, umsonst wird Vergebung der Sünden angeboten. Und darum liegt's nicht an unserm Verdienst, daß wir Gott versöhnt werden. Denn wenn's an unserm Verdienst läge, Vergebung der Sünden und die Versöhnung Gottes aus dem Gesetz wäre, so wäre es verloren und wären wir wahrlich übel Gott vereinigt und versöhnt. Denn wir halten das Gesetz nicht und vermögen es nicht zu halten; so würde folgen, daß wir auch die zugesagte Gnade und Versöhnung nimmermehr erlangten. Denn also schleußt Paulus zu den Römern am 4, 14: „So aus dem Gesetz das Erbe ist, so ist der Glaube nichts, und die Verheißung ist ab." So sich nun die Verheißung gründete auf unser Verdienst und auf das Gesetz, so folgte, dieweil wir das Gesetz nicht halten können, daß die Verheißung vergeblich wäre.

43] Quum autem iustificatio contingat per gratuitam promissionem, sequitur, quod non possimus nos ipsi iustificare. Alioqui quorsum opus erat promittere? Quumque promissio non possit accipi nisi fide, evangelium, quod est proprie promissio remissionis peccatorum et iustificationis propter Christum, praedicat iustitiam fidei in Christum, quam non docet lex; neque haec est iustitia legis.
44] Lex enim requirit a nobis opera nostra et perfectionem nostram. Sed promissio [R. 68 offert nobis, oppressis peccato et morte, gratis reconciliationem propter Christum, quae accipitur non operibus, sed sola fide. Haec fides non affert ad Deum fiduciam propriorum meritorum, sed tantum fiduciam promissionis seu
45] promissae misericordiae in Christo. Haec igitur fides specialis, qua credit unusquisque sibi remitti peccata propter Christum, et Deum placatum et propitium esse propter Christum, consequitur remissionem peccatorum et iustificat nos. Et quia in poenitentia, hoc est, in terroribus, consolatur et erigit corda, regenerat nos et affert Spiritum Sanctum, ut deinde legem Dei facere possimus, videlicet diligere Deum, vere timere Deum, vere statuere, quod Deus exaudiat, obedire Deo in omnibus afflictionibus, mortificat con-
46] cupiscentiam etc. Ita fides, quae gratis accipit remissionem peccatorum, quia opponit mediatorem et propitiatorem Christum irae Dei, non opponit nostra merita aut dilectionem nostram, quae fides est vera cognitio Christi, et utitur beneficiis Christi et regenerat corda et praecedit legis impletionem. Et
47] de hac fide nulla syllaba exstat in doctrina adversariorum nostrorum. Proinde reprehendimus adversarios, quod tantum tradunt iustitiam legis, non tradunt iustitiam evangelii, quod praedicat iustitiam fidei in Christum.

So wir aber vor Gott fromm und gerecht werden allein aus lauter Gnade und Barmherzigkeit, die in Christo verheißen ist, erfolgt, daß wir durch unsere Werke nicht fromm werden. Denn was wäre sonst der herrlichen göttlichen Verheißungen vonnöten, und was dürfte Paulus die Gnade so hoch heben und preisen? Derhalben lehrt, rühmt, predigt und preist das Evangelium die Gerechtigkeit, die aus dem Glauben kommt an Christum, welche nicht eine Gerechtigkeit des Gesetzes ist. So lehrt auch das Gesetz davon nichts, und ist gar viel eine höhere Gerechtigkeit, denn des Gesetzes Gerechtigkeit ist. Denn das Gesetz fordert von uns unsere Werke und will haben, daß wir inwendig im Herzen gottesfürchtig und ganz rechtschaffen sind. Aber die göttliche Zusage, die bietet uns an, als denjenigen, die von der Sünde und Tode überwältigt sind, Hilfe, Gnade und Versöhnung um Christus' willen, welche Gnade niemand mit Werken fassen kann, sondern allein durch den Glauben an Christum. Derselbe Glaube bringt noch schenkt Gott dem HErrn kein Werk, kein eigen Verdienst, sondern baut bloß auf lauter Gnade und weiß sich nichts zu trösten noch zu verlassen denn allein auf Barmherzigkeit, die verheißen ist in Christo. Derselbe Glaube nun, da ein jeder für sich glaubt, daß Christus für ihn gegeben ist, der erlangt allein Vergebung der Sünden um Christus' willen und macht uns vor Gott fromm und gerecht. Und dieweil derselbe in rechtschaffener Buße ist, unsere Herzen auch im Schrecken der Sünde und des Todes wieder aufrichtet, so werden wir durch denselben neugeboren, und kommt durch den Glauben der Heilige Geist in unser Herz, welcher unsere Herzen verneuert, daß wir Gottes Gesetz halten können, Gott recht lieben, gewißlich fürchten, nicht wanken noch zweifeln, Christus sei uns gegeben, er erhöre unser Rufen und Bitten, und daß wir in Gottes Willen uns fröhlich geben können auch mitten im Tode. Also derselbe Glaube, der aus Gnaden umsonst empfängt und erlangt Vergebung der Sünde, ist rechtschaffen, der gegen Gottes Zorn nicht sein Verdienst oder Werk setzt, welches ein Federlein gegen einen Sturmwind wäre, sondern der Christum den Mittler darstellt; und derselbe Glaube ist eine rechte Erkenntnis Christi. Wer also glaubt, der erkennt die große Wohltat Christi und wird eine neue Kreatur; und ehe ein solcher Glaube im Herzen ist, kann niemand das Gesetz erfüllen. Von demselben Glauben und Erkenntnis Christi ist nicht eine Syllabe, nicht ein Tüttel in allen Büchern der Widersacher. Darum schelten wir auch die Widersacher, daß sie allein das Gesetz lehren von unsern Werken und nicht das Evangelium, das da lehrt, daß man gerecht werde, wenn man an Christum glaubt.

has not the condition of our merits [it does not read thus: Through Christ you have grace, salvation, etc., if you merit it], but freely offers the remission of sins and justification, as Paul says, Rom. 11, 6: *If it be of works, then is it no more grace.* And in another place, Rom. 3, 21: *The righteousness of God without the Law is manifested, i. e.,* the remission of sins is freely offered. Nor does reconciliation depend upon our merits. Because, if the remission of sins were to depend upon our merits, and reconciliation were from the Law, it would be useless. For, as we do not fulfil the Law, it would also follow that we would never obtain the promise of reconciliation. Thus Paul reasons, Rom. 4, 14: *For if they which are of the Law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect.* For if the promise would require the condition of our merits and the Law, which we never fulfil, it would follow that the promise would be useless.

But since justification is obtained through the free promise, it follows that we cannot justify ourselves. Otherwise, wherefore would there be need to promise? [And why should Paul so highly extol and praise grace?] For since the promise cannot be received except by faith, the Gospel, which is properly the promise of the remission of sins and of justification for Christ's sake, proclaims the righteousness of faith in Christ, which the Law does not teach. Nor is this the righteousness of the Law. For the Law requires of us our works and our perfection. But the Gospel freely offers, for Christ's sake, to us, who have been vanquished by sin and death, reconciliation, which is received, not by works, but by faith alone. This faith brings to God, not confidence in one's own merits, but only confidence in the promise, or the mercy promised in Christ. This special faith, therefore, by which an individual believes that for Christ's sake his sins are remitted him, and that for Christ's sake God is reconciled and propitious, obtains remission of sins and justifies us. And because in repentance, *i. e.,* in terrors, it comforts and encourages hearts, it regenerates us, and brings the Holy Ghost, that then we may be able to fulfil God's Law, namely, to love God, truly to fear God, truly to be confident that God hears prayer, and to obey God in all afflictions; it mortifies concupiscence, etc. Thus, because faith, which freely receives the remission of sins, sets Christ, the Mediator and Propitiator, against God's wrath, it does not present our merits or our love [which would be tossed aside like a little feather by a hurricane]. This faith is the true knowledge of Christ, and avails itself of the benefits of Christ, and regenerates hearts, and precedes the fulfilling of the Law. And of this faith not a syllable exists in the doctrine of our adversaries. Hence we find fault with the adversaries, equally because they teach only the righteousness of the Law, and because they do not teach the righteousness of the Gospel, which proclaims the righteousness of faith in Christ.

Quid Sit Fides Iustificans.

48] Adversarii tantum fingunt fidem esse notitiam historiae, ideoque docent eam cum peccato mortali posse existere. Nihil igitur loquuntur de fide, qua Paulus toties dicit homines iustificari, quia, qui reputantur iusti coram Deo, non versantur in peccato mortali. Sed *illa fides, quae iustificat,* non est [R. 69 tantum notitia historiae, sed est assentiri promissioni Dei, in qua gratis propter Christum offertur remissio peccatorum et iustificatio. Et ne quis suspicetur tantum notitiam esse, addemus amplius: est velle et accipere oblatam promissionem remissionis peccatorum et iustificationis.

Was der Glaube sei, der vor Gott fromm und gerecht macht.

Die Widersacher wollen wähnen, der Glaube sei dieses, daß ich wisse oder gehört habe die Historie von Christo; darum lehren sie, ich könne wohl glauben, ob ich gleich in Todsünden sei. Darum, von dem rechten christlichen Glauben, davon Paulus an allen Orten so oft redet, daß wir durch den Glauben vor Gott fromm werden, da wissen oder reden sie gar nichts von. Denn welche vor Gott heilig und gerecht geachtet werden, die sind je nicht in Todsünden. Darum, **der Glaube, welcher vor Gott fromm und gerecht macht,** ist nicht allein dieses, daß ich wisse die Historie, wie Christus geboren, gelitten usw. (das wissen die Teufel auch), sondern ist die Gewißheit oder das gewisse, starke Vertrauen im Herzen, da ich mit ganzem Herzen die Zusage Gottes für gewiß und wahr halte, durch welche mir angeboten wird ohne mein Verdienst Vergebung der Sünden, Gnade und alles Heil durch den Mittler Christum. Und damit daß niemand wähne, es sei allein ein bloßes Wissen der Historie, so setze ich das dazu: Der Glaube ist, daß sich mein ganzes Herz desselben Schatzes annimmt, und ist nicht mein Tun, nicht mein Schenken noch Geben, nicht mein Werk oder Bereiten; sondern daß ein Herz sich des tröstet und ganz darauf verläßt, daß Gott uns schenkt, uns gibt, und wir ihm nicht, daß er uns mit allem Schatz der Gnade in Christo überschüttet.

49] Ac facile potest cerni discrimen inter hanc fidem et inter iustitiam legis. Fides est *λατρεία,* quae accipit a Deo oblata beneficia; iustitia legis est *λατρεία,* quae offert Deo nostra merita. Fide sic vult coli Deus, ut ab ipso accipiamus ea, quae promittit et offert.

Aus diesem ist leicht zu merken Unterschied zwischen dem Glauben und zwischen der Frömmigkeit, die durchs Gesetz kommt. Denn der Glaube ist ein solcher Gottesdienst und latria, da ich mir schenken und geben lasse. Die Gerechtigkeit aber des Gesetzes ist ein solcher Gottesdienst, der da Gott anbietet unsere Werke. So will Gott nun durch den Glauben also geehrt sein, daß wir von ihm empfangen, was er verheißt und anbietet.

50] Quod autem fides significet non tantum historiae notitiam, sed illam fidem, quae assentitur promissioni, aperte testatur Paulus, qui ait Rom. 4, 16, *iustitiam ideo ex fide esse, ut sit firma promissio.* Sentit enim promissionem non posse accipi nisi fide. Quare inter se correlative comparat et connectit pro-
51] missionem et fidem. Quamquam facile erit iudicare, quid sit fides, si Symbolum consideremus, ubi certe ponitur hic articulus: *Remissionem peccatorum.* Itaque non satis est credere, quod Christus natus, passus, resuscitatus sit, nisi addimus et hunc articulum, qui est causa finalis historiae: *Remissionem peccatorum.* Ad hunc articulum referri cetera oportet, quod videlicet propter Christum, non propter nostra merita, donetur
52] nobis remissio peccatorum. Quid enim opus erat Christum dari pro peccatis nostris, si nostra merita pro peccatis nostris possunt satisfacere?

Daß aber der Glaube nicht allein sei die Historie wissen, sondern der da festhält die göttlichen Verheißungen, zeigt Paulus genugsam an, der da sagt zu den Römern am 4, 16: „Derhalben muß die Gerechtigkeit durch den Glauben kommen, auf daß die Verheißung fest bleibe." Da heftet und verbindet Paulus die zwei also zusammen, daß, wo Verheißung ist, da muß auch Glaube sein usw.; und wiederum correlative, wo Verheißung ist, da fordert Gott auch Glauben. Wiewohl noch klarer und schlechter zu zeigen ist, was der Glaube, der da gerecht macht, sei, wenn wir unser eigen Credo und Glauben ansehen. Denn im Symbolo steht je dieser Artikel: **Vergebung der Sünden.** Darum ist's nicht genug, daß ich wisse oder glaube, daß Christus geboren ist, gelitten hat, auferstanden ist, wenn wir nicht auch diesen Artikel, darum das alles endlich geschehen, glauben, nämlich: Ich glaube, daß mir die Sünden vergeben seien. Auf den Artikel muß das andere alles gezogen werden, nämlich, daß um Christus' willen, nicht um meines Verdienstes willen, uns die Sünden vergeben werden. Denn was wäre not, daß Gott Christum für unsere Sünden gäbe, wenn unser Verdienst für unsere Sünden könnte genugtun?

53] Quoties igitur *de fide iustificante* loquimur, sciendum est haec tria obiecta concurrere: *promissionem,* et quidem *gratuitam,* et *merita Christi tamquam pretium et propitiationem.* Promissio accipitur fide; gratuitum excludit nostra merita et significat tantum per misericordiam offerri beneficium; Christi merita sunt pretium, quia oportet esse aliquam certam propitiationem pro peccatis
54] nostris. Scriptura crebro misericordiam implorat. Et sancti patres saepe dicunt nos

Derhalben, sooft wir reden **von dem Glauben, der gerecht macht,** oder fide iustificante, so sind allezeit diese drei Stücke oder obiecta beieinander: erstlich, die **göttliche Verheißung,** zum andern, daß **dieselbe umsonst, ohne Verdienst Gnade anbietet,** für das dritte, **daß Christi Blut und Verdienst der Schatz ist, durch welchen die Sünde bezahlt ist.** Die Verheißung wird durch den Glauben empfangen; daß sie aber ohne Verdienst Gnade anbietet, da geht alle unsere Würdigkeit und Verdienst unter und zu Boden, und

What Is Justifying Faith?

The adversaries feign that faith is only a knowledge of the history, and therefore teach that it can coexist with mortal sin. Hence they say nothing concerning faith, by which Paul so frequently says that men are justified, because those who are accounted righteous before God do not live in mortal sin. But *that faith which justifies* is not merely a knowledge of history, [not merely this, that I know the stories of Christ's birth, suffering, etc. (that even the devils know,)] but it is to assent to the promise of God, in which, for Christ's sake, the remission of sins and justification are freely offered. [It is the certainty or the certain trust in the heart, when, with my whole heart, I regard the promises of God as certain and true, through which there are offered me, without my merit, the forgiveness of sins, grace, and all salvation, through Christ the Mediator.] And that no one may suppose that it is mere knowledge, we will add further: it is to wish and to receive the offered promise of the remission of sins and of justification. [Faith is that my whole heart takes to itself this treasure. It is not my doing, not my presenting or giving, not my work or preparation, but that a heart comforts itself, and is perfectly confident with respect to this, namely, that God makes a present and gift to us, and not we to Him, that He sheds upon us every treasure of grace in Christ.]

And the difference between this faith and the righteousness of the Law can be easily discerned. Faith is the λατρεία [divine service], which receives the benefits offered by God; the righteousness of the Law is the λατρεία [divine service] which offers to God our merits. By faith God wishes to be worshiped in this way, that we receive from Him those things which He promises and offers.

Now, that faith signifies, not only a knowledge of the history, but such faith as assents to the promise, Paul plainly testifies when he says, Rom. 4, 16: *Therefore it is of faith, to the end the promise might be sure.* For he judges that the promise cannot be received unless by faith. Wherefore he puts them together as things that belong to one another, and connects promise and faith. [There Paul fastens and binds together these two, thus: Wherever there is a promise faith is required, and conversely, wherever faith is required, there must be a promise.] Although it will be easy to decide what faith is if we consider the Creed, where this article certainly stands: *The forgiveness of sins.* Therefore it is not enough to believe that Christ was born, suffered, was raised again, unless we add also this article, which is the purpose of the history: *The forgiveness of sins.* To this article the rest must be referred, namely, that for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our merits, forgiveness of sins is given us. For what need was there that Christ was given for our sins if for our sins our merits can make satisfaction?

As often, therefore, as we speak of justifying faith, we must keep in mind that these

55] per misericordiam salvari. Quoties igitur fit mentio misericordiae, sciendum [R. 70 est, quod fides ibi requiratur, quae promissionem misericordiae accipit. Et rursus, quoties nos de fide loquimur, intelligi volumus obiectum, scilicet misericordiam promissam. 56] Nam fides non ideo iustificat aut salvat, quia ipsa sit opus per sese dignum, sed tantum, quia accipit misericordiam promissam.

wird gepriesen die Gnade und große Barmherzigkeit. Das Verdienst Christi aber ist der Schatz; denn es muß je ein Schatz und edles Pfand sein, dadurch die Sünden aller Welt bezahlt sind. Die ganze Schrift, Alten und Neuen Testaments, wenn sie von Gott und Glauben redet, braucht viel dieses Wortes: Güte, Barmherzigkeit, misericordia. Und die heiligen Väter in allen ihren Büchern sagen alle, daß wir durch Gnade, durch Güte, durch Vergebung selig werden. Sooft wir nun das Wort **Barmherzigkeit** in der Schrift oder in den Vätern finden, sollen wir wissen, daß da vom Glauben gelehrt wird, der die Verheißung solcher Barmherzigkeit faßt. Wiederum, sooft die Schrift vom Glauben redet, meint sie den Glauben, der auf lauter Gnade baut; denn der Glaube nicht darum vor Gott fromm und gerecht macht, daß er an ihm selbst unser Werk und unser ist, sondern allein darum, daß er die verheißene, angebotene Gnade ohne Verdienst aus reichem Schatz geschenkt nimmt.

57] Et hic cultus, haec *λατρεία*, in prophetis et psalmis passim praecipue laudatur, quum tamen lex non doceat gratuitam remissionem peccatorum. Sed patres norant promissionem de Christo, quod Deus propter Christum vellet remittere peccata. Igitur quum intelligerent Christum fore pretium pro nostris peccatis, sciebant opera nostra non esse pretium rei tantae. Ideo gratuitam misericordiam et remissionem peccatorum fide accipiebant, sicut sancti in novo testamento. 58] Huc pertinent illae crebrae repetitiones misericordiae et fidei in psalmis et prophetis ut hic, Ps. 130, 3 sq.: *Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis sustinebit?* Hic confitetur peccata, nec allegat merita sua. Addit: *Quia apud te propitiatio est.* Hic erigit se fiducia misericordiae Dei. Et citat promissionem: *Sustinuit anima mea in verbo eius, speravit anima mea in Domino*, id est, quia promisisti remissionem peccatorum, hac 59] tua promissione sustentor. Itaque et patres iustificabantur, non per legem, sed per promissionem et fidem. Ac mirum est adversarios adeo extenuare fidem, quum videant ubique pro praecipuo cultu laudari, ut Ps. 50, 15: *Invoca me in die tribulationis et eri-* 60] *piam te.* Ita vult innotescere Deus, ita vult se coli, ut ab ipso accipiamus beneficia, et quidem accipiamus propter ipsius misericordiam, non propter merita nostra. Haec est amplissima consolatio in omnibus afflictionibus. Et huiusmodi consolationes abolent adversarii, quum fidem extenuant et vituperant, et tantum docent homines per opera et merita cum Deo agere.

Und solcher Glaube und Vertrauen auf Gottes Barmherzigkeit wird als der größte, heiligste Gottesdienst gepriesen, sonderlich in Propheten und Psalmen. Denn wiewohl das Gesetz nicht vornehmlich predigt Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden wie das Evangelium, so sind doch die Verheißungen von dem künftigen Christo von einem Patriarchen auf den andern geerbt, und [sie] haben gewußt, auch geglaubt, daß Gott durch den gebenedeiten Samen, durch Christum, wollte Segen, Gnade, Heil und Trost geben. Darum, so sie verstanden, daß Christus sollte der Schatz sein, dadurch unsere Sünden bezahlt werden, haben sie gewußt, daß unsere Werke eine solche große Schuld nicht bezahlen könnten. Darum haben sie Vergebung der Sünden, Gnade und Heil ohne alles Verdienst empfangen und sind durch den Glauben an die göttliche Verheißung, an das Evangelium von Christo, selig geworden als wohl als wir oder die Heiligen im Neuen Testament. Daher kommt's, daß diese Worte: Barmherzigkeit, Güte, Glaube, so oft in Psalmen und Propheten wiederholt werden. Als im 130. Psalm: „So du willst, HErr, achthaben auf Missetat, HErr, wer wird bestehen?" Da bekennt David seine Sünde, rühmt nicht viel Verdienst, sagt auch weiter: „Denn bei dir ist Vergebung, daß man dich fürchte." Da fühlt er wieder Trost und verläßt sich auf Gnade und Barmherzigkeit, verläßt sich auf die göttliche Zusage und spricht: „Meine Seele harret des HErrn, und ich warte auf sein Wort." Und aber[mals]: „Meine Seele wartet doch auf den HErrn." Das ist, dieweil du verheißen hast Vergebung der Sünden, so halte ich mich an die Zusage, so verlasse und wage ich mich auf die gnädige Verheißung. Darum werden die heiligen Patriarchen vor Gott fromm und heilig auch nicht durchs Gesetz, sondern durch Gottes Zusage und den Glauben. Und sollte wahrlich jedermann sich hoch verwundern, warum die Widersacher doch so wenig oder gar nichts vom Glauben lehren, so sie doch sehen gar nahe in allen Syllaben der Bibel, daß der Glaube für den allerhöchsten, edelsten, heiligsten, größten, angenehmsten, besten Gottesdienst gelobt und gepriesen wird. Also sagt er im 50. Psalm: „Rufe mich an in der Zeit der Not, und ich will dich erretten." Also nun und durch diese Weise will Gott uns bekannt werden. Also will er geehrt sein, daß wir von ihm Gnade, Heil, alles Gute nehmen und empfangen sollen, und nämlich aus Gnaden, nicht um unsers Verdienstes willen. Diese Erkenntnis ist gar eine edle Erkenntnis und ein großmächtiger Trost in allen Anfechtungen, leiblichen und geistlichen, es komme zu sterben oder zu leben, wie fromme Herzen wissen; und denselben edeln, teuren, gewissen Trost rauben und nehmen die Widersacher den armen Gewissen, wenn sie vom Glauben so kalt, so verächtlich reden und lehren und dagegen mit Gott, der hohen Majestät, durch unser elend, bettelisch Werk und Verdienst handeln.

Quod Fides in Christum Iustificet.

61] Primum, ne quis putet nos de otiosa notitia historiae loqui, dicendum est, [R. 71 quomodo contingat fides. Postea ostendemus, et quod iustificet et quomodo hoc intelligi

Daß der Glaube an Christum gerecht macht.

Für das erste, daß niemand gedenke, wir reden von einem schlechten Wissen oder Erkenntnis der Historie von Christo, so müssen wir erstlich sagen, wie es zugeht, wie ein Herz anfängt zu glauben,

three objects concur: the *promise*, and that, too, *gratuitous*, and the *merits of Christ, as the price and propitiation.* The promise is received by faith; the "gratuitous" excludes our merits, and signifies that the benefit is offered only through mercy; the merits of Christ are the price, because there must be a certain propitiation for our sins. Scripture frequently implores mercy; and the holy Fathers often say that we are saved by mercy. As often, therefore, as mention is made of mercy, we must keep in mind that faith is there required, which receives the promise of mercy. And, again, as often as we speak of faith, we wish an object to be understood, namely, the promised mercy. For faith justifies and saves, not on the ground that it is a work in itself worthy, but only because it receives the promised mercy.

And throughout the prophets and the psalms this worship, this *λατρεία*, is highly praised, although the Law does not teach the gratuitous remisssion of sins. But the Fathers knew the promise concerning Christ, that God for Christ's sake wished to remit sins. Therefore, since they understood that Christ would be the price for our sins, they knew that our works are not a price for so great a matter [could not pay so great a debt]. Accordingly, they received gratuitous mercy and remission of sins by faith, just as the saints in the New Testament. Here belong those frequent repetitions concerning mercy and faith, in the psalms and the prophets, as this, Ps. 130, 3 sq.: *If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?* Here David confesses his sins, and does not recount his merits. He adds: *But there is forgiveness with Thee.* Here he comforts himself by his trust in God's mercy, and he cites the promise: *My soul doth wait, and in His Word do I hope, i. e.,* because Thou hast promised the remission of sins, I am sustained by this Thy promise. Therefore the fathers also were justified, not by the Law, but by the promise and faith. And it is amazing that the adversaries extenuate faith to such a degree, although they see that it is everywhere praised as an eminent service, as in Ps. 50, 15: *Call upon Me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee.* Thus God wishes Himself to be known, thus He wishes Himself to be worshiped, that from Him we receive benefits, and receive them, too, because of His mercy, and not because of our merits. This is the richest consolation in all afflictions [physical or spiritual, in life or in death, as all godly persons know]. And such consolations the adversaries abolish when they extenuate and disparage faith, and teach only that by means of works and merits men treat with God [that we treat with God, the great Majesty, by means of our miserable, beggarly works and merits].

That Faith in Christ Justifies.

In the first place, lest any one may think that we speak concerning an idle knowledge of the history, we must declare how faith is obtained [how the heart begins to believe].

debeat, et diluemus ea, quae adversarii ob-
62] iiciunt. Christus Lucae ultimo, 24, 47, iubet *praedicare poenitentiam in nomine suo et remissionem peccatorum.* Evangelium enim arguit omnes homines, quod sint sub peccato, quod omnes sint rei aeternae irae ac mortis, et offert propter Christum remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, quae fide accipitur. Praedicatio poenitentiae, quae arguit nos, perterrefacit conscientias veris et seriis terroribus. In his corda rursus debent concipere consolationem. Id fit, si credant promissioni Christi, quod propter ipsum habeamus remissionem peccatorum. *Haec fides in illis pavoribus erigens et consolans accipit remissionem peccatorum, iustificat et vivificat.* Nam illa consolatio est nova et spiritualis
63] vita. Haec plana et perspicua sunt, et a piis intelligi possunt, et habent ecclesiae testimonia. Adversarii nusquam possunt dicere, quomodo detur Spiritus Sanctus. Fingunt sacramenta conferre Spiritum Sanctum ex opere operato sine bono motu accipientis, quasi vero otiosa res sit donatio Spiritus Sancti.

wie es zum Glauben kommt. Danach wollen wir anzeigen, daß derselbe Glaube vor Gott fromm macht, und wie das zu verstehen sei, und wollen der Widersacher Gründe eigentlich klar und gewiß ablehnen. Christus befiehlt Lucä am letzten, zu predigen „Buße und Vergebung der Sünden". Das Evangelium auch straft alle Menschen, daß sie in Sünden geboren seien, und daß sie alle schuldig des ewigen Zorns und Todes seien, und bietet ihnen an Vergebung der Sünden und Gerechtigkeit durch Christum. Und dieselbe Vergebung, Versöhnung und Gerechtigkeit wird durch den Glauben empfangen. Denn die Predigt von der Buße oder diese Stimme des Evangelii: „Bessert euch, tut Buße", wenn sie recht in die Herzen geht, erschreckt sie die Gewissen und ist nicht ein Scherz, sondern ein groß Schrecken, da das Gewissen seinen Jammer und Sünde und Gottes Zorn fühlt. In dem Erschrecken sollen die Herzen wieder Trost suchen. Das geschieht, wenn sie glauben an die Verheißung von Christo, daß wir durch ihn Vergebung der Sünden haben. **Der Glaube, welcher in solchem Zagen und Schrecken die Herzen wieder aufrichtet und tröstet, empfängt und empfindet Vergebung der Sünden, macht gerecht und bringt Leben;** denn derselbe starke Trost ist eine neue Geburt und ein neu Leben. Dieses ist je einfältig und klar geredet; so wissen fromme Herzen, daß es also ist; so sind die Exempel, daß es mit allen Heiligen so gegangen von Anbeginn, in der Kirche vorhanden, wie an der Bekehrung Pauli und Augustini zu sehen ist. Die Widersacher haben nichts Gewisses, können nirgend recht sagen oder verständlich davon reden, wie der Heilige Geist gegeben wird. Sie erdichten ihnen eigene Träume, daß durch schlecht leiblich Empfangen und Brauchen der Sakramente, ex opere operato, die Leute Gnade erlangen und den Heiligen Geist empfangen, wennschon das Herz gar nicht dabei ist; gleich als sei das Licht des Heiligen Geistes so ein schlecht, schwach, nichtig Ding.

64] Quum autem de tali fide loquamur, quae non est otiosa cogitatio, sed quae a morte liberat, et novam vitam in cordibus parit et est opus Spiritus Sancti: non stat cum peccato mortali, sed tantisper, dum adest, bonos
65] fructus parit, ut postea dicemus. Quid potest dici de conversione impii seu de modo regenerationis simplicius et clarius? Proferant unum commentarium in *Sententias* [Petri Lombardi] ex tanto scriptorum agmine, qui
66] de modo regenerationis dixerit. Quum loquuntur de habitu dilectionis, fingunt [R. 72 eum homines per opera mereri, non docent per Verbum accipi, sicut et hoc tempore Ana-
67] baptistae docent. At cum Deo non potest agi, Deus non potest apprehendi nisi per Verbum. Ideo iustificatio fit per Verbum, sicut Paulus inquit Rom. 1, 16: *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti.* Item 10, 17: *Fides est ex auditu.* Et vel hinc argumentum sumi potest, quod fides iustificet, quia, si tantum fit iustificatio per Verbum et Verbum tantum fide apprehenditur, sequi-
68] tur, quod fides iustificet. Sed sunt aliae maiores rationes. Haec diximus hactenus, ut modum regenerationis ostenderemus, et ut intelligi posset, qualis sit fides, de qua loquimur.

So wir aber von einem solchen Glauben reden, welcher nicht ein müßiger Gedanke ist, sondern ein solch neues Licht, Leben und Kraft im Herzen, welche Herz, Sinn und Mut verneuert, einen andern Menschen und neue Kreatur aus uns macht, nämlich ein neues Licht und Werk des Heiligen Geistes: so versteht ja männiglich, daß wir nicht von solchem Glauben reden, dabei Todsünde ist, wie die Widersacher vom Glauben reden. Denn wie will Licht und Finsternis beieinander sein? Denn der Glaube, wo er ist, und dieweil er da ist, gebiert er gute Früchte, wie wir danach sagen wollen. Dieses ist je mit klaren, deutlichen, einfältigen Worten geredet, wie es zugeht, wenn ein Sünder recht sich bekehrt, was die neue Geburt sei oder nicht sei. Trotz [sei] nun geboten alle den Sententiariis, ob sie unter den unzähligen Kommenten, Glossen und Skribenten über Sententiarum [des Petrus Lombardus] einen können vorbringen, der ein Wörtlein, einen Tüttel recht davon setzt, wie es zugeht, wenn ein Sünder bekehrt wird. Wenn sie von der Liebe reden, oder wenn sie von ihrem habitu dilectionis reden, so bringen sie wohl ihre Träume vor, daß denselben habitum die Leute verdienen durch ihre Werke, reden aber gar nichts von Gottes Verheißung oder Wort, wie auch zu dieser Zeit die Wiedertäufer lehren. Nun kann man mit Gott doch je nicht handeln, so läßt sich Gott nicht erkennen, suchen noch fassen denn allein im Wort und durchs Wort, wie Paulus sagt: „Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes allen, die daran glauben." Item, zu den Römern am 10: „Der Glaube ist aus dem Gehör." Und aus dem allein sollte je klar genug sein, daß wir allein durch den Glauben vor Gott fromm werden. Denn so wir allein durchs Wort Gottes zu Gott kommen und gerecht werden, und das Wort kann niemand fassen denn durch den Glauben, so folgt, daß der Glaube gerecht macht. Doch sind andere Ursachen, die sich zu dieser Sache besser reimen. Dieses habe ich bisher gesagt, daß ich anzeige, wie es zugeht, wie wir neugeboren werden, und daß man verstehen möchte, was der Glaube ist oder nicht ist, davon wir reden.

Afterward we will show both that it justifies, and how this ought to be understood, and we will explain the objections of the adversaries. Christ, in the last chapter of Luke, 24, 47, commands *that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name.* For the Gospel convicts all men that they are under sin, that they all are subject to eternal wrath and death, and offers, for Christ's sake, remission of sin and justification, which is received by faith. The preaching of repentance, which accuses us, terrifies consciences with true and grave terrors. [For the preaching of repentance, or this declaration of the Gospel: Amend your lives! Repent! when it truly penetrates the heart, terrifies the conscience, and is no jest, but a great terror, in which the conscience feels its misery and sin, and the wrath of God.] In these, hearts ought again to receive consolation. This happens if they believe the promise of Christ, that for His sake we have remission of sins. *This faith, encouraging and consoling in these fears, receives remission of sins, justifies and quickens.* For this consolation is a new and spiritual life [a new birth and a new life]. These things are plain and clear, and can be understood by the pious, and have testimonies of the Church [as is to be seen in the conversion of Paul and Augustine]. The adversaries nowhere can say how the Holy Ghost is given. They imagine that the Sacraments confer the Holy Ghost *ex opere operato*, without a good emotion in the recipient, as though, indeed, the gift of the Holy Ghost were an idle matter.

But since we speak of such faith as is not an idle thought, but of that which liberates from death and produces a new life in hearts, [which is such a new light, life, and force in the heart as to renew our heart, mind, and spirit, makes new men of us and new creatures,] and is the work of the Holy Ghost; this does not coexist with mortal sin [for how can light and darkness coexist?], but, as long as it is present, produces good fruits, as we will say after a while. For concerning the conversion of the wicked, or concerning the mode of regeneration, what can be said that is more simple and more clear? Let them, from so great an array of writers, adduce a single commentary upon the *Sententiae* that speaks of the mode of regeneration. When they speak of the habit of love, they imagine that men merit it through works, and they do not teach that it is received through the Word, precisely as also the Anabaptists teach at this time. But God cannot be treated with, God cannot be apprehended, except through the Word. Accordingly, justification occurs through the Word, just as Paul says, Rom. 1, 16: *The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Likewise 10, 17: *Faith cometh by hearing.* And proof can be derived even from this that faith justifies, because, if justification occurs only through the Word, and the Word is apprehended only by faith, it follows that faith justifies. But there are other and more important reasons.

We have said these things thus far in order that we might show the mode of regeneration, and that the nature of faith [what is, or is not, faith], concerning which we speak, might be understood.

69] Nunc ostendemus, *quod fides iustificet.* Ubi primum hoc monendi sunt lectores, quod, sicut necesse est hanc sententiam tueri, quod Christus sit mediator, ita necesse sit defendere, quod fides iustificet. Quomodo enim erit Christus mediator, si in iustificatione non utimur eo mediatore, si non sentimus, quod propter ipsum iusti reputemur? Id autem est credere, confidere meritis Christi, quod propter ipsum certo velit nobis Deus placa-
70] tus esse. Item sicut oportet defendere, quod praeter legem necessaria sit promissio Christi, ita necesse est defendere, quod fides iustificet. Lex enim non potest fieri, nisi prius accepto Spiritu Sancto. Necesse est igitur defendere, quod promissio Christi necessaria sit. At haec non potest accipi nisi fide. Itaque qui negant fidem iustificare, nihil nisi legem abolito evangelio et abolito Christo docent.

Nun wollen wir anzeigen, **daß derselbe Glaube, und sonst nichts, uns vor Gott gerecht macht.** Und erstlich will ich dieses hier den Leser verwarnen, gleichwie dieser Spruch muß und soll stehenbleiben, und kann ihn niemand umstoßen: **Christus ist unser einiger Mittler,** also kann auch diesen Spruch niemand umstoßen: **Durch den Glauben werden wir rechtfertig, ohne Werke.** Denn wie will Christus der Mittler sein und bleiben, wenn wir nicht durch den Glauben uns an ihn halten als an den Mittler und also Gott versöhnt werden, wenn wir nicht gewiß im Herzen halten, daß wir um seinetwillen vor Gott gerecht geschätzt werden? Das heißt nun glauben: also vertrauen, also sich getrösten des Verdienstes Christi, daß um seinetwillen Gott gewiß uns wolle gnädig sein. Item, wie dieses klar in der Schrift ist, daß über das Gesetz zur Seligkeit not ist die Verheißung Christi, also ist auch klar, daß der Glaube gerecht macht; denn das Gesetz predigt nicht Vergebung der Sünden aus Gnaden. Item, das Gesetz können wir nicht erfüllen noch halten, ehe wir den Heiligen Geist empfangen. Darum muß das bestehen, daß zur Seligkeit die Verheißung Christi vonnöten ist. Dieselbe kann nun niemand fassen noch empfangen denn allein durch den Glauben. Darum diejenigen, so lehren, daß wir nicht durch den Glauben vor Gott gerecht und fromm werden, was tun die anders, denn daß sie Christum und das Evangelium unterdrücken und das Gesetz lehren?

71] Sed nonnulli fortassis, quum dicitur, quod fides iustificet, intelligunt de principio, quod fides sit initium iustificationis seu praeparatio ad iustificationem, ita ut non sit ipsa fides illud, quo accepti sumus Deo, sed opera, quae sequuntur, et somniant fidem ideo valde laudari, quia sit principium. Magna enim vis est principii, ut vulgo dicunt: *Ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός,* ut si quis dicat, quod grammatica efficiat omnium artium doctores, quia [R. 73 praeparet ad alias artes, etiamsi sua quemque ars vere artificem efficit. Non sic de fide sentimus, sed hoc defendimus, quod proprie ac vere ipsa fide propter Christum iusti repute-
72] mur seu accepti Deo simus. Et quia iustificari significat ex iniustis iustos effici seu regenerari, significat et iustos pronuntiari seu reputari. Utroque enim modo loquitur Scriptura. Ideo primum volumus hoc ostendere, *quod sola fides ex iniusto iustum efficiat,* hoc est, accipiat remissionem peccatorum.

Aber etliche, wenn man sagt, der Glaube macht rechtfertig vor Gott, verstehen solches vielleicht vom Anfang, nämlich daß der Glaube sei nur der Anfang oder eine Vorbereitung zu der Rechtfertigung, also daß nicht der Glaube selbst dafürgehalten werden soll, daß wir dadurch Gott gefallen und angenehm sind, sondern daß wir Gott angenehm sind von wegen der Liebe und Werke, so folgen, nicht von wegen des Glaubens. Und solche meinen, der Glaube werde allein derhalben gelobt in der Schrift, daß er ein Anfang sei guter Werke, wie denn allezeit viel am Anfang gelegen ist. Dies aber ist nicht unsere Meinung, sondern wir lehren also vom Glauben, daß wir durch den Glauben selbst vor Gott angenehm sind. Und nachdem das Wort iustificari auf zweierlei Weise gebraucht wird, nämlich, für bekehrt werden oder neugeboren, item, für gerecht geschätzt werden, wollen wir das erst anzeigen, **daß wir allein durch den Glauben aus dem gottlosen Wesen bekehrt, neugeboren und gerecht werden.**

73] Offendit quosdam particula SOLA, quum et Paulus dicat Rom. 3, 28: *Arbitramur hominem iustificari fide, non ex operibus;* item Eph. 2, 8. 9: *Dei donum est, non ex vobis neque ex operibus, ne quis glorietur;* item Rom. 3, 24: *Gratis iustificati.* Si displicet exclusiva SOLA, tollant etiam ex Paulo illas exclusivas: *gratis, non ex operibus, donum est* etc. Nam hae quoque sunt exclusivae. *Excludimus autem opinionem meriti.* Non excludimus Verbum aut sacramenta, ut calumniantur adversarii. Diximus enim supra fidem ex Verbo concipi, ac multo ma-
74] xime ornamus ministerium Verbi. Dilectio etiam et opera sequi fidem debent. Quare non sic excluduntur, ne sequantur, sed *fiducia meriti dilectionis aut operum in iustificatione excluditur.* Idque perspicue ostendemus.

Etliche fechten groß an das Wort SOLA, so doch Paulus klar sagt zu den Römern am 3, 28: „So halten wir nun, daß der Mensch gerecht werde ohne des Gesetzes Werke"; item, zu den Ephesern am 2, 8. 9: „Gottes Gabe ist es, nicht aus euch noch aus den Werken, auf daß sich nicht jemand rühme"; item, zu den Römern am 3, 24 dergleichen. So nun dieses Wort und diese exclusiva SOLA etlichen so hart entgegen ist und so übel gefällt, die mögen an so vielen Orten in den Episteln Pauli auch diese Worte auskratzen: „aus Gnaden"; item: „nicht aus Werken"; item: „Gottes Gabe" usw.; item: „daß sich niemand rühme" und dergleichen; denn es sind ganz starke exclusivae. Das Wort „aus Gnaden" schließt Verdienst und alle Werke aus, wie die Namen haben. Und durch das Wort SOLA, so wir sagen: **„Allein** der Glaube macht fromm", schließen wir nicht aus das Evangelium und die Sakramente, daß darum das Wort und [die] Sakramente sollten vergeblich sein, so es der Glaube alles allein tut, wie die Widersacher uns alles gefährlich deuten; **sondern unser Verdienst daran schließen wir aus.**

Now we will show *that faith* [and nothing else] *justifies.* Here, in the first place, readers must be admonished of this, that just as it is necessary to maintain this sentence: Christ is Mediator, so is it necessary to defend that faith justifies, [without works]. For how will Christ be Mediator if in justification we do not use Him as Mediator; if we do not hold that for His sake we are accounted righteous? But to believe is to trust in the merits of Christ, that for His sake God certainly wishes to be reconciled with us. Likewise, just as we ought to maintain that, apart from the Law, the promise of Christ is necessary, so also is it needful to maintain that faith justifies. [For the Law does not preach the forgiveness of sin by grace.] For the Law cannot be performed unless the Holy Ghost be first received. It is, therefore, needful to maintain that the promise of Christ is necessary. But this cannot be received except by faith. Therefore, those who deny that faith justifies, teach nothing but the Law, both Christ and the Gospel being set aside.

But when it is said that faith justifies, some perhaps understand it of the beginning, namely, that faith is the beginning of justification or preparation for justification, so that not faith itself is that through which we are accepted by God, but the works which follow; and they dream, accordingly, that faith is highly praised, because it is the beginning. For great is the importance of the beginning, as they commonly say, *Ἀρχὴ ἥμισυ παντός,* The beginning is half of everything; just as if one would say that grammar makes the teachers of all arts, because it prepares for other arts, although in fact it is his own art that renders every one an artist. We do not believe thus concerning faith, but we maintain this, that properly and truly, by faith itself, we are for Christ's sake accounted righteous, or are acceptable to God. And because "to be justified" means that out of unjust men just men are made, or born again, it means also that they are pronounced or accounted just. For Scripture speaks in both ways. [The term "to be justified" is used in two ways: to denote, being converted or regenerated; again, being accounted righteous.] Accordingly we wish first to show this, that *faith alone makes of an unjust, a just man, i. e.,* receives remission of sins.

The particle *alone* offends some, although even Paul says, Rom. 3, 28: *We conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the Law.* Again, Eph. 2, 8: *It is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast.* Again, Rom. 3, 24: *Being justified freely.* If the exclusive *alone* displeases, let them remove from Paul also the exclusives *freely, not of works, it is the gift,* etc. For these also are [very strong] exclusives. *It is, however, the opinion of merit that we exclude.* We do not exclude the Word or Sacraments, as the adversaries falsely charge us. For we have said above that faith is conceived from the Word, and we honor the ministry

Denn wir haben oben genug gesagt, daß der Glaube durchs Wort kommt; so preisen wir das Predigtamt und Wort höher und mehr denn die Widersacher; so sagen wir auch, die Liebe und Werke sollen dem Glauben folgen. Darum schließen wir die Werke durchs Wort SOLA nicht also aus, daß sie nicht folgen sollten, **sondern das Vertrauen auf Verdienst, auf Werke, das schließen wir aus und sagen, sie verdienen nicht Vergebung der Sünden.** Und das wollen wir noch richtiger, heller und klarer zeigen.

Quod Remissionem Peccatorum Sola Fide in Christum Consequamur.

75] Fateri etiam adversarios existimamus, quod in iustificatione primum necessaria sit remissio peccatorum. Omnes enim sub peccato sumus. Quare sic argumentamur:

76] Consequi remissionem peccatorum est iustificari iuxta illud, Ps. 32, 1: *Beati,* [R. 74 **77**] *quorum remissae sunt iniquitates. Sola fide in Christum,* non per dilectionem, non propter dilectionem aut opera consequimur remissionem peccatorum, etsi dilectio sequi**78**] tur fidem. *Igitur sola fide iustificamur,* intelligendo iustificationem, ex iniusto iustum effici seu regenerari.

79] Minor ita facile poterit declarari, si sciamus, quomodo fiat remissio peccatorum. Adversarii frigidissime disputant, utrum sint una mutatio, remissio peccatorum et infusio gratiae. Otiosi homines, quid dicerent, non habebant. In remissione peccatorum oportet in cordibus vinci terrores peccati et mortis aeternae, sicut Paulus testatur 1 Cor. 15, 56 sq.: *Aculeus mortis peccatum est, potentia vero peccati lex. Gratia autem Deo, qui dat nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum.* Id est, peccatum perterrefacit conscientias; id fit per legem, quae ostendit iram Dei adversus peccatum, sed vincimus per Christum. Quomodo? Fide, quum erigimus nos fiducia promissae misericordiae propter **80**] Christum. Sic igitur probamus minorem: Ira Dei non potest placari, si opponamus nostra opera, quia Christus propositus est propitiator, ut propter ipsum fiat nobis placatus Pater. Christus autem non apprehenditur tamquam mediator nisi fide. Igitur *sola fide consequimur remissionem peccatorum,* quum erigimus corda fiducia misericordiae propter **81**] Christum promissae. Item Paulus Rom. 5, 2 ait: *Per ipsum habemus accessum ad Patrem,* et addit: *per fidem.* Sic igitur reconciliamur Patri et accipimus remissionem peccatorum, quando erigimur fiducia promissae misericordiae propter Christum. Adversarii Christum ita intelligunt mediatorem et propitiatorem esse, quia meruerit habitum dilectionis, non iubent nunc eo uti mediatore, sed prorsus sepulto Christo, fingunt nos [R. 75 habere accessum per propria opera, et per haec habitum illum mereri, et postea dilectione illa accedere ad Deum. Annon est hoc prorsus sepelire Christum et totam fidei doctrinam tollere? Paulus econtra docet nos habere accessum, hoc est, reconciliationem per Christum. Et ut ostenderet, quomodo id fiat, addit, quod *per fidem* habeamus accessum. *Fide igitur propter Christum accipimus re-*

Daß wir Vergebung der Sünden (allein) durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen.

Wir halten, die Widersacher müssen bekennen, daß vor allen Dingen zu der Rechtfertigung vonnöten sei Vergebung der Sünden. Denn wir sind alle unter der Sünde geboren. Darum so schließen wir nun also:

Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und haben, dasselbe heißt vor Gott gerecht und fromm werden, wie der 32. Psalm sagt: „Wohl dem, dem die Übertretung vergeben ist." **Allein aber durch den Glauben an Christum,** nicht durch die Liebe, nicht um der Liebe oder Werke willen, erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden, wiewohl die Liebe folgt, wo der Glaube ist. Derhalben muß folgen, **daß wir allein durch den Glauben gerecht werden.** Denn gerecht werden heißt ja, aus einem Sünder fromm werden und durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren werden.

Daß wir aber allein durch den Glauben, wie die minor meldet, nicht durch die Liebe Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, wollen wir jetzund klarmachen. Die Widersacher reden kindisch von diesen hohen Dingen; sie fragen, ob es einerlei Veränderung sei, Vergebung der Sünden und Eingießung der Gnade, oder ob es zwei seien. Die müßigen, unerfahrenen Leute können doch gar nicht von diesen Sachen reden. Denn Sünde recht fühlen und Gottes Zorn, ist nicht so ein schlecht, schläfrig Ding. Wiederum, Vergebung der Sünden ergreifen ist nicht so ein schwacher Trost. Denn also sagt Paulus 1 Kor. 15, 56 f.: „Der Stachel des Todes ist die Sünde, die Kraft aber der Sünde ist das Gesetz. Gott aber sei Lob, der uns gibt Überwindung durch JEsum Christum, unsern HErrn." Das ist, die Sünde erschreckt das Gewissen, das geschieht durchs Gesetz, welches uns Gottes Ernst und Zorn zeigt wider die Sünde; aber wir liegen ob durch Christum. Wie geschieht das? Wenn wir glauben, wenn unsere Herzen wieder aufgerichtet werden und sich halten an die Verheißung der Gnade durch Christum. So beweisen wir nun dieses also, daß wir durch den Glauben an Christum und nicht durch Werke Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Nämlich Gottes Zorn kann nicht versöhnt noch gestillt werden durch unsere Werke, sondern allein Christus ist der Mittler und Versöhner, und um seinetwillen allein wird uns der Vater gnädig. Nun kann Christum niemand als einen Mittler fassen durch Werke, sondern allein, daß wir dem Wort glauben, welches ihn als einen Mittler predigt. **Darum erlangen wir allein durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden,** wenn unser Herz getröstet und aufgerichtet wird durch die göttliche Zusage, welche uns um Christus' willen angeboten wird. Item, Paulus zu den Römern am 5, 2: „Durch ihn haben wir einen Zugang zum Vater"; und sagt klar dazu: „durch den Glauben". Also werden wir nun, und nicht anders, dem Vater versöhnt, also erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden, wenn wir aufgerichtet wer-

of the Word in the highest degree. Love also and works must follow faith. Wherefore, they are not excluded so as not to follow, but *confidence in the merit of love or of works is excluded in justification.* And this we will clearly show.

That We Obtain Remission of Sins by Faith Alone in Christ.

We think that even the adversaries acknowledge that, in justification, the remission of sins is necessary first. For we all are under sin. Wherefore we reason thus: —

To attain the remission of sins is to be justified, according to Ps. 32, 1: *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven. By faith alone in Christ,* not through love, not because of love or works, do we acquire the remission of sins, although love follows faith. *Therefore by faith alone we are justified,* understanding justification as the making of a righteous man out of an unrighteous, or that he be regenerated.

It will thus become easy to declare the minor premise [that we obtain forgiveness of sin by faith, not by love] if we know how the remission of sins occurs. The adversaries with great indifference dispute whether the remission of sins and the infusion of grace are the same change [whether they are one change or two]. Being idle men, they did not know what to answer [cannot speak at all on this subject]. In the remission of sins, the terrors of sin and of eternal death, in the heart, must be overcome, as Paul testifies, 1 Cor. 15, 56 sq.: *The sting of death is sin, and the strength of sin is the Law. But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* That is, sin terrifies consciences; this occurs through the Law, which shows the wrath of God against sin; but we gain the victory through Christ. How? By faith, when we comfort ourselves by confidence in the mercy promised for Christ's sake. Thus, therefore, we prove the minor proposition. The wrath of God cannot be appeased if we set against it our own works, because Christ has been set forth as a Propitiator, so that, for His sake, the Father may become reconciled to us. But Christ is not apprehended as a Mediator except by faith. Therefore, *by faith alone we obtain remission of sins,* when we comfort our hearts with confidence in the mercy promised for Christ's sake. Likewise Paul, Rom. 5, 2, says: *By whom also we have access,* and adds, *by faith.* Thus, therefore, we are reconciled to the Father, and receive remission of sins, when we are comforted with confidence in the mercy promised for Christ's sake. The adversaries regard Christ as Mediator and Propitiator for this reason, namely, that He has merited the habit of love; they do not urge us to use Him now as Mediator, but, as though Christ were altogether buried, they imagine that we have access through our own works, and, through these, merit this habit, and afterwards, by this love, come to God. Is not this to bury Christ altogether, and to

missionem peccatorum. Non possumus irae Dei opponere nostram dilectionem et opera nostra.

den, festzuhalten an der Zusage, da uns Gnade und Barmherzigkeit verheißen ist durch Christum. Die Widersacher, die verstehen dieses vom Mittler und Versöhner Christo also, daß Christus uns verdiene die Liebe oder den habitum dilectionis, und sagen nicht, daß wir ihn als einen einigen Mittler brauchen müssen, sondern stecken Christum wieder ins Grab, erdichten ein anderes, als hätten wir einen Zutritt durch unsere Werke, item, als verdienten wir durch Werke den habitum und könnten danach durch die Liebe zu Gott kommen. Das heißt je Christum wieder ins Grab stecken und die ganze Lehre vom Glauben wegnehmen. Dagegen aber lehrt Paulus klar, daß wir einen Zutritt haben, das ist, Versöhnung Gottes, durch Christum. Und daß er anzeige, wie dasselbe geschehe, so setzt er dazu: „Durch den Glauben haben wir den Zutritt, durch den Glauben empfangen wir Vergebung der Sünden aus dem Verdienst Christi", und können Gottes Zorn nicht stillen denn durch Christum. So ist leicht zu verstehen, daß wir nicht Vergebung verdienen durch unsere Werke oder Liebe.

82] Secundo. Certum est peccata remitti propter propitiatorem Christum. Rom. 3, 25: *Quem posuit Deus propitiatorem.* Addit autem Paulus: *per fidem.* Itaque ita nobis prodest hic propitiator, quum fide apprehendimus promissam in eo misericordiam et opponimus eam irae ac iudicio Dei. Et in eandem sententiam scriptum est ad Ebraeos 4, 14. 16: *Habentes pontificem* etc. *Accedamus cum fiducia.* Iubet enim accedere ad Deum, non fiducia nostrorum meritorum, sed fiducia pontificis Christi; requirit igitur fidem.

Zum andern ist's gewiß, daß die Sünden vergeben werden um des Versöhners Christi willen, Röm. 3, 25: „Welchen Gott dargestellet hat zu einem Gnadenstuhl" oder zu einem Versöhner, und setzt klar dazu: „durch den Glauben". So wird uns der Versöhner nun also nütz, wenn wir durch den Glauben fassen das Wort, dadurch verheißen wird Barmherzigkeit, und dieselbe halten gegen Gottes Zorn und Urteil. Und dergleichen steht geschrieben Hebr. am 4, 14. 16: „Wir haben einen Hohenpriester, Christum usw. Laßt uns zu ihm treten mit Freudigkeit." Er heißt uns zu Gott treten, nicht im Vertrauen unserer Werke, sondern im Vertrauen auf den Hohenpriester Christum; derhalben fordert er je klar den Glauben.

83] Tertio. Petrus in Actis, cap. 10, 43: *Huic omnes prophetae testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius omnes, qui credunt in eum.* Quomodo potuit clarius dicere? Remissionem peccatorum accipimus, inquit, per nomen eius, hoc est, propter eum: ergo non propter nostra merita, non propter nostram contritionem, attritionem, dilectionem, cultus, opera. Et addit: *quum credimus in eum.* Requirit igitur fidem. Neque enim possumus apprehendere nomen Christi nisi fide. Praeterea allegat consensum omnium prophetarum. Hoc vere est allegare ecclesiae auctoritatem. Sed de hoc loco infra, de poenitentia, rursus dicendum erit.

Für das dritte, Petrus in Geschichten der Apostel am 10, 43 sagt: „Dem JEsu geben Zeugnis alle Propheten, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden durch seinen Namen erlangen sollen, alle, die in ihn glauben." Wie hätte doch Petrus klarer können reden? Er sagt: „Vergebung der Sünden empfangen wir durch seinen Namen", das ist, durch ihn erlangen wir sie, nicht durch unser Verdienst, nicht durch unsere Reue oder Attrition, nicht durch unsere Liebe, nicht durch eigenen Gottesdienst, nicht durch eigene Menschensatzung oder Werke, und setzt dazu: „wo wir in ihn glauben". Derhalben will er, daß ein Glaube im Herzen sei, darum sagt er: es zeugen mit einem Munde von dem Christo alle Propheten. Das, meine ich, heißt recht die christliche Kirche oder katholische Kirche allegiert. Denn wenn alle heiligen Propheten zeugen, das ist je ein herrlich, groß, trefflich, stark Dekret und Zeugnis. Aber von dem Spruch wollen wir drunten weiter reden.

84] Quarto. Remissio peccatorum est res promissa propter Christum. Igitur non potest accipi nisi sola fide. Nam promissio accipi non potest nisi sola fide. Rom. 4, 16: *Ideo ex fide, ut sit firma promissio, secundum gratiam;* quasi dicat: si penderet res ex meritis nostris, incerta et inutilis esset [R. 76 promissio, quia nunquam constituere possemus, quando satis meriti essemus. Idque facile intelligere queunt peritae conscientiae. Ideo Paulus ait Gal. 3, 22: *Conclusit Deus omnia sub peccatum, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi detur credentibus.* Hic detrahit meritum nobis, quia dicit omnes reos esse et conclusos sub peccatum; deinde addit promissionem, videlicet remissionis peccatorum et iustificationis, dari, et addit, quomodo accipi promissio possit, videlicet fide. Atque haec ratio sumpta ex natura promissionis apud Paulum praecipua est et saepe repetitur. Neque

Zum vierten, Vergebung der Sünden ist verheißen um Christus' willen. Darum kann sie niemand erlangen denn allein durch den Glauben. Denn die Verheißung kann man nicht fassen noch derselben teilhaftig werden denn allein durch den Glauben. Röm. 4, 16: „Derhalben muß die Gerechtigkeit durch den Glauben kommen, auf daß sie sei aus Gnaden und die Verheißung fest bleibe." Gleich als sollte er sagen: so unser Heil und Gerechtigkeit auf unserm Verdienst stünde, so wäre die Verheißung Gottes immer noch ungewiß und wäre uns unnütz; denn wir können nimmer des gewiß sein, wann wir genug verdient hätten. Und dieses verstehen fromme Herzen und christliche Gewissen fast [sehr] wohl, nähmen nicht tausend Welten, daß unser Heil auf uns stünde. Damit stimmt Paulus zu den Galatern: „Gott hat alles unter die Sünde beschlossen, daß die Verheißung aus dem Glauben JEsu Christi den Gläubigen widerfahre." Da stößt Paulus all

take away the entire doctrine of faith? Paul, on the contrary, teaches that we have access, *i. e.*, reconciliation, through Christ. And to show how this occurs, he adds that we have access *by faith. By faith, therefore, for Christ's sake, we receive remission of sins.* We cannot set our own love and our own works over against God's wrath.

Secondly. It is certain that sins are forgiven for the sake of Christ, as Propitiator, Rom. 3, 25: *Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation.* Moreover, Paul adds: *through faith.* Therefore this Propitiator thus benefits us, when by faith we apprehend the mercy promised in Him, and set it against the wrath and judgment of God. And to the same effect it is written, Heb. 4, 14. 16: *Seeing, then, that we have a great High Priest*, etc., *let us therefore come with confidence.* For the Apostle bids us come to God, not with confidence in our own merits, but with confidence in Christ, as a High Priest; therefore he requires faith.

Thirdly. Peter, in Acts 10, 43, says: *To Him give all the prophets witness that through His name, whosoever believeth on Him, shall receive remission of sins.* How could this be said more clearly? We receive remission of sins, he says, through His name, *i. e.*, for His sake; therefore, not for the sake of our merits, not for the sake of our contrition, attrition, love, worship, works. And he adds: *When we believe in Him.* Therefore he requires faith. For we cannot apprehend the name of Christ except by faith. Besides, he cites the agreement of all the prophets. This is truly to cite the authority of the Church. [For when all the holy prophets bear witness, that is certainly a glorious, great, excellent, powerful decretal and testimony.] But of this topic we will speak again after a while, when treating of "Repentance."

Fourthly. Remission of sins is something promised for Christ's sake. Therefore it cannot be received except by faith alone. For a promise cannot be received except by faith alone. Rom. 4, 16: *Therefore it is of faith that it might be by grace, to the end that the promise might be sure;* as though he were to say: "If the matter were to depend upon our merits, the promise would be uncertain and useless, because we never could determine when we would have sufficient merit." And this, experienced consciences can easily understand [and would not, for a thousand worlds, have our salvation depend upon ourselves]. Accordingly, Paul says, Gal. 3, 22: *But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.* He takes merit away from us, because he says that all are guilty and concluded under sin; then he adds that the promise, namely, of the remission of sins and of justification, is given, and adds how the promise can be received, namely, by faith. And this reasoning, derived from the nature of a promise, is the chief reasoning [a veritable rock] in Paul, and is often repeated. Nor can anything be devised or imagined whereby this argument of Paul can

excogitari neque fingi quidquam potest, quo hoc Pauli argumentum everti queat. Proinde **85**] non patiantur se bonae mentes depelli ab hac sententia, quod tantum fide accipiamus remissionem propter Christum. In hac habent certam et firmam consolationem adversus peccati terrores et adversus aeternam mortem et adversus omnes portas inferorum.

unser Verdienst danieder; denn er sagt, wir sind alle schuldig des Todes und unter der Sünde beschlossen; und gedenkt der göttlichen Zusage, dadurch wir allein Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, und setzt noch weiter dazu, wie wir der Verheißung teilhaftig werden, nämlich durch den Glauben. Und dieser Grund, dieses Argument, da Paulus aus Art und Natur der göttlichen Verheißung schließt, nämlich also: So Gottes Verheißung gewiß sein und feststehen soll, wie sie nicht fehlen kann, so muß Vergebung der Sünden nicht aus unserm Verdienst sein, sonst wäre sie ungewiß, und [wir] wüßten nicht, wann wir genug verdient hätten: ja, dies Argument, sage ich, und der Grund ist ein rechter Fels und fast das Stärkste im ganzen Paulo und wird gar oft erholt [wiederholt] und angezogen in allen Episteln. Es wird auch nimmermehr auf Erden ein Mensch etwas trachten und dichten oder erdenken, dadurch der einige Grund allein, wenn sonst nichts wäre, möge umgestoßen werden. Es werden auch fromme Herzen und christliche Gewissen sich in keinem Weg lassen hievon abführen, nämlich, daß wir allein durch den Glauben, um Christus' Verdienstes willen Vergebung der Sünden haben. Denn da haben sie einen gewissen, starken, ewigen Trost wider die Sünde, Teufel, Tod, Hölle. Das andere alles ist ein Sandgrund und besteht nicht in Anfechtungen.

86] Quum autem sola fide accipiamus remissionem peccatorum et Spiritum Sanctum, *sola fides iustificat*, quia reconciliati reputantur iusti et filii Dei, non propter suam munditiem, sed per misericordiam propter Christum, si tamen hanc misericordiam fide apprehendant. Ideoque Scriptura testatur, quod *fide iusti reputemur*, Rom. 3, 26. Adiiciemus igitur testimonia, quae clare pronuntiant, quod fides sit ipsa iustitia, qua coram Deo iusti reputamur, videlicet, non quia sit opus per sese dignum, sed quia accipit promissionem, qua Deus pollicitus est, quod propter Christum velit propitius esse credentibus in eum, seu quia sentit, quod *Christus sit nobis factus a Deo sapientia, iustitia, sanctificatio et redemptio*, 1 Cor. 1, 30.

So wir nun allein durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und den Heiligen Geist, **so macht allein der Glaube vor Gott fromm.** Denn diejenigen, so mit Gott versöhnt sind, die sind vor Gott fromm und Gottes Kinder, nicht um ihrer Reinigkeit willen, sondern um Gottes Barmherzigkeit willen, so sie dieselbe fassen und ergreifen durch den Glauben. Darum zeugt die Schrift, **daß wir durch den Glauben vor Gott fromm werden.** So wollen wir nun Sprüche erzählen, welche klar melden, daß der Glaube fromm und gerecht mache, nicht derhalben, daß unser Glauben ein solch köstlich, rein Werk sei, sondern allein derhalben, daß wir durch [den] Glauben und sonst mit keinem Dinge die angebotene Barmherzigkeit empfangen.

87] Paulus in Epistola ad Romanos praecipue de hoc loco disputat et proponit, [R. 77 quod gratis iustificemur fide, credentes nobis Deum placatum propter Christum. Et hanc propositionem capite tertio, quae statum universae disputationis continet, tradit: *Arbitramur hominem fide iustificari, non ex operibus legis*, 3, 28. Hic adversarii interpretantur ceremonias Leviticas. At Paulus non tantum de ceremoniis loquitur, sed de tota lege. Allegat enim infra, 7, 7, ex Decalogo: *Non concupisces*. Et si opera moralia merentur remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, etiam nihil opus esset Christo et promissione, et ruerent omnia illa, quae Paulus de promissione loquitur. Male etiam scriberet ad Ephesios, 2, 8, *gratis nos salvātos esse, et donum Dei esse, non ex operibus*. Item Paulus allegat Rom. 4, 1. 6 Abraham, allegat Davidem. At hi de circumcisione habuerunt mandatum Dei. Itaque si ulla opera iustificabant, necesse erat illa opera tunc, quum mandatum haberent, etiam iustificasse. Sed recte docet Augustinus Paulum de tota lege loqui, sicut prolixe disputat *De Spiritu et Litera*, ubi postremo ait: *His igitur consideratis pertractatisque pro viribus, quas Dominus donare dignatur, colligimus non iustificari hominem praeceptis bonae vitae, nisi per fidem Iesu Christi [hoc est, non lege operum, sed fidei, non littera, sed spiritu, non factorum meritis, sed gratuita gratia]*.

Paulus in der Epistel zu den Römern handelt vornehmlich dieses Stück, wie ein Mensch vor Gott fromm werde, und beschließt, daß alle, die da glauben, daß sie durch Christum einen gnädigen Gott haben, ohne Verdienst durch den Glauben vor Gott fromm werden. Und diesen gewaltigen Beschluß, diese Proposition, in welcher gefaßt ist die Hauptsache der ganzen Episteln, ja der ganzen Schrift, setzt er im dritten Kapitel mit dürren, klaren Worten also: „So halten wir es nun, daß der Mensch gerecht werde ohne des Gesetzes Werke, allein durch den Glauben", Röm. 3, 28. Da wollen die Widersacher sagen, Paulus habe ausgeschlossen allein die jüdischen Zeremonien, nicht andere tugendliche Werke. Aber Paulus redet nicht allein von Zeremonien, sondern eigentlich gewiß redet er auch von allen andern Werken und von dem ganzen Gesetze oder zehn Geboten. Denn im 7. Kapitel hernach zieht er an den Spruch aus den zehn Geboten: „Laß dich nicht gelüsten!" Und so wir durch andere Werke, welche nicht jüdische Zeremonien wären, könnten Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und dadurch Gerechtigkeit verdienen, was wäre denn Christus und seine Verheißung vonnöten? Da läge schon danieder alles, was Paulus von der Verheißung an so viel Orten redet. So schriebe auch Paulus unrecht zu den Ephesern, da er sagt Eph. 2, 8: „Ohne Verdienst, umsonst seid ihr selig worden; denn Gottes Gabe ist's, nicht aus Werken." Item, Paulus zieht an in der Epistel zu den Römern Abraham und David. Dieselben hatten einen Befehl und Gottes Gebot von der Beschneidung. So nun irgend-

be overthrown. Wherefore let not good minds suffer themselves to be forced from the conviction that we receive remission of sins for Christ's sake, only through faith. In this they have sure and firm consolation against the terrors of sin, and against eternal death, and against all the gates of hell. [Everything else is a foundation of sand that sinks in trials.]

But since we receive remission of sins and the Holy Ghost by faith alone, *faith alone justifies,* because those reconciled are accounted righteous and children of God, not on account of their own purity, but through mercy for Christ's sake, provided only they by faith apprehend this mercy. Accordingly, Scripture testifies that *by faith we are accounted righteous,* Rom. 3, 26. We, therefore, will add testimonies which clearly declare that faith is that very righteousness by which we are accounted righteous before God, namely, not because it is a work that is in itself worthy, but because it receives the promise by which God has promised that for Christ's sake He wishes to be propitious to those believing in Him, or because He knows that *Christ of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,* 1 Cor. 1, 30.

In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul discusses this topic especially, and declares that, when we believe that God, for Christ's sake, is reconciled to us, we are justified freely by faith. And this proposition, which contains the statement of the entire discussion [the principal matter of all Epistles, yea, of the entire Scriptures], he maintains in the third chapter: *We conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the Law,* Rom. 3, 28. Here the adversaries interpret that this refers to Levitical ceremonies [not to other virtuous works]. But Paul speaks not only of the ceremonies, but of the whole Law. For he quotes afterward (7, 7) from the Decalog: *Thou shalt not covet.* And if moral works [that are not Jewish ceremonies] would merit the remission of sins and justification, there would also be no need of Christ and the promise, and all that Paul speaks of the promise would be overthrown. He would also have been wrong in writing to the Ephesians, 2, 8: *By grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God, not of works.* Paul likewise refers to Abraham and David, Rom. 4, 1. 6. But they had the command of God concerning circumcision. Therefore, if any works justified, these works must also have justified at the time that they had a command. But Augustine teaches correctly that Paul speaks of the entire Law, as he discusses at length in his book, *Of the Spirit and Letter,* where he says finally: *These matters, therefore, having been considered and treated, according to the ability that the Lord has thought worthy to give us, we infer that man is not justified by the precepts of a good life, but by faith in Jesus Christ.*

ein Werk vor Gott fromm machte, ſo müßten je die Werke, die dazumal Gottes Befehl hatten, auch gerecht und fromm gemacht haben. Aber Auguſtinus, der lehrt klar, daß Paulus von dem ganzen Geſetz rede, wie er denn nach der Länge ſolches diſputiert De Spiritu et Litera, „Von dem Geiſt und Buchſtaben", da er zuletzt ſagt: „So wir nun dieſes Stück nach [dem] Vermögen, das Gott verliehen hat, bewogen [erwogen] und gehandelt haben, ſo ſchließen wir, daß kein Menſch fromm wird durch Gebote eines guten Lebens, ſondern durch den Glauben JEſu Chriſti."

88] Et ne putemus temere excidisse Paulo sententiam, quod fides iustificet, longa disputatione munit et confirmat eam in quarto capite ad Romanos, et deinde in omnibus epi-
89] stolis repetit. Sic ait capite quarto ad Romanos 4, 5: *Operanti merces non imputatur secundum gratiam, sed secundum debitum; ei autem, qui non operatur, credit autem in eum, qui iustificat impium, reputatur fides eius ad iustitiam.* Hic clare dicit fidem ipsam imputari ad iustitiam. Fides igitur est illa res, quam Deus pronuntiat esse iustitiam, et addit gratis imputari, et negat posse gratis imputari, si propter opera deberetur. Quare excludit etiam meritum operum moralium. Nam si his deberetur iustificatio coram Deo, non imputaretur fides ad iustitiam
90] sine operibus. Et postea, Rom. 4, 9: *Dicimus enim, quod Abrahae imputata est* [R. 78
91] *fides ad iustitiam.* Capite 5, 1 ait: *Iustificati ex fide, pacem habemus erga Deum,* id est, habemus conscientias tranquillas et laetas
92] coram Deo. Rom. 10, 10: *Corde creditur ad iustitiam.* Hic pronuntiat fidem esse
93] iustitiam cordis. Ad Gal. 2, 16: *Nos in Christo Iesu credimus, ut iustificemur ex fide Christi et non ex operibus legis.* Ad Eph. 2, 8: *Gratia enim salvati estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis, Dei enim donum est; non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur.*

Und daß niemand denken darf, als ſei Paulo dieſes Wort („der Menſch wird gerecht allein durch den Glauben") entfahren, ſo führt er das nach der Länge aus im 4. Kapitel zu den Römern und erholt ſolches in allen ſeinen Epiſteln. Denn alſo ſagt er am 4. Kapitel: „Dem, der mit Werken umgehet, wird der Lohn nicht aus Gnaden zugerechnet, ſondern aus Pflicht; dem aber, der nicht mit Werken umgehet, glaubet aber an den, der die Gottloſen gerecht macht, dem wird ſein Glaube gerechnet zur Gerechtigkeit." So iſt's nun aus den Worten klar, daß der Glaube das Ding und das Weſen iſt, welches er Gottes Gerechtigkeit nennt, und ſetzt dazu, ſie werde aus Gnaden zugerechnet, und ſagt, ſie könnte uns aus Gnaden nicht zugerechnet werden, ſo Werke oder Verdienſt da wären. Darum ſchließt er gewißlich aus alles Verdienſt und alle Werke nicht allein jüdiſcher Zeremonien, ſondern auch alle andern guten Werke. Denn ſo wir durch dieſelben Werke fromm würden vor Gott, ſo würde uns der Glaube nicht gerechnet zur Gerechtigkeit ohne alle Werke, wie doch Paulus klar ſagt. Und hernach ſpricht er: „Und wir ſagen, daß Abraham ſein Glaube iſt gerechnet zur Gerechtigkeit." Item, Kap. 5, 1: „Nun wir denn ſind gerecht worden durch den Glauben, ſo haben wir Frieden mit Gott durch unſern HErrn JEſum Chriſt", das iſt, wir haben fröhliche, ſtille Gewiſſen vor Gott. Röm. 10, 10: „So man von Herzen glaubt, ſo wird man gerecht." Da nennt er den Glauben die Gerechtigkeit des Herzens. Zu den Galatern am 2, 16: „So glauben wir auch an Chriſtum JEſum, auf daß wir gerecht werden durch den Glauben an Chriſtum und nicht durch's Geſetzes Werke." Eph. 2, 8: „Denn aus Gnaden ſeid ihr ſelig worden durch den Glauben, und dasſelbige nicht aus euch, Gottes Gabe iſt es; nicht aus den Werken, auf daß ſich niemand rühme."

94] Iohannis, capite primo, v. 12: *Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his, qui credunt in nomine eius, qui non ex sanguinibus neque ex voluntate carnis neque ex voluntate viri,*
95] *sed ex Deo nati sunt.* Iohannis 3, 14. 15: *Sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto, ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis, ut omnis,*
96] *qui credit in ipsum, non pereat.* Item v. 17: *Non misit Deus Filium suum in mundum, ut iudicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum. Qui credit in eum, non iudicatur.*

Joh. 1, 12: „Denen gab er Macht, Kinder Gottes zu werden, die da an ſeinen Namen glauben, welche nicht von dem Geblüt noch von dem Willen des Fleiſches noch von dem Willen des Mannes, ſondern von Gott geboren ſind." Johannes am 3, 14. 15: „Wie Moſes in der Wüſte eine Schlange erhöhet hat, alſo muß des Menſchen Sohn auch erhöhet werden, auf daß alle, die an ihn glauben, nicht verloren werden." Item V. 17: „Gott hat ſeinen Sohn nicht geſandt in die Welt, daß er die Welt richte, ſondern daß die Welt durch ihn ſelig werde. Wer an ihn glaubt, der wird nicht gerichtet."

97] Act. 13, 38. 39: *Notum igitur sit vobis, viri fratres, quod per hunc vobis remissio peccatorum annuntiatur et ab omnibus, quibus non potuistis in lege iustificari. In hoc omnis, qui credit, iustificatur.* Quomodo potuit clarius de officio Christi et de iustificatione dici? Lex, inquit, non iustificabat. Ideo Christus datus est, ut credamus nos propter ipsum iustificari. Aperte detrahit legi iustificationem. Ergo propter Christum iusti reputamur, quum credimus, nobis Deum placatum esse
98] propter ipsum. Act. 4, 11. 12: *Hic est lapis, qui reprobatus est a vobis aedificantibus, qui factus est in caput anguli, et non est in aliquo alio salus. Neque enim aliud* [R. 79

Act. 13, 38. 39: „So ſei es nun euch kund, liebe Brüder, daß euch verkündigt wird Vergebung der Sünden und von dem allem, durch welches ihr nicht konntet im Geſetz Moſis gerecht werden. Wer aber an dieſen glaubet, der iſt gerecht." Wie hätte er doch klarer reden können von dem Reich Chriſti und von der Rechtfertigung? Er ſagt, das Geſetz habe nicht können jemand gerecht machen, und ſagt, darum ſei Chriſtus gegeben, daß wir glauben, daß wir durch ihn gerecht werden. Mit klaren Worten ſagt er: Das Geſetz kann niemand gerecht machen. Darum wird uns durch Chriſtum Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet, wenn wir glauben, daß uns Gott durch ihn gnädig iſt. Act. 4, 11. 12: „Das iſt der Stein, von euch Bauleuten verwor-

And lest we may think that the sentence that faith justifies, fell from Paul inconsiderately, he fortifies and confirms this by a long discussion in the fourth chapter to the Romans, and afterwards repeats it in all his epistles. Thus he says, Rom. 4, 4. 5: *To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.* Here he clearly says that faith itself is imputed for righteousness. Faith, therefore, is that thing which God declares to be righteousness, and he adds that it is imputed freely, and says that it could not be imputed freely, if it were due on account of works. Wherefore he excludes also the merit of moral works [not only Jewish ceremonies, but all other good works]. For if justification before God were due to these, faith would not be imputed for righteousness without works. And afterwards, Rom. 4, 9: *For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.* Chapter 5, 1 says: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God, i. e.,* we have consciences that are tranquil and joyful before God. Rom. 10, 10: *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.* Here he declares that faith is the righteousness of the heart. Gal. 2, 16: *We have believed in Christ Jesus that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the Law.* Eph. 2, 8: *For by grace are ye saved through faith, and that not of yourselves; it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast.*

John 1, 12: *To them gave He power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on His name; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.* John 3, 14. 15: *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish.* Likewise, v. 17: *For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned.*

Acts 13, 38. 39: *Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this Man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins; and by Him all that believe are justified from all things from which ye could not be justified by the Law of Moses.* How could the office of Christ and justification be declared more clearly? The Law, he says, did not justify. Therefore Christ was given, that we may believe that for His sake we are justified. He plainly denies justification to the Law. Hence, for Christ's sake we are accounted righteous when we believe that God, for His sake, has been reconciled to us. Acts 4, 11. 12: *This is the stone which was set at naught of you builders, which is become the head of the corner. Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved.* But the name of Christ is apprehended only by faith. [I cannot be-

nomen est sub coelo datum hominibus, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri. Nomen autem Christi tantum fide apprehenditur. Igitur fiducia nominis Christi, non fiducia nostrorum operum salvamur. Nomen enim hic significat causam, quae allegatur, propter quam contingit salus. Et allegare nomen Christi est confidere nomine Christi, tamquam causa seu pretio, propter quod salvamur.

99] Act. 15, 9: *Fide purificans corda eorum.* Quare fides illa, de qua loquuntur apostoli, non est otiosa notitia, sed res, accipiens Spiritum Sanctum et iustificans nos.

fen, der zum Eckstein worden ist; und ist in keinem andern Heil, und ist auch kein anderer Name den Menschen gegeben, darinnen wir sollen selig werden." An den Namen aber Christi kann ich nicht anders glauben, denn daß ich höre predigen das Verdienst Christi und solches fasse. Derhalben durch Glauben an den Namen Christi und nicht durch Vertrauen auf unsere Werke werden wir selig. Denn das Wort „Name" an dem Ort bedeutet Ursache, dadurch und darum das Heil kommt. Darum den Namen Christi rühmen oder bekennen ist als viel, als vertrauen auf den, der Christus allein ist und heißt, daß der causa meines Heils und Schatzes sei, dadurch ich erlöst bin. Act. 15, 9: „Durch den Glauben reinigte er ihre Herzen." Darum ist der Glaube, da die Apostel von reden, nicht eine schlechte Erkenntnis der Historie, sondern ein stark, kräftig Werk des Heiligen Geistes, das die Herzen verändert.

100] Abacuc 2, 4: *Iustus ex fide vivet.* Hic primum dicit homines fide esse iustos, qua credunt Deum propitium esse, et addit, quod eadem fides vivificet, quia haec fides parit in corde pacem et gaudium et vitam aeternam.

Hab. 2, 4: „Der Gerechte lebt seines Glaubens." Da sagt er erstlich, daß der Gerechte durch den Glauben gerecht wird, so er glaubt, daß Gott durch Christum gnädig sei. Zum andern sagt er, daß der Glaube lebendig macht. Denn der Glaube bringt allein den Herzen und Gewissen Frieden und Freude und das ewige Leben, welches hier in diesem Leben anfängt.

101] Esaiae 53, 11: *Notitia eius iustificabit multos.* Quid est autem notitia Christi, nisi nosse beneficia Christi, promissiones, quas per evangelium sparsit in mundum? Et haec beneficia nosse, proprie et vere est credere in Christum, credere, quod, quae promisit Deus propter Christum, certo praestet.

Jes. 53, 11: Seine Erkenntnis wird viele gerecht machen." Was ist aber die Erkenntnis Christi, denn seine Wohltaten kennen und seine Verheißungen, die er in die Welt hat gepredigt und predigen lassen? Und die Wohltaten kennen, das heißt an Christum wahrlich glauben, nämlich glauben das, was Gott durch Christum verheißen hat, daß er das gewiß geben wolle.

102] Sed plena est Scriptura talibus testimoniis, quia alibi legem, alibi promissiones de Christo et de remissione peccatorum et de gratuita acceptatione propter Christum tradit.

Aber die Schrift ist voll solcher Sprüche und Zeugnisse. Denn diese zwei Stücke handelt die Schrift: Gesetz Gottes und Verheißung Gottes. Nun reden die Verheißungen von Vergebung der Sünden und Gottes Versöhnung durch Christum.

103] Exstant et apud sanctos patres sparsim similia testimonia. Ambrosius enim inquit in *Epistola ad Irenaeum* quendam: *Subditus autem mundus eo* [Deo] *per legem factus est, quia ex praescripto legis omnes conveniuntur et ex operibus legis nemo iustificatur, id est, quia per legem peccatum cognoscitur, sed culpa non relaxatur. Videbatur lex nocuisse, quae omnes fecerat peccatores, sed veniens Dominus Iesus peccatum omnibus, quod nemo poterat evitare, donavit et chirographum nostrum sui sanguinis effusione delevit. Hoc est, quod ait* Rom. 5, 20: *Abundavit peccatum per legem; superabundavit autem gratia per Iesum. Quia postquam totus mundus subditus factus est, totius mundi peccatum abstulit, sicut testificatus est* [R. 80 *Iohannes,* Ioh. 1, 29, *dicens: Ecce agnus Dei, ecce, qui tollit peccatum mundi. Et ideo nemo glorietur in operibus, quia nemo factis suis iustificatur. Sed qui iustus est, donatum habet, quia post lavacrum iustificatus est. Fides ergo est, quae liberat per sanguinem Christi, quia beatus ille, cui peccatum remit-*

Und bei den Vätern findet man auch viel der Sprüche. Denn auch Ambrosius zu Irenäo schreibt: „Die ganze Welt aber wird darum Gott untertan, unterworfen durchs Gesetz; denn durch das Gebot des Gesetzes werden wir alle angeklagt, aber durch die Werke des Gesetzes wird niemand gerecht. Denn durch das Gesetz wird die Sünde erkannt, aber die Schuld wird aufgelöst durch den Glauben; und es scheint wohl, als hätte das Gesetz Schaden getan, denn es alle zu Sündern gemacht hat; aber der HErr Christus ist gekommen und hat uns die Sünde, welche niemand konnte meiden, geschenkt und hat die Handschrift durch Vergießen seines Bluts ausgelöscht. Und das ist, das Paulus sagt zu den Römern am 5, 20: ‚Die Sünde ist mächtig worden durchs Gesetz, aber die Gnade ist noch mächtiger worden durch JEsum.' Denn dieweil die ganze Welt ist schuldig worden, so hat er der ganzen Welt Sünde weggenommen, wie Johannes zeugt: ‚Siehe, das ist das Lamm Gottes, welches der Welt Sünde wegnimmt.' Und darum soll niemand seiner Werke sich rühmen; denn durch sein eigen Tun wird niemand gerecht; wer aber gerecht ist, dem ist's geschenkt in der Taufe in Christo, da er ist gerecht worden. Denn der Glaube ist's, der uns losmacht durch das Blut Christi, und wohl dem, welchem die Sünde vergeben wird und Gnade widerfähret." Diese sind Ambrosii klare Worte, die doch ganz öffentlich mit unserer Lehre auch stimmen. Er sagt, daß die Werke nicht gerecht machen, und

104] *titur et venia donatur,* Ps. 32, 1. *Haec* sunt Ambrosii verba, quae aperte patrocinantur nostrae sententiae; detrahit operibus iustificationem et tribuit fidei, quod liberet **105**] per sanguinem Christi. Conferantur in unum acervum sententiarii omnes, qui magnificis titulis ornantur. Nam alii vocantur an-

lieve in the name of Christ in any other way than when I hear His merit preached, and lay hold of that.] Therefore, by confidence in the name of Christ, and not by confidence in our works, we are saved. For "the name" here signifies the cause which is mentioned, because of which salvation is attained. And to call upon the name of Christ is to trust in the name of Christ, as the cause or price because of which we are saved. Acts 15, 9: *Purifying their hearts by faith.* Wherefore that faith of which the Apostles speak is not idle knowledge, but a reality, receiving the Holy Ghost and justifying us [not a mere knowledge of history, but a strong powerful work of the Holy Ghost, which changes hearts].

Hab. 2, 4: *The just shall live by his faith.* Here he says, first, that men are just by faith, by which they believe that God is propitious, and he adds that the same faith quickens, because this faith produces in the heart peace and joy and eternal life [which begins in the present life].

Is. 53, 11: *By His knowledge shall He justify many.* But what is the knowledge of Christ unless to know the benefits of Christ, the promises which by the Gospel He has scattered broadcast in the world? And to know these benefits is properly and truly to believe in Christ, to believe that that which God has promised for Christ's sake He will certainly fulfil.

But Scripture is full of such testimonies, since, in some places, it presents the Law, and in others the promises concerning Christ, and the remission of sins, and the free acceptance of the sinner for Christ's sake.

Here and there among the Fathers similar testimonies are extant. For Ambrose says in his letter to a certain Irenaeus: *Moreover, the world was subject to Him by the Law for the reason that, according to the command of the Law, all are indicted, and yet, by the works of the Law, no one is justified, i. e., because, by the Law, sin is perceived, but guilt is not discharged. The Law, which made all sinners, seemed to have done injury, but when the Lord Jesus Christ came, He forgave to all sin which no one could avoid, and, by the shedding of His own blood, blotted out the handwriting which was against us. This is what he says in Rom. 5, 20: "The Law entered that the offense might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound." Because after the whole world became subject, He took away the sin of the whole world, as he* [John] *testified, saying, John 1, 29: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." And on this account let no one boast of works, because no one is justified by his deeds. But he who is righteous has it given him because he was justified after the laver* [*of Baptism*]. *Faith, therefore, is that which frees through the blood of Christ, because he is blessed "whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered," Ps. 32, 1.* These are the words of Ambrose, which clearly favor our doctrine; he denies justification to works, and ascribes to

gelici, alii subtiles, alii irrefragabiles. Omnes isti lecti et relecti non tantum conferent ad intelligendum Paulum, quantum confert haec una Ambrosii sententia.

sagt, daß der Glaube uns erlöse durch das Blut Christi. Wenn man alle Sententiarios über einen Haufen zusammenschmelzte, die doch große Titel führen, denn etliche nennen sie engelisch, angelicos, etliche subtiles, etliche irrefragabiles, das ist, Doctores, die nicht irren können, und wenn man sie alle läse, so würden sie alle miteinander nicht so nütze sein, Paulum zu verstehen, als der einige Spruch Ambrosii. [Thomas Aquinas wurde Doctor angelicus genannt; Duns Scotus Doctor subtilis; Alexander Halesius Doctor irrefragabilis; Bonaventura Doctor seraphicus. Die Kommentatoren des Petrus Lombardus hießen Sententiarii.]

106] In eandem sententiam multa contra Pelagianos scribit Augustinus. *De Spiritu et Litera* sic ait: *Ideo quippe proponitur iustitia legis, quod qui fecerit eam, vivet in illa, ut quum quisque infirmitatem suam cognoverit, non per suas vires neque per literam ipsius legis, quod fieri non potest, sed per fidem concilians iustificatorem perveniat et faciat et vivat in ea. Opus rectum, quod qui fecerit, vivet in eo, non fit nisi in iustificato. Iustificatio autem ex fide impetratur.* Hic clare dicit iustificatorem fide conciliari et iustificationem fide impetrari. Et paulo post: *Ex lege timemus Deum, ex fide speramus in Deum. Sed timentibus poenam absconditur gratia, sub quo timore anima laborans etc. per fidem confugiat ad misericordiam Dei, ut det, quod iubet.* Hic docet lege terreri corda, fide autem consolationem capere, et docet prius fide apprehendere misericordiam, quam legem facere conemur. Recitabimus paulo post et alia quaedam.

Auf die Meinung hat auch Augustinus viel wider die Pelagianer geschrieben, und De Spiritu et Litera sagt er also: „Darum wird uns das Gesetz und seine Gerechtigkeit vorgehalten, daß, wer sie tut, dadurch lebe, und daß ein jeder, so er seine Schwachheit erkennt, zu Gott, welcher allein gerecht macht, komme, nicht durch seine eigenen Kräfte noch durch den Buchstaben des Gesetzes, welchen wir nicht erfüllen können, sondern durch den Glauben. Ein recht gut Werk kann niemand tun, denn der zuvor selbst gerecht, fromm und gut sei; Gerechtigkeit aber erlangen wir allein durch den Glauben." Da sagt er klar, daß Gott, welcher allein seligt und heiligt, durch den Glauben versöhnt wird, und daß der Glaube uns vor Gott fromm und gerecht macht. Und bald hernach: „Aus dem Gesetz fürchten wir Gott, durch den Glauben hoffen und vertrauen wir in Gott. Die aber die Strafe fürchten, denen wird die Gnade verborgen, unter welcher Furcht, wenn ein Mensch in Angst ist usw., soll er durch den Glauben fliehen zu der Barmherzigkeit Gottes, daß er dasjenige gebe, dazu Gnade verleihe, das er im Gesetz gebietet." Da lehrt er, daß durch das Gesetz die Herzen geschreckt werden und durch den Glauben wieder Trost empfangen.

107] Profecto mirum est, adversarios tot locis Scripturae nihil moveri, quae aperte tribuunt iustificationem fidei, et quidem [R. 81 **108**] detrahunt operibus. Num frustra existimant toties idem repeti? Num arbitrantur excidisse Spiritui Sancto non animadvertenti **109**] has voces? Sed excogitaverunt etiam cavillum, quo eludunt. Dicunt de fide formata accipi debere, hoc est, non tribuunt fidei iustificationem nisi propter dilectionem. Imo prorsus non tribuunt fidei iustificationem, sed tantum dilectioni, quia somniant fidem posse **110**] stare cum peccato mortali. Quorsum hoc pertinet, nisi ut promissionem iterum aboleant et redeant ad legem? Si fides accipit remissionem peccatorum propter dilectionem, semper erit incerta remissio peccatorum, quia nunquam diligimus tantum, quantum debemus; imo non diligimus, nisi certo statuant corda, quod donata sit nobis remissio peccatorum. Ita adversarii, dum requirunt fiduciam propriae dilectionis in remissione peccatorum et iustificatione, evangelium de gratuita remissione peccatorum prorsus abolent; quum tamen dilectionem illam neque praestent neque intelligant, nisi credant gratis accipi remissionem peccatorum.

Es ist wahrlich Wunder, daß die Widersacher können so blind sein und so viel klare Sprüche nicht ansehen, die da klar melden, daß wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden und nicht aus den Werken. Wo denken doch die armen Leute hin? Meinen sie, daß die Schrift ohne Ursache einerlei so oft mit klaren Worten erholt [wiederholt]? Meinen sie, daß der Heilige Geist sein Wort nicht gewiß und bedächtlich setze oder nicht wisse, was er rede? Darüber haben die gottlosen Leute eine sophistische Glosse erdichtet und sagen, die Sprüche der Schrift, so sie vom Glauben reden, sind von fide formata zu verstehen. Das ist, sie sagen: Der Glaube macht niemand fromm oder gerecht denn um der Liebe oder Werke willen. Und in Summa, nach ihrer Meinung, so macht der Glaube niemand gerecht, sondern die Liebe allein. Denn sie sagen, der Glaube könne neben einer Todsünde sein. Was ist das anders, denn alle Zusage Gottes und Verheißung der Gnade umgestoßen und das Gesetz und Werke gepredigt? So der Glaube Vergebung der Sünden und Gnade erlangt um der Liebe willen, so wird die Vergebung der Sünden allezeit ungewiß sein. Denn wir lieben Gott nimmer so vollkömmlich, als wir sollten. Ja, wir können Gott nicht lieben, denn das Herz sei erst gewiß, daß ihm die Sünden vergeben seien. Also, so die Widersacher lehren auf [die] Liebe Gottes [zu Gott], die wir vermögen, und eigene Werke vertrauen, stoßen sie das Evangelium, welches Vergebung der Sünden predigt, gar zu Boden, so doch die Liebe niemand recht haben noch verstehen kann, er glaube denn, daß wir aus Gnaden, umsonst Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch Christum.

111] Nos quoque dicimus, quod dilectio fidem sequi debeat, sicut et Paulus ait Gal.

Wir sagen auch, daß die Liebe dem Glauben folgen soll, wie Paulus sagt: „In Christo Jesu

faith that it sets us free through the blood of Christ. Let all the Sententiarists, who are adorned with magnificent titles, be collected into one heap. For some are called angelic; others, subtile; and others, irrefragable [that is, doctors who cannot err]. When all these have been read and reread, they will not be of as much aid for understanding Paul as is this one passage of Ambrose.

To the same effect, Augustine writes many things against the Pelagians. In *Of the Spirit and Letter* he says: *The righteousness of the Law, namely, that he who has fulfilled it shall live in it, is set forth for this reason that when any one has recognized his infirmity, he may attain and work the same and live in it, conciliating the Justifier not by his own strength nor by the letter of the Law itself (which cannot be done), but by faith. Except in a justified man, there is no right work wherein he who does it may live. But justification is obtained by faith.* Here he clearly says that the Justifier is conciliated by faith, and that justification is obtained by faith. And a little after: *By the Law we fear God; by faith we hope in God. But to those fearing punishment grace is hidden; and the soul laboring, etc., under this fear betakes itself by faith to God's mercy, in order that He may give what He commands.* Here he teaches that by the Law hearts are terrified, but by faith they receive consolation. He also teaches us to apprehend, by faith, mercy, before we attempt to fulfil the Law. We will shortly cite certain other passages.

Truly, it is amazing that the adversaries are in no way moved by so many passages of Scripture, which clearly ascribe justification to faith, and, indeed, deny it to works. Do they think that the same is repeated so often for no purpose? Do they think that these words fell inconsiderately from the Holy Ghost? But they have also devised sophistry whereby they elude them. They say that these passages of Scripture, (which speak of faith,) ought to be received as referring to a *fides formata, i. e.,* they do not ascribe justification to faith except on account of love. Yea, they do not, in any way, ascribe justification to faith, but only to love, because they dream that faith can coexist with mortal sin. Whither does this tend, unless that they again abolish the promise and return to the Law? If faith receive the remission of sins on account of love, the remission of sins will always be uncertain, because we never love as much as we ought; yea, we do not love unless our hearts are firmly convinced that the remission of sins has been granted us. Thus the adversaries, while they require in the remission of sins and justification confidence in one's own love, altogether abolish the Gospel concerning the free remission of sins; although, at the same time, they neither render this love nor understand it, unless they believe that the remission of sins is freely received.

We also say that love ought to follow faith, as Paul also says, Gal. 5, 6: *For in Jesus*

5, 6: *In Christo Iesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet neque praeputium, sed fides per* **112**] *dilectionem efficax.* Neque tamen ideo sentiendum est, quod fiducia huius dilectionis aut propter hanc dilectionem accipiamus remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem, sicut neque accipimus remissionem peccatorum propter alia opera sequentia, sed sola fide, et quidem fide proprie dicta, accipitur remissio peccatorum, quia promissio non pot- **113**] est accipi nisi fide. Est autem fides proprie dicta, quae assentitur promissioni; de **114**] hac fide loquitur Scriptura. Et quia accipit remissionem peccatorum et reconciliat nos Deo, prius hac fide iusti reputamur [R. 82 propter Christum, quam diligimus ac legem facimus, etsi necessario sequitur dilectio. **115**] *Neque vero haec fides est otiosa notitia, nec potest stare cum peccato mortali, sed est opus Spiritus Sancti, quo liberamur a morte, quo eriguntur et vivificantur perterrefactae* **116**] *mentes.* Et quia sola haec fides accipit remissionem peccatorum et reddit nos acceptos Deo et affert Spiritum Sanctum, rectius vocari gratia gratum faciens poterat, quam effectus sequens, videlicet dilectio.

ist weder Beschneidung noch Vorhaut etwas, sondern der Glaube, welcher durch die Liebe wirkt." Man soll aber darum auf die Liebe nicht vertrauen noch bauen, als erlangten wir um der Liebe willen oder durch die Liebe Vergebung der Sünden und Versöhnung Gottes, gleichwie wir nicht Vergebung der Sünden erlangen um anderer Werke willen, die da folgen, sondern allein durch den Glauben. Denn die Verheißung Gottes kann niemand durch Werke fassen, sondern allein mit dem Glauben. Und der Glaube eigentlich oder fides proprie dicta ist, wenn mir mein Herz und der Heilige Geist im Herzen sagt, die Verheißung Gottes ist wahr und ja; von demselben Glauben redet die Schrift. Und dieweil der Glaube, ehe wir etwas tun oder wirken, nur ihm schenken und geben läßt und empfängt, so wird uns der Glaube zur Gerechtigkeit gerechnet wie Abraham, ehe wir lieben, ehe wir das Gesetz tun oder einig Werk. **Wiewohl es wahr ist, daß Früchte und Werke nicht außen bleiben, und der Glaube ist nicht eine bloße, schlechte Erkenntnis der Historie, sondern ein neu Licht im Herzen und kräftig Werk des Heiligen Geistes, dadurch wir neugeboren werden, dadurch die erschrockenen Gewissen wieder aufgerichtet [werden] und Leben erlangen.** Und dieweil der Glaube allein Vergebung der Sünden erlangt und uns Gott angenehm macht, bringt er mit sich den Heiligen Geist und sollte billiger genannt werden gratia gratum faciens, das ist, die Gnade, die da angenehm macht, denn die Liebe, welche folgt.

117] Hactenus satis copiose ostendimus et testimoniis Scripturae et argumentis ex Scriptura sumptis, ut res magis fieret perspicua, quod sola fide consequimur remissionem peccatorum propter Christum, et quod sola fide iustificemur, hoc est, ex iniustis iusti efficia- **118**] mur seu regeneremur. Facile autem iudicari potest, quam necessaria sit huius fidei cognitio, quia in hac una conspicitur Christi officium, hac una accipimus Christi beneficia, haec una affert certam et firmam **119**] consolationem piis mentibus. Et oportet in ecclesia exstare doctrinam, ex qua concipiant pii certam spem salutis. Nam adversarii infeliciter consulunt hominibus, dum iubent dubitare, utrum consequamur remissionem peccatorum. Quomodo in morte sustentabunt se isti, qui de hac fide nihil audiverunt, qui putant dubitandum esse, utrum consequantur remissionem peccatorum? Praeterea **120**] necesse est retineri in ecclesia Christi evangelium, hoc est, promissionem, quod gratis propter Christum remittuntur peccata. Id evangelium penitus abolent, qui de hac fide, **121**] de qua loquimur, nihil docent. At scholastici ne verbum quidem de hac fide tradunt. Hos sequuntur adversarii nostri et improbant hanc fidem. Nec vident se totam promissionem gratuitae remissionis peccatorum et iustitiae Christi abolere improbata hac fide.

Bisanher haben wir reichlich angezeigt aus Sprüchen der Väter und der Schrift, damit doch diese Sache gar klar würde, daß wir allein durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen um Christus' willen, und daß wir allein durch den Glauben gerecht werden, das ist, aus Ungerechten fromm, heilig und neugeboren werden. Fromme Herzen aber sehen hie und merken, wie ganz überaus hochnötig diese Lehre vom Glauben ist; denn durch sie allein lernt man Christum erkennen und seine Wohltaten, und durch die [diese] Lehre finden die Herzen und Gewissen allein rechte, gewisse Ruhe und Trost. Denn soll eine christliche Kirche sein, soll ein Christenglaube sein, so muß je eine Predigt und Lehre darin sein, dadurch die Gewissen auf keinen Wahn noch Sandgrund gebaut werden, sondern darauf sie sich gewiß verlassen und vertrauen mögen. Darum sind wahrlich die Widersacher untreue Bischöfe, untreue Prediger und Doctores, haben bisanher den Gewissen übel geraten und raten ihnen noch übel, daß sie solche Lehre führen, da sie die Leute lassen im Zweifel stecken, ungewiß schweben und hangen, ob sie Vergebung der Sünden erlangen oder nicht. Denn wie ist's möglich, daß diejenigen in Todesnöten und letzten Zügen und Ängsten bestehen sollten, die diese nötige Lehre von Christo nicht gehört haben oder nicht wissen, die da noch wanken und im Zweifel stehen, ob sie Vergebung der Sünden haben oder nicht? Item, soll eine christliche Kirche sein, so muß je in der Kirche das Evangelium Christi bleiben, nämlich diese göttliche Verheißung, daß uns ohne Verdienst Sünden vergeben werden um Christus' willen. Dasselbe heilige Evangelium drücken diejenigen gar unter, die von dem Glauben, davon wir reden, gar nichts lehren. Nun lehren noch schreiben die Scholastici nicht ein Wort, nicht einen Tüttel vom Glauben, welches schrecklich ist zu hören. Denen folgen unsere Widersacher und verwerfen diese höchste Lehre vom Glauben und sind so verstockt und blind, daß sie nicht sehen, daß sie damit das ganze Evangelium, die göttliche Verheißung von der Vergebung der Sünden und den ganzen Christum unter die Füße treten.

Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love. And yet we must not think on that account that by confidence in this love or on account of this love we receive the remission of sins and reconciliation, just as we do not receive the remission of sins because of other works that follow. But the remission of sins is received by faith alone, and, indeed, by faith properly so called, because the promise cannot be received except by faith. But faith, properly so called, is that which assents to the promise [is when my heart, and the Holy Ghost in the heart, says: The promise of God is true and certain]. Of this faith Scripture speaks. And because it receives the remission of sins, and reconciles us to God, by this faith we are [like Abraham] accounted righteous for Christ's sake before we love and do the works of the Law, although love necessarily follows. *Nor, indeed, is this faith an idle knowledge, neither can it coexist with mortal sin, but it is a work of the Holy Ghost, whereby we are freed from death, and terrified minds are encouraged and quickened.* And because this faith alone receives the remission of sins, and renders us acceptable to God, and brings the Holy Ghost, it could be more correctly called *gratia gratum faciens*, grace rendering one pleasing to God, than an effect following, namely, love.

Thus far, in order that the subject might be made quite clear, we have shown with sufficient fulness, both from testimonies of Scripture, and arguments derived from Scripture, that by faith alone we obtain the remission of sins for Christ's sake, and that by faith alone we are justified, *i. e.*, of unrighteous men made righteous, or regenerated. But how necessary the knowledge of this faith is, can be easily judged, because in this alone the office of Christ is recognized, by this alone we receive the benefits of Christ; this alone brings sure and firm consolation to pious minds. And in the Church [if there is to be a church, if there is to be a Christian Creed], it is necessary that there should be the [preaching and] doctrine [by which consciences are not made to rely on a dream or to build on a foundation of sand, but] from which the pious may receive the sure hope of salvation. For the adversaries give men bad advice [therefore the adversaries are truly unfaithful bishops, unfaithful preachers, and doctors; they have hitherto given evil counsel to consciences, and still do so by introducing such doctrine] when they bid them doubt whether they obtain remission of sins. For how will such persons sustain themselves in death who have heard nothing of this faith, and think that they ought to doubt whether they obtain the remission of sins? Besides, it is necessary that in the Church of Christ the Gospel be retained, *i. e.*, the promise that for Christ's sake sins are freely remitted. Those who teach nothing of this faith, concerning which we speak, altogether abolish the Gospel. But the scholastics mention not even a word concerning this faith. Our adversaries follow them, and reject this faith. Nor do they see that, by rejecting this faith, they abolish the entire promise concerning the free remission of sins and the righteousness of Christ.

(Art. III.) De Dilectione et Impletione Legis.

1] Hic obiiciunt adversarii: *Si vis in vitam ingredi, serva mandata,* Matth. 19, 17; item: *Factores legis iustificabuntur,* Rom. 2, 13; et alia multa similia de lege et operibus, ad quae priusquam respondemus, dicendum est, *quid nos de dilectione et impletione legis sentiamus.*

2] Scriptum est apud prophetam, Ier. 31, 33: *Dabo legem meam in corda eorum.* Et Rom. 3, 31 ait Paulus, *legem stabiliri, non aboleri per fidem.* Et Christus ait Matth. 19, 17: *Si vis ingredi in vitam, serva mandata.* Item 1 Cor. 13, 3: *Si dilectionem non habeam, nihil*
3] *sum.* Hae sententiae et similes testantur, quod oporteat legem in nobis inchoari et magis magisque fieri. Loquimur autem non de ceremoniis, sed de illa lege, quae praecipit de motibus cordis, videlicet de Decalogo.
4] Quia vero fides affert Spiritum Sanctum et parit novam vitam in cordibus, necesse est, quod pariat spirituales motus in cordibus. Et qui sint illi motus, ostendit propheta, Ier. 31, 33, quum ait: *Dabo legem meam in corda eorum.* Postquam igitur fide iustificati et renati sumus, incipimus Deum timere, diligere, petere et exspectare ab eo auxilium, gratias agere et praedicare et obedire ei in afflictionibus. Incipimus et diligere proximos, quia corda habent spirituales et sanctos motus.

5] Haec non possunt fieri, nisi postquam fide iustificati sumus et renati accipimus Spiritum Sanctum. Primum quia lex non potest fieri sine Christo. Item lex non potest
6] fieri sine Spiritu Sancto. At Spiritus Sanctus accipitur fide, iuxta illud Pauli, Gal. 3, 14: *Ut promissionem Spiritus accipia-*
7] *mus per fidem.* Item quomodo potest humanum cor diligere Deum, dum sentit eum horribiliter irasci et opprimere nos temporalibus et perpetuis calamitatibus? Lex autem semper accusat nos, semper ostendit irasci
8] Deum. Non igitur diligitur Deus, [R. 84 nisi postquam apprehendimus fide misericordiam. Ita demum fit obiectum amabile.

9] Quamquam igitur civilia opera, hoc est, externa opera legis, sine Christo et sine Spiritu Sancto aliqua ex parte fieri possint, tamen apparet ex his, quae diximus: illa, quae sunt proprie legis divinae, hoc est, affectus cordis erga Deum, qui praecipiuntur in prima tabula, non posse fieri sine Spiritu
10] Sancto. Sed adversarii nostri sunt suaves theologi; intuentur secundam tabulam et politica opera, primam nihil curant, quasi nihil pertineat ad rem, aut certe tantum externos

(Art. III.) Von der Liebe und Erfüllung des Gesetzes.

Hier werfen uns die Widersacher diesen Spruch vor: „Willst du ewig leben, so halte die Gebote Gottes.“ Item zu den Römern am 2, 13: „Nicht die das Gesetz hören, werden gerecht sein, sondern die das Gesetz tun“; und dergleichen viel vom Gesetz und von Werken. Nun, ehe wir darauf antworten, müssen wir sagen **von der Liebe, und was wir von [der] Erfüllung des Gesetzes halten.**

Es steht geschrieben im Propheten: „Ich will mein Gesetz in ihr Herz geben.“ Und Röm. 3, 31 sagt Paulus: „Wir heben das Gesetz nicht auf durch den Glauben, sondern richten das Gesetz auf.“ Item, Christus sagt: „Willst du ewig leben, so halte die Gebote.“ Item, zu den Korinthern sagt Paulus: „So ich nicht die Liebe habe, bin ich nichts.“ Diese und dergleichen Sprüche zeigen an, daß wir das Gesetz halten sollen, wenn wir durch den Glauben gerecht worden sind, und also je länger je mehr im Geist zunehmen. Wir reden aber hier nicht von Zeremonien Mosis, sondern von den zehn Geboten, welche von uns fordern, daß wir von Herzensgrund Gott recht fürchten und lieben sollen. Dieweil nun der Glaube mit sich bringt den Heiligen Geist und ein neu Licht und Leben im Herzen wirkt, so ist es gewiß und folgt von Not, daß der Glaube das Herz verneut und ändert. Und was das für eine Neuerung der Herzen sei, zeigt der Prophet an, da er sagt: „Ich will mein Gesetz in ihre Herzen geben.“ Wenn wir nun durch den Glauben neugeboren sind und erkannt haben, daß uns Gott will gnädig sein, will unser Vater und Helfer sein, so heben wir an, Gott zu fürchten, zu lieben, ihm zu danken, ihn zu preisen, von ihm alle Hilfe zu bitten und [zu] gewarten, ihm auch nach seinem Willen in Trübsalen gehorsam zu sein. Wir heben alsdann auch an, den Nächsten zu lieben; da ist nun inwendig durch den Geist Christi ein neu Herz, Sinn und Mut.

Dieses alles kann nicht geschehen, ehe wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden, ehe wir neugeboren werden durch den Heiligen Geist. Denn erstlich kann niemand das Gesetz halten ohne Christus' Erkenntnis; so kann auch niemand das Gesetz erfüllen ohne den Heiligen Geist. Den Heiligen Geist aber können wir nicht empfangen denn durch den Glauben, wie zu den Galatern am 3, 14 Paulus sagt, daß wir „die Verheißung des Geistes durch den Glauben empfangen“. Item, es ist unmöglich, daß ein Menschenherz allein durch das Gesetz oder sein Werk Gott liebe. Denn das Gesetz zeigt allein an Gottes Zorn und Ernst; das Gesetz klagt uns an und zeigt an, wie er so schrecklich die Sünde strafen wolle beide mit zeitlichen und ewigen Strafen. Darum was die Scholastici von der Liebe Gottes reden, ist ein Traum, und ist unmöglich, Gott zu lieben, ehe wir durch den Glauben die Barmherzigkeit erkennen und ergreifen. Denn alsdann erst wird Gott obiectum amabile, ein lieblicher, seliger Anblick.

Wiewohl nun ein ehrbar Leben zu führen und äußerliche Werke des Gesetzes zu tun, die Vernunft etlichermaßen ohne Christum, ohne den Heiligen Geist aus angebornem Licht vermag, so ist es doch gewiß, wie oben angezeigt, daß die höchsten Stücke des göttlichen Gesetzes, als, das ganze Herz zu Gott zu kehren, von ganzem Herzen ihn groß zu achten (welches in der ersten Tafel und im ersten, höchsten Gebot gefordert wird), niemand vermag ohne den Heiligen Geist. Aber unsere Widersacher sind gute, rohe, faule, un-

Article III:

Of Love and the Fulfilling of the Law.

Here the adversaries urge against us: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments,* Matt. 19, 17; likewise: *The doers of the Law shall be justified,* Rom. 2, 13, and many other like things concerning the Law and works. Before we reply to this, we must first declare *what we believe concerning love and the fulfilling of the Law.*

It is written in the prophet, Jer. 31, 33: *I will put My Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.* And in Rom. 3, 31, Paul says: *Do we, then, make void the Law through faith? God forbid! Yea, we establish the Law.* And Christ says, Matt. 19, 17: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.* Likewise, 1 Cor. 13, 3: *If I have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.* These and similar sentences testify that the Law ought to be begun in us, and be kept by us more and more [that we are to keep the Law when we have been justified by faith, and thus increase more and more in the Spirit]. Moreover, we speak not of ceremonies, but of that Law which gives commandment concerning the movements of the heart, namely, the Decalog. Because, indeed, faith brings the Holy Ghost, and produces in hearts a new life, it is necessary that it should produce spiritual movements in hearts. And what these movements are, the prophet, Jer. 31, 33, shows, when he says: *I will put My Law into their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.* Therefore, when we have been justified by faith and regenerated, we begin to fear and love God, to pray to Him, to expect from Him aid, to give thanks and praise Him, and to obey Him in afflictions. We begin also to love our neighbors, because our hearts have spiritual and holy movements [there is now, through the Spirit of Christ a new heart, mind, and spirit within].

These things cannot occur until we have been justified by faith, and, regenerated, we receive the Holy Ghost: first, because the Law cannot be kept without [the knowledge of] Christ; and likewise the Law cannot be kept without the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Ghost is received by faith, according to the declaration of Paul, Gal. 3, 14: *That we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.* Then, too, how can the human heart love God while it knows that He is terribly angry, and is oppressing us with temporal and perpetual calamities? But the Law always accuses us, always shows that God is angry. [Therefore, what the scholastics say of the love of God is a dream.] God therefore is not loved until we apprehend mercy by faith. Not until then does He become a lovable object.

Although, therefore, civil works, *i. e.,* the outward works of the Law, can be done, in a measure, without Christ and without the Holy Ghost [from our inborn light], nevertheless it appears from what we have said that those things which belong peculiarly to the divine Law, *i. e.,* the affections of the heart towards God, which are commanded in the first table, cannot be rendered without the Holy Ghost. But our adversaries are fine theologians; they regard the second table and political works; for the first table [in which is contained the highest theology, on which all depends] they care nothing, as though it were of no matter; or certainly they require

cultus requirunt. Illam aeternam legem et longe positam supra omnium creaturarum sensum atque intellectum, Deut. 6, 5: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde*, prorsus non considerant.

erfahrene Theologen. Sie sehen allein die andere Tafel Mosis an und die Werke derselben. Aber die erste Tafel, da die höchste Theologie innen steht, da es alles an gelegen ist, achten sie gar nicht; ja dasselbe höchste, heiligste, größte, vornehmste Gebot, welches allen menschlichen und engelischen Verstand übertrifft, welches den höchsten Gottesdienst, die Gottheit selbst und die Ehre der ewigen Majestät belangt, da Gott gebietet, daß wir herzlich ihn sollen für einen HErrn und Gott halten, fürchten und lieben, halten sie so gering, so klein, als gehörte es zu der Theologie nicht.

11] At Christus ad hoc datus est, ut propter eum donentur nobis remissio peccatorum et Spiritus Sanctus, qui novam et aeternam vitam ac aeternam iustitiam in nobis pariat. Quare non potest lex vere fieri nisi accepto Spiritu Sancto per fidem. Ideo Paulus dicit, *legem stabiliri per fidem, non aboleri;* quia lex ita demum fieri potest, quum contingit **12**] Spiritus Sanctus. Et Paulus docet 2 Cor. 3, 15 sq.: *Velamen, quo facies Mosis tecta est, non posse tolli nisi fide in Christum, qua accipitur Spiritus Sanctus.* Sic enim ait: *Sed usque in hodiernum diem, quum legitur Moses, velamen positum est super cor eorum; quum autem conversi fuerint ad Deum, auferetur velamen. Dominus autem Spiritus est; ubi autem Spiritus Domini, ibi libertas.* Vela**13**] men intelligit Paulus humanam opinionem de tota lege, Decalogo et ceremoniis, videlicet quod hypocritae putant externa et civilia opera satisfacere legi Dei, et sacrificia et cultus ex opere operato iustificare coram Deo. **14**] Tunc autem detrahitur nobis hoc velamen, hoc est, eximitur hic error, quando Deus ostendit cordibus nostris immunditiem [R. 85 nostram et magnitudinem peccati. Ibi primum videmus nos longe abesse ab impletione legis. Ibi agnoscimus, quomodo caro secura atque otiosa non timeat Deum, nec vere statuat respici nos a Deo, sed casu nasci et occidere homines. Ibi experimur nos non credere, quod Deus ignoscat et exaudiat. Quum autem audito evangelio et remissione peccatorum fide erigimur, concipimus Spiritum Sanctum, ut iam recte de Deo sentire possimus, et timere Deum et credere ei etc. Ex his apparet, non posse legem sine Christo et sine Spiritu Sancto fieri.

Christus ist uns aber dazu dargestellt, daß um seinetwillen uns Sünden vergeben und der Heilige Geist geschenkt wird, der ein neu Licht und ewiges Leben, ewige Gerechtigkeit in uns wirkt, daß er uns Christum im Herzen zeigt, wie Johannis am 16, 15 geschrieben: „Er wird's von dem Meinen nehmen und euch verkündigen." Item, er wirkt auch andere Gaben: Liebe, Danksagung, Keuschheit, Geduld usw. Darum vermag das Gesetz niemand ohne den Heiligen Geist zu erfüllen; darum sagt Paulus: „Wir richten das Gesetz auf durch den Glauben und tun's nicht ab"; denn so können wir erst das Gesetz erfüllen und halten, wenn der Heilige Geist uns gegeben wird. Und Paulus 2 Kor. 3, 15 f. sagt, daß die Decke des Angesichts Mosis könne nicht weggetan werden denn allein durch den Glauben an den HErrn Christum, durch welchen gegeben wird der Heilige Geist. Denn also sagt er: „Bis auf diesen Tag, wenn Moses gelesen wird, ist die Decke über ihrem Herzen; wenn sie sich aber zum HErrn bekehren, wird die Decke weggetan. Denn der HErr ist ein Geist; wo aber des HErrn Geist ist, da ist Freiheit." Die Decke nennt Paulus den menschlichen Gedanken und Wahn von [den] zehn Geboten und Zeremonien, nämlich daß die Heuchler wähnen wollen, daß das Gesetz möge erfüllt und gehalten werden durch äußerliche Werke, und als machten die Opfer, item allerlei Gottesdienste, ex opere operato jemand gerecht vor Gott. Dann wird aber die Decke vom Herzen genommen, das ist, der Irrtum und Wahn wird weggenommen, wenn Gott im Herzen uns zeigt unsern Jammer und läßt uns Gottes Zorn und unsere Sünde fühlen. Da merken wir erst, wie gar fern und weit wir vom Gesetz seien. Da erkennen wir erst, wie sicher und verblendet alle Menschen dahingehen, wie sie Gott nicht fürchten, in Summa, nicht glauben, daß Gott Himmel, Erde und alle Kreaturen geschaffen hat, unsern Odem und Leben und die ganze Kreatur alle Stunden erhält und wider den Satan bewahrt. Da erfahren wir erst, daß eitel Unglaube, Sicherheit, Verachtung Gottes in uns so tief verborgen steckt. Da erfahren wir erst, daß wir so schwach oder gar nichts glauben, daß Gott Sünde vergebe, daß er Gebet erhöre usw. Wenn wir nun das Wort und Evangelium hören und durch den Glauben Christum erkennen, empfangen wir den Heiligen Geist, daß wir dann recht von Gott halten, ihn fürchten, ihm glauben usw. In diesem ist nun genugsam angezeigt, daß wir Gottes Gesetz ohne den Glauben, ohne Christum, ohne den Heiligen Geist nicht halten können.

15] Profitemur igitur, quod necesse sit inchoari in nobis et subinde magis magisque fieri legem. Et complectimur simul utrumque, videlicet spirituales motus et externa bona opera. *Falso igitur calumniantur nos adversarii, quod nostri non doceant bona opera, quum ea non solum requirant, sed etiam osten-***16**] *dant, quomodo fieri possint.* Eventus coarguit hypocritas, qui suis viribus conantur legem facere, quod non possint praestare, **17**] quae conantur. Longe enim imbecillior est humana natura, quam ut suis viribus resistere diabolo possit, qui habet captivos

Darum sagen wir auch, daß man muß das Gesetz halten, und ein jeder Gläubiger fähet es an [fängt an, es] zu halten, und nimmt je länger, je mehr zu in Liebe und Furcht Gottes, welches ist recht Gottes Gebote erfüllt. Und wenn wir vom Gesetzhalten reden oder von guten Werken, begreifen wir beides, das gute Herz inwendig und die Werke auswendig. **Darum tun uns die Widersacher unrecht, da sie uns schuld geben, wir lehrten nicht von guten Werken; so wir nicht allein sagen, man müsse gute Werke tun, sondern sagen auch eigentlich, wie das Herz müsse dabei sein, damit es nicht lose, taube,**

only outward observances. They in no way consider the Law that is eternal, and placed far above the sense and intellect of all creatures [which concerns the very Deity, and the honor of the eternal Majesty], Deut. 6, 5: *Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thine heart.* [This they treat as such a paltry, small matter as if it did not belong to theology.]

But Christ was given for this purpose, namely, that for His sake there might be bestowed on us the remission of sins, and the Holy Ghost to bring forth in us new and eternal life, and eternal righteousness [to manifest Christ in our hearts, as it is written John 16, 15: *He shall take of the things of Mine, and show them unto you.* Likewise, He works also other gifts, love, thanksgiving, charity, patience, etc.]. Wherefore the Law cannot be truly kept unless the Holy Ghost be received through faith. Accordingly, Paul says that *the Law is established by faith, and not made void;* because the Law can only then be thus kept when the Holy Ghost is given. And Paul teaches 2 Cor. 3, 15 sq., *the veil that covered the face of Moses cannot be removed except by faith in Christ, by which the Holy Ghost is received.* For he speaks thus: *But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away. Now the Lord is that Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.* Paul understands by the veil the human opinion concerning the entire Law, the Decalog and the ceremonies, namely, that hypocrites think that external and civil works satisfy the Law of God, and that sacrifices and observances justify before God *ex opere operato.* But then this veil is removed from us, *i. e.*, we are freed from this error, when God shows to our hearts our uncleanness and the heinousness of sin. Then, for the first time, we see that we are far from fulfilling the Law. Then we learn to know how flesh, in security and indifference, does not fear God, and is not fully certain that we are regarded by God, but imagines that men are born and die by chance. Then we experience that we do not believe that God forgives and hears us. But when, on hearing the Gospel and the remission of sins, we are consoled by faith, we receive the Holy Ghost, so that now we are able to think aright concerning God, and to fear and believe God, etc. From these facts it is apparent that the Law cannot be kept without Christ and the Holy Ghost.

We, therefore, profess that it is necessary that the Law be begun in us, and that it be observed continually more and more. And at the same time we comprehend both spiritual movements and external good works [the good heart within and works without]. *Therefore the adversaries falsely charge against us that our theologians do not teach good works, while they not only require these, but also show how they can be done* [that the heart must enter into these works, lest they be mere, lifeless, cold works of hypocrites]. The result

omnes, qui non sunt liberati per fidem. **18**] Potentia Christi opus est adversus diabolum, videlicet, ut, quia scimus nos propter Christum exaudiri et habere promissionem, petamus, ut gubernet et propugnet nos Spiritus Sanctus, ne decepti erremus, ne impulsi contra voluntatem Dei aliquid suscipiamus. Sicut Psalmus, 68, 19, docet: *Captivam duxit captivitatem, dedit dona hominibus.* Christus enim vicit diabolum et dedit nobis promissionem et Spiritum Sanctum, ut auxilio divino vincamus et ipsi. Et 1 Ioh. 3, 8: *Ad hoc apparuit Filius Dei, ut solvat opera* **19**] *diaboli.* Deinde non hoc tantum docemus, quomodo fieri lex possit, sed etiam quomodo Deo placeat, si quid fit, videlicet non quia legi satisfaciamus, sed quia sumus [R. 86 in Christo, sicut paulo post dicemus. Constat igitur nostros requirere bona opera. **20**] Imo addimus et hoc, quod impossibile sit, dilectionem Dei, etsi exigua est, divellere a fide, quia per Christum acceditur ad Patrem, et accepta remissione peccatorum vere iam statuimus nos habere Deum, hoc est, nos Deo curae esse, invocamus, agimus gratias, timemus, diligimus, sicut Iohannes docet in prima epistola. *Nos diligimus eum,* inquit 1 Ioh. 4, 19, *quia prior dilexit nos,* videlicet, quia dedit pro nobis Filium et remisit nobis peccata. Ita significat praecedere fidem, sequi **21**] dilectionem. Item fides illa, de qua loquimur, existit in poenitentia, hoc est, concipitur in terroribus conscientiae, quae sentit iram Dei adversus nostra peccata, et quaerit remissionem peccatorum et liberari a peccato. Et in talibus terroribus et aliis afflictionibus debet haec fides crescere et confirmari. Quare **22**] non potest existere in his, qui secundum carnem vivunt, qui delectantur cupiditatibus suis et obtemperant eis. Ideo Paulus ait Rom. 8, 1: *Nulla nunc damnatio est his, qui sunt in Christo Iesu, qui non secundum carnem ambulant, sed secundum Spiritum.* Item v. 12. 13: *Debitores sumus, non carni, ut secundum carnem vivamus. Si enim secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini; sin autem Spiritu actiones corporis mortificabitis, vivetis.* **23**] Quare fides illa, quae accipit remissionem peccatorum in corde perterrefacto et fugiente peccatum, non manet in his, qui obtemperant cupiditatibus, nec existit cum mortali peccato.

kalte Heuchlerwerke seien. Es lehrt die Erfahrung, daß die Heuchler, wiewohl sie sich unterstehen, aus ihren Kräften das Gesetz zu halten, daß sie es nicht vermögen, noch mit der Tat beweisen. Denn wie fein sind sie ohne Haß, Neid, Zank, Grimm, Zorn, ohne Geiz, Ehebruch usw.! Also, daß nirgend die Laster größer sind denn in Klöstern und Stiften. Es sind alle menschlichen Kräfte viel zu schwach dem Teufel, daß sie seiner List und Stärke aus eigenem Vermögen widerstehen sollten, welcher alle diejenigen gefänglich hält, die nicht durch Christum erlöst werden. Es muß göttliche Stärke sein und Christus' Auferstehung, die den Teufel überwinde. Und so wir wissen, daß wir Christi Stärke, seines Sieges durch den Glauben teilhaftig werden, können wir auf die Verheißung, die wir haben, Gott bitten, daß er uns durch seines Geistes Stärke beschirme und regiere, daß uns der Teufel nicht fälle oder stürze; sonst fielen wir alle Stunden in Irrtum und greuliche Laster. Darum sagt Paulus nicht von uns, sondern von Christo Eph. 4, 8: „Er hat das Gefängnis gefangen geführt." Denn Christus hat den Teufel überwunden und durchs Evangelium verheißen den Heiligen Geist, daß wir durch Hilfe desselben auch alles Übel überwinden. Und 1 Joh. 3, 8 ist geschrieben: „Dazu ist erschienen der Sohn Gottes, daß er auflöse die Werke des Teufels." Darum so lehren wir nicht allein, wie man das Gesetz halte, sondern auch, wie es Gott gefalle alles, was wir tun, nämlich, nicht daß wir in diesem Leben das Gesetz so vollkömmlich und rein halten können, sondern daß wir in Christo sind, wie wir hernach wollen sagen. So ist es nun gewiß, daß die Unsern auch von guten Werken recht lehren. Und wir setzen noch dazu, daß es unmöglich sei, daß rechter Glaube, der das Herz tröstet und Vergebung der Sünden empfängt, ohne die Liebe Gottes sei. Denn durch Christum kommt man zum Vater, und wenn wir durch Christum Gott versöhnt sind, so glauben und schließen wir dann erst recht gewiß im Herzen, daß ein wahrer Gott lebe und sei, daß wir einen Vater im Himmel haben, der auf uns allzeit sieht, der zu fürchten sei, der um so unsägliche Wohltat zu lieben sei, dem wir sollen allezeit herzlich danken, ihm Lob und Preis sagen, welcher unser Gebet, auch unser Sehnen und Seufzen erhört, wie denn Johannes in seiner ersten Epistel sagt, 1 Joh. 4, 19: „Wir lieben ihn, denn er hat uns zuvor geliebet." **Uns** nämlich; denn er hat seinen Sohn für uns gegeben und uns Sünde vergeben. Da zeigt Johannes genug an, daß der Glaube also vorgehe und die Liebe alsdann folge. Item, dieser Glaube ist in denen, da rechte Buße ist, das ist, da ein erschrocken Gewissen Gottes Zorn und seine Sünde fühlt, Vergebung der Sünden und Gnade sucht. Und in solchem Schrecken, in solchen Ängsten und Nöten beweist sich erst der Glaube und muß auch also bewährt werden und zunehmen. Darum kann der Glaube nicht sein in fleischlichen, sicheren Leuten, welche nach des Fleisches Lust und Willen dahinleben. Denn also sagt Paulus Röm. 8, 1: „So ist nun nichts Verdammliches an denen, die in Christo Jesu sind, die nicht nach dem Fleisch wandeln, sondern nach dem Geist." Item, V. 12. 13: „So sind wir nun Schuldner, nicht dem Fleisch, daß wir nach dem Fleisch leben; denn wo ihr nach dem Fleisch lebet, so werdet ihr sterben müssen; wo ihr aber durch den Geist des Fleisches Geschäfte tötet, so werdet ihr leben." Derhalben kann der Glaube, welcher allein in den Herzen und Gewissen ist, denen ihre Sünden herzlich leid sind, nicht zugleich neben einer Todsünde sein, wie die Widersacher lehren. So kann er auch nicht in denjenigen sein, die nach der Welt fleischlich, nach des Satans und des Fleisches Willen leben.

24] Ex his effectibus fidei excerpunt adversarii unum, videlicet dilectionem, et docent, quod dilectio iustificet. Ita manifeste appareret, eos tantum docere legem. Non prius

Aus diesen Früchten und Werken des Glaubens klauben die Widersacher nur ein Stück, nämlich die Liebe, und lehren, daß die Liebe vor Gott gerecht mache; also sind sie nichts anderes denn

convicts hypocrites, who by their own powers endeavor to fulfil the Law, that they cannot accomplish what they attempt. [For are they free from hatred, envy, strife, anger, wrath, avarice, adultery, etc.? Why, these vices were nowhere greater than in the cloisters and sacred institutes.] For human nature is far too weak to be able by its own powers to resist the devil, who holds as captives all who have not been freed through faith. There is need of the power of Christ against the devil, namely, that, inasmuch as we know that for Christ's sake we are heard, and have the promise, we may pray for the governance and defense of the Holy Ghost, that we may neither be deceived and err, nor be impelled to undertake anything contrary to God's will. [Otherwise we should, every hour, fall into error and abominable vices.] Just as Ps. 68, 18 teaches: *Thou hast led captivity captive; Thou hast received gifts for man.* For Christ has overcome the devil, and has given to us the promise and the Holy Ghost, in order that, by divine aid, we ourselves also may overcome. And 1 John 3, 8: *For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that He might destroy the works of the devil.* Again, we teach not only how the Law can be observed, but also how God is pleased if anything be done, namely, not because we render satisfaction to the Law, but because we are in Christ, as we shall say after a little. It is, therefore, manifest that we require good works. Yea, we add also this, that it is impossible for love to God, even though it be small, to be sundered from faith, because through Christ we come to the Father, and, the remission of sins having been received, we now are truly certain that we have a God, *i. e.*, that God cares for us; we call upon Him, we give Him thanks, we fear Him, we love Him, as John teaches in his first Epistle, 4, 19: *We love Him,* he says, *because He first loved us,* namely, because He gave His Son for us, and forgave us our sins. Thus he indicates that faith precedes and love follows. Likewise the faith of which we speak exists in repentance, *i. e.*, it is conceived in the terrors of conscience, which feels the wrath of God against our sins, and seeks the remission of sins, and to be freed from sin. And in such terrors and other afflictions this faith ought to grow and be strengthened. Wherefore it cannot exist in those who live according to the flesh, who are delighted by their own lusts and obey them. Accordingly, Paul says, Rom. 8, 1: *There is, therefore, now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.* So, too, vv. 12. 13: *We are debtors, not to the flesh, to live after the flesh. For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.* Wherefore, the faith which receives remission of sins in a heart terrified and fleeing from sin does not remain in those who obey their desires, neither does it coexist with mortal sin.

From these effects of faith the adversaries select one, namely, love, and teach that love

docent accipere remissionem peccatorum per fidem. Non docent de mediatore Christo, quod propter Christum habeamus Deum propitium, sed propter nostram dilectionem. Et tamen qualis sit illa dilectio, non dicunt, neque [R. 87 **25**] dicere possunt. Praedicant se legem implere, quum haec gloria proprie debeatur Christo; et fiduciam propriorum operum opponunt iudicio Dei, dicunt enim se de condigno mereri gratiam et vitam aeternam. Haec est simpliciter impia et vana fiducia. Nam in hac vita non possumus legi satisfacere, quia natura carnalis non desinit malos affectus parere, etsi his resistit Spiritus in nobis.

26] Sed quaerat aliquis: Quum et nos fateamur dilectionem esse opus Spiritus Sancti, quumque sit iustitia, quia est impletio legis, cur non doceamus, quod iustificet? Ad hoc respondendum est: Primum hoc certum est, quod non accipimus remissionem peccatorum neque per dilectionem, neque propter dilectionem nostram, sed propter Christum sola fide. **27**] Sola fides, quae intuetur in promissionem et sentit ideo certo statuendum esse, quod Deus ignoscat, quia Christus non sit frustra mortuus etc., vincit terrores peccati et mortis. **28**] Si quis dubitat, utrum remittantur sibi peccata, contumelia afficit Christum, quum peccatum suum iudicat maius aut efficacius esse quam mortem et promissionem Christi; quum Paulus dicat Rom. 5, 20, *gratiam exuberare supra peccatum*, hoc est, misericordiam **29**] ampliorem esse quam peccatum. Si quis sentit se ideo consequi remissionem peccatorum, quia diligit, afficit contumelia Christum et comperiet in iudicio Dei, hanc fiduciam propriae iustitiae impiam et inanem esse. Ergo necesse est, quod fides reconciliet et **30**] iustificet. Et sicut non accipimus remissionem peccatorum per alias virtutes legis seu propter eas, videlicet propter patientiam, castitatem, obedientiam erga magistratus etc., et tamen has virtutes sequi oportet: ita neque propter dilectionem Dei accipimus remissionem peccatorum, etsi sequi eam necesse est. **31**] Ceterum nota est consuetudo sermonis, quod interdum eodem verbo causam et effectus complectimur *κατὰ συνεκδοχήν*. Ita Lucae 7, 47 ait Christus: *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum.* Interpretatur enim se ipsum Christus, quum addit v. 50: *Fides tua salvam te fecit.* Non igitur [R. 88 voluit Christus, quod mulier illo opere dilectionis merita esset remissionem peccatorum. Ideo enim clare dicit: *Fides tua salvam te* **32**] *fecit.* At fides est, quae apprehendit misericordiam propter verbum Dei gratis. Si quis hoc negat fidem esse, prorsus non in**33**] telligit, quid sit fides. Et ipsa historia hoc loco ostendit, quid vocet dilectionem. Mulier venit hanc afferens de Christo opinionem, quod apud ipsum quaerenda esset remissio peccatorum. Hic cultus est summus cultus Christi. Nihil potuit maius tribuere Christo. Hoc erat vere Messiam agnoscere, quaerere apud eum remissionem peccatorum.

Werkprediger und Gesetzlehrer. Sie lehren nicht erst, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch den Glauben. Sie lehren nichts von dem Mittler Christo, daß wir durch denselben einen gnädigen Gott erlangen, sondern reden von unserer Liebe und unsern Werken und sagen doch nicht, was es für eine Liebe sei, und können es auch nicht sagen. Sie rühmen, sie könnten das Gesetz erfüllen oder halten, so doch die Ehre niemand gehört denn Christo, und halten also ihr eigen Werk gegen Gottes Urteil, sagen, sie verdienten de condigno Gnade und ewiges Leben. Das ist doch ein ganz vergeblich und gottlos Vertrauen auf eigene Werke. Denn in diesem Leben können auch Christen und die Heiligen selbst Gottes Gesetz nicht vollkömmlich halten; denn es bleiben immer böse Neigungen und Lüste in uns, wiewohl der Heilige Geist denselben widersteht.

Es möchte aber jemand unter ihnen fragen: So wir selbst bekennen, daß die Liebe eine Frucht des Geistes sei, und so die Liebe dennoch ein heilig Werk und Erfüllung des Gesetzes genannt wird, warum wir denn auch nicht lehren, daß sie vor Gott gerecht mache? Antwort: Erstlich ist das gewiß, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden nicht empfangen weder durch die Liebe noch um der Liebe willen, sondern allein durch den Glauben um Christus' willen. Denn allein der Glaube im Herzen sieht auf Gottes Verheißung; und allein der Glaube ist die Gewißheit, da das Herz gewiß drauf steht, daß Gott gnädig ist, daß Christus nicht umsonst gestorben sei usw. Und derselbe Glaube überwindet allein das Schrecken des Todes und der Sünde. Denn wer noch wankt oder zweifelt, ob ihm die Sünden vergeben seien, der vertraut Gott nicht und verzagt an Christo; denn er hält seine Sünde für größer und stärker denn den Tod und Blut Christi, so doch Paulus sagt zu den Römern am 5, 20, „die Gnade sei mächtiger denn die Sünde", das ist, kräftiger, reicher und stärker. So nun jemand meint, daß er darum Vergebung der Sünden will erlangen, daß er die Liebe hat, der schmäht und schändet Christum und wird am letzten Ende, wenn er vor Gottes Gericht stehen soll, finden, daß solch Vertrauen vergeblich ist. Darum ist es gewiß, daß allein der Glaube gerecht macht. Und gleichwie wir nicht erlangen Vergebung der Sünden durch andere gute Werke und Tugenden, als, um Geduld willen, um Keuschheit, um Gehorsams willen gegen die Obrigkeit, und folgen doch die Tugenden, wo Glaube ist: also empfangen wir auch nicht um der Liebe Gottes willen Vergebung der Sünden, wiewohl sie nicht außenbleibt, wo dieser Glaube ist. Daß aber Christus Lucä am 7, 47 spricht: „Ihr werden viel Sünden vergeben werden, denn sie hat viel geliebet", da legt Christus sein Wort selbst aus, da er sagt V. 50: „Dein Glaube hat dir geholfen." Und Christus will nicht, daß die Frau durch das Werk der Liebe verdient habe Vergebung der Sünden; darum sagt er klar: „Dein Glaube hat dir geholfen." Nun ist das der Glaube, welcher sich verläßt auf Gottes Barmherzigkeit und Wort, nicht auf eigene Werke. Und meint jemand, daß der Glaube sich zugleich auf Gott und eigene Werke verlassen könne, der versteht gewißlich nicht, was Glaube sei. Denn das erschrockene Gewissen wird nicht zufrieden durch eigene Werke, sondern muß nach Barmherzigkeit schreien und läßt sich allein durch Got-

justifies. Thus it is clearly apparent that they teach only the Law. They do not teach that remission of sins through faith is first received. They do not teach of Christ as Mediator, that for Christ's sake we have a gracious God; but because of our love. And yet, what the nature of this love is they do not say, neither can they say. They proclaim that they fulfil the Law, although this glory belongs properly to Christ; and they set against the judgment of God confidence in their own works; for they say that they merit *de condigno* (according to righteousness) grace and eternal life. This confidence is absolutely impious and vain. For in this life we cannot satisfy the Law, because carnal nature does not cease to bring forth wicked dispositions [evil inclination and desire], even though the Spirit in us resists them.

But some one may ask: Since we also confess that love is a work of the Holy Ghost, and since it is righteousness, because it is the fulfilling of the Law, why do we not teach that it justifies? To this we must reply: In the first place, it is certain that we receive remission of sins, neither through our love, nor for the sake of our love, but for Christ's sake, by faith alone. Faith alone, which looks upon the promise, and knows that for this reason it must be regarded as certain that God forgives, because Christ has not died in vain, etc., overcomes the terrors of sin and death. If any one doubts whether sins are remitted him, he dishonors Christ, since he judges that his sin is greater or more efficacious than the death and promise of Christ; although Paul says, Rom. 5, 20: *Where sin abounded, grace did much more abound, i. e.*, that mercy is more comprehensive [more powerful, richer, and stronger] than sin. If any one thinks that he obtains the remission of sins because he loves, he dishonors Christ, and will discover in God's judgment that this confidence in his own righteousness is wicked and vain. Therefore it is necessary that faith [alone] reconciles and justifies. And as we do not receive remission of sins through other virtues of the Law, or on account of these, namely, on account of patience, chastity, obedience towards magistrates, etc., and nevertheless these virtues ought to follow, so, too, we do not receive remission of sins because of love to God, although it is necessary that this should follow. Besides, the custom of speech is well known that by the same word we sometimes comprehend by synecdoche the cause and effects. Thus in Luke 7, 47 Christ says: *Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much.* For Christ interprets Himself [this very passage] when He adds: *Thy faith hath saved thee.* Christ, therefore, did not mean that the woman, by that work of love, had merited the remission of sins. For that is the reason He says: *Thy faith hath saved thee.* But faith is that which freely apprehends God's mercy on account of God's Word [which relies upon God's mercy and Word, and not upon one's own work]. If any one denies that this is faith [if any one imagines that he can rely at the same time upon God and his own works], he does not understand at all what faith is. [For the terrified conscience is not satisfied with its own works, but must cry after mercy, and is comforted and encouraged alone by God's Word.] And the narrative itself shows in this passage what that is which He calls love. The woman came with the opinion concerning Christ that with Him the remission of sins should be sought. This worship is the highest worship of Christ. Nothing greater could she ascribe to Christ. To seek from Him the remission of sins was truly to acknowledge the Messiah. Now, thus to think of Christ, thus to worship Him, thus to embrace Him, is truly to believe. Christ, moreover, employed the word "love" not towards the woman, but against the Pharisee, because He contrasted the entire worship of the Pharisee with the entire

Porro sic de Christo sentire, sic colere, sic complecti Christum est vere credere. Christus autem usus est verbo dilectionis non apud mulierem, sed adversus Pharisaeum, quia totum cultum Pharisaei cum toto cultu mulieris comparabat. Obiurgat Pharisaeum, quod non agnosceret ipsum esse Messiam, etsi haec externa officia ipsi praestaret, ut hospiti, viro magno et sancto. Ostendit mulierculam et praedicat huius cultum, unguenta, lacrimas etc., quae omnia erant signa fidei et confessio quaedam, quod videlicet apud Christum quaereret remissionem peccatorum. Magnum profecto exemplum est, quod non sine causa commovit Christum, ut obiurgaret Pharisaeum, virum sapientem et honestum, sed non credentem. Hanc ei impietatem exprobrat et admonet eum exemplo mulierculae, significans turpe ei esse, quod, quum indocta muliercula credat Deo, ipse legis doctor non credat, non agnoscat Messiam, non quaerat apud eum remissionem peccatorum et salu-
34] tem. Sic igitur totum cultum laudat, ut saepe fit in Scripturis, ut uno verbo multa complectamur; ut infra latius dicemus in similibus locis, ut Luc. 11, 41: *Date eleemosynam, et omnia erunt munda.* Non tantum eleemosynas requirit, sed etiam iustitiam fidei. Ita hic ait: *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quia dilexit multum,* id est, quia me [R. 89 vere coluit fide et exercitiis et signis fidei. Totum cultum comprehendit. Interim tamen hoc docet, quod proprie accipiatur fide remissio peccatorum, etsi dilectio, confessio et alii boni fructus sequi debeant. Quare non hoc vult, quod fructus illi sint pretium, sint propitiatio, propter quam detur remissio pec-
35] catorum, quae reconciliet nos Deo. De magna re disputamus, de honore Christi, et unde petant bonae mentes certam et firmam consolationem, utrum fiducia collocanda sit
36] in Christum, an in opera nostra. Quodsi in opera nostra collocanda erit, detrahitur Christo honos mediatoris et propitiatoris. Et tamen comperiemus in iudicio Dei, hanc fiduciam vanam esse et conscientias inde ruere in desperationem. Quodsi remissio peccatorum et reconciliatio non contingit gratis propter Christum, sed propter nostram dilectionem, nemo habiturus est remissionem peccatorum, nisi ubi totam legem fecerit, quia lex non iustificat, donec nos accusare potest.
37] Patet igitur, quum iustificatio sit reconciliatio propter Christum, quod fide iustificemur, quia certissimum est sola fide accipi remissionem peccatorum.

38] Nunc igitur respondeamus ad illam obiectionem, quam supra proposuimus. Recte cogitant adversarii dilectionem esse legis impletionem, et obedientia erga legem certe est iustitia; sed hoc fallit eos, quod putant, nos ex lege iustificari. Quum autem non iustificemur ex lege, sed remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem accipiamus fide propter

tes Wort tröſten und aufrichten. Und die Hiſtorie ſelbſt zeigt an dem Ort wohl an, was Chriſtus Liebe nennt. Die Frau kommt in der Zuverſicht zu Chriſto, daß ſie wolle Vergebung der Sünden bei ihm erlangen; das heißt recht Chriſtum erkennen und ehren; denn größere Ehre kann man Chriſto nicht tun. Denn das heißt Meſſiam oder Chriſtum wahrlich erkennen, bei ihm ſuchen Vergebung der Sünden. Dasſelbe von Chriſto halten, alſo Chriſtum erkennen und annehmen, das heißt recht an Chriſtum glauben. Chriſtus aber hat dieſes Wort, da er ſagt: „Sie hat viel geliebet", nicht gebraucht, als er mit der Frau redete, ſondern als er mit dem Phariſäer redete. Denn der HErr Chriſtus hält gegeneinander die ganze Ehre, die ihm der Phariſäer getan hat, mit dem Erbieten und Werken, ſo die Frau ihm erzeigt hat. Er ſtraft den Phariſäer, daß er ihn nicht hat erkannt für Chriſtum, wiewohl er ihn äußerlich geehrt als einen Gaſt und frommen, heiligen Mann. Aber den Gottesdienſt der Frau, daß ſie ihre Sünde erkennt und bei Chriſto Vergebung der Sünden ſucht, dieſen Dienſt lobt Chriſtus. Und es iſt ein großes Exempel, welches Chriſtum billig bewogen hat, daß er den Phariſäer als einen weiſen, ehrlichen Mann, der doch nicht an ihn glaubt, ſtraft. Den Unglauben wirft er ihm vor und vermahnt ihn durch das Exempel, als ſollte er ſagen: Billig ſollteſt du dich ſchämen, du Phariſäer, daß du ſo blind biſt, mich für Chriſtum und Meſſiam nicht erkennſt, ſo du ein Lehrer des Geſetzes biſt, und das Weib, das ein ungelehrt, arm Weib iſt, mich erkennt. Darum lobt er da nicht allein die Liebe, ſondern den ganzen cultum oder Gottesdienſt, den Glauben mit den Früchten, und nennt doch vor dem Phariſäer die Frucht. Denn man kann den Glauben im Herzen andern nicht weiſen und anzeigen denn durch die Früchte, die beweiſen vor den Menſchen den Glauben im Herzen. Darum will Chriſtus nicht, daß die Liebe und die Werke ſollen der Schatz ſein, dadurch die Sünden bezahlt werden, welches Chriſtus' Blut iſt. Derhalben iſt dieſer Streit über einer hohen, wichtigen Sache, da den frommen Herzen und Gewiſſen ihr höchſter, gewiſſeſter, ewiger Troſt an gelegen iſt, nämlich von Chriſto, ob wir ſollen vertrauen auf das Verdienſt Chriſti oder auf unſere Werke. Denn ſo wir auf unſere Werke vertrauen, ſo wird Chriſto ſeine Ehre genommen, ſo iſt Chriſtus nicht der Verſöhner noch Mittler, und werden doch endlich erfahren, daß ſolch Vertrauen vergeblich ſei, und daß die Gewiſſen dadurch nur in Verzweiflung fallen. Denn ſo wir Vergebung der Sünden und Verſöhnung Gottes nicht ohne Verdienſt erlangen durch Chriſtum, ſo wird niemand Vergebung der Sünden haben, er habe denn das ganze Geſetz gehalten. Denn das Geſetz macht niemand gerecht vor Gott, ſolange es uns anklagt. Nun kann ſich ja niemand rühmen, daß er dem Geſetz genuggetan habe. Darum müſſen wir ſonſt Troſt ſuchen, nämlich an Chriſto.

Nun wollen wir antworten auf die Frage, welche wir oben angezeigt: warum die Liebe oder dilectio niemand vor Gott gerecht mache. Die Widerſacher denken alſo, die Liebe ſei die Erfüllung des Geſetzes, darum wäre es wohl wahr, daß die Liebe uns gerecht macht, wenn wir das Geſetz hielten. Wer darf aber mit Wahrheit ſagen oder rühmen, daß er das Geſetz halte und

worship of the woman. He reproved the Pharisee because he did not acknowledge that He was the Messiah, although he rendered Him the outward offices due to a guest and a great and holy man. He points to the woman and praises her worship, ointment, tears, etc., all of which were signs of faith and a confession, namely, that with Christ she sought the remission of sins. It is indeed a great example, which, not without reason, moved Christ to reprove the Pharisee, who was a wise and honorable man, but not a believer. He charges him with impiety, and admonishes him by the example of the woman, showing thereby that it is disgraceful to him, that, while an unlearned woman believes God, he, a doctor of the Law, does not believe, does not acknowledge the Messiah, and does not seek from Him remission of sins and salvation. Thus, therefore, He praises the entire worship [faith with its fruits, but towards the Pharisee He names only the fruits which prove to men that there is faith in the heart], as it often occurs in the Scriptures that by one word we embrace many things; as below we shall speak at greater length in regard to similar passages, such as Luke 11, 41: *Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.* He requires not only alms, but also the righteousness of faith. Thus He here says: *Her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much, i. e.,* because she has truly worshiped Me with faith and the exercises and signs of faith. He comprehends the entire worship. Meanwhile He teaches this, that the remission of sins is properly received by faith, although love, confession, and other good fruits ought to follow. Wherefore He does not mean this, that these fruits are the price, or are the propitiation, because of which the remission of sins, which reconciles us to God, is given. We are disputing concerning a great subject, concerning the honor of Christ, and whence good minds may seek for sure and firm consolation, whether confidence is to be placed in Christ or in our works. Now, if it is to be placed in our works, the honor of Mediator and Propitiator will be withdrawn from Christ. And yet we shall find, in God's judgment, that this confidence is vain, and that consciences rush thence into despair. But if the remission of sins and reconciliation do not occur freely for Christ's sake, but for the sake of our love, no one will have remission of sins, unless when he has fulfilled the entire Law, because the Law does not justify as long as it can accuse us. Therefore it is manifest that, since justification is reconciliation for Christ's sake, we are justified by faith, because it is very certain that by faith alone the remission of sins is received.

Now, therefore, let us reply to the objection which we have above stated: [Why does love not justify anybody before God?] The adversaries are right in thinking that love is the fulfilling of the Law, and obedience to the Law is certainly righteousness. [Therefore it would be true that love justifies us, if we would keep the Law. But who in truth

Christum, non propter dilectionem aut legis impletionem, sequitur necessario, quod fide in Christum iustificemur.

Gott liebe, wie das Gesetz gebietet? Wir haben oben angezeigt, daß darum Gott die Verheißung der Gnade getan hat, daß wir das Gesetz nicht halten können. Darum sagt auch allenthalben Paulus, daß wir durch das Gesetz nicht können vor Gott gerecht werden. Die Widersacher müssen hie wohl weit fehlen und der Hauptfrage irregehen, denn sie sehen hie in diesem Handel allein das Gesetz an. Denn alle menschliche Vernunft und Weisheit kann nicht anders urteilen, denn daß man durch Gesetze müsse fromm werden, und wer äußerlich das Gesetz halte, der sei heilig und fromm. Aber das Evangelium rückt uns herum und weist uns von dem Gesetz zu den göttlichen Verheißungen und lehrt, daß wir nicht gerecht werden durchs Gesetz (denn niemand kann es halten), sondern dadurch, daß uns um Christus' willen Versöhnung geschenkt ist, und die empfangen wir allein durch den Glauben. Denn ehe wir einen Tüttel am Gesetz erfüllen, muß erst da sein der Glaube an Christum, durch welchen wir Gott versöhnt werden und erst Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Lieber HErrgott, wie dürfen doch die Leute sich Christen nennen oder sagen, daß sie auch die Bücher des Evangelii einmal je angesehen oder gelesen haben, die noch dieses anfechten, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen? Ist es doch einem Christenmenschen schrecklich allein zu hören.

39] Deinde illa legis impletio seu obedientia erga legem est quidem iustitia, quum est integra, sed in nobis est exigua et immunda. Ideo non placet propter seipsam, non est ac-**40**] cepta propter seipsam. Quamquam [R. 90 autem ex his, quae supra dicta sunt, constet iustificationem non solum initium renovationis significare, sed reconciliationem, qua etiam postea accepti sumus: tamen nunc multo clarius perspici poterit, quod illa inchoata legis impletio non iustificet, quia tantum est accepta propter fidem. Nec est confidendum, quod propria perfectione et impletione legis coram Deo iusti reputemur, ac non potius propter Christum:

Zum andern ist's gewiß, daß auch diejenigen, so durch den Glauben und Heiligen Geist neugeboren sind, doch gleichwohl noch, solange dies Leben währt, nicht gar rein sind, auch das Gesetz nicht vollkömmlich halten. Denn wiewohl sie die Erstlinge des Geistes empfangen, und wiewohl sich in ihnen das neue, ja das ewige Leben angefangen, so bleibt doch noch etwas da von der Sünde und böser Lust und findet das Gesetz noch viel, des es uns anzuklagen hat. Darum, obschon Liebe Gottes und gute Werke in Christen sollen und müssen sein, sind sie dennoch vor Gott nicht gerecht um solcher ihrer Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen durch den Glauben. Und Vertrauen auf eigene Erfüllung des Gesetzes ist eitel Abgötterei und Lästerung Christi und fällt doch zuletzt weg und macht, daß die Gewissen verzweifeln. Derhalben soll dieser Grund feststehen bleiben, daß wir um Christus' willen Gott angenehm und gerecht sind durch Glauben, nicht von wegen unserer Liebe und Werke. Das wollen wir also klar und gewiß machen, daß man's greifen möge. Solange das Herz nicht Frieden vor Gott hat, kann es nicht gerecht sein; denn es flieht vor Gottes Zorn und verzweifelt und wollte, daß Gott nicht richtete. Darum kann das Herz nicht gerecht und Gott angenehm sein, dieweil es nicht Frieden mit Gott hat. Nun macht der Glaube allein, daß das Herz zufrieden wird, und erlangt Ruhe und Leben, Röm. 5, 1, so es sich getrost und frei verläßt auf Gottes Zusage um Christus' willen. Aber unsere Werke bringen das Herz nicht zufrieden, denn wir finden allezeit, daß sie nicht rein sind. Darum muß folgen, daß wir allein durch Glauben Gott angenehm und gerecht sind, so wir im Herzen schließen, Gott wolle uns gnädig sein, nicht von wegen unserer Werke und Erfüllung des Gesetzes, sondern aus lauter Gnade um Christus' willen. Was können die Widersacher wider diesen Grund aufbringen? Was können sie wider die öffentliche Wahrheit erdichten oder erdenken? Denn dies ist je gewiß, und die Erfahrung lehrt stark genug, daß, wenn wir Gottes Urteil und Zorn recht fühlen oder in Anfechtung kommen, unsere Werke oder Gottesdienste das Gewissen nicht können zur Ruhe bringen. Und das zeigt die Schrift oft genug an, als im Psalm, 143, 2: „Du wollest mit deinem Knechte nicht in das Gericht gehen; denn vor dir wird keiner, der da lebt, gerecht sein." Da zeigt er klar an, daß alle Heiligen, alle frommen Kinder Gottes, welche den Heiligen Geist haben, wenn Gott nicht aus Gnaden ihnen will ihre Sünden vergeben, noch übrige Sünde im Fleisch an sich haben. Denn daß David an einem andern Ort, Ps. 7, 9, sagt: „HErr, richte mich nach meiner Gerechtigkeit!" da redet er von seiner Sache und nicht von eigener Gerechtigkeit, sondern bittet, daß Gott seine Sache und Wort schützen wolle; wie er denn sagt: „Richte meine Sache!" Wiederum Ps. 130, 3 sagt er klar, daß keiner, auch nicht die höchsten Heiligen, können Gottes Urteil ertragen, wenn er will auf Missetat achtgeben, wie er sagt: „So du willst achthaben auf Missetat, HErr, wer wird bestehen?" Und also sagt Hiob am 9. [28. 30. 31]: „Ich entsetze mich vor allen meinen Werken": item: „Wenn ich gleich schneeweiß gewaschen wäre, und meine Hände gleich glänzeten vor Reinigkeit, noch würdest du Unreines an mir finden." Und in [den] Sprüchen Salomonis, 20, 9: „Wer kann sagen: Mein Herz ist rein?" Und 1 Joh. 1, 8: „So wir werden sagen, daß wir keine Sünde haben, verführen wir uns selbst und ist die Wahrheit nicht in uns." Item, im Vaterunser bitten auch die Heiligen: „Vergib uns unsere Schuld!" Darum haben auch die Heiligen Schuld und Sünde. Item, im 4. Buch Mosis, 14, 18: „Auch der Unschuldige wird nicht unschuldig sein." Und Zacharias der Prophet sagt im 2. Kap., V. 13: „Alles Fleisch sei stille vor dem HErrn!" Und Jesaias sagt 40, 6: „Alles Fleisch ist Gras", das ist, das Fleisch und alle Gerechtigkeit, so wir vermögen, die können Gottes Urteil nicht ertragen. Und Jonas sagt am 2. Kap., V. 9: „Welche sich verlassen auf Eitelkeit vergeblich, die lassen Barmherzigkeit fahren." Derhalben erhält uns eitel Barmherzigkeit; unsere eigenen Werke, Verdienst und Vermögen können uns nicht helfen. Diese Sprüche und dergleichen in der Schrift zeigen an, daß unsere Werke unrein sind, und daß wir Gnade und Barmherzigkeit bedürfen. Darum stellen die Werke die Gewissen nicht zufrieden, sondern allein die Barmherzigkeit, welche wir durch den Glauben ergreifen.

can say or boast that he keeps the Law, and loves God as the Law has commanded? We have shown above that God has made the promise of grace, because we cannot observe the Law. Therefore Paul says everywhere that we cannot be justified before God by the Law.] But they make a mistake in this, that they think that we are justified by the Law. [The adversaries have to fail at this point, and miss the main issue, for in this business they only behold the Law. For all men's reason and wisdom cannot but hold that we must become pious by the Law, and that a person externally observing the Law is holy and pious. But the Gospel faces us about, directs us away from the Law to the divine promises, and teaches that we are not justified, etc.] Since, however, we are not justified by the Law [because no person can keep it], but receive remission of sins and reconciliation by faith for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of love or the fulfilling of the Law, it follows necessarily that we are justified by faith in Christ. [For before we fulfil one tittle of the Law, there must be faith in Christ by which we are reconciled to God and first obtain the remission of sin. Good God, how dare people call themselves Christians or say that they once at least looked into or read the books of the Gospel when they still deny that we obtain remission of sins by faith in Christ? Why, to a Christian it is shocking merely to hear such a statement.]

Again, [in the second place,] this fulfilling of the Law, or obedience towards the Law, is indeed righteousness, when it is complete; but in us it is small and impure. [For, although they have received the first-fruits of the Spirit, and the new, yea, the eternal life has begun in them, there still remains a remnant of sin and evil lust, and the Law still finds much of which it must accuse us.] Accordingly, it is not pleasing for its own sake, and is not accepted for its own sake. But although from those things which have been said above it is evident that justification signifies not the beginning of the renewal, but the reconciliation by which also we afterwards are accepted, nevertheless it can now be seen much more clearly that the inchoate fulfilling of the Law does not justify, because it is accepted only on account of faith. [Trusting in our own fulfilment of the Law is sheer idolatry and blaspheming Christ, and in the end it collapses and causes our consciences to despair. Therefore, this foundation shall stand forever, namely, that for Christ's sake we are accepted with God, and justified by faith, not on account of our love and works. This we shall make so plain and certain that anybody may grasp it. As long as the heart is not at peace with God, it cannot be righteous; for it flees from the wrath of God, despairs, and would have God not to judge it. Therefore the heart cannot be righteous and accepted with God while it is not at peace with God. Now, faith alone makes the heart to be content, and obtains peace and life, Rom. 5, 1, because it confidently and frankly relies on the promise of God for Christ's sake. But our works do not make the heart content, for we always find that they are not pure. Therefore it must follow that we are accepted with God, and justified by faith alone, when in our hearts we conclude that God desires to be gracious to us, not on account of our works and fulfilment of the Law, but from pure grace, for Christ's sake. What can our opponents bring forward against this argument? What can they invent and devise against the plain truth? For this is quite certain, and experience teaches forcibly enough, that when we truly feel the judgment and wrath of God, or become afflicted, our works and worship cannot set the heart at rest. Scripture indicates this often enough, as in Ps. 143, 2: *Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Here he clearly shows that all the saints, all the pious children of God, who have the Holy Ghost, if God would not by grace forgive them their sin, still have remnants of sin in the flesh. For when David in another place, Ps. 7, 8, says: *Judge me, O Lord, according to my righteousness,* he refers to his cause, and not to his righteousness, and asks God to protect his cause and word, for he says: *Judge, O Lord, my cause.* Again, in Ps. 130, 3 he clearly states that no person, not even the greatest saints, can bear God's judgment, if He were to observe our iniquity, as he says: *If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquity, O Lord, who shall stand?* And thus says Job, 9, 28: *I was afraid of all my works* (Engl. vers., *sorrows*). Likewise chap. 9, 30: *If I wash myself with snow-water, and make my hands never so clean, yet shalt Thou plunge me in the ditch.* And Prov. 20, 9: *Who can say, I have made my heart clean?* And 1 John 1, 8: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us.* And in the Lord's Prayer the saints ask for the forgiveness of sins. Therefore even the saints have guilt and sins. Again, in Num. 14, 18: *The innocent will not be innocent.* And Zechariah, 2, 13, says: *Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord.* And Isaiah, 40, 6 sqq.: *All flesh is grass, i. e.,* flesh and righteousness of the flesh cannot endure the judgment of God. And Jonah says, 2, 9: *They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy.* Therefore, pure mercy preserves us; our own works, merits, endeavors, cannot preserve us. These and similar declarations in the Scriptures testify that our works are unclean, and that we need mercy. Wherefore works do not render consciences pacified, but only mercy apprehended by faith does.] Nor must we trust that we are accounted righteous before God by our own perfection and fulfilling of the Law, but rather for Christ's sake.

41] Primum, quia Christus non desinit esse mediator, postquam renovati sumus. Errant, qui fingunt eum tantum primam gratiam meritum esse, nos postea placere nostra legis impletione et mereri vitam aeternam. Manet 42] mediator Christus, et semper statuere debemus, quod propter ipsum habeamus placatum Deum, etiamsi nos indigni simus. Sicut Paulus 1 Cor. 4, 4 aperte docet, quum ait: *Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed in hoc non iustificatus sum;* sed sentit se fide reputari iustum propter Christum, iuxta illud: *Beati, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates,* Ps. 32, 1; Rom. 4, 7. Illa autem remissio semper accipitur fide. Item imputatio iustitiae evangelii est ex promissione; igitur semper accipitur fide, semper statuendum est, quod fide 43] propter Christum iusti reputemur. Si renati postea sentire deberent, se acceptos fore propter impletionem legis, quando esset conscientia certa, se placere Deo, quum nun- 44] quam legi satisfaciamus? Ideo semper ad promissionem recurrendum est, hac sustentanda est infirmitas nostra, et statuendum nos propter Christum iustos reputari, *qui sedet ad dextram Patris et perpetuo interpellat pro nobis,* Rom. 8, 34. Hunc pontificem contumelia afficit, si quis sentit se iam iustum et acceptum esse propter propriam impletionem legis, non propter illius promissionem. Nec intelligi potest, quomodo fingi queat homo iustus esse coram Deo, excluso propitiatore et mediatore Christo.

45] Item, quid opus est longa disputatione? Tota Scriptura, tota ecclesia clamat legi [R. 91 non satisfieri. Non igitur placet illa inchoata legis impletio propter seipsam, sed propter 46] fidem in Christum. Alioqui lex semper accusat nos. Quis enim satis diligit, aut satis timet Deum? Quis satis patienter sustinet afflictiones a Deo impositas? Quis non saepe dubitat, utrum Dei consilio an casu regantur res humanae? Quis non saepe dubitat, utrum a Deo exaudiatur? Quis non saepe stomachatur, quod impii fortuna meliore utuntur quam pii, quod pii ab impiis opprimuntur? Quis satisfacit vocationi suae? Quis diligit proximum sicut seipsum? Quis non irritatur 47] a concupiscentia? Ideo Paulus inquit Rom. 7, 19: *Non quod volo, bonum, hoc facio, sed quod nolo, malum.* Item v. 25: *Mente servio legi Dei, carne autem servio legi peccati.* Hic aperte praedicat se legi peccati servire. Et David ait Ps. 143, 2: *Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.* Hic etiam servus Dei deprecatur iudicium. Item Ps. 32, 2: *Beatus vir, cui non imputat Dominus peccatum.* Semper igitur in hac infirmitate nostra adest peccatum, quod imputari poterat, de quo paulo post inquit, v. 6: *Pro hoc orabit ad te omnis sanctus.* Hic ostendit sanctos etiam oportere petere remissionem 48] peccatorum. Plus quam caeci sunt, qui malos affectus in carne non sentiunt esse peccata, de quibus Paulus Gal. 5, 17 dicit: *Caro concupiscit adversus Spiritum, Spiritus ad-*

Zum dritten, Christus bleibt nichtsdestoweniger vor als nach der einige Mittler und Versöhner, wenn wir in ihm also neugeboren sind. Darum irren diejenigen, die da erdichten, daß Christus uns allein primam gratiam oder die erste Gnade verdiene, und daß wir hernach durch unsere eigenen Werke und Verdienst müssen das ewige Leben verdienen. Denn er bleibt der einige Mittler, und wir sollen des gewiß sein, daß wir um seinetwillen allein einen gnädigen Gott haben; ob wir es auch gleich unwürdig sind, wie Paulus sagt Röm. 5, 2: „Durch ihn haben wir einen Zugang zu Gott." Denn unsere besten Werke, auch nach empfangener Gnade des Evangelii (wie ich gesagt), sind noch schwach und nicht gar rein; denn es ist je nicht so ein schlecht Ding um die Sünde und Adams Fall, wie die Vernunft meint oder gedenkt, und ist über allen menschlichen Verstand und Gedanken, was durch den Ungehorsam für ein schrecklicher Gotteszorn auf uns geerbt ist. Und ist gar eine greuliche Verderbung an der ganzen menschlichen Natur geschehen, welche kein Menschenwerk, sondern allein Gott selbst kann herwiederbringen. Darum sagt der Psalm: „Wohl denen, welchen ihre Sünden vergeben sind." Darum dürfen [bedürfen] wir Gnade und Gottes gnädiger Güte und Vergebung der Sünden, wenn wir gleich viele gute Werke getan haben. Dieselbe Gnade aber läßt sich allein durch den Glauben fassen. Also bleibt Christus allein der Hoheprieſter und Mittler, und was wir nun Gutes tun, oder was wir des Gesetzes halten, gefällt Gott nicht für sich selbst, sondern daß wir uns an Christum halten und wissen, daß wir einen gnädigen Gott haben nicht um des Gesetzes willen, sondern um Christus' willen.

Zum vierten, so wir hielten, daß [wir], wenn wir nun zu dem Evangelium kommen und neugeboren sind, hernach durch unsere Werke verdienen sollen, daß uns Gott gnädig forthin wäre, nicht durch Glauben, so käme das Gewissen nimmer zur Ruhe, sondern müßte verzweifeln; denn das Gesetz klagt uns ohne Unterlaß an, dieweil wir es nicht vollkömmlich halten können usw. Wie denn die ganze heilige christliche Kirche, alle Heiligen allzeit bekannt haben und noch bekennen. Denn also sagt Paulus zu den Römern am 7, 19: „Das Gute, das ich will, das tue ich nicht, sondern das Böse, das ich nicht will, das tue ich" usw. Item: „Mit dem Fleische diene ich dem Gesetz der Sünde" usw. Denn es ist keiner, der Gott den HErrn so von ganzem Herzen fürchtet und liebt, als er schuldig ist; keiner, der Kreuz und Trübsal in ganzem Gehorsam gegen Gott trägt; keiner, der nicht durch Schwachheit oft zweifelt, ob auch Gott sich unser annehme, ob er uns achte, ob er unser Gebet erhöre. Darüber murren wir oft aus Ungeduld wider Gott, daß es den Gottlosen wohl geht, den Frommen übel. Item, wer ist, der seinem Beruf recht genug tut, der nicht wider Gott zürnt in Anfechtungen, wenn Gott sich verbirgt? Wer liebt seinen Nächsten als sich selbst? Wer ist ohne allerlei böse Lüste? Von den Sünden allen sagt der Psalm: „Dafür werden bitten alle Heiligen zu rechter Zeit." Da sagt er, daß alle Heiligen müssen um Vergebung der Sünden bitten. Derhalben sind diejenigen gar stockblind, welche die bösen Lüste im Fleisch nicht für Sünde halten, von welchen Paulus sagt: „Das Fleisch strebet wider den Geist, und der Geist strebet wider das

First [in the third place], because Christ does not cease to be Mediator after we have been renewed. They err who imagine that He has merited only a *first grace,* and that afterwards we please God and merit eternal life by our fulfilling of the Law. Christ remains Mediator, and we ought always to be confident that for His sake we have a reconciled God, even although we are unworthy. As Paul clearly teaches when he says [*By whom also we have access to God,* Rom. 5, 2. For our best works, even after the grace of the Gospel has been received, as I stated, are still weak and not at all pure. For sin and Adam's fall are not such a trifling thing as reason holds or imagines; it exceeds the reason and thought of all men to understand what a horrible wrath of God has been handed on to us by that disobedience. There occurred a shocking corruption of the entire human nature, which no work of man, but only God Himself, can restore], 1 Cor. 4, 4: *I know nothing by myself, yet am I not hereby justified,* but he knows that by faith he is accounted righteous for Christ's sake, according to the passage: *Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven,* Ps. 32, 1; Rom. 4, 7. [Therefore we need grace, and the gracious goodness of God, and the forgiveness of sin, although we have done many good works.] But this remission is always received by faith. Likewise, the imputation of the righteousness of the Gospel is from the promise; therefore it is always received by faith, and it always must be regarded certain that by faith we are, for Christ's sake, accounted righteous. If the regenerate ought afterwards to think that they will be accepted on account of the fulfilling of the Law, when would conscience be certain that it pleased God, since we never satisfy the Law? Accordingly, we must always recur to the promise; by this our infirmity must be sustained, and we must regard it as certain that we are accounted righteous for the sake of Christ, *who is ever at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us,* Rom. 8, 34. If any one think that he is righteous and accepted on account of his own fulfilment of the Law, and not on account of Christ's promise, he dishonors this High Priest. Neither can it be understood how one could imagine that man is righteous before God when Christ is excluded as Propitiator and Mediator.

Again [in the fourth place], what need is there of a long discussion? [If we were to think that, after we have come to the Gospel and are born again, we were to merit by our works that God be gracious to us, not by faith, conscience would never find rest, but would be driven to despair. For the Law unceasingly accuses us, since we never can satisfy the Law.] All Scripture, all the Church cries out that the Law cannot be satisfied. Therefore this inchoate fulfilment of the Law does not please on its own account, but on account of faith in Christ. Otherwise the Law always accuses us. For who loves or fears God sufficiently? Who with sufficient patience bears the afflictions imposed by God? Who does not frequently doubt whether human affairs are ruled by God's counsel or by chance? Who does not frequently doubt whether he be heard by God? Who is not frequently enraged because the wicked enjoy a better lot than the pious, because the pious are oppressed by the wicked? Who does satisfaction to his own calling? Who loves his neighbor as himself? Who is not tempted by lust? Accordingly, Paul says, Rom. 7, 19: *The good that I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do.* Likewise v. 25: *With the mind I myself serve the Law of God, but with the flesh, the law of sin.* Here he openly declares that he serves the law of sin. And David says, Ps. 143, 2: *Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Here even a servant of God prays for the averting of judgment. Likewise Ps. 32, 2: *Blessed is the man unto whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity.* Therefore, in this our infirmity there is always present sin, which could be imputed, and of which he says a little while after, v. 6: *For this shall every one that is godly pray unto Thee.* Here he shows that even saints ought to seek remission of sins. More than blind are those who do not perceive that wicked desires in the flesh are sins, of which Paul, Gal. 5, 17, says: *The flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.* The flesh distrusts God, trusts in present things, seeks human aid in calamities, even contrary

49] *versus carnem.* Caro diffidit Deo, confidit rebus praesentibus, quaerit humana auxilia in calamitate, etiam contra voluntatem Dei, fugit afflictiones, quas debebat tolerare propter mandatum Dei, dubitat de Dei misericordia etc. Cum talibus affectibus luctatur Spiritus Sanctus in cordibus, ut eos reprimat ac mortificet, et inferat novos 50] spirituales motus. Sed de hoc loco infra plura testimonia colligemus, quamquam ubique obvia sunt, non solum in Scripturis, sed etiam in sanctis patribus.

Fleisch." Denn das Fleisch vertraut Gott nicht, verläßt sich auf diese Welt und zeitliche Güter, sucht in Trübsalen menschlichen Trost und Hilfe, auch wider Gottes Willen, zweifelt an Gottes Gnade und Hilfe, murrt wider Gott in Kreuz und Anfechtungen, welches alles wider Gottes Gebot ist. Wider die Adamssünde streitet und strebt der Heilige Geist in den Herzen der Heiligen, daß er dasselbe Gift des alten Adams, die böse verzweifelte Art, ausfege und töte und in das Herz einen andern Sinn und Mut bringe.

51] Praeclare inquit Augustinus: *Omnia mandata Dei implentur, quando, quidquid non fit, ignoscitur.* Requirit igitur fidem, [R. 92 etiam in bonis operibus, ut credamus nos placere Deo propter Christum nec opera ipsa per 52] se digna esse, quae placeant. Et Hieronymus contra Pelagianos: *Tunc ergo iusti sumus, quando nos peccatores fatemur, et iustitia nostra non ex proprio merito, sed ex* 53] *Dei consistit misericordia.* Oportet igitur adesse fidem in illa inchoata legis impletione, quae statuat, nos propter Christum habere Deum placatum. Nam misericordia non potest apprehendi nisi fide, sicut supra 54] aliquoties dictum est. Quare quum ait Paulus Rom. 3, 31, *legem stabiliri per fidem,* non solum hoc intelligi oportet, quod fide renati concipiant Spiritum Sanctum, et habeant motus consentientes legi Dei, sed multo maxime refert et hoc addere, quod sentire nos oportet, quod procul a perfectione legis ab- 55] simus. Quare non possumus statuere, quod coram Deo iusti reputemur propter nostram impletionem legis, sed quaerenda est alibi iustificatio, ut conscientia fiat tranquilla. Non enim sumus iusti coram Deo, donec fugientes iudicium Dei irascimur Deo. Sen- 56] tiendum est igitur, quod reconciliati fide propter Christum iusti reputemur, non propter legem aut propter opera nostra, sed quod haec inchoata impletio legis placeat propter fidem, et quod propter fidem non imputetur hoc, quod deest impletioni legis, etiamsi conspectus impuritatis nostrae perterrefacit nos. Iam si est alibi quaerenda iustificatio, ergo nostra dilectio 57] et opera non iustificant. Longe supra nostram munditiem, imo longe supra ipsam legem collocari debent mors et satisfactio Christi, nobis donata, ut statuamus nos propter illam [R. 93 satisfactionem habere propitium Deum, non propter nostram impletionem legis.

Und Augustinus sagt auch: „Alle Gebote Gottes halten wir dann, wenn uns alles, was wir nicht halten, vergeben wird." Darum will Augustinus, daß auch die guten Werke, welche der Heilige Geist wirkt in uns, Gott nicht anders gefallen denn also, daß wir glauben, daß wir Gott angenehm seien um Christus' willen, nicht daß sie an ihnen selbst Gott sollten gefallen. Und Hieronymus sagt wider Pelagius: „Dann sind wir gerecht, wenn wir uns für Sünder erkennen; und unsere Gerechtigkeit steht nicht in unserm Verdienst, sondern in Gottes Barmherzigkeit." Darum, wenn wir gleich ganz reich von [an] rechten guten Werken sind und also angefangen haben, Gottes Gesetz zu halten, wie Paulus, da er treulich gepredigt hat usw., so muß dennoch der Glaube da sein, dadurch wir vertrauen, daß Gott uns gnädig und versöhnt sei um Christus' willen und nicht um unserer Werke willen. Denn die Barmherzigkeit läßt sich nicht fassen denn allein durch den Glauben. Darum diejenigen, so lehren, daß wir um Werke willen, nicht um Christus' willen Gott angenehm werden, die führen die Gewissen in Verzweiflung.

58] Hoc docet Paulus ad Gal. 3, 13, quum ait: *Christus redemit nos a maledictione legis, factus pro nobis maledictum,* hoc est, lex damnat omnes homines, sed Christus, quia sine peccato subiit poenam peccati et victima pro nobis factus est, sustulit illud ius legis, ne accuset, ne damnet hos, qui credunt in ipsum, quia ipse est propitiatio pro eis, propter quam nunc iusti reputantur. Quum autem iusti reputentur, lex non potest eos accusare aut damnare, etiamsi re ipsa legi non satisfecerint. In eandem sententiam scribit ad Colossenses, 2, 10: *In Christo consummati estis;* quasi dicat: etsi adhuc procul abestis a perfectione legis, tamen non damnant vos reliquiae peccati, quia propter Christum habemus reconciliationem certam et firmam, si creditis, etiamsi haeret peccatum in carne vestra.

59] Semper debet in conspectu esse promissio, quod Deus propter suam promissionem, propter Christum, velit esse propitius, velit iustificare, non propter legem aut opera nostra. In hac promissione debent pavidae conscientiae quaerere reconciliationem et iustificationem, hac promissione debent se sustentare ac certo statuere, quod habeant Deum propitium propter Christum, propter suam promissionem. Ita nunquam possunt opera conscientiam reddere pacatam, 60] sed tantum promissio. Si igitur praeter dilectionem et opera alibi quaerenda est iustificatio et pax conscientiae, ergo dilectio et opera non iustificant, etsi sunt virtutes et iustitiae legis, quatenus sunt impletio legis. Et eatenus haec obedientia legis iustificat iustitia legis. Sed haec imperfecta iustitia legis non est accepta Deo nisi propter fidem. Ideo non iustificat, id est, neque reconciliat, neque regenerat, neque per se facit acceptos coram Deo.

61] Ex his constat *sola fide nos iustificari coram Deo,* quia sola fide accipimus [R. 94 remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem propter Christum, quia reconciliatio seu iustificatio est res promissa propter Christum, non

Aus dem allem ist's klar genug, **daß allein der Glaube uns vor Gott gerecht macht,** das ist, er erlangt Vergebung der Sünden und Gnade um Christus' willen und bringt uns zu einer neuen Geburt. Item, so ist's klar genug, daß wir

to God's will, flees from afflictions, which it ought to bear because of God's commands, doubts concerning God's mercy, etc. The Holy Ghost in our hearts contends with such dispositions [with Adam's sin] in order to suppress and mortify them [this poison of the old Adam, this desperately wicked disposition], and to produce new spiritual movements. But concerning this topic we will collect more testimonies below, although they are everywhere obvious not only in the Scriptures, but also in the holy Fathers.

Well does Augustine say: *All the commandments of God are fulfilled when whatever is not done, is forgiven.* Therefore he requires faith even in good works [which the Holy Spirit produces in us], in order that we may believe that for Christ's sake we please God, and that even the works are not of themselves worthy and pleasing. And Jerome, against the Pelagians, says: *Then, therefore, we are righteous when we confess that we are sinners, and that our righteousness consists not in our own merit, but in God's mercy.* Therefore, in this inchoate fulfilment of the Law, faith ought to be present, which is certain that for Christ's sake we have a reconciled God. For mercy cannot be apprehended unless by faith, as has been repeatedly said above. [Therefore those who teach that we are not accepted by faith for Christ's sake, but for the sake of our own works, lead consciences into despair.] Wherefore, when Paul says, Rom. 3, 31: *We establish the Law through faith,* by this we ought to understand, not only that those regenerated by faith receive the Holy Ghost, and have movements agreeing with God's Law, but it is by far of the greatest importance that we add also this, that we ought to perceive that we are far distant from the perfection of the Law. Wherefore we cannot conclude that we are accounted righteous before God because of our fulfilling of the Law, but in order that the conscience may become tranquil, justification must be sought elsewhere. For we are not righteous before God as long as we flee from God's judgment, and are angry with God. Therefore we must conclude that, being reconciled by faith, we are accounted righteous for Christ's sake, not for the sake of the Law or our works, but that this inchoate fulfilling of the Law pleases on account of faith, and that, on account of faith, there is no imputation of the imperfection of the fulfilling of the Law, even though the sight of our impurity terrifies us. Now, if justification is to be sought elsewhere, our love and works do not therefore justify. Far above our purity, yea, far above the Law itself, ought to be placed the death and satisfaction of Christ, presented to us that we might be sure that because of this satisfaction, and not because of our fulfilling of the Law, we have a gracious God.

Paul teaches this in Gal. 3, 13, when he says: *Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the Law, being made a curse for us, i. e.,* the Law condemns all men, but Christ, because without sin He has borne the punishment of sin, and been made a victim for us, has removed that right of the Law to accuse and condemn those who believe in Him, because He Himself is the propitiation for them, for whose sake we are now accounted righteous. But since they are accounted righteous, the Law cannot accuse or condemn them, even though they have not actually satisfied the Law. To the same purport he writes to the Colossians, 2, 10: *Ye are complete in Him,* as though he were to say: Although ye are still far from the perfection of the Law, yet the remnants of sin do not condemn you, because for Christ's sake we have a sure and firm reconciliation, if you believe, even though sin inhere in your flesh.

The promise ought always to be in sight that God, because of His promise, wishes for Christ's sake, and not because of the Law or our works, to be gracious and to justify. In this promise timid consciences ought to seek reconciliation and justification; by this promise they ought to sustain themselves, and be confident that for Christ's sake, because of His promise, they have a gracious God. Thus works can never render a conscience pacified, but only the promise can. If, therefore, justification and peâce of conscience must be sought elsewhere than in love and works, love and works do not justify, although they are virtues and pertain to the righteousness of the Law, in so far as they are a fulfilling of the Law. So far also this obedience of the Law justifies by the righteousness of the Law. But this imperfect righteousness of the Law is not accepted by God, unless on account of faith. Accordingly, it does not justify, *i. e.,* it neither reconciles, nor regenerates, nor by itself renders us accepted before God.

From this it is evident that *we are justified before God by faith alone* [*i. e.,* it obtains the remission of sins and grace for Christ's sake, and regenerates us. Likewise, it is quite clear that by faith alone the Holy Ghost is received; again, that our works and this inchoate fulfilling of the Law do not by themselves please God. Now, even if I abound in good works like Paul or Peter, I must seek my righteousness elsewhere, namely, in the promise of the grace of Christ; again, if only faith calms the conscience, it must, indeed, be certain that only faith justifies before God. For, if we wish to teach correctly, we must adhere to this, that we are accepted with God, not on account of the Law, not on account of works, but for Christ's sake. For the honor,

propter legem. Itaque sola fide accipitur, etsi donato Spiritu Sancto sequitur legis impletio.

allein durch den Glauben den Heiligen Geist empfangen; item, daß unsere Werke, und da wir anfangen, das Gesetz zu halten, an ihm selbst Gott nicht gefallen. So ich nun, wenn ich gleich voll guter Werke bin, wie Paulus war und Petrus, dennoch anderswo muß meine Gerechtigkeit suchen, nämlich in der Verheißung der Gnade Christi, item, so allein der Glaube das Gewissen stillt, so muß je das gewiß sein, daß allein der Glaube vor Gott gerecht macht. Denn wir müssen allezeit dabei bleiben, wollen wir recht lehren, daß wir nicht um des Gesetzes willen, nicht um Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen Gott angenehm sind. Denn die Ehre, so Christo gebührt, soll man nicht dem Gesetze oder unsern elenden Werken geben.

Responsio ad Argumenta Adversariorum.

62] Cognitis autem huius causae fundamentis, videlicet discrimine legis et promissionum seu evangelii, facile erit diluere ea, quae adversarii obiiciunt. Citant enim dicta de lege et operibus et omittunt dicta de promissio-
63] nibus. Semel autem responderi ad omnes sententias de lege potest, quod lex non possit fieri sine Christo, et si qua fiunt civilia opera sine Christo, non placent Deo. Quare quum praedicantur opera, necesse est addere, quod fides requiratur, quod propter fidem praedicentur, quod sint fructus et testimonia fidei. **64**] Ambiguae et periculosae causae multas et varias solutiones gignunt. Verum est enim illud veteris poetae:

Ὁ δ' ἄδικος λόγος
νοσῶν ἐν αὐτῷ φαρμάκων δεῖται σοφῶν.

Sed in bonis et firmis causis una atque altera solutio, sumpta ex fontibus, corrigit omnia, quae videntur offendere. Id fit et in hac nostra causa. Nam illa regula, quam modo recitavi, interpretatur omnia dicta, quae de lege
65] et operibus citantur. Fatemur enim Scripturam alibi legem, alibi evangelium seu gratuitam promissionem peccatorum propter Christum tradere. Verum adversarii nostri simpliciter abolent gratuitam promissionem, quum negant, quod fides iustificet, quum docent, quod propter dilectionem et opera nostra accipiamus remissionem peccatorum et [R. 95
66] reconciliationem. Si pendet ex conditione operum nostrorum remissio peccatorum, prorsus erit incerta. Erit igitur abolita promissio.
67] Proinde nos revocamus pias mentes ad considerandas promissiones, et de gratuita remissione peccatorum et reconciliatione, quae fit per fidem in Christum, docemus. Postea addimus et doctrinam legis. Et haec oportet ὀρθοτομεῖν, ut ait Paulus 2 Tim. 2, 15. Videndum est, quid legi, quid promissionibus Scriptura tribuat. Sic enim laudat opera, ut non tollat gratuitam promissionem.

Antwort auf die Argumente der Widersacher.

So wir nun die rechten Gründe dieser Sache haben angezeigt, nämlich den Unterschied unter göttlicher Verheißung und des Gesetzes, so kann man leichtlich verlegen [widerlegen] dasjenige, so die Widersacher dagegen vorbringen. Denn sie führen Sprüche ein vom Gesetz und guten Werken. Die Sprüche aber, so von göttlicher Verheißung reden, lassen sie außen. Man kann aber kurz antworten auf alle Sprüche, so sie einführen von dem Gesetze, nämlich, daß das Gesetz ohne Christum niemand halten kann, und wenngleich äußerlich gute Werke geschehen ohne Christum, so hat doch Gott darum an der Person nicht Gefallen. Darum wenn man will von guten Werken lehren oder predigen, soll man allezeit dazusetzen, daß zuvörderst Glaube da sein müsse, und daß sie allein um des Glaubens willen an Christum Gott angenehm seien, und daß sie Früchte und Zeugnisse des Glaubens sind. Diese unsere Lehre ist je klar, sie läßt sich auch wohl am Licht sehen und gegen die Heilige Schrift halten, und ist auch hie klar und richtig vorgetragen, wer ihm will sagen lassen und die Wahrheit nicht wissentlich verleugnen. Denn Christi Wohltat und den großen Schatz des Evangelii (welchen Paulus so hoch hebt) recht zu erkennen, müssen wir je auf einem Teil Gottes Verheißung und angebotene Gnade, auf dem andern Teil das Gesetz so weit voneinander scheiden als Himmel und Erde. In baufälligen Sachen bedarf man viele Glossen; aber in guten Sachen ist allezeit eine solutio oder zwei, die durchaus gehen und lösen alles auf, so man dagegen vermeint aufzubringen. Also hier in dieser Sache: diese einige solutio löst alle Sprüche auf, die wider uns angezogen werden, nämlich daß man das Gesetz ohne Christum nicht recht tun kann, und obschon äußerliche Werke geschehen, daß doch Gott die Person nicht gefällt außer Christo. Denn wir bekennen, daß die Schrift diese zwei Lehren führt: Gesetz und Verheißung der Gnade. Die Widersacher aber, die treten schlechts das ganze Evangelium mit Füßen und alle Verheißungen der Gnade in Christo; so lehren sie, daß wir um unserer Liebe und Werke willen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und nicht durch den Glauben. Denn so Gottes Gnade und Hilfe gegen uns gebaut ist auf unsere Werke, so ist sie gar ungewiß. Denn wir können nimmermehr gewiß sein, wann wir Werke genug tun, oder ob die Werke heilig oder rein genug seien. So wird auch also die Vergebung der Sünden ungewiß, und geht Gottes Zusage unter, wie Paulus sagt Röm. 4, 14: „Die göttliche Zusage ist dann umgestoßen, und ist alles ungewiß." Darum lehren wir die Herzen und Gewissen, daß sie sich trösten durch dieselbe Verheißung Gottes, welche fest steht und bietet Gnade an und Vergebung der Sünden um Christus' willen, nicht um unserer Werke willen. Danach lehren wir auch von guten Werken und von dem Gesetz, nicht daß wir durch das Gesetz verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, oder daß wir um des Gesetzes willen Gott angenehm seien, sondern daß Gott gute Werke haben will. Denn man muß, wie Paulus sagt, recht schneiden und teilen Gottes Wort, das Gesetz auf einen Ort, die Zusage Gottes auf den andern. Man muß sehen, wie die Schrift von der Verheißung, wie sie von dem Gesetz redet. Denn die Schrift gebietet und lobt also gute Werke, daß sie doch gleichwohl Gottes Verheißung und den rechten Schatz, Christum, noch viel tausendmal höher setzt.

due Christ, must not be given to the Law or our miserable works.] because by faith alone we receive remission of sins and reconciliation, because reconciliation or justification is a matter promised for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of the Law. Therefore it is received by faith alone, although, when the Holy Ghost is given, the fulfilling of the Law follows.

Reply to the Arguments of the Adversaries.

Now, when the grounds of this case have been understood, namely, the distinction between the Law and the promises, or the Gospel, it will be easy to resolve the objections of the adversaries. For they cite passages concerning the Law and works, and omit passages concerning the promises. But a reply can once for all be made to all opinions concerning the Law, namely, that the Law cannot be observed without Christ, and that if civil works are wrought without Christ, they do not please God. [God is not pleased with the person.] Wherefore, when works are commended, it is necessary to add that faith is required, that they are commended on account of faith, that they are the fruits and testimonies of faith. [This our doctrine is, indeed, plain; it need not fear the light, and may be held against the Holy Scriptures. We have also clearly and correctly presented it here, if any will receive instruction and not knowingly deny the truth. For rightly to understand the benefit of Christ and the great treasure of the Gospel (which Paul extols so greatly), we must separate, on the one hand, the promise of God and the grace that is offered, and, on the other hand, the Law, as far as the heavens are from the earth. In shaky matters many explanations are needed, but in a good matter one or two thoroughgoing explanations dissolve all objections which men think they can raise.] Ambiguous and dangerous cases produce many and various solutions. For the judgment of the ancient poet is true:

"An unjust cause, being in itself sick, requires skilfully applied remedies."

But in just and sure cases one or two explanations derived from the sources correct all things that seem to offend. This occurs also in this case of ours. For the rule which I have just recited, explains all the passages that are cited concerning the Law and works [namely, that without Christ the Law cannot be truly observed, and although external works may be performed, still the person doing them does not please God outside of Christ]. For we acknowledge that Scripture teaches in some places the Law, and in other places the Gospel, or the gratuitous promise of the remission of sins for Christ's sake. But our adversaries absolutely abolish the free promise when they deny that faith justifies, and teach that for the sake of love and of our works we receive remission of sins and reconciliation. If the remission of sins depends upon the condition of our works, it is altogether uncertain. [For we can never be certain whether we do enough works, or whether our works are sufficiently holy and pure. Thus, too, the forgiveness of sins is made uncertain, and the promise of God perishes, as Paul says, Rom. 4, 14: *The promise is made of none effect*, and everything is rendered uncertain.] Therefore the promise will be abolished. Hence we refer godly minds to the consideration of the promises, and we teach concerning the free remission of sins and concerning reconciliation, which occurs through faith in Christ. Afterwards we add also the doctrine of the Law. [Not that by the Law we merit the remission of sins, or that for the sake of the Law we are accepted with God, but because God requires good works.] And it is necessary to divide these things aright, as Paul says, 2 Tim. 2, 15. We must see what Scripture ascribes to the Law, and what to the promises. For it praises works in such a way as not to remove the free promise [as to place the promise of God and the true treasure, Christ, a thousand leagues above it].

68] Sunt enim facienda opera propter mandatum Dei, item ad exercendam fidem, item propter confessionem et gratiarum actionem. Propter has causas necessario debent bona opera fieri, quae, quamquam fiunt in carne nondum prorsus renovata, quae retardat motus Spiritus Sancti et aspergit aliquid de sua immunditie, tamen propter fidem sunt opera sancta, divina, sacrificia et politia Christi regnum suum ostendentis coram hoc mundo.

Denn gute Werke soll und muß man tun, denn Gott will sie haben; so sind es Früchte des Glaubens, wie Paulus zu den Ephesern am 2, 10 sagt: „Denn wir sind geschaffen in Christo JEsu zu guten Werken." Darum sollen gute Werke dem Glauben folgen als Danksagungen gegen Gott, item, daß der Glaube dadurch geübt werde, wachse und zunehme, und daß durch unser Bekenntnis und guten Wandel andere auch erinnert werden.

In his enim sanctificat corda et reprimit diabolum, et ut retineat evangelium inter homines, foris opponit regno diaboli confessionem sanctorum et in nostra imbecillitate declarat poten-
69] tiam suam. Pauli apostoli, Athanasii, Augustini et similium, qui docuerunt ecclesias, pericula, labores, conciones sunt sancta opera, sunt vera sacrificia Deo accepta, sunt cer-
70] tamina Christi, per quae repressit diabolum et depulit ab his, qui crediderunt. Labores Davidis in gerendis bellis et in administratione domestica sunt opera sancta, sunt vera sacrificia, sunt certamina Dei, defendentis illum populum, qui habebat Verbum Dei, adversus
71] diabolum, ne penitus extingueretur notitia Dei in terris. Sic sentimus etiam de singulis bonis operibus in infimis vocationibus et in privatis. Per haec opera triumphat Christus adversus diabolum, ut quod Corinthii, 1 Cor. 16, 1, conferebant eleemosynam, sanctum [R. 96 opus erat et sacrificium et certamen Christi adversus diabolum, qui laborat, ne quid fiat
72] ad laudem Dei. Talia opera vituperare, confessionem doctrinae, afflictiones, officia caritatis, mortificationes carnis, profecto esset vituperare externam regni Christi inter homines
73] politiam. Atque hic addimus etiam de praemiis et de merito. Docemus operibus fidelium proposita et promissa esse praemia. Docemus bona opera meritoria esse, non remissionis peccatorum, gratiae aut iustificationis (haec enim tantum fide consequimur), sed aliorum praemiorum corporalium et spiritualium in hac vita et post hanc vitam, quia Paulus
74] inquit 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Unusquisque recipiet mercedem iuxta suum laborem.* Erunt igitur dissimilia praemia propter dissimiles labores. At remissio peccatorum similis et aequalis est omnium, sicut unus est Christus, et offertur gratis omnibus, qui credunt sibi propter Christum remitti peccata. Accipitur igitur tantum fide remissio peccatorum et iustificatio, non propter ulla opera, sicut constat in terroribus conscientiae, quod non possunt irae Dei opponi ulla nostra opera, sicut Paulus clare dicit Rom. 5, 1: *Fide iustificati, pacem habemus erga Deum per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, per quem et accessum habemus fide* etc.
75] Fides autem, quia filios Dei facit, facit et coheredes Christi. Itaque quia iustificationem non meremur operibus nostris, qua efficimur filii Dei et coheredes Christi, non meremur vitam aeternam operibus nostris. Fides enim consequitur, quia fides iustificat nos, et habet placatum Deum. Debetur autem iustificatis iuxta illud Rom. 8, 30: *Quos iustificavit, eosdem et glori-*
76] *ficavit.* Paulus Eph. 6, 2 sq. commendat nobis praeceptum de honorandis parentibus mentione praemii, quod additur illi praecepto, ubi non vult, quod obedientia erga parentes iustificet
77] nos coram Deo; sed postquam fit in iustificatis, meremur alia magna praemia. Deus [R. 97 tamen varie exercet sanctos et saepe differt praemia iustitiae operum, ut discant non confidere sua iustitia, ut discant quaerere voluntatem Dei magis quam praemia, sicut apparet in Iobo, in Christo et aliis sanctis. Et de hac re docent nos multi psalmi, qui consolantur nos adversus felicitatem impiorum, ut Ps. 37, 1: *Noli aemulari.* Et Christus ait Matth. 5, 10: *Beati, qui*
78] *persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum coelorum.* His
79] praeconiis bonorum operum moventur haud dubie fideles ad bene operandum. Interim etiam praedicatur doctrina poenitentiae adversus impios, qui male operantur, ostenditur ira
80] Dei, quam minatus est omnibus, qui non agunt poenitentiam. Laudamus igitur et requirimus bona opera et multas ostendimus causas, quae fieri debeant.

Sic de operibus docet et Paulus, quum inquit Rom. 4, 9 sq., Abraham accepisse circumcisionem, non ut per illud opus iustificaretur. Iam enim fide consecutus erat, ut iustus reputaretur. Sed accessit circumcisio, ut haberet in corpore scriptum signum, quo commonefactus exerceret fidem, quo etiam confiteretur fidem coram aliis et alios ad credendum suo
81] testimonio invitaret. Abel fide gratiorem hostiam obtulit, Hebr. 11, 4. Quia igitur fide iustus erat, ideo placuit sacrificium, quod faciebat, non ut per id opus mereretur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, sed ut fidem suam exerceret et ostenderet aliis ad invitandos eos ad credendum.

Also sagt Paulus, daß Abraham habe die Beschneidung empfangen, nicht daß er um des Werkes willen wäre gerecht geworden, sondern daß er an seinem Leibe ein Zeichen hätte, dadurch er erinnert würde und immer im Glauben zunähme; item, daß er seinen Glauben bekennete vor andern und durch sein Zeugnis die andern auch zu glauben reizte. Also hat Abel durch den Glauben Gott ein angenehm Opfer getan. Denn das Opfer hat Gott nicht gefallen ex opere operato, sondern Abel hielt's gewiß dafür, daß er einen gnädigen Gott hätte; das Werk aber tat er, daß er seinen Glauben übte und die andern durch sein Exempel und Bekenntnis zu glauben reizte.

82] Quum hoc modo bona opera sequi fidem debeant, longe aliter utuntur operibus homines, qui non possunt credere ac statuere in corde, sibi gratis ignosci propter Christum,

So nun also und nicht anders die guten Werke sollten dem Glauben folgen, so tun die viel anderer Meinung ihre Werke, die nicht glauben, daß ihnen ohne Verdienst [die] Sünden vergeben wer-

For good works are to be done on account of God's command, likewise for the exercise of faith [as Paul says, Eph. 2, 10: *We are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works*], and on account of confession and giving of thanks. For these reasons good works ought necessarily to be done, which, although they are done in the flesh not as yet entirely renewed, that retards the movements of the Holy Ghost, and imparts some of its uncleanness, yet, on account of Christ, are holy, divine works, sacrifices, and acts pertaining to the government of Christ, who thus displays His kingdom before this world. For in these He sanctifies hearts, and represses the devil, and, in order to retain the Gospel among men, openly opposes to the kingdom of the devil the confession of saints, and, in our weakness, declares His power. The dangers, labors, and sermons of the Apostle Paul, of Athanasius, Augustine, and the like, who taught the churches, are holy works, are true sacrifices acceptable to God, are contests of Christ through which He repressed the devil, and drove him from those who believed. David's labors, in waging wars and in his home government, are holy works, are true sacrifices, are contests of God, defending the people who had the Word of God against the devil, in order that the knowledge of God might not be entirely extinguished on earth. We think thus also concerning every good work in the humblest callings and in private affairs. Through these works Christ celebrates His victory over the devil, just as the distribution of alms by the Corinthians, 1 Cor. 16, 1, was a holy work, and a sacrifice and contest of Christ against the devil, who labors that nothing may be done for the praise of God. To disparage such works, the confession of doctrine, affliction, works of love, mortifications of the flesh, would be indeed to disparage the outward government of Christ's kingdom among men. Here also we add something concerning rewards and merits. We teach that rewards have been offered and promised to the works of believers. We teach that good works are meritorious, not for the remission of sins, for grace or justification (for these we obtain only by faith), but for other rewards, bodily and spiritual, in this life and after this life, because Paul says, 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labor.* There will, therefore, be different rewards according to different labors. But the remission of sins is alike and equal to all, just as Christ is one, and is offered freely to all who believe that for Christ's sake their sins are remitted. Therefore the remission of sins and justification are received only by faith, and not on account of any works, as is evident in the terrors of conscience, because none of our works can be opposed to God's wrath, as Paul clearly says, Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom also we have access by faith,* etc. But because faith makes sons of God, it also makes coheirs with Christ. Therefore, because by our works we do not merit justification, through which we are made sons of God, and coheirs with Christ, we do not by our works merit eternal life; for faith obtains this, because faith justifies us and has a reconciled God. But eternal life is due the justified, according to the passage Rom. 8, 30: *Whom He justified, them He also glorified.* Paul, Eph. 6, 2, commends to us the commandment concerning honoring parents, by mention of the reward which is added to that commandment, where he does not mean that obedience to parents justifies us before God, but that, when it occurs in those who have been justified, it merits other great rewards. Yet God exercises His saints variously, and often defers the rewards of the righteousness of works in order that they may learn not to trust in their own righteousness, and may learn to seek the will of God rather than the rewards; as appears in Job, in Christ, and other saints. And of this, many psalms teach us, which console us against the happiness of the wicked, as Ps. 37, 1: *Neither be thou envious.* And Christ says, Matt. 5, 10: *Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.* By these praises of good works, believers are undoubtedly moved to do good works. Meanwhile, the doctrine of repentance is also proclaimed against the godless, whose works are wicked; and the wrath of God is displayed, which He has threatened all who do not repent. We therefore praise and require good works, and show many reasons why they ought to be done.

Thus of works Paul also teaches when he says, Rom. 4, 9 sq., that Abraham received circumcision, not in order that by this work he might be justified; for by faith he had already attained it that he was accounted righteous. But circumcision was added in order that he might have in his body a written sign, admonished by which he might exercise faith, and by which also he might confess his faith before others, and, by his testimony, might invite others to believe. *By faith Abel offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice,* Heb. 11, 4. Because, therefore, he was just by faith, the sacrifice which he made was pleasing to God; not that by this work he merited the remission of sins and grace, but that he exercised his faith and showed it to others, in order to invite them to believe.

Although in this way good works ought to follow faith, men who cannot believe and be sure that for Christ's sake they are freely forgiven, and that freely for Christ's sake they have a reconciled God, employ works far

se habere Deum propitium gratis propter Christum. Hi, quum vident opera sanctorum, humano more iudicant, sanctos promeruisse remissionem peccatorum et gratiam per haec opera. Ideo imitantur ea et sentiunt [R. 98 se per opera similia mereri remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, sentiunt se per illa opera placare iram Dei et consequi, ut pro- **83**] pter illa opera iusti reputentur. Hanc impiam opinionem in operibus damnamus. Primum, quia obscurat gloriam Christi, quum homines proponunt Deo haec opera tamquam pretium et propitiationem. Hic honos, debitus uni Christo, tribuitur nostris operibus. Secundo, neque tamen inveniunt conscientiae pacem in his operibus, sed alia super alia in veris terroribus cumulantes tandem desperant, quia nullum opus satis mundum inveniunt. Semper accusat lex et parit iram. Tertio, tales nunquam assequuntur notitiam Dei; quia enim irati fugiunt Deum iudicantem et affligentem, nunquam sentiunt se exaudiri. **84**] At fides ostendit praesentiam Dei, postquam constituit, quod Deus gratis ignoscat et exaudiat.

den um Christus' willen. Denn wenn dieselben sehen gute Werke an den Heiligen, richten sie menschlicherweise von den Heiligen, wollen wähnen, die Heiligen haben mit ihren Werken Vergebung der Sünden erlangt oder seien durch Werke vor Gott gerecht geworden. Darum tun sie dergleichen ihnen nach und meinen, sie wollen auch also Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und Gottes Zorn versöhnen. Solchen öffentlichen Irrtum und falsche Lehre von den Werken verdammen wir. Erstlich, daß dadurch Christo, dem rechten Mittler, die Ehre genommen wird und wird den elenden Werken gegeben, wenn wir an Christus' Statt unsere Werke wollen darstellen für einen Schatz und Versöhnung des göttlichen Zorns und der Sünde. Denn die Ehre gehört allein Christo, nicht unsern elenden Werken. Zum andern, so finden doch die Gewissen auch nicht Frieden in solchen Werken. Denn wenn sie schon der Werke viel tun und zu tun sich befleißigen, so findet sich doch kein Werk, das rein genug sei, das wichtig, köstlich genug sei, einen gnädigen Gott zu machen, das ewige Leben gewiß zu erlangen, in Summa, das Gewissen ruhig und friedlich zu machen. Für das dritte, die auf Werke bauen, die lernen nimmermehr Gott recht kennen noch seinen Willen. Denn ein Gewissen, das an Gottes Gnade zweifelt, das kann nicht glauben, daß es erhört werde. Und dieweil es Gott nicht anrufen kann, wird es auch göttlicher Hilfe nicht inne, kann also Gott nicht kennen lernen. Wenn aber der Glaube da ist, nämlich daß wir durch Christum einen gnädigen Gott haben, der darf fröhlich Gott anrufen, lernt Gott und seinen Willen kennen.

85] Semper autem in mundo haesit impia opinio de operibus. Gentes habebant sacrificia, sumpta a patribus. Horum opera imitabantur, fidem non tenebant, sed sentiebant opera illa propitiationem et pretium esse, propter quod Deus reconciliaretur ipsis. Po- **86**] pulus in lege imitabatur sacrificia hac opinione, quod propter illa opera haberent placatum Deum, ut ita loquamur, ex opere operato. Hic videmus, quam vehementer obiurgent populum prophetae. Psalmo 50, 8: *Non in sacrificiis arguam te.* Et Ieremia 7, 22: *Non praecepi de holocaustomatis.* Tales loci damnant non opera, quae certe Deus praeceperat ut externa exercitia in hac politia, sed damnant impiam persuasionem, quod sentiebant se per illa opera placare iram Dei, et **87**] fidem abiiciebant. Et quia nulla opera reddunt pacatam conscientiam, ideo subinde nova opera excogitantur praeter mandata Dei. Populus Israel viderat prophetas in excelsis sacrificasse. Porro sanctorum exempla maxime movent animos, sperantes se similibus operibus perinde gratiam consecuturos esse, ut illi consecuti sunt. Quare hoc opus [R. 99 mirabili studio coepit imitari populus, ut per id opus mereretur remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et iustitiam. At prophetae sacrificaverant in excelsis, non ut per illa opera mererentur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, sed quia in illis locis docebant, ideo ibi testimonium fidei suae proponebant. Popu- **88**] lus audierat Abraham immolasse filium suum. Quare et ipsi, ut asperrimo ac difficillimo opere placarent iram Dei, mactaverunt filios. At Abraham non hac opinione immolabat filium, ut id opus esset pretium et propitiatio, propter quam iustus reputaretur. **89**] Sic in ecclesia instituta est coena Domini,

Aber der Irrtum von den Werken klebt der Welt gar hart an. Die Heiden haben auch Opfer, welche von [den] Patriarchen erstlich herkommen; dieselben Opfer und Werke der Väter haben sie nachgetan. Vom Glauben wußten sie nicht, hielten dafür, daß dieselben Werke ihnen einen gnädigen Gott machten. Die Israeliten erdichteten ihnen auch Werke und Opfer der Meinung, daß sie dadurch wollten einen gnädigen Gott machen durch ihr opus operatum, das ist, durch das bloße Werk, welches ohne Glauben geschah. Da sehen wir, wie heftig die Propheten dawider schreien und rufen, als im 50. Psalm: „Deines Opfers halben strafe ich dich nicht" usw. Item, Jeremias sagt: „Ich habe nicht mit euren Vätern von Brandopfern geredet." Da verdammen die Propheten nicht die Opfer an ihnen selbst, denn die hat Gott geboten als äußerliche Übungen in demselben seinem Volk, sondern sie treffen vornehmlich ihr gottlos Herz, da sie die Opfer der Meinung taten, daß sie meinten, dadurch würde Gott ex opere operato versöhnt; dadurch ward der Glaube unterdrückt. Und so nun kein Werk das Gewissen recht zufriedenstellt, so pflegen die Heuchler auf ein blindes Geratewohl und Wagendahin gleichwohl ein Werk über das andere, ein Opfer über das andere zu erfinden, und alles ohne Gottes Wort und Befehl mit bösem Gewissen, wie wir im Papsttum gesehen. Und vornehmlich lassen sie sich bewegen durch die Exempel der Heiligen. Denn wenn sie denen also nachfolgen, meinen [sie], sie wollen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, wie die Heiligen erlangt haben usw. Aber die Heiligen glaubten. Das Volk Israel hatte gesehen, daß die Propheten opferten auf den Höhen und Hainen; das Werk taten sie nach, daß sie durch das Werk Gottes Zorn versöhnten. Die Propheten aber hatten da Opfer getan, nicht daß sie durch die Werke Vergebung der Sünden ver-

otherwise. When they see the works of saints, they judge in a human manner that saints have merited the remission of sins and grace through these works. Accordingly, they imitate them, and think that through similar works they merit the remission of sins and grace; they think that through these works they appease the wrath of God, and attain that for the sake of these works they are accounted righteous. This godless opinion concerning works we condemn. In the first place, because it obscures the glory of Christ when men offer to God these works as a price and propitiation. This honor, due to Christ alone, is ascribed to our works. Secondly, they nevertheless do not find, in these works, peace of conscience, but in true terrors, heaping up works upon works, they at length despair because they find no work sufficiently pure [sufficiently important and precious to propitiate God, to obtain with certainty eternal life, in a word, to tranquilize and pacify the conscience]. The Law always accuses, and produces wrath. Thirdly, such persons never attain the knowledge of God [nor of His will]; for, as in anger they flee from God, who judges and afflicts them, they never believe that they are heard. But faith manifests the presence of God, since it is certain that God freely forgives and hears us.

Moreover, this godless opinion concerning works always has existed in the world [sticks to the world quite tightly]. The heathen had sacrifices, derived from the fathers. They imitated their works. Their faith they did not retain, but thought that the works were a propitiation and price on account of which God would be reconciled to them. The people in the Law [the Israelites] imitated sacrifices with the opinion that by means of these works they would appease God, so to say, *ex opere operato*. We see here how earnestly the prophets rebuke the people: Ps. 50, 8: *I will not reprove thee for thy sacrifices*, and Jer. 7, 22: *I spake not unto your fathers concerning burnt offerings*. Such passages condemn not works, which God certainly had commanded as outward exercises in this government, but they condemn the godless opinion according to which they thought that by these works they appeased the wrath of God, and thus cast away faith. And because no works pacify the conscience, new works, in addition to God's commands, were from time to time devised [the hypocrites nevertheless used to invent one work after another, one sacrifice after another, by a blind guess and in reckless wantonness, and all this without the word and command of God, with wicked conscience, as we have seen in the Papacy]. The people of Israel had seen the prophets sacrificing on high places [and in groves]. Besides, the examples of the saints very greatly move the minds of those, hoping by similar works to obtain grace just as these saints obtained it. [But the saints believed.] Wherefore the people began, with remarkable zeal, to imitate this work, in order that by such a work [they might appease the wrath of God] they might merit remission of sins, grace, and righteousness. But the prophets had been sacrificing on high places, not that by these works they might merit the remission of sins and grace, but because on these places they taught, and, accordingly, presented there a testimony of their faith. The people had heard that Abraham had sacrificed his son. Wherefore they also, in order to appease God by a most cruel and difficult work, put to

ut recordatione promissionum Christi, quarum in hoc signo admonemur, confirmetur in nobis fides et foris confiteamur fidem nostram et praedicemus beneficia Christi, sicut Paulus ait 1 Cor. 11, 26: *Quoties feceritis, mortem Domini annunciabitis* etc. Verum adversarii nostri contendunt missam esse opus, quod ex opere operato iustificat et tollit reatum culpae et poenae in his, pro quibus fit. Sic enim scribit Gabriel.

dienen wollten, sondern daß sie an den Orten predigten und lehrten. Darum taten sie die Opfer zu einem Zeugnis ihres Glaubens. Item, das Volk hatte nun gehört, daß Abraham seinen Sohn geopfert hatte; daß sie nun auch Werke täten, die sie schwer und sauer ankämen, so opferten sie ihre Söhne auch. Abraham aber war nicht der Meinung, seinen Sohn zu opfern, daß solches sollte eine Versöhnung sein, dadurch er vor Gott gerecht würde usw. Also in der Kirche hat Christus das Abendmahl eingesetzt, darin durch göttliche Zusage Vergebung der Sünden wird angeboten, daß wir erinnert werden, daß durch das äußerliche Zeichen unser Glaube gestärkt werde, daß wir dadurch auch vor den Leuten unsern Glauben bekennen und die Wohltat Christi preisen und predigen, wie Paulus sagt: „Sooft ihr das tut, sollt ihr den Tod des HErrn verkündigen" usw. Die Widersacher aber geben vor, die Messe sei ein solch Werk, das ex opere operato vor Gott uns gerecht mache und erlöse diejenigen von Pein und Schuld, für welche es geschieht.

90] Antonius, Bernhardus, Dominicus, Franciscus et alii sancti patres elegerunt certum vitae genus vel propter studium, vel propter alia utilia exercitia. Interim sentiebant se fide propter Christum iustos reputari et habere propitium Deum, non propter illa propria exercitia. Sed multitudo deinceps imitata est non fidem patrum, sed exempla sine fide, ut per illa opera mererentur remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et iustitiam; non senserunt se haec gratis accipere propter propitiatorem Christum. Sic de omnibus operi-
91] bus iudicat mundus, quod sint propitiatio, qua placatur Deus, quod sint pretia, propter quae reputamur iusti. Non sentit Christum esse propitiatorem, non sentit, quod fide gratis consequamur, ut iusti reputemur propter Christum. Et tamen quum opera non [R. 100 possint reddere pacatam conscientiam, eliguntur subinde alia, fiunt novi cultus, nova vota, novi monachatus praeter mandatum Dei, ut aliquod magnum opus quaeratur, quod possit

St. Antonius, Bernhardus, Dominikus und andere Heilige haben durch ein eigen Leben von Leuten sich getan, damit sie desto leichter die Heilige Schrift könnten lesen, oder um anderer Übung willen. Nichtsdestoweniger haben sie bei sich gehalten, daß sie durch den Glauben an Christum vor Gott gerecht wären, daß sie allein durch Christum einen gnädigen Gott erlangten. Aber der große Haufe ist hernach zugefahren, haben den Glauben an Christum fahren lassen, haben allein gesehen auf die Exempel ohne Glauben und sich unterstanden, durch dieselben Klosterwerke Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen. Also setzt allezeit die Vernunft die guten Werke zu hoch und an einen unrechten Ort. Den Irrtum sicht nun an das Evangelium und lehrt, daß wir vor Gott gerecht werden nicht um des Gesetzes oder unserer Werke willen, sondern allein um Christus' willen. Christum aber kann man nicht fassen denn allein durch den Glauben. Darum so werden wir auch allein durch den Glauben vor Gott gerecht.

92] opponi irae et iudicio Dei. Has impias opiniones de operibus adversarii tuentur contra Scripturam. At haec tribuere operibus nostris, quod sint propitiatio, quod mereantur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, quod propter ea iusti coram Deo reputemur, non fide propter Christum propitiatorem, quid hoc aliud est, quam Christo detrahere honorem mediatoris et
93] propitiatoris? Nos igitur, etsi sentimus ac docemus, bona opera necessario facienda esse (*debet enim sequi fidem inchoata legis impletio*), tamen Christo suum honorem reddimus. Sentimus ac docemus, quod fide propter Christum coram Deo iusti reputemur, quod non reputemur iusti propter opera sine mediatore Christo, quod non mereamur remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et iustitiam per opera, quod opera nostra non possimus opponere irae et iudicio Dei, quod opera non possint terrores peccati vincere, sed quod sola fide vincantur terrores peccati,
94] quod tantum mediator Christus per fidem opponendus sit irae et iudicio Dei. Si quis secus sentit, non reddit Christo debitum honorem, qui propositus est, ut sit propitiator, ut per ipsum
95] habeamus accessum ad Patrem. Loquimur autem nunc de iustitia, per quam agimus cum
96] Deo, non cum hominibus, sed qua apprehendimus gratiam et pacem conscientiae. Non potest autem conscientia pacata reddi coram Deo, nisi sola fide, quae statuit nobis Deum placatum esse propter Christum, iuxta illud, Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide, pacem habemus;* quia iustificatio tantum est res gratis promissa propter Christum, quare sola fide semper coram Deo accipitur.

97] Nunc igitur respondebimus ad illos locos, quos citant adversarii, ut probent nos dilectione et operibus iustificari. Ex [R. 101 Corinthiis, 1 Cor. 13, 2, citant: *Si omnem fidem habeam* etc., *caritatem autem non habeam, nihil sum.* Et hic magnifice triumphant. Totam ecclesiam, aiunt, certificat Paulus, quod non iustificet sola fides. Facilis
98] autem responsio est, postquam ostendimus supra, quid de dilectione et operibus sentiamus. Hic locus Pauli requirit dilectio-

Dagegen ziehen die Widersacher an den Spruch Pauli zu den Korinthern am 13: „Wenn ich hätte allen Glauben usw. und hätte aber die Liebe nicht, so wäre ich nichts." Da rufen die Widersacher mit einem großen Triumph und rühmen, sie seien durch diesen Spruch gewiß, daß nicht allein der Glaube vor Gott uns gerecht mache, sondern auch die Liebe. Es ist aber ganz leicht zu antworten, nachdem wir oben haben angezeigt, was wir von der Liebe und Werken halten. Paulus will in dem Spruche, daß in den Christen solle Liebe sein

death their sons. But Abraham did not sacrifice his son with the opinion that this work was a price and propitiatory work for the sake of which he was accounted righteous. Thus in the Church the Lord's Supper was instituted that by remembrance of the promises of Christ, of which we are admonished in this sign, faith might be strengthened in us, and we might publicly confess our faith, and proclaim the benefits of Christ, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 11, 26: *As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death,* etc. But our adversaries contend that the mass is a work that justifies us *ex opere operato,* and removes the guilt and liability to punishment in those for whom it is celebrated; for thus writes Gabriel.

Anthony, Bernard, Dominicus, Franciscus, and other holy Fathers selected a certain kind of life either for the sake of study [of more readily reading the Holy Scriptures] or other useful exercises. In the mean time they believed that by faith they were accounted righteous for Christ's sake, and that God was gracious to them, not on account of those exercises of their own. But the multitude since then has imitated not the faith of the Fathers, but their example without faith, in order that by such works they might merit the remission of sins, grace, and righteousness; they did not believe that they received these freely on account of Christ as Propitiator. [Thus the human mind always exalts works too highly, and puts them in the wrong place. And this error the Gospel reproves, which teaches that men are accounted righteous not for the sake of the Law, but for the sake of Christ alone. Christ, however, is apprehended by faith alone; wherefore we are accounted righteous by faith alone for Christ's sake.] Thus the world judges of all works that they are a propitiation by which God is appeased; that they are a price because of which we are accounted righteous. It does not believe that Christ is Propitiator; it does not believe that by faith we freely attain that we are accounted righteous for Christ's sake. And, nevertheless, since works cannot pacify the conscience, others are continually chosen, new rites are performed, new vows made, and new orders of monks formed beyond the command of God, in order that some great work may be sought which may be set against the wrath and judgment of God. Contrary to Scripture, the adversaries uphold these godless opinions concerning works. But to ascribe to our works these things, namely, that they are a propitiation, that they merit the remission of sins and grace, that for the sake of these and not by faith, for the sake of Christ as Propitiator, we are accounted righteous before God, what else is this than to deny Christ the honor of Mediator and Propitiator? Although, therefore, we believe and teach that good works must necessarily be done (*for the inchoate fulfilling of the Law ought to follow faith*), nevertheless we give to Christ His own honor. We believe and teach that by faith, for Christ's sake, we are accounted righteous before God, that we are not accounted righteous because of works without Christ as Mediator, that by works we do not merit the remission of sins, grace, and righteousness, that we cannot set our works against the wrath and justice of God, that works cannot overcome the terrors of sin, but that the terrors of sin are overcome by faith alone, that only Christ the Mediator is to be presented by faith against the wrath and judgment of God. If any one think differently, he does not give Christ due honor, who has been set forth that He might be a Propitiator, that through Him we might have access to the Father. We are speaking now of the righteousness through which we treat with God, not with men, but by which we apprehend grace and peace of conscience. Conscience, however, cannot be pacified before God, unless by faith alone, which is certain that God for Christ's sake is reconciled to us, according to Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace,* because justification is only a matter freely promised for Christ's sake, and therefore is always received before God by faith alone.

Now, then, we will reply to those passages which the adversaries cite, in order to prove that we are justified by love and works. From 1 Cor. 13, 2 they cite: *Though I have all faith,* etc., *and have not charity, I am nothing.* And here they triumph greatly. Paul testifies to the entire Church, they say, that faith alone does not justify. But a reply is easy after we have shown above what we hold concerning love and works. This passage of Paul requires love. We also require this. For we

nem. Hanc requirimus et nos. Diximus enim supra, oportere existere in nobis renovationem et inchoatam legis impletionem, iuxta illud, Ier. 31, 33: *Dabo legem meam in corda eorum.* Si quis dilectionem abiecerit, etiamsi habet magnam fidem, tamen non retinet eam. Non **99**] enim retinet Spiritum Sanctum. Neque vero hoc loco tradit Paulus modum iustificationis, sed scribit his, qui, quum fuissent iustificati, cohortandi erant, ut bonos fructus ferrent, ne amitterent Spiritum Sanctum. Ac **100**] praepostere faciunt adversarii: hunc unum locum citant, in quo Paulus docet de fructibus, alios locos plurimos omittunt, in quibus ordine disputat de modo iustificationis. Ad hoc in aliis locis, qui de fide loquuntur, semper ascribunt correctionem, quod debeant intelligi de fide formata. Hic nullam ascribunt correctionem, quod fide etiam opus sit sentiente, quod reputemur iusti propter Christum propitiatorem. Ita adversarii excludunt Christum a iustificatione et tantum docent iustitiam legis. Sed redeamus ad Paulum. **101**] Nihil quisquam ex hoc textu amplius ratiocinari potest, quam quod dilectio sit necessaria. Id fatemur. Sicut necessarium est non furari. Neque vero recte ratiocinabitur, si quis inde velit hoc efficere: non furari necessarium est, igitur non furari iustificat; quia iustificatio non est certi operis approbatio, sed totius personae. Nihil igitur laedit nos hic Pauli locus; tantum ne affingant adversarii, quidquid ipsis libet. Non enim dicit, quod iustificet dilectio, sed quod nihil sim, id est, quod fides extinguatur, quamlibet magna contigerit. Non dicit, quod dilectio vincat terrores peccati et mortis, quod [R. 102 dilectionem nostram opponere possimus irae ac iudicio Dei, quod dilectio nostra satisfaciat legi Dei, quod sine propitiatore Christo habeamus accessum ad Deum nostra dilectione, quod dilectione nostra accipiamus promissam remissionem peccatorum. Nihil horum dicit Paulus. Non igitur sentit, quod dilectio iustificet, quia tantum ita iustificamur, quum apprehendimus propitiatorem Christum et credimus nobis Deum propter Christum placatum esse. Nec est iustificatio somnianda omisso propitiatore Christo. Tol- **102**] lant adversarii promissionem de Christo, aboleant evangelium, si nihil opus est Christo, si nostra dilectione possumus vincere mortem, si nostra dilectione sine propitiatore Christo **103**] accessum habemus ad Deum. Adversarii corrumpunt pleraque loca, quia suas opiniones ad ea afferunt, non sumunt ex ipsis locis sententiam. Quid enim habet hic locus incommodi, si detraxerimus interpretationem, quam adversarii de suo assuunt, non intelligentes, quid sit iustificatio aut quomodo fiat? Corinthii antea iustificati multa acceperant excellentia dona. Fervebant initia, ut fit. Deinde coeperunt inter eos existere simultates, ut significat Paulus, coeperunt fastidire bonos doctores. Ideo obiurgat eos Paulus, revocans ad officia dilectionis; quae, etiamsi sunt necessaria, tamen stultum fuerit somniare, quod opera secundae tabulae coram Deo iustificent, per quam agimus cum hominibus, non agimus proprie cum Deo. At in iustificatione agendum est cum Deo, placanda est ira eius, conscientia erga Deum pacificanda est. Nihil horum fit per opera secundae tabulae.

gegen den Nächsten; das sagen wir auch. Denn wir haben je hier oben gesagt: Wenn wir neugeboren sind, so fangen wir an, das Gesetz zu halten und Gottes Gesetz gehorsam zu sein. Darum wenn jemand die christliche Liebe nachläßt, so ist er, wenn er gleich großen, starken Glauben gehabt, kalt geworden und ist nun wieder fleischlich, ohne Geist und Glauben. Denn da ist nicht der Heilige Geist, wo nicht christliche Liebe ist und andere gute Früchte. Es folgt aber daraus nicht, daß uns die Liebe vor Gott gerecht macht, das ist, daß wir darum durch die Liebe Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, daß die Liebe die Schrecken der Sünde und des Todes überwinde, daß die Liebe an Christus' Statt gegen Gottes Zorn und Gericht solle gehalten werden, daß die Liebe das Gesetz erfülle, daß wir durch die Liebe Gott versöhnt und angenehm werden und nicht um Christus' willen. Von dem allem sagt Paulus nichts, und die Widersacher erdichten es doch aus ihrem Hirn. Denn so wir durch unsere Liebe Gottes Zorn überwinden, so wir durch unser Gesetzerfüllen Gott angenehm sind, mögen die Widersacher auch sagen, daß die göttliche Verheißung, das ganze Evangelium, nichts sei. Denn dasselbe lehrt, daß wir einen Zugang haben zu Gott allein durch Christum, daß wir nicht durch unser Gesetzwerk, sondern um Christus' willen Gott angenehm sind, als durch den einigen Mittler und Versöhner. Die Widersacher deuten viele Sprüche auf ihre Meinung, die doch nicht also lauten; aber sie machen Zusatz daran, wie hier. Denn dieser Spruch ist klar genug, wenn allein die Widersacher ihre eigenen Träume außerhalb der Schrift nicht daran flickten; so sie doch nicht verstehen, was Glaube sei, was Christus ist, oder wie es zugeht, wenn ein Mensch vor Gott gerecht wird. Die Korinther und etliche aus ihnen hatten das Evangelium gehört und viele treffliche Gaben empfangen, und wie es denn in solchen Sachen zugeht, im Anfang waren sie hitzig und wacker zu allen Sachen, danach erwuchsen Rotten und Sekten unter ihnen, wie Paulus anzeigt, hoben an, die rechten Apostel zu verachten. Darum straft sie Paulus, vermahnt sie wieder zur Einigkeit und zu christlicher Liebe. Und Paulus redet an dem Ort nicht von Vergebung der Sünden, oder wie man vor Gott fromm und gerecht wird, oder wie es zugeht, wenn ein Sünder zu Christo bekehrt wird, sondern redet von den Früchten des Glaubens, redet auch nicht von der Liebe gegen Gott, sondern von der Liebe gegen den Nächsten. Nun ist es fast närrisch, daß die Liebe gegen den Nächsten, dadurch wir hier auf Erden mit den Leuten handeln, uns vor Gott soll gerecht machen, so doch zu der Gerechtigkeit, welche vor Gott gilt, dieses gehört, daß wir etwas erlangen, dadurch Gottes Zorn gestillt und das Gewissen gegen Gott im Himmel zum Frieden komme. Der keines geschieht durch die Liebe, sondern allein durch den Glauben, durch welchen man faßt Christum und Gottes Zusage. Das ist aber wahr: wer die Liebe verliert, der verliert auch Geist und Glauben. Und also sagt Paulus: „Wenn ich die Liebe nicht habe, so bin ich nichts." Er setzt aber nicht die affirmativam dazu, daß die Liebe vor Gott gerecht mache.

have said above that renewal and the inchoate fulfilling of the Law must exist in us, according to Jer. 31, 33: *I will put My Law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.* If any one should cast away love, even though he have great faith, yet he does not retain it, for he does not retain the Holy Ghost [he becomes cold and is now again fleshly, without Spirit and faith; for the Holy Ghost is not where Christian love and other fruits of the Spirit are not]. Nor indeed does Paul in this passage treat of the mode of justification, but he writes to those who, after they had been justified, should be urged to bring forth good fruits lest they might lose the Holy Ghost. The adversaries, furthermore, treat the matter preposterously: they cite this one passage, in which Paul teaches concerning fruits; they omit very many other passages, in which in a regular order he discusses the mode of justification. Besides, they always add a correction to the other passages, which treat of faith, namely, that they ought to be understood as applying to *fides formata.* Here they add no correction that there is also need of the faith that holds that we are accounted righteous for the sake of Christ as Propitiator. Thus the adversaries exclude Christ from justification, and teach only a righteousness of the Law. But let us return to Paul. No one can infer anything more from this text than that love is necessary. This we confess. So also not to commit theft is necessary. But the reasoning will not be correct if some one would desire to frame thence an argument such as this: "Not to commit theft is necessary. Therefore, not to commit theft justifies." Because justification is not the approval of a certain work, but of the entire person. Hence this passage from Paul does not harm us; only the adversaries must not in imagination add to it whatever they please. For he does not say that love justifies, but: ["And if I have not love"] "I am nothing," namely, that faith, however great it may have been, is extinguished. He does not say that love overcomes the terrors of sin and of death, that we can set our love against the wrath and judgment of God, that our love satisfies God's Law, that without Christ as Propitiator we have access, by our love, to God, that by our love we receive the promised remission of sins. Paul says nothing of this. He does not, therefore, think that love justifies, because we are justified only when we apprehend Christ as Propitiator, and believe that for Christ's sake God is reconciled to us. Neither is justification even to be dreamed of with the omission of Christ as Propitiator. If there be no need of Christ, if by our love we can overcome death, if by our love, without Christ as Propitiator, we have access to God, then let our adversaries remove the promise concerning Christ, then let them abolish the Gospel [which teaches that we have access to God through Christ as Propitiator, and that we are accepted not for the sake of our fulfilling of the Law, but for Christ's sake]. The adversaries corrupt very many passages, because they bring to them their own opinions, and do not derive the meaning from the passages themselves. For what difficulty is there in this passage if we remove the interpretation which the adversaries, who do not understand what justification is or how it occurs [what faith is, what Christ is, or how a man is justified before God], out of their own mind attach to it? The Corinthians, being justified before, had received many excellent gifts. In the beginning they glowed with zeal, just as is generally the case. Then dissensions [factions and sects] began to arise among them, as Paul indicates; they began to dislike good teachers. Accordingly, Paul reproves them, recalling them [to unity and] to offices of love. Although these are necessary, yet it would be foolish to imagine that works of the Second Table, through which we have to do with man and not properly with God, justify us. But in justification we have to treat with God; His wrath must be appeased, and conscience must be pacified with respect to God. None of these occur through the works of the Second Table [by love, but only by faith, which apprehends Christ and the promise of God. However, it is true that losing love involves losing the Spirit and faith. And thus Paul says: *If I have not love, I am nothing.* But he does not add the affirmative statement, that love justifies in the sight of God].

104] Sed obiiciunt praeferri dilectionem fidei et spei. Paulus enim ait 1 Cor. 13, 13: *Maior horum caritas.* Porro consentaneum est maximam et praecipuam virtutem iusti-
105] ficare. Quamquam hoc loco Paulus proprie loquitur de dilectione proximi et [R. 103 significat, dilectionem maximam esse, quia plurimos fructus habet. Fides et spes tantum agunt cum Deo. At dilectio foris erga homines infinita habet officia, tamen largiamur sane adversariis, dilectionem Dei et proximi maximam virtutem esse, quia hoc summum praeceptum est: *Diliges Dominum Deum*, Matth. 22, 37. Verum quomodo inde ratiocinabuntur, quod dilectio iustificet? Ma-
106] xima virtus, inquiunt, iustificat. Imo, sicut lex etiam maxima seu prima non iustificat, ita nec maxima virtus legis. Sed illa virtus iustificat, quae apprehendit Christum, quae communicat nobis Christi merita, qua accipimus gratiam et pacem a Deo. Haec autem virtus fides est. Nam, ut saepe dictum est, fides non tantum notitia est, sed multo magis velle accipere seu apprehendere ea, quae in promissione de Christo offeruntur.
107] Est autem et haec obedientia erga Deum, velle accipere oblatam promissionem, non minus *λατρεία*, quam dilectio. Vult sibi credi Deus, vult nos ab ipso bona accipere, et id pronuntiat esse verum cultum.

Aber hier sagen sie auch, die Liebe werde dem Glauben und der Hoffnung vorgezogen. Denn Paulus sagt 1 Kor. 13, 13: „Die Liebe ist die größte unter den dreien." Nun sei es zu achten, daß die Tugend, so Paulus die größte nennt, vor Gott uns gerecht und heilig mache. Wiewohl nun Paulus da eigentlich redet von der Liebe gegen den Nächsten, und so er spricht: „Die Liebe ist die größte", sagt er darum, denn die Liebe geht weit und trägt viel Früchte auf Erden. Denn Glaube und Hoffnung handeln allein mit Gott. Aber die Liebe geht auf Erden unter den Leuten um und tut viel Gutes mit Trösten, Lehren, Unterrichten, Helfen, Raten, heimlich und öffentlich. Doch lassen wir zu, daß Gott und den Nächsten lieben die höchste Tugend sei. Denn dies ist das höchste Gebot: „Du sollst Gott lieben von ganzem Herzen." Daraus folgt nun nicht, daß die Liebe uns gerecht macht. **Ja,** sprechen sie, **die höchste Tugend soll billig gerecht machen.** Antwort: Es wäre wahr, wenn wir um unserer Tugend willen einen gnädigen Gott hätten. Nun ist droben bewiesen, daß wir um Christus' willen, nicht um unserer Tugend willen angenehm und gerecht sind; denn unsere Tugenden sind unrein. Ja, wie dieses Gesetz das höchste ist: „Du sollst Gott lieben", also kann diese Tugend, Gott lieben, am allerwenigsten gerecht machen. Denn so das Gesetz und Tugend höher ist, so wir es weniger tun können, darum sind wir nicht um der Liebe willen gerecht. Der Glaube aber macht gerecht, nicht um unsers Tuns willen, sondern allein derhalben, daß er Barmherzigkeit sucht und empfängt und will sich auf kein eigen Tun verlassen, das ist, daß wir lehren, Gesetz macht nicht gerecht, sondern das Evangelium, das glauben heißt, daß wir um Christus' willen, nicht um unsers Tuns willen einen gnädigen Gott haben.

108] Ceterum adversarii tribuunt dilectioni iustificationem, quia ubique legis iustitiam docent et requirunt. Non enim possumus negare, quin dilectio sit summum opus legis. Et humana sapientia legem intuetur et quaerit in ea iustitiam. Ideo et scholastici doctores, magni et ingeniosi homines, summum opus legis praedicant, huic operi tribuunt iustificationem. Sed decepti humana sapientia non viderunt faciem Mosis retectam, sed velatam, sicut Pharisaei, philosophi, Mahome-
109] tistae. Verum nos stultitiam evangelii praedicamus, in quo alia iustitia revelata est, videlicet, quod propter Christum propitiatorem iusti reputemur, quum credimus nobis Deum propter Christum placatum esse. Nec ignoramus, quantum haec doctrina abhorreat a iudicio rationis ac legis. Nec ignoramus multo speciosiorem esse doctrinam legis de dilectione. [R. 104 Est enim sapientia. Sed non pudet nos stultitiae evangelii. Id propter gloriam Christi defendimus et rogamus Christum, ut Spiritu Sancto suo adiuvet nos, ut id illustrare ac patefacere possimus.

Die Widersacher lehren aber darum also von der Liebe, daß sie uns Gott versöhne; denn sie wissen nichts vom Evangelio, sondern sehen allein das Gesetz an, wollen damit um eigener Heiligkeit willen einen gnädigen Gott haben, nicht aus Barmherzigkeit um Christus' willen. Also sind sie allein Gesetzlehrer und nicht Lehrer des Evangelii.

110] Adversarii in confutione et hunc locum contra nos citaverunt ex Col. 3, 14: *Caritas est vinculum perfectionis.* Hinc ratiocinantur, quod dilectio iustificet, quia perfectos efficit. Quamquam hic multis modis de perfectione responderi posset, tamen nos simpliciter sententiam Pauli recitabimus. Certum est Paulum de dilectione proximi loqui. Neque vero existimandum est, quod Paulus aut iustificationem aut perfectionem coram Deo tribuerit operibus secundae tabulae potius, quam primae. Et si dilectio efficit perfectos, nihil igitur opus erit propitiatore Christo. Nam fides tantum apprehendit propitiatorem Christum. Hoc autem longissime abest a sententia Pauli, qui nunquam patitur
111] excludi propitiatorem Christum. Loqui-

Auch ziehen die Widersacher wider uns an den Spruch zu den Kolossern: „Die Liebe ist ein Band der Vollkommenheit." Daher schließen sie, daß die Liebe vor Gott gerecht mache, denn sie macht uns vollkommen. Wiewohl wir hier allerlei antworten könnten von der Vollkommenheit, doch wollen wir hier den Spruch Pauli einfältig handeln. Es ist gewiß, daß Paulus von der Liebe des Nächsten redet; so darf man auch nicht gedenken, daß Paulus' Meinung sei, daß wir sollten vor Gott eher gerecht werden durch die Werke der andern Tafel denn durch die Werke der ersten Tafel. Item, so die Liebe eine Vollkommenheit ist oder vollkömmliche Erfüllung des Gesetzes, so ist des Mittlers Christi nicht vonnöten. Paulus aber, der lehrt an allen Orten, daß wir darum Gott angenehm seien um Christus' willen, nicht

But they object that love is preferred to faith and hope. For Paul says, 1 Cor. 13, 13: *The greatest of these is charity.* Now, it is reasonable that the greatest and chief virtue should justify, although Paul, in this passage, properly speaks of love towards one's neighbor, and indicates that love is the greatest, because it has most fruits. Faith and hope have to do only with God; but love has infinite offices externally towards men. [Love goes forth upon earth among the people, and does much good, by consoling, teaching, instructing, helping, counseling privately and publicly.] Nevertheless, let us, indeed, grant to the adversaries that love towards God and our neighbor is the greatest virtue, because the chief commandment is this: *Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God,* Matt. 22, 37. But how will they infer thence that love justifies? The greatest virtue, they say, justifies. By no means. [It would be true if we had a gracious God because of our virtue. Now, it was proven above that we are accepted and justified for Christ's sake, not because of our virtue; for our virtue is impure.] For just as even the greatest or first Law does not justify, so also the greatest virtue of the Law does not justify. [For, as the Law and virtue is higher, and our ability to do the same proportionately lower, we are not righteous because of love.] But that virtue justifies which apprehends Christ, which communicates to us Christ's merits, by which we receive grace and peace from God. But this virtue is faith. For as it has been often said, faith is not only knowledge, but much rather willing to receive or apprehend those things which are offered in the promise concerning Christ. Moreover, this obedience towards God, namely, to wish to receive the offered promise, is no less a divine service, *λατρεία,* than is love. God wishes us to believe Him, and to receive from Him blessings, and this He declares to be true divine service.

But the adversaries ascribe justification to love because they everywhere teach and require the righteousness of the Law. For we cannot deny that love is the highest work of the Law. And human wisdom gazes at the Law, and seeks in it justification. Accordingly, also the scholastic doctors, great and talented men, proclaim this as the highest work of the Law, and ascribe to this work justification. But deceived by human wisdom, they did not look upon the uncovered, but upon the veiled face of Moses, just as the Pharisees, philosophers, Mahometans. But we preach the foolishness of the Gospel, in which another righteousness is revealed, namely, that for the sake of Christ, as Propitiator, we are accounted righteous, when we believe that for Christ's sake God has been reconciled to us. Neither are we ignorant how far distant this doctrine is from the judgment of reason and of the Law. Nor are we ignorant that the doctrine of the Law concerning love makes a much greater show; for it is wisdom. But we are not ashamed of the foolishness of the Gospel. For the sake of Christ's glory we defend this, and beseech Christ, by His Holy Ghost, to aid us that we may be able to make this clear and manifest.

The adversaries, in the Confutation, have also cited against us Col. 3, 14: *Charity, which is the bond of perfectness.* From this they infer that love justifies because it renders men perfect. Although a reply concerning perfection could here be made in many ways, yet we will simply recite the meaning of Paul. It is certain that Paul spoke of love towards one's neighbor. Neither must we indeed think that Paul would ascribe either justification or perfection to the works of the Second Table, rather than to those of the First. And if love render men perfect, there will then be no need of Christ as Propitiator, [However, Paul teaches in all places that we are accepted on account of Christ, and not on account of our love, or our works, or of the Law; for no saint (as was stated before) perfectly fulfils the Law. Therefore, since he in all places writes and teaches that in this life there is no perfection in our works, it is not to be thought that he speaks here of personal perfection.] for faith apprehends Christ only as Propitiator. This, however, is far distant from the meaning of Paul, who

tur igitur non de personali perfectione, sed de integritate communi ecclesiae. Ideo enim ait, dilectionem esse vinculum seu colligationem, ut significet se loqui de colligandis et copulandis pluribus membris ecclesiae inter se. Sicut enim in omnibus familiis, in omnibus rebuspublicis concordia mutuis officiis alenda est, nec retineri tranquillitas potest, nisi quaedam errata inter se dissimulent homines et condonent: ita iubet Paulus in ecclesia dilectionem existere, quae retineat concordiam, quae toleret, sicubi opus est, asperiores mores fratrum, quae dissimulet quaedam levia errata, ne dissiliat ecclesia in varia schismata et ex schismatis oriantur odia, factiones et haereses.

um unserer Liebe oder unserer Werke oder Gesetzes willen. Denn auch kein Heiliger (wie oben gesagt) erfüllt das Gesetz vollkömmlich. Darum so er an allen andern Orten schreibt und lehrt, daß in diesem Leben an unsern Werken keine Vollkommenheit ist, so ist nicht zu gedenken, daß er zu den Kolossern von Vollkommenheit der Person rede, sondern er redet von Einigkeit der Kirche, und das Wort, so sie Vollkommenheit deuten, heißt nichts anderes, denn unzerrissen sein, das ist, einig sein. Daß er nun sagt: „Die Liebe ist ein Band der Vollkommenheit", das ist, sie bindet, fügt und hält zusammen die vielen Gliedmaßen der Kirche unter sich selbst (denn gleichwie in einer Stadt oder in einem Hause die Einigkeit dadurch erhalten wird, daß einer dem andern zugute halte, und kann nicht Friede noch Ruhe bleiben, wo nicht einer dem andern viel verzieht, wo wir nicht einander tragen), also will Paulus da vermahnen zu der christlichen Liebe, daß einer des andern Fehle, Gebrechen dulden und tragen soll, daß sie einander vergeben sollen, damit Einigkeit erhalten werde in der Kirche, damit der Christenhaufe nicht zerrissen, zertrennt werde und sich in allerlei Rotten und Sekten teile, daraus dann großer Unrat, Haß und Neid, allerlei Bitterkeit und böses Gift, endlich öffentliche Ketzerei erfolgen möchte.

112] Necesse est enim dissilire concordiam, quando aut episcopi imponunt populo duriora onera, nec habent rationem imbecillitatis in populo. Et oriuntur dissidia, quando populus nimis acerbe iudicat de moribus doctorum aut fastidit doctores propter quaedam levia incommoda; quaeruntur enim deinde [R. 105 et aliud doctrinae genus et alii doctores. **113**] Econtra perfectio, id est, integritas ecclesiae, conservatur, quando firmi tolerant infirmos, quando populus boni consulit quaedam incommoda in moribus doctorum, quando episcopi quaedam condonant imbecillitati populi. **114**] De his praeceptis aequitatis pleni sunt libri omnium sapientum, ut in hac vitae consuetudine multa condonemus inter nos propter communem tranquillitatem. Et de ea quum hic, tum alias saepe praecipit Paulus. Quare adversarii imprudenter ratiocinantur ex nomine perfectionis, quod dilectio iustificet, quum Paulus de integritate et tranquillitate communi loquatur. Et sic interpretatur hunc locum Ambrosius: *Sicut aedificium dicitur perfectum seu integrum, quum omnes partes* **115**] *apte inter se coagmentatae sunt.* Turpe est autem adversariis, tantopere praedicare dilectionem, quum nusquam praestent eam. Quid nunc agunt? Dissipant ecclesias, scribunt leges sanguine et has proponunt Caesari, clementissimo Principi, promulgandas, trucidant sacerdotes et alios bonos viros, si quis leviter significavit se aliquem manifestum abusum non omnino probare. Haec non conveniunt ad ista praeconia dilectionis, quae, si sequerentur adversarii, ecclesiae tranquillae essent et respublica pacata. Nam hi tumultus consilescerent, si adversarii non nimis acerbe exigerent quasdam traditiones inutiles ad pietatem, quarum plerasque ne ipsi quidem observant, qui vehementissime defendunt eas. Sed sibi facile ignoscunt, aliis non item, ut ille apud poëtam: *Egomet mi ignosco, Mae-* **116**] *vius* [Maenius] *inquit.* Id autem alienissimum est ab his encomiis dilectionis, quae hic ex Paulo recitant, nec magis intelligunt, quam parietes intelligunt vocem, quam reddunt.

Denn die Einigkeit kann nicht bleiben, wenn die Bischöfe ohne alle Ursache zu schwere Bürden auflegen dem Volk. Auch werden daraus leichtlich Rotten, wenn das Volk aufs geschwindeste [heftigste] alles will meistern und ausecken an der Bischöfe oder Prediger Wandel und Leben, oder wenn sie alsbald der Prediger müde werden, etwa um eines kleinen Gebrechens willen; da folgt viel großen Unrats. Alsdann bald sucht man aus derselben Verbitterung andere Lehrer und andere Prediger. Wiederum wird erhalten Vollkommenheit und Einigkeit, das ist, die Kirche bleibt unzertrennt und ganz, wenn die Starken die Schwachen dulden und tragen, wenn das Volk mit seinen Predigern auch Geduld hat, wenn die Bischöfe und Prediger wiederum allerlei Schwachheit, Gebrechen dem Volk nach Gelegenheit wissen zugut zu halten. Von dem Wege und der Weise, Einigkeit zu halten, ist auch viel allenthalben geschrieben in den Büchern der Philosophen und Weltweisen. Denn wir müssen einander viel vergeben und für gut haben um Einigkeit willen. Und davon redet Paulus mehr denn an einem Ort. Darum schließen die Widersacher nicht recht, daß die Liebe solle vor Gott gerecht machen. Denn Paulus redet da nicht von der Vollkommenheit oder Heiligkeit der Personen, wie sie wähnen, sondern sagt: „Die Liebe macht ein stilles Wesen in der Kirche." Und also legt den Spruch auch Ambrosius aus: „Gleichwie ein Gebäu ganz ist, wenn alle Stücke zusammenhangen" usw. Es sollten sich aber die Widersacher auch wohl schämen, daß sie so trefflich hoch von der Liebe schreiben und predigen und Liebe, Liebe in allen ihren Büchern schreiben und schreien und gar keine Liebe erzeigen. Denn wie eine schöne Christenliebe ist das, daß sie durch ihre unerhörte Tyrannei zertrennen und zerreißen die Einigkeit der Kirche, so sie nichts denn Blutbriefe und tyrannische Gebote ausgehen zu lassen, dem allerlöblichsten Kaiser gern das Ärgste wollten einbilden. Sie erwürgen die Priester und viele andere fromme, ehrliche Leute keiner andern Ursache halben, denn daß sie allein öffentliche, schändliche Mißbräuche anfechten. Sie wollten gerne, daß alle die tot wären, die wider ihre gottlose Lehre mit einem Wort mucken. Das alles reimt sich gar übel zu dem großen Rühmen von Liebe, von

never suffers Christ to be excluded as Propitiator. Therefore he speaks not of personal perfection, but of the integrity common to the Church [concerning the unity of the Church, and the word which they interpret as perfection means nothing else than to be not rent]. For on this account he says that love is a bond or connection, to signify that he speaks of the binding and joining together, with each other, of the many members of the Church. For just as in all families and in all states concord should be nourished by mutual offices, and tranquillity cannot be retained unless men overlook and forgive certain mistakes among themselves; so Paul commands that there should be love in the Church in order that it may preserve concord, bear with the harsher manners of brethren as there is need, overlook certain less serious mistakes, lest the Church fly apart into various schisms, and enmities and factions and heresies arise from the schisms.

For concord must necessarily be rent asunder whenever either the bishops impose [without cause] upon the people heavier burdens, or have no respect to weakness in the people. And dissensions arise when the people judge too severely [quickly censure and criticize] concerning the conduct [walk and life] of teachers [bishops or preachers], or despise the teachers because of certain less serious faults; for then both another kind of doctrine and other teachers are sought after. On the other hand, perfection, *i. e.*, the integrity of the Church, is preserved, when the strong bear with the weak, when the people take in good part some faults in the conduct of their teachers [have patience also with their preachers], when the bishops make some allowances for the weakness of the people [know how to exercise forbearance to the people, according to circumstances, with respect to all kinds of weaknesses and faults]. Of these precepts of equity the books of all the wise are full, namely, that in every-day life we should make many allowances mutually for the sake of common tranquillity. And of this Paul frequently teaches both here and elsewhere. Wherefore the adversaries argue indiscreetly from the term "perfection" that love justifies, while Paul speaks of common integrity and tranquillity. And thus Ambrose interprets this passage: *Just as a building is said to be perfect or entire when all its parts are fitly joined together with one another.* Moreover, it is disgraceful for the adversaries to preach so much concerning love while they nowhere exhibit it. What are they now doing? They are rending asunder churches, they are writing laws in blood, and are proposing to the most clement prince, the Emperor, that these should be promulgated; they are slaughtering priests and other good men, if any one have [even] slightly intimated that he does not entirely approve some manifest abuse. [They wish all dead who say a single word against their godless doctrine.] These things are not consistent with those declamations of love, which if the adversaries would follow, the churches would be tranquil and the state have peace. For these tumults would be quieted if the adversaries would not insist with too much bitterness [from sheer vengeful spite and pharisaical envy, against the truth which they have perceived] upon certain traditions, useless for godliness, most of which not even those very persons observe who most earnestly defend them. But they easily forgive themselves, and yet do not likewise forgive others, according to the passage in the poet: *I forgive myself, Maevius said.* But this is very far distant from those encomiums of love

caritas usw. Denn wenn bei den Widersachern ein Tröpflein Liebe wäre, so könnte man wohl Frieden und Einigkeit in der Kirche machen, wenn sie ihre Menschensatzungen, welche doch nichts zu christlicher Lehre oder Leben nütze sind, nicht also aus lauter rachgieriger Bitterkeit und pharisäischem Neid wider die erkannte Wahrheit verföchten, sonderlich so sie ihre Satzungen selbst nicht recht halten.

117] Ex Petro citant et hanc sententiam, 1 Petr. 4, 8: *Universa delicta operit caritas.* Constat et Petrum loqui de dilectione erga proximum, quia hunc locum accommodat ad praeceptum, quo iubet, ut diligant se [R. 106 mutuo. Neque vero ulli apostolo in mentem venire potuit, quod dilectio nostra vincat peccatum et mortem, quod dilectio sit propitiatio, propter quam Deus reconcilietur omisso mediatore Christo, quod dilectio sit iustitia sine mediatore Christo. Haec enim dilectio, si qua esset, esset iustitia legis, non evangelii, quod promittit nobis reconciliationem et iustitiam, si credamus, quod propter Christum propitiatorem Pater placatus sit, quod donentur **118**] nobis merita Christi. Ideo Petrus paulo ante iubet, ut accedamus ad Christum, ut aedificemur super Christum. Et addit: *Qui crediderit in eum, non confundetur,* 1 Petr. 2, 4—6. Dilectio nostra non liberat nos a confusione, quum Deus iudicat et arguit nos. Sed fides in Christum liberat in his pavoribus, quia scimus propter Christum nobis ignosci.

Aus dem Apostel Petro ziehen sie auch an den Spruch, da er sagt: „Die Liebe deckt zu die Menge der Sünden." Nun ist es gewiß, daß Petrus da auch redet von der Liebe gegen den Nächsten. Denn er redet daselbst von dem Gebot der Liebe, da geboten ist, daß wir uns untereinander lieben sollen. So ist es auch keinem Apostel nie in seine Gedanken kommen, daß die Liebe sollte den Tod überwinden oder die Sünde, daß die Liebe sollte eine Versöhnung sein ohne den Mittler Christum, daß die Liebe sollte unsere Gerechtigkeit sein ohne den Versöhner Christum. Denn die Liebe, wenn wir sie schon gleich haben, so ist es nichts mehr denn eine Gerechtigkeit des Gesetzes; sie ist je nicht Christus, durch welchen wir allein gerecht werden, wenn wir glauben, daß um des Mittlers willen uns der Vater gnädig ist, daß uns sein Verdienst geschenkt wird. Darum kurz zuvor vermahnt Petrus, daß wir uns sollen zu Christo halten, daß wir auf ihn als den Eckstein erbaut werden. Denn er sagt: „Wer an ihn glaubet, der wird nicht zuschanden werden." Mit unsern Werken und Leben werden wir wahrlich vor Gottes Urteil und Angesicht mit Schanden bestehen. Aber der Glaube, durch welchen Christus unser wird, der erlöst uns von solchen Schrecken des Todes. Denn durch die Verheißung sind wir recht gewiß, daß uns durch Christum die Sünde vergeben ist.

119] Ceterum haec sententia de dilectione sumpta est ex Proverbiis, 10, 12, ubi antithesis clare ostendit, quomodo intelligi debeat: *Odium suscitat rixas, et universa de-* **120**] *licta tegit dilectio.* Idem prorsus docet, quod illa Pauli sententia ex Colossensibus sumpta, ut, si quae dissensiones inciderint, mitigentur et componantur aequitate et commoditate nostra. Dissensiones, inquit, crescunt odiis, ut saepe videmus ex levissimis offensionibus maximas fieri tragoedias. Inciderant quaedam inter C. Caesarem et Pompeium leves offensiones, in quibus, si alter alteri paululum cessisset, non extitisset bellum civile. Sed dum uterque morem gerit odio suo, ex re nihili maximi motus orti sunt. **121**] Et multae in ecclesia haereses ortae sunt tantum odio doctorum. Itaque non de propriis delictis, sed de alienis loquitur, quum ait: *Dilectio tegit delicta,* videlicet aliena, [R. 107 et quidem inter homines, id est, etiamsi quae offensiones incidunt, tamen dilectio dissimulat, ignoscit, cedit, non agit omnia summo iure. Petrus igitur non hoc vult, quod dilectio coram Deo mereatur remissionem peccatorum, quod sit propitiatio excluso mediatore Christo, quod regeneret ac iustificet, sed quod erga homines non sit morosa, non aspera, non intractabilis, quod quaedam errata amicorum dissimulet, quod mores aliorum etiam asperiores boni consulat, sicut vulgaris quaedam sententia praecipit: *Mores amici noveris, non* **122**] *oderis.* Neque temere de hoc officio dilectionis toties praecipiunt apostoli, quod philosophi vocant *ἐπιείκειαν.* Necessaria est enim haec virtus ad publicam concordiam retinen-

Und das Wort 1 Petr. 4: „Die Liebe deckt der Sünden Menge" usw. ist genommen aus den Sprüchen Salomonis, da er sagt: „Haß richtet Hader an, aber die Liebe deckt der Sünden Menge zu." Da gibt der Text klar an ihm selbst genug, daß er von der Liebe redet gegen den Nächsten und nicht von der Liebe gegen Gott. Und er will gleich dasselbe, das der nächste Spruch Pauli zu den Kolossern sagt, nämlich, daß wir uns sollen fleißigen, brüderlich, freundlich zu leben, also daß einer dem andern viel zugute halte, daß Unlust und Zwiespalt vermieden werden, als sollte er sagen: Zwiespalt erwächst aus Haß; wie wir denn sehen, daß aus geringen Fünklein oft großes Feuer angeht. Es waren nicht so große Sachen, darüber erst C. Cäsar und Pompejus uneins geworden, und wo einer dem andern gewichen hätte, so wäre der folgende große Krieg, so viel Blutvergießen, so manch groß Unglück und Unrat nicht daraus gekommen. Aber da ein jeder mit dem Kopf hindurch wollte, ist der große, unsägliche Schade, Zerrüttung des ganzen römischen Regiments der Zeit erfolgt. Und es sind viele Ketzereien daher erwachsen, daß Prediger aufeinander sind verbittert worden. So ist nun Petri Spruch also zu verstehen: „Die Liebe deckt der Sünden Menge zu", das ist, die Liebe deckt des Nächsten Sünde. Das ist, ob sich gleichwohl Unwille unter Christen begibt, so trägt doch die Liebe alles, übersieht gern, weicht dem Nächsten, duldet und trägt brüderlich seine Gebrechen und sucht nicht alles aufs schärfste. So will nun Petrus das gar nicht, daß die Liebe vor Gott verdiene Vergebung der Sünden, daß die Liebe uns Gott versöhne ohne den Mittler Christum, daß wir durch die Liebe sollten Gott angenehm sein ohne den Mittler

which they here recite from Paul, nor do they understand the word any more than the walls which give it back. From Peter they cite also this sentence, 1 Pet. 4, 8: *Charity shall cover the multitude of sins.* It is evident that also Peter speaks of love towards one's neighbor, because he joins this passage to the precept by which he commands that they should love one another. Neither could it have come into the mind of any apostle that our love overcomes sin and death; that love is the propitiation on account of which, to the exclusion of Christ as Mediator, God is reconciled; that love is righteousness without Christ as Mediator. For this love, if there would be any, would be a righteousness of the Law, and not of the Gospel, which promises to us reconciliation and righteousness if we believe that, for the sake of Christ as Propitiator, the Father has been reconciled, and that the merits of Christ are bestowed upon us. Peter, accordingly, urges us, a little before, to come to Christ that we may be built upon Christ. And he adds, 1 Pet. 2, 4—6: *He that believeth on Him shall not be confounded.* When God judges and convicts us, our love does not free us from confusion [from our works and lives, we truly suffer shame]. But faith in Christ liberates us in these fears, because we know that for Christ's sake we are forgiven.

Besides, this sentence concerning love is derived from Prov. 10, 12, where the antithesis clearly shows how it ought to be understood: *Hatred stirreth up strifes; but love covereth all sins.* It teaches precisely the same thing as that passage of Paul taken from Colossians, that if any dissensions would occur, they should be moderated and settled by our equitable and lenient conduct. Dissensions, it says, increase by means of hatred, as we often see that from the most trifling offenses tragedies arise [from the smallest sparks a great conflagration arises]. Certain trifling offenses occurred between Caius Caesar and Pompey, in which, if the one had yielded a very little to the other, civil war would not have arisen. But while each indulged his own hatred, from a matter of no account the greatest commotions arose. And many heresies have arisen in the Church only from the hatred of the teachers. Therefore it does not refer to a person's own faults, but to the faults of others, when it says: *Charity covereth sins,* namely, those of others, and that, too, among men, *i. e.,* even though these offenses occur, yet love overlooks them, forgives, yields, and does not carry all things to the extremity of justice. Peter, therefore, does not mean that love merits in God's sight the remission of sins, that it is a propitiation to the exclusion of Christ as Mediator, that it regenerates and justifies, but that it is not morose, harsh, intractable towards men, that it overlooks some mistakes of its friends, that it takes in good part even the harsher manners of others, just as the well-known maxim enjoins: *Know, but do not hate, the manners of a friend.* Nor was

dam, quae non potest durare, nisi multa dissimulent, multa condonent inter se pastores et ecclesiae.

Christum, sondern das will Petrus, daß, in welchem christliche Liebe ist, der ist nicht eigensinnig, nicht hart und unfreundlich, sondern hält leichtlich dem Nächsten seine Gebrechen und Fehle zugute, vergibt brüderlich dem Nächsten, stillt, weist sich selbst und weicht um Friedens willen, wie auch lehrt der Spruch: Amici vitia noris, non oderis, das ist, ich soll meines Freundes Weise lernen, aber ihn (ob es nicht alles schnurgleich ist) darum nicht hassen. Und die Apostel vermahnen nicht ohne Ursache zu solcher Liebe, welches die Philosophi ἐπιείκειαν genannt haben. Denn sollen Leute in Einigkeit beieinander sein oder bleiben, es sei in der Kirche oder auch weltlichem Regiment, so müssen sie nicht alle Gebrechen gegeneinander auf der Goldwage abrechnen, sie müssen lassen einander fast viel mit dem Wasser vorübergehen und immer zugute halten, soviel auch immer möglich, brüderlich miteinander Geduld haben.

123] Ex Iacobo citant 2, 24: *Videtis igitur, quod ex operibus iustificatur homo et non ex fide sola.* Neque alius locus ullus magis putatur officere nostrae sententiae, **sed est facilis** et plana responsio. Si non assuant adversarii suas opiniones de meritis operum, Iacobi verba nihil habent incommodi. Sed ubicunque fit mentio operum, adversarii affingunt suas impias opiniones, quod per bona opera mereamur remissionem peccatorum, quod bona opera sint propitiatio ac pretium, propter quod Deus nobis reconcilietur, quod bona opera vincant terrores peccati et mortis, quod bona opera coram Deo propter suam bonitatem sint accepta, nec egeant misericordia et propitiatore Christo. Horum nihil venit in mentem Iacobo, quae tamen omnia nunc defendunt adversarii praetextu sententiae Iacobi.

Auch ziehen sie den Spruch aus dem Apostel Jakobo an und sagen: „Sehet ihr nun, daß wir nicht allein durch den Glauben, sondern durch Werke vor Gott gerecht werden?" Und sie wollen wähnen, der Spruch sei fest, stark wider unsere Lehre. Aber wenn die Widersacher allein ihre Träume außen lassen und nicht hinanflicken, was sie wollen, so ist die Antwort leicht. Denn des Apostels Jakobi Spruch hat wohl seinen einfältigen Verstand, aber die Widersacher erdichten das dazu, daß wir durch unsere Werke verdienen Vergebung der Sünden; item, daß die guten Werke eine Versöhnung seien, dadurch uns Gott gnädig wird; item, daß wir durch die guten Werke überwinden können die große Macht des Teufels, des Todes und der Sünde; item, daß unsere guten Werke an ihnen selbst vor Gott so angenehm und groß geachtet seien, daß wir des Mittlers Christi nicht bedürfen. Der keines ist dem Apostel Jakobo in sein Herz gekommen, welches doch alles die Widersacher sich zu erhalten unterstehen durch den Spruch Jakobi.

124] Primum igitur hoc expendendum est, quod hic locus magis contra adversarios facit, quam contra nos. Adversarii enim docent hominem iustificari dilectione et operibus. De fide, qua apprehendimus propitiatorem Christum, nihil dicunt. Imo hanc fidem improbant; neque improbant tantum sententiis aut scriptis, sed etiam ferro et suppliciis conantur in ecclesia delere. Quanto melius docet Iacobus, qui fidem non omittit, non subiicit pro fide dilectionem, sed retinet [R. 108 fidem, ne propitiator Christus excludatur in iustificatione. Sicut et Paulus, quum summam tradit vitae Christianae, complectitur fidem et dilectionem, 1 Tim. 1, 5: *Finis mandati caritas est de corde puro et conscientia bona et fide non ficta.*

So müssen wir nun erst dieses merken, daß dieser Spruch mehr ist wider die Widersacher denn für sie. Denn die Widersacher lehren, der Mensch werde vor Gott fromm und gerecht durch die Liebe und Werke. Von dem Glauben, dadurch wir uns halten an den Mittler Christum, reden sie nichts. Und das mehr ist, von dem Glauben wollen sie nichts hören noch sehen, unterstehen sich, diese Lehre vom Glauben mit dem Schwert und Feuer zu tilgen. Jakobus aber tut anders; er läßt den Glauben nicht außen, sondern redet vom Glauben, damit läßt er Christum den Schatz und den Mittler bleiben, dadurch wir vor Gott gerecht werden, wie auch Paulus, da er die Summa setzt christlichen Glaubens, setzt er Glauben und Liebe zusammen, 1 Tim. 1, 5: „Die Summa des Gesetzes ist die Liebe aus ungefärbtem Glauben."

125] Secundo res ipsa loquitur, hic de operibus dici, quae fidem sequuntur, et ostendunt fidem non esse mortuam, sed vivam et efficacem in corde. Non igitur sensit Iacobus, nos per bona opera mereri remissionem peccatorum et gratiam. Loquitur enim de operibus iustificatorum, qui iam sunt reconciliati, accepti et consecuti remissionem peccatorum. Quare errant adversarii, quum hinc ratiocinantur, quod Iacobus doceat, nos per bona opera mereri remissionem peccatorum et gratiam, quod per opera nostra habeamus accessum ad Deum, sine propitiatore Christo.

Zum andern zeigt die Sache an ihr selbst an, daß er von Werken redet, welche dem Glauben folgen; denn er zeigt an, daß der Glaube nicht müsse tot, sondern lebendig, kräftig, geschäftig und tätig im Herzen sein. Darum ist Jakobi Meinung nicht gewesen, daß wir durch Werke Gnade oder Vergebung der Sünden verdienen. Denn er redet von Werken derjenigen, welche schon durch Christum gerecht geworden sind, welche schon Gott versöhnt sind und Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum erlangt haben. Darum irren die Widersacher weit, wenn sie aus dem Spruche schließen wollen, daß wir durch gute Werke Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, oder daß Jakobus dies wolle, daß wir durch unsere Werke einen Zugang zu Gott haben ohne den Mittler und Versöhner Christum.

it without design that the apostle taught so frequently concerning this office what the philosophers call *ἐπιείκεια*, leniency. For this virtue is necessary for retaining public harmony [in the Church and the civil government], which cannot last unless pastors and Churches mutually overlook and pardon many things [if they want to be extremely particular about every defect, and do not allow many things to flow by without noticing them].

From James they cite 2, 24: *Ye see, then, how by works a man is justified, and not by faith alone.* Nor is any other passage supposed to be more contrary to our belief. But the reply is easy and plain. If the adversaries do not attach their own opinions concerning the merits of works, the words of James have in them nothing that is of disadvantage. But wherever there is mention of works, the adversaries add falsely their own godless opinions, that by means of good works we merit the remission of sins; that good works are a propitiation and price on account of which God is reconciled to us; that good works overcome the terrors of sin and of death; that good works are accepted in God's sight on account of their goodness; and that they do not need mercy and Christ as Propitiator. None of all these things came into the mind of James, which the adversaries, nevertheless, defend under the pretext of this passage of James.

In the first place, then, we must ponder, this, namely, that the passage is more against the adversaries than against us. For the adversaries teach that man is justified by love and works. Of faith, by which we apprehend Christ as Propitiator, they say nothing. Yea, they condemn this faith; nor do they condemn it only in sentences and writings, but also by the sword and capital punishments they endeavor to exterminate it in the Church. How much better does James teach, who does not omit faith, or present love in preference to faith, but retains faith, so that in justification Christ may not be excluded as Propitiator! Just as Paul also, when he treats of the sum of the Christian life, includes faith and love, 1 Tim. 1, 5: *The end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned.*

Secondly, the subject itself declares that here such works are spoken of as follow faith, and show that faith is not dead, but living and efficacious in the heart. James, therefore, did not believe that by good works we merit the remission of sins and grace. For he speaks of the works of those who have been justified, who have already been reconciled and accepted, and have obtained remission of sins. Wherefore the adversaries err when they infer that James teaches that we merit remission of sins and grace by good works, and that by our works we have access to God, without Christ as Propitiator.

126] Tertio Iacobus paulo ante dixit de regeneratione, quod fiat per evangelium. Sic enim ait 1, 18: *Volens genuit nos Verbo Veritatis, ut nos essemus primitiae creaturarum eius.* Quum dicit nos evangelio renatos esse, docet, quod fide renati ac iustificati simus. Nam promissio de Christo tantum fide apprehenditur, quum opponimus eam terroribus peccati et mortis. Non igitur sentit Iacobus, nos per opera nostra renasci.

Zum dritten, so hatte St. Jakobus zuvor gesagt von der geistlichen Wiedergeburt, daß sie durch das Evangelium geschieht. Denn also sagt er im 1. Kapitel: „Er hat uns gezeuget nach seinem Willen durch das Wort der Wahrheit, auf daß wir wären Erstlinge seiner Kreaturen." So er nun sagt, daß wir durch das Evangelium neugeboren seien, so will er, daß wir durch den Glauben gerecht seien vor Gott geworden. Denn die Verheißung von Christo faßt man allein durch den Glauben, wenn wir durch dieselbe getröstet werden wider die Schrecken des Todes, der Sünde usw. Darum ist seine Meinung nicht, daß wir durch unsere Werke sollten neugeboren werden.

127] Ex his liquet non adversari nobis Iacobum, qui, quum otiosas et securas mentes, quae somniabant se habere fidem, quum non haberent, vituperaret, distinxit inter mor-128] tuam fidem ac vivam fidem. Mortuam ait esse, quae non parit bona opera; vivam ait esse, quae parit bona opera. Porro nos saepe iam ostendimus, quid appellemus fidem. Non enim loquimur de otiosa notitia, qualis est etiam in diabolis, sed de fide, quae resistit terroribus conscientiae, quae erigit et conso-129] latur perterrefacta corda. Talis fides neque facilis res est, ut somniant adversarii, neque humana potentia, sed divina [R. 109 potentia, qua vivificamur, qua diabolum et mortem vincimus. Sicut Paulus ad Colossenses, 2, 12, ait, quod fides sit efficax per potentiam Dei et vincat mortem: *In quo et resuscitati estis per fidem potentiae Dei.* Haec fides, quum sit nova vita, necessario parit novos motus et opera. Ideo Iacobus recte negat nos tali fide iustificari, quae est 130] sine operibus. Quod autem dicit nos iustificari fide et operibus, certe non dicit nos per opera renasci. Neque hoc dicit, quod partim Christus sit propitiator, partim opera nostra sint propitiatio. Nec describit hic modum iustificationis, sed describit, quales sint iusti, postquam iam sunt iustificati et 131] renati. Et iustificari significat hic non ex impio iustum effici, sed usu forensi iustum pronuntiari. Sicut hic, Rom. 2, 13: *Factores legis iustificabuntur.* Sicut igitur haec verba nihil habent incommodi: *Factores legis iustificabuntur,* ita de Iacobi verbis sentimus: *Iustificatur homo non solum ex fide, sed etiam ex operibus,* quia certe iusti pronuntiantur homines habentes fidem et bona opera. Nam bona opera in sanctis, ut diximus, sunt iustitiae et placent propter fidem. Nam haec tantum opera praedicat Iacobus, quae fides efficit, sicut testatur, quum de Abrahamo dicit 2, 21: *Fides adiuvat opera eius.* In hanc sententiam dicitur: *Factores legis iustificantur,* hoc est, iusti pronuntiantur, qui corde credunt Deo, et deinde habent bonos fructus, qui placent propter fidem, ideoque sunt im-132] pletio legis. Haec simpliciter ita dicta nihil habent vitii, sed depravantur ab adversariis, qui de suo affingunt impias opiniones. Non enim sequitur hinc opera mereri remissionem peccatorum, opera regenerare corda, opera esse propitiationem, opera placere sine propitiatore Christo, opera non indigere pro-

Aus diesem allem ist klar genug, daß der Spruch Jakobi nicht wider uns ist. Denn er schilt da etliche faule Christen, welche allzu sicher waren geworden, machten ihnen Gedanken, sie hätten den Glauben, so sie doch ohne Glauben waren. Darum macht er Unterschied zwischen lebendigem und totem Glauben. Den toten Glauben nennt er, wo nicht allerlei gute Werke und Früchte des Geistes folgen: Gehorsam, Geduld, Keuschheit, Liebe usw. Lebendigen Glauben nennt er, da gute Früchte folgen. Nun haben wir gar oft gesagt, was wir Glauben nennen. Denn wir nennen das nicht Glauben, daß man die schlechte Historie wisse von Christo, welches auch in Teufeln ist, sondern das neue Licht und die Kraft, welche der Heilige Geist in den Herzen wirkt, durch welche wir die Schrecken des Todes, der Sünde usw. überwinden. Das heißen wir Glauben. Ein solch recht christlicher Glaube ist nicht so ein leicht, schlecht Ding, als die Widersacher wähnen wollen. Wie sie denn sagen: Glaube, Glaube, wie bald kann ich glauben! usw. Es ist auch nicht ein Menschengedanke, den ich mir selbst machen könne, sondern ist eine göttliche Kraft im Herzen, dadurch wir neugeboren werden, dadurch wir die große Gewalt des Teufels und des Todes überwinden, wie Paulus sagt zu den Kolossern: „In welchem ihr auch seid auferstanden durch den Glauben, den Gott wirkt" usw. Derselbe Glaube, dieweil es ein neu göttlich Licht und Leben im Herzen ist, dadurch wir andern Sinn und Mut kriegen, ist lebendig, geschäftig und reich von [an] guten Werken. Darum ist das recht geredet, daß der Glaube nicht recht ist, der ohne Werke ist. Und ob er sagte, daß wir durch den Glauben und Werke gerecht werden, so sagt er doch nicht, daß wir durch die Werke neugeboren werden; so sagt er auch nicht, daß Christus halb der Versöhner sei, halb unsere Werke, sondern er redet von Christen, wie sie sein sollen, nachdem sie nun neugeboren sind durch das Evangelium. Denn er redet von Werken, die nach dem Glauben folgen sollen; da ist's recht geredet: Wer Glauben und gute Werke hat, der ist gerecht. Ja, nicht um der Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen, durch den Glauben. Und wie ein guter Baum gute Früchte tragen soll, und doch die Früchte machen den Baum nicht gut, also müssen gute Werke folgen nach der neuen Geburt, wiewohl sie den Menschen nicht vor Gott angenehm machen, sondern wie der Baum zuvor gut sein muß, also müsse der Mensch zuvor Gott angenehm sein durch den Glauben, um Christus' willen. Die

Thirdly, James has spoken shortly before concerning regeneration, namely, that it occurs through the Gospel. For thus he says, 1, 18: *Of His own will begat He us with the Word of Truth, that we should be a kind of first-fruits of His creatures.* When he says that we have been born again by the Gospel, he teaches that we have been born again and justified by faith. For the promise concerning Christ is apprehended only by faith, when we set it against the terrors of sin and of death. James does not, therefore, think that we are born again by our works.

From these things it is clear that James does not contradict us, who, when censuring idle and secure minds, that imagine that they have faith, although they do not have it, made a distinction between dead and living faith. He says that that is dead which does not bring forth good works [and fruits of the Spirit, obedience, patience, chastity, love]; he says that that is living which brings forth good works. Furthermore, we have frequently already shown what we term faith. For we do not speak of idle knowledge [that merely the history concerning Christ should be known], such as devils have, but of faith which resists the terrors of conscience, and cheers and consoles terrified hearts [the new light and power which the Holy Ghost works in the heart, through which we overcome the terrors of death, of sin, etc.]. Such faith is neither an easy matter, as the adversaries dream [as they say: Believe, believe, how easy it is to believe! etc.], nor a human power [thought which I can form for myself], but a divine power, by which we are quickened, and by which we overcome the devil and death. Just as Paul says to the Colossians, 2, 12, that faith is efficacious through the power of God, and overcomes death: *Wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God.* Since this faith is a new life, it necessarily produces new movements and works. [Because it is a new light and life in the heart, whereby we obtain another mind and spirit, it is living, productive, and rich in good works.] Accordingly, James is right in denying that we are justified by such a faith as is without works. But when he says that we are justified by faith and works, he certainly does not say that we are born again by works. Neither does he say this, that partly Christ is our Propitiator, and partly our works are our propitiation. Nor does he describe the mode of justification, but only of what nature the just are, after they have been already justified and regenerated. [For he is speaking of works which should follow faith. There it is well said: He who has faith and good works is righteous; not, indeed, on account of the works, but for Christ's sake, through faith. And as a good tree should bring forth good fruit, and yet the fruit does not make the tree good, so good works must follow the new birth, although they do not make man accepted before God; but as the tree must first be good, so also must man be first accepted before God by faith for Christ's sake. The works are too insignificant to render God gracious to us for their sake, if He were not gracious to us for Christ's sake. Therefore James does not contradict St. Paul, and does not say that by our works we merit, etc.] And here to be justified does not mean that a righteous man is made from a wicked man, but to be pronounced righteous in a forensic sense, as also in the passage Rom. 2, 13: *The doers of the Law shall be justified.* As, therefore, these words: *The doers of the Law shall be justified,* contain nothing contrary to our doctrine, so, too, we believe concerning the words of James: *By works a man is justified, and not by faith alone,* because men having faith and good works are certainly pronounced righteous. For, as we have said, the good works of saints are righteous, and please on account of faith. For James commends only such works as faith produces, as he testifies when he says of Abraham, 2, 21: *Faith wrought with his works.* In this sense it is said: *The doers of the Law are justified, i. e.,* they are pronounced righteous who from the heart believe God, and afterwards have good fruits, which please Him on account of faith, and, accordingly, are the fulfilment of the Law. These things, simply spoken, contain nothing erroneous, but they are distorted by the ad-

pitiatore Christo. Horum nihil dicit Iacobus, quae tamen impudenter ratiocinantur adversarii ex Iacobi verbis.

Werke sind viel zu gering dazu, daß uns Gott um ihretwillen gnädig sein sollte, wo er uns nicht um Christus' willen gnädig wäre. Also ist Jakobus St. Paulo nicht entgegen, sagt auch nicht, daß wir durch die Werke verdienen Vergebung der Sünden; sagt nicht, daß unsere Werke des Teufels Macht, den Tod, die Sünde, der Hölle Schrecken überwinden und dem Tode Christi gleich seien; er sagt nicht, daß wir durch Werke Gott angenehm werden; er sagt nicht, daß unsere Werke die Herzen zur Ruhe bringen und Gottes Zorn überwinden, oder daß wir Barmherzigkeit nicht bedürfen, wenn wir Werke haben: der keines sagt Jakobus, welchen Zusatz doch die Widersacher hinzuflicken an die Worte Jakobi.

133] Citantur adversus nos et aliae quaedam sententiae de operibus. Luc. 6, 37: *Remittite et remittetur vobis.* Esa. 58, 7: [R.110 *Frange esurienti panem tuum; tunc invocabis, et Dominus exaudiet.* Dan. 4, 24: *Peccata tua eleemosynis redime.* Matth. 5, 3: *Beati pauperes spiritu, quia talium est regnum* **134**] *coelorum.* Item v. 7: *Beati misericordes, quia misericordiam consequentur.* Hae sententiae etiam nihil haberent incommodi, si nihil affingerent adversarii. Duo enim continent: Alterum est praedicatio seu legis seu poenitentiae, quae et arguit malefacientes et iubet benefacere; alterum est promissio, quae additur. Neque vero ascriptum est peccata remitti sine fide, aut ipsa opera propitiatio-**135**] nem esse. Semper autem in praedicatione legis haec duo oportet intelligi, et quod lex non possit fieri, nisi fide in Christum renati simus, sicut ait Christus Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Et ut maxime fieri possint quaedam externa opera, retinenda est haec universalis sententia, quae totam legem interpretatur: *Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo;* retinendum est evangelium, quod *per Christum habeamus accessum ad Patrem,* **136**] Hebr. 11, 6; Rom. 5, 2. Constat enim, quod non iustificamur ex lege. Alioqui quorsum opus esset Christo aut evangelio, si sola praedicatio legis sufficeret? Sic in praedicatione poenitentiae non sufficit praedicatio legis seu verbum arguens peccata, quia lex iram operatur, tantum accusat, tantum terret conscientias, quia conscientiae nunquam acquiescunt, nisi audiant vocem Dei, in qua clare promittitur remissio peccatorum. Ideo necesse est addi evangelium, quod propter Christum peccata remittantur, et quod fide in Christum consequamur remissionem peccatorum. Si excludunt adversarii a praedicatione poenitentiae evangelium de Christo, merito sunt iudicandi blasphemi adversus Christum.

Auch führen sie noch mehr Sprüche wider uns, als diesen: Danielis am 4. sagt der Text: „Deine Sünden löse mit Gerechtigkeit und deine Übertretungen mit Almosen gegen die Armen." Und Jesaias am 58.: „Brich den Hungrigen dein Brot." Item, Luk. 6: „Vergebet, so wird euch vergeben werden." Und Matthäi am 5.: „Selig sind die Barmherzigen, denn sie werden die Barmherzigkeit erlangen." Auf diese Sprüche und dergleichen von den Werken antworten wir erstlich dieses, nämlich daß (wie wir oben gesagt) das Gesetz niemand halten kann ohne Glauben, so kann niemand Gott gefallen ohne Glauben an Christum, wie er sagt: „Ohne mich könnt ihr nichts tun"; item: „Ohne den Glauben ist es unmöglich, Gott gefallen"; item, wie Paulus sagt: „Durch Christum haben wir einen Zugang zu Gott durch den Glauben." Darum, sooft die Schrift der Werke gedenkt, so will sie allenthalben das Evangelium von Christo und den Glauben mit gemeint haben. Zum andern, so sind die Sprüche aus Daniel und andern (so jetzund erzählt) fast alle Predigten von der Buße. Erstlich predigen sie das Gesetz, zeigen die Sünde an und vermahnen zur Besserung und guten Werken. Zum andern ist daneben eine Verheißung, daß Gott wolle gnädig sein. Nun ist es gewiß, daß zu einer rechten Buße nicht genug ist, allein das Gesetz zu predigen, denn es schreckt allein die Gewissen; sondern es muß dazukommen auch das Evangelium, nämlich daß die Sünden ohne Verdienst vergeben werden um Christus' willen, daß wir durch den Glauben erlangen Vergebung der Sünden. Das ist so gewiß und also klar, daß, wo die Widersacher das werden anfechten und Christum und den Glauben von der Buße scheiden, [sie] billig für Lästerer des Evangelii und Christi geachtet werden.

137] Itaque quum Esaias primo capite, v. 16—18, praedicat poenitentiam: *Quiescite agere perverse, discite benefacere, quaerite iudicium, subvenite oppresso, iudicate pupillo, defendite viduam, et venite et expostulate mecum: si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi* [R.111 *nix dealbabuntur.* Sic et hortatur ad poenitentiam propheta et addit promissionem. Et stultum fuerit in tali sententia tantum haec opera considerare: *subvenire oppresso, iudicare pupillo.* Initio enim ait: *Desinite agere perverse,* ubi taxat impietatem cordis et requirit fidem. Nec dicit propheta, quod per opera illa: *subvenire oppresso, iudicare pupillo,* mereri possint remissionem peccatorum ex opere operato, sed praecipit haec opera ut necessaria in nova vita. Interim tamen remissionem peccatorum fide accipi vult ideoque additur promissio. **138**] Sic sentiendum est de omnibus similibus locis. Christus praedicat poenitentiam, quum ait: *Remittite,* et addit promissionem: *Remittetur vobis,* Luc. 6, 38. Neque vero hoc dicit, quod illo nostro opere, quum remittimus, mereamur remissionem peccatorum ex opere operato, ut vocant, sed requirit novam vitam, quae certe necessaria est. Interim tamen vult fide accipi remissionem peccatorum. Sic quum ait Esaias 58, 7: *Frange esurienti panem,* novam vitam requirit. Nec propheta de illo uno opere loquitur, sed de tota poenitentia, ut indicat **139**] textus; interim tamen vult remissionem peccatorum fide accipi. Certa est enim sententia, quam nullae portae inferorum evertere poterunt, quod in praedicatione poenitentiae

versaries, who attach to them godless opinions out of their mind. For it does not follow hence that works merit the remission of sins; that works regenerate hearts; that works are a propitiation; that works please without Christ as Propitiator; that works do not need Christ as Propitiator. James says nothing of these things, which, nevertheless, the adversaries shamelessly infer from the words of James.

Certain other passages concerning works are also cited against us. Luke 6, 37: *Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven.* Is. 58, 7 [9]: *Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry? . . . Then shalt thou call, and the Lord will answer.* Dan. 4, 24 [27]: *Break off thy sins, by showing mercy to the poor.* Matt. 5, 3: *Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven;* and v. 7: *Blessed are the merciful; for they shall obtain mercy.* Even these passages would contain nothing contrary to us if the adversaries would not falsely attach something to them. For they contain two things: The one is a preaching either of the Law or of repentance, which not only convicts those doing wrong, but also enjoins them to do what is right; the other is a promise which is added. But it is not added that sins are remitted without faith, or that works themselves are a propitiation. Moreover, in the preaching of the Law these two things ought always to be understood, namely: First, that the Law cannot be observed unless we have been regenerated by faith in Christ, just as Christ says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* Secondly, and though some external works can certainly be done, this general judgment: *Without faith it is impossible to please God,* which interprets the whole Law, must be retained; and the Gospel must be retained, that *through Christ we have access to the Father,* Heb. 10, 19; Rom. 5, 2. For it is evident that we are not justified by the Law. Otherwise, why would there be need of Christ or the Gospel, if the preaching of the Law alone would be sufficient? Thus in the preaching of repentance, the preaching of the Law, or the Word convicting of sin, is not sufficient, because the Law works wrath, and only accuses, only terrifies consciences, because consciences never are at rest, unless they hear the voice of God in which the remission of sins is clearly promised. Accordingly, the Gospel must be added, that for Christ's sake sins are remitted, and that we obtain remission of sins by faith in Christ. If the adversaries exclude the Gospel of Christ from the preaching of repentance, they are judged aright to be blasphemers against Christ.

Therefore, when Isaiah, 1, 16—18, preaches repentance: *Cease to do evil; learn to do well; seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow. Come now and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow,* the prophet thus both exhorts to repentance, and adds the promise. But it would be foolish to consider in such a sentence only the words: *Relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless.* For he says in the beginning: *Cease to do evil,* where he censures impiety of heart and requires faith. Neither does the prophet say that through the works: *Relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless,* they can merit the remission of sins *ex opere operato,* but he commands such works as are necessary in the new life. Yet, in the mean time, he means that remission of sins is received by faith, and accordingly the promise is added. Thus we must understand all similar passages. Christ preaches repentance when He says: *Forgive,* and He adds the promise: *And ye shall be forgiven,* Luke 6, 37. Nor, indeed, does He say this, namely, that, when we forgive, by this work of ours we merit the remission of sins *ex opere operato,* as they term it, but He requires a new life, which certainly is necessary. Yet, in the mean time, He means that remission of sins is received by faith. Thus, when Isaiah says, 58, 7: *Deal thy bread to the hungry,* he requires a new life. Nor does the prophet speak of this work alone, but, as the text indicates, of the entire repentance; yet, in the mean time, he intends that remission of sins is received by faith. For the position is sure, and none of the gates of hell can overthrow it, that in the preaching of repentance the preaching of the Law is not sufficient, because the Law works wrath and always accuses. But the preaching of the Gospel should be added, namely, that in this way remission of sins is granted us, if we believe that sins are remitted us for Christ's sake. Otherwise, why would there be need of the Gospel, why would there be need of Christ? This belief ought

non sufficiat praedicatio legis, quia lex iram operatur et semper accusat. Sed oportet addi praedicationem evangelii, quod ita donetur nobis remissio peccatorum, si credamus nobis remitti peccata propter Christum. Alioqui quorsum opus erat evangelio, quorsum opus erat Christo? Haec sententia semper in conspectu esse debet, ut opponi possit his, qui abiecto Christo, deleto evangelio male detorquent Scripturas ad humanas opiniones, quod remissionem peccatorum emamus nostris operibus.

140] Sic et in concione Danielis, 4, 24, fides requirenda est. Non enim volebat Daniel regem tantum eleemosynam largiri, [R. 112 sed totam poenitentiam complectitur, quum ait: *Redime peccata tua eleemosynis*, id est, redime peccata tua mutatione cordis et operum. Hic autem et fides requiritur. Et Daniel de cultu unius Dei Israelis multa ei concionatur, et regem convertit non solum ad eleemosynas largiendas, sed multo magis ad fidem. Exstat enim egregia confessio regis de Deo Israelis: *Non est alius Deus, qui possit ita salvare*, Dan. 3, 29. Itaque duae sunt partes in concione Danielis. Altera pars est, quae praecipit de nova vita et operibus novae vitae. Altera pars est, quod Daniel promittit regi remissionem peccatorum. Et haec promissio remissionis peccatorum non est praedicatio legis, sed vere prophetica et evangelica vox, quam certe voluit Daniel fide **141**] accipi. Norat enim Daniel promissam esse remissionem peccatorum in Christo non solum Israelitis, sed etiam omnibus gentibus. Alioqui non potuisset regi polliceri remissionem peccatorum. Non est enim hominis, praesertim in terroribus peccati, sine certo Verbo Dei statuere de voluntate Dei, quod irasci desinat. Ac verba Danielis in sua lingua clarius de tota poenitentia loquuntur et clarius promissionem efferunt: *Peccata tua per iustitiam redime et iniquitates tuas beneficiis erga pauperes.* Haec verba praecipiunt de tota poenitentia. Iubent enim, ut fiat iustus, deinde ut bene operetur, ut, quod regis officium erat, miseros adversus iniuriam **142**] defendat. Iustitia autem est fides in corde. Redimuntur autem peccata per poenitentiam, id est, obligatio seu reatus tollitur, quia Deus ignoscit agentibus poenitentiam, sicut Ezech. 18, 21. 22 scriptum est. Neque hinc ratiocinandum est, quod ignoscat [R. 113 propter opera sequentia, propter eleemosynas, sed ignoscit propter suam promissionem his, qui apprehendunt promissionem. Nec apprehendunt, nisi qui vere credunt et fide peccatum vincunt et mortem. Hi renati dignos fructus poenitentiae parere debent, sicut Iohannes ait Matth. 3, 8. Est igitur addita promissio: *Ecce* (Dan. 4, 24) *erit sanatio dilecto-***143**] *rum tuorum.* Hieronymus hic praeter rem addidit dubitativam particulam et multo imprudentius in commentariis contendit remissionem peccatorum incertam esse. Sed nos meminerimus evangelium certo promittere remissionem peccatorum. Et hoc plane fuerit evangelium tollere, negare, quod certo debeat promitti remissio peccatorum. Dimittamus igitur hoc in loco Hieronymum. Quamquam et in verbo *redimendi* promissio ostenditur. Significatur enim, quod remissio peccatorum possibilis sit, quod possint redimi peccata, id est, tolli obligatio seu reatus, seu placari ira Dei. Sed adversarii nostri ubique omissis

Darum soll man die Worte des großen, hohen Propheten Daniel nicht allein auf das bloße Werk, auf die Almosen, deuten und ziehen, sondern auch den Glauben ansehen. Man muß der Propheten Worte, welche voll Glaubens und Geistes gewesen, nicht so heidnisch ansehen als Aristotelis oder eines andern Heiden. Aristoteles hat auch Alexandrum vermahnt, daß er seine Macht nicht zu eigenem Mutwillen, sondern zur Besserung [von] Landen und Leuten brauchen sollte. Das ist recht und wohl geschrieben; man kann auch vom königlichen Amt nicht Besseres predigen oder schreiben. Aber Daniel sagt seinem König nicht allein von seinem königlichen Amt, sondern von der Buße, von Vergebung der Sünden, von Versöhnung gegen [mit] Gott und von den hohen, großen, geistlichen Sachen, welche gar hoch und weit über alle menschlichen Gedanken und Werke gehen. Darum sind seine Worte nicht allein von Werken und Almosen zu verstehen, welche auch ein Heuchler tun kann, sondern vornehmlich vom Glauben. Daß man aber muß Glauben hier verstehen, da wir von reden, das ist, glauben, daß Gott Sünde durch Barmherzigkeit, nicht um unsers Verdienstes willen vergebe, das beweist der Text selbst. Erstlich damit, denn es sind zwei Stücke in Daniels Predigt. Das eine ist Gesetzpredigt und Strafe. Das andere ist die Verheißung oder Absolution. Wo nun Verheißung ist, muß Glaube sein. Denn Verheißung kann nicht anders empfangen werden, denn daß sich das Herz verläßt auf solch Gotteswort und siehet nicht an eigene Würdigkeit oder Unwürdigkeit. Darum fordert Daniel auch Glauben; denn also lautet die Verheißung: „Deine Sünden werden geheilet." Dieses Wort ist eine recht prophetische und evangelische Predigt. Denn Daniel weiß, daß durch den künftigen Samen, Christum, nicht allein den Juden, sondern auch den Heiden Vergebung der Sünden, Gnade und ewiges Leben zugesagt war, sonst hätte er den König nicht also können trösten. Denn es ist nicht Menschenwerk, einem erschrockenen Gewissen gewißlich Vergebung der Sünden zusagen und trösten, daß Gott nicht mehr zürnen wolle; da muß man von Gottes Willen Zeugnis aus Gottes Wort haben, wie denn Daniel die hohen Verheißungen vom künftigen Samen gewußt und verstanden hat. Dieweil er nun eine Promission setzt, ist klar und offenbar, daß er Glauben fordert, da wir von reden. Daß er aber spricht: „Deine Sünden löse mit Gerechtigkeit und deine Übertretungen mit Wohltaten gegen die Armen", ist eine Summa einer ganzen Predigt und ist so viel: Bessere dich! Und ist wahr, so wir uns bessern, werden wir los von Sünden. Darum sagt er recht: „Löse deine Sünden." Daraus folgt aber nicht, daß wir von Sünden los werden um unserer Werke willen, oder daß unsere Werke die Bezahlung sind für die Sünde. Auch setzt Daniel nicht allein die Werke, sondern spricht: „Löse deine Sünden mit Gerechtigkeit." Nun weiß männiglich, daß Gerechtigkeit in der Schrift nicht allein äußerliche Werke heißt, sondern faßt den

always to be in view, in order that it may be opposed to those who, Christ being cast aside and the Gospel being blotted out, wickedly distort the Scriptures to the human opinions, that by our works we purchase remission of sins.

Thus also in the sermon of Daniel, 4, 24, faith is required. [The words of the prophet, which were full of faith and spirit, we must not regard as heathenish as those of Aristotle, or any other heathen. Aristotle also admonished Alexander that he should not use his power for his own wantonness, but for the improvement of countries and men. This was written correctly and well; concerning the office of king nothing better can be preached or written. But Daniel is speaking to his king, not only concerning his office as king, but concerning repentance, the forgiveness of sins, reconciliation to God, and concerning sublime, great, spiritual subjects, which far transcend human thoughts and works.] For Daniel did not mean that the king should only bestow alms [which even a hypocrite can do], but embraces repentance when he says: *Break off* [*Redeem*, Vulg.] *thy iniquities by showing mercy to the poor, i. e.*, break off thy sins by a change of heart and works. But here also faith is required. And Daniel proclaims to him many things concerning the worship of the only God, the God of Israel, and converts the king not only to bestow alms, but much more to faith. For we have the excellent confession of the king concerning the God of Israel: *There is no other God that can deliver after this sort*, Dan. 3, 29. Therefore, in the sermon of Daniel there are two parts. The one part is that which gives commandment concerning the new life and the works of the new life. The other part is, that Daniel promises to the king the remission of sins. [Now, where there is a promise, faith is required. For the promise cannot be received in any other way than by the heart's relying on such word of God, and not regarding its own worthiness or unworthiness. Accordingly, Daniel also demands faith; for thus the promise reads: *There will be healing for thy offenses.*] And this promise of the remission of sins is not a preaching of the Law, but a truly prophetical and evangelical voice, of which Daniel certainly meant that it should be received in faith. For Daniel knew that the remission of sins in Christ was promised not only to the Israelites, but also to all nations. Otherwise he could not have promised to the king the remission of sins. For it is not in the power of man, especially amid the terrors of sin, to assert, without a sure word of God concerning God's will, that He ceases to be angry. And the words of Daniel speak in his own language still more clearly of repentance, and still more clearly bring out the promise: *Redeem thy sins by righteousness and thy iniquities by favors toward the poor.* These words teach concerning the whole of repentance. [It is as much as to say: Amend your life! And it is true, when we amend our lives, we become rid of sin.] For they direct him to become righteous, then to do good works, to defend the miserable against injustice, as was the duty of a king. But righteousness is faith in the heart. Moreover, sins are redeemed by repentance, *i. e.*, the obligation or guilt is removed, because God forgives those who repent, as it is written in Ezek. 18, 21. 22. Nor are we to infer from this that He forgives on account of works that follow, on account of alms; but on account of His promise He forgives those who apprehend His promise. Neither do any apprehend His promise, except those who truly believe, and by faith overcome sin and death. These, being regenerated, ought to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, just as John says, Matt. 3, 8. The promise, therefore, was added: *So, there will be healing for thy offenses*, Dan. 4, 24. [Daniel does not only demand works, but says: *Redeem thy sins by righteousness.* Now, everybody knows that in Scripture righteousness does not mean only external works, but embraces faith, as Paul says: *Iustus ex fide vivet, The just shall live by his faith*, Heb. 10, 38. Hence, Daniel first demands faith when he mentions righteousness and says: *Redeem thy sins by righteousness*, that is, by faith toward God, by which thou art made righteous. In addition to this, do good works, administer your office, do not be a tyrant, but see that your government be profitable to your country and people, preserve peace, and protect the poor against unjust force. These are princely alms.] Jerome here added a particle expressing doubt, that is beside the matter, and in his commentaries contends much more unwisely that the remission of sins is uncertain. But let us remember that the Gospel gives a sure promise of the remission of sins. And to deny that there must be a sure promise of the remission of sins would completely abolish the Gospel. Let us therefore dismiss Jerome concerning this passage. Although the promise is displayed even in the word *redeem*. For it signifies that the remission of sins is possible, that sins can be redeemed, *i. e.*, that their obligation or guilt can be removed, or the wrath of God appeased. But our adversaries, overlooking the promises, everywhere, consider only the precepts, and attach falsely the human opinion that remission occurs on account of works, although the text does not say

promissionibus tantum praecepta intuentur et affingunt humanam opinionem, quod propter opera contingat remissio, quum hoc textus non dicat, sed multo magis fidem requirat. Nam ubicunque promissio est, ibi fides requiritur. Non enim potest accipi promissio nisi fide.

Glauben, wie Paulus spricht: Iustus ex fide vivet, „der Gerechte lebt seines Glaubens", Hebr. 10, 38. Darum fordert Daniel erstlich Glauben, da er Gerechtigkeit nennt, und spricht: „Löse deine Sünden mit Gerechtigkeit", das ist, mit Glauben gegen Gott, dadurch du gerecht wirst. Dazu tue auch gute Werke, nämlich warte deines Amtes; sei nicht ein Tyrann, sondern siehe zu, daß dein Regiment Landen und Leuten nützlich sei, halte Frieden und schütze die Armen wider unrechte Gewalt. Das sind fürstliche eleemosynae. Also ist klar, daß dieser Spruch der Lehre vom Glauben nicht entgegen ist. Aber unsere Widersacher, die groben Esel, flicken ihre Zusätze an alle solche Sprüche, nämlich daß uns die Sünden um unserer Werke willen vergeben werden, und lehren vertrauen auf Werke, so doch die Sprüche nicht also reden, sondern fordern gute Werke, wie denn wahr ist, daß muß ein ander und besser Leben in uns werden. Aber dennoch sollen dieselben Werke Christo seine Ehre nicht nehmen.

Also ist auch auf den Spruch aus dem Evangelio zu antworten: „Vergebet, so wird euch vergeben." Denn es ist gleich eine solche Lehre von der Buße. Das erste Stück an diesem Spruch fordert Besserung und gute Werke, das andere Stück setzt dazu die Verheißung, und man soll daraus nicht schließen, daß unser Vergeben uns ex opere operato Vergebung der Sünden verdiene. Denn das sagt Christus nicht, sondern wie in andern Sakramenten Christus die Verheißung heftet an das äußerliche Zeichen, also heftet er auch hier die Verheißung von Vergebung der Sünden an die äußerlichen guten Werke. Und wie wir im Abendmahl nicht erlangen Vergebung der Sünden ohne den Glauben, ex opere operato, also auch nicht in diesem Werke und unserm Vergeben; denn unser Vergeben ist auch kein gut Werk, es geschehe denn von denjenigen, welchen von Gott in Christo die Sünden schon zuvor vergeben sind. Darum unser Vergeben, soll es Gott gefallen, so muß es nach der Vergebung, da uns Gott vergibt, folgen. Denn Christus pflegt die zwei also zusammenzusetzen, das Gesetz und Evangelium, beide den Glauben und auch die guten Werke, daß er anzeige, daß kein Glaube da sei, wenn nicht gute Werke folgen; item, daß wir äußerliche Zeichen haben, welche uns erinnern des Evangelii und Vergebung der Sünden, dadurch wir getröstet werden, daß also mannigfaltig unser Glaube geübt werde. Also sollen solche Sprüche verstanden werden, denn sonst wäre es stracks wider das ganze Evangelium, und würde unser bettelisch Werk an Christus' Statt gesetzt, welcher allein soll die Versöhnung sein, welcher je nicht zu verachten ist. Item, wo sie sollten von Werken verstanden werden, so würde die Vergebung der Sünden ganz ungewiß; denn sie stünde auf einem losen Grunde, auf unsern elenden Werken.

144] Verum opera incurrunt hominibus in oculos. Haec naturaliter miratur humana ratio, et quia tantum opera cernit, fidem non intelligit neque considerat, ideo somniat haec opera mereri remissionem peccatorum et iustificare. Haec opinio legis haeret naturaliter in animis **145**] hominum, neque excuti potest, nisi quum divinitus docemur. Sed revocanda mens est ab huiusmodi carnalibus opinionibus ad Verbum Dei. Videmus nobis evangelium et promissionem de Christo propositam esse. Quum igitur lex praedicatur, quum praecipiuntur opera, non est repudianda promissio de Christo. Sed haec prius apprehendenda est, ut bene operari possimus, et ut opera nostra Deo placere queant, sicut inquit Christus Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Itaque si Daniel his verbis usus esset: Peccata tua redime per poenitentiam, praeterirent hunc locum adversarii. Nunc quum vere hanc ipsam sententiam verbis aliis, [R. 114 ut videntur, extulit, detorquent verba adversarii contra doctrinam gratiae et fidei, quum Daniel **146**] maxime voluerit complecti fidem. Sic igitur ad verba Danielis respondemus, quod, quia poenitentiam praedicat, non doceat tantum de operibus, sed de fide quoque, ut ipsa historia in textu testatur. Secundo, quia Daniel clare ponit promissionem, necessario requirit fidem, quae credat gratis remitti peccata a Deo. Quamquam igitur in poenitentia commemorat opera, tamen hoc Daniel non dicit, quod per opera illa mereamur remissionem peccatorum. Loquitur enim Daniel non solum de remissione culpae [poenae], quia remissio poenae frustra quaeritur, nisi cor **147**] apprehenderit prius remissionem culpae. Ceterum si adversarii tantum intelligunt Danielem de remissione poenae, nihil contra nos faciet hic locus, quia ita necesse erit ipsos fateri, quod remissio peccati et iustificatio gratuita praecedat. Postea nos quoque concedimus poenas, quibus castigamur, mitigari nostris orationibus et bonis operibus, denique tota poenitentia, iuxta illud 1 Cor. 11, 31: *Si nos iudicaremus, non iudicaremur a Domino.* Et Ier. 15, 19: *Si converteris, convertam te.* Et Zach. 1, 3: *Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos.* Et Ps. 50, 15: *Invoca me in die tribulationis.*

148] Teneamus igitur has regulas in omnibus encomiis operum, in praedicatione legis, quod lex non fiat sine Christo, sicut ipse inquit: *Sine me nihil potestis facere;* item, quod *sine fide impossibile sit placere Deo,* Hebr. 11, 6. Certissimum est enim, quod doctrina legis non vult tollere evangelium, non vult tollere propitiatorem Christum. Et maledicti sint Pharisaei, adversarii nostri, qui legem ita interpretantur, ut operibus tribuant gloriam Christi, videlicet, quod sint propitiatio, quod mereantur remissionem peccatorum. Sequitur igitur semper ita laudari opera, quod placeant propter fidem, quia opera non placent sine propitiatore [R. 115 Christo. *Per hunc habemus accessum ad Deum,* Rom. 5, 2, non per opera sine mediatore Christo. **149**] Ergo quum dicitur: *Si vis in vitam ingredi, serva mandata,* Matth. 19, 7, sentiendum est mandata sine Christo non servari, nec placere sine Christo. Sic in ipso Decalogo, in primo praecepto, Exod. 20, 6: *Faciens misericordiam in millia his, qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea,* amplissima promissio legis additur. Sed haec lex non fit sine Christo. Semper

this, but much rather requires faith. For wherever a promise is, there faith is required. For a promise cannot be received unless by faith. [The same answer must also be given in reference to the passage from the Gospel: *Forgive, and you will be forgiven.* For this is just such a doctrine of repentance. The first part in this passage demands amendment of life and good works, the other part adds the promise. Nor are we to infer from this that our forgiving merits for us *ex opere operato* remission of sin. For that is not what Christ says, but as in other sacraments Christ has attached the promise to an external sign, so He attaches the promise of the forgiveness of sin in this place to external good works. And as in the Lord's Supper we do not obtain forgiveness of sin without faith, *ex opere operato*, so neither in this action, when we forgive. For, our forgiving is not a good work, except it is performed by a person whose sins have been previously forgiven by God in Christ. If, therefore, our forgiving is to please God, it must follow after the forgiveness which God extends to us. For, as a rule, Christ combines these two, the Law and the Gospel, both faith and good works, in order to indicate that, where good works do not follow, there is no faith either, that we may have external marks, which remind us of the Gospel and the forgiveness of sin, for our comfort, and that thus our faith may be exercised in many ways. In this manner we are to understand such passages, otherwise they would directly contradict the entire Gospel, and our beggarly works would be put in the place of Christ, who alone is to be the propitiation, which no man is by any means to despise. Again, if these passages were to be understood as relating to works, the remission of sins would be quite uncertain; for it would rest on a poor foundation, on our miserable works.]

But works become conspicuous among men. Human reason naturally admires these, and because it sees only works, and does not understand or consider faith, it dreams accordingly that these works merit remission of sins and justify. This opinion of the Law inheres by nature in men's minds; neither can it be expelled, unless when we are divinely taught. But the mind must be recalled from such carnal opinions to the Word of God. We see that the Gospel and the promise concerning Christ have been laid before us. When, therefore, the Law is preached, when works are enjoined, we should not spurn the promise concerning Christ. But the latter must first be apprehended, in order that we may be able to produce good works, and our works may please God, as Christ says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* Therefore, if Daniel would have used such words as these: "Redeem your sins by repentance," the adversaries would take no notice of this passage. Now, since he has actually expressed this thought in apparently other words, the adversaries distort his words to the injury of the doctrine of grace and faith, although Daniel meant most especially to include faith. Thus, therefore, we reply to the words of Daniel, that, inasmuch as he is preaching repentance, he is teaching not only of works, but also of faith, as the narrative itself in the context testifies. Secondly, because Daniel clearly presents the promise, he necessarily requires faith which believes that sins are freely remitted by God. Although, therefore, in repentance he mentions works, yet Daniel does not say that by these works we merit remission of sins. For Daniel speaks not only of the remission of the punishment; because remission of the punishment is sought for in vain, unless the heart first receive the remission of guilt. Besides, if the adversaries understand Daniel as speaking only of the remission of punishment, this passage will prove nothing against us, because it will thus be necessary for even them to confess that the remission of sin and free justification precede. Afterwards even we concede that the punishments by which we are chastised, are mitigated by our prayers and good works, and finally by our entire repentance, according to 1 Cor. 11, 31: *For if we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged.* And Jer. 15, 19: *If thou return, then will I bring thee again.* And Zech. 1, 3: *Turn ye unto Me, and I will turn unto you.* And Ps. 50, 15: *Call upon Me in the day of trouble.*

Let us, therefore, in all our encomiums upon works and in the preaching of the Law retain this rule: that the Law is not observed without Christ. As He Himself has said: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* Likewise that: *Without faith it is impossible to please God,* Heb. 11, 6. For it is very certain that the doctrine of the Law is not intended to remove the Gospel, and to remove Christ as Propitiator. And let the Pharisees, our adversaries, be cursed, who so interpret the Law as to ascribe the glory of Christ to works, namely, that they are a propitiation, that they merit the remission of sins. It follows, therefore, that works are always thus praised, namely, that they are pleasing on account of faith, as works do not please without Christ as Propitiator. *By Him we have access to God,* Rom. 5, 2, not by works, without Christ as Mediator. Therefore, when it is said, Matt. 19, 17: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments,* we must believe that without Christ the commandments are not kept, and without Him cannot please. Thus in the Decalog itself, in the First Commandment, Ex. 20, 6: *Showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep My commandments,* the most liberal promise of the Law is added. But this Law is not observed without Christ. For it always accuses the conscience, which does not satisfy the Law, and therefore, in terror, flies from the judgment and punishment of the Law. *Because the Law worketh wrath,* Rom. 4, 15. Man observes the Law, however, when he hears that for Christ's sake God is reconciled to us, even though we cannot satisfy the Law. When, by this faith, Christ is apprehended as Mediator, the heart finds rest, and begins to love God and observe the Law, and knows that now, because of

enim accusat conscientiam, quae legi non satisfacit, quare territa fugit iudicium et poenam legis. *Lex enim operatur iram*, Rom. 4, 15. Tunc autem facit legem, quando audit nobis propter Christum reconciliari Deum, etiamsi legi non possumus satisfacere. Quum hac fide apprehenditur mediator Christus, cor acquiescit et incipit diligere Deum et facere legem, et scit iam se placere Deo propter mediatorem Christum, etiamsi illa inchoata legis impletio procul absit
150] a perfectione et valde sit immunda. Sic iudicandum est et de praedicatione poenitentiae. Quamquam enim scholastici nihil omnino de fide in doctrina poenitentiae dixerunt, tamen arbitramur neminem adversariorum tam esse furiosum, ut neget absolutionem evangelii vocem esse. Porro absolutio fide accipi debet, ut erigat perterrefactam conscientiam.

151] Itaque doctrina poenitentiae, quia non solum nova opera praecipit, sed etiam promittit remissionem peccatorum, necessario requirit fidem. Non enim accipitur remissio peccatorum nisi fide. Semper igitur in his locis de poenitentia intelligere oportet, quod non solum opera, sed etiam fides requiratur, ut hic Matth. 6, 14: *Si dimiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, dimittet et vobis Pater vester coelestis delicta vestra.* Hic requiritur opus et additur promissio remissionis peccatorum, quae non contingit propter opus, sed propter Christum per fidem.
152] Sicut alibi multis locis testatur Scriptura. Act. 10, 43: *Huic omnes prophetae testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius omnes, qui credunt* [R. 116 *in eum.* Et 1 Ioh. 2, 12: *Remittuntur vobis peccata propter nomen eius.* Eph. 1, 7: *In quo*
153] *habemus redemptionem per sanguinem eius in remissionem peccatorum.* Quamquam quid opus est recitare testimonia? Haec est ipsa vox evangelii propria, quod propter Christum, non propter nostra opera, fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum. Hanc evangelii vocem adversarii nostri obruere conantur male detortis locis, qui continent doctrinam legis aut operum. Verum est enim, quod in doctrina poenitentiae requiruntur opera, quia certe nova vita requiritur. Sed hic male assuunt adversarii, quod talibus operibus mereamur remissio-
154] nem peccatorum aut iustificationem. Et tamen Christus saepe annectit promissionem remissionis peccatorum bonis operibus, non quod velit bona opera propitiationem esse, sequuntur enim reconciliationem, sed propter duas causas. Altera est, quia necessario sequi debent boni fructus. Monet igitur hypocrisin et fictam poenitentiam esse, si non sequantur boni fructus. Altera causa est, quia nobis opus est habere externa signa tantae promissionis, quia
155] conscientia pavida multiplici consolatione opus habet. Ut igitur baptismus, ut coena Domini sunt signa, quae subinde admonent, erigunt et confirmant pavidas mentes, ut credant firmius remitti peccata, ita scripta et picta est eadem promissio in bonis operibus, ut haec opera admoneant nos, ut firmius credamus. Et qui non benefaciunt, non excitant se ad credendum, sed contemnunt promissiones illas. Sed pii amplectuntur eas et gaudent habere signa et testimonia tantae promissionis. Ideo exercent se in illis signis et testimoniis. Sicut igitur coena Domini non iustificat ex opere operato sine fide, ita eleemosynae non iustificant sine fide ex opere operato.

156] Sic et Tobiae concio, cap. 4, 11, accipi debet: *Eleemosyna ab omni peccato et* [R. 117 *a morte liberat.* Non dicemus hyperbolen esse, quamquam ita accipi debet, ne detrahat de laudibus Christi, cuius propria sunt officia liberare a peccato et a morte. Sed recurrendum est ad regulam, quod doctrina legis sine
157] Christo non prodest. Placent igitur eleemosynae Deo, quae sequuntur reconciliationem seu iustificationem, non quae praecedunt. Itaque liberant a peccato et morte non ex opere operato, sed ut de poenitentia supra diximus, quod fidem et fructus complecti debeamus, ita hic de eleemosyna dicendum est, quod tota illa novitas vitae salvet. Et eleemosynae sunt exercitia fidei, quae accipit remissionem peccatorum, quae vincit mortem, dum se magis magisque exercet et in illis exercitiis vires accipit. Concedimus et hoc, quod eleemosynae mereantur multa beneficia Dei, mitigent poenas, quod mereantur, ut defendamur in periculis peccatorum et mortis, sicut paulo ante de tota poenitentia diximus.
158] Ac tota concio Tobiae, 4, 6, inspecta ostendit ante eleemosynas requiri fidem: *Omnibus diebus vitae tuae in mente habeto Deum.* Et postea, v. 20: *Omni tempore benedic Deum et pete ab eo, ut vias tuas dirigat.* Hoc autem proprie fidei est illius, de qua nos loquimur, quae sentit se habere Deum placatum propter ipsius misericordiam, et vult a Deo iustificari, sanctificari et gubernari.

Auch ziehen sie an einen Spruch aus Tobias: „Die Almosen erlösen von der Sünde und von dem Tode.“ Wir wollen nicht sagen, daß da eine Hyperbole sei, wiewohl wir es sagen möchten, damit Christi Ehre erhalten werde; denn dies ist Christus' Amt allein, von der Sünde, vom Tode erlösen usw. Wir wollen aber uns zu unserer alten Regel halten, nämlich daß das Gesetz oder die Werke außer Christo niemand gerecht machen vor Gott. So gefallen nun die Almosen (welche dem Glauben folgen) dann erst Gott, wenn ich durch Christum versöhnt bin, nicht die vorhergehen. Darum erlösen sie vom Tode nicht ex opere operato, sondern wie ich kurz zuvor von der Buße gesagt habe, daß man den Glauben mit den Früchten zugleich muß zusammenfassen, also ist auch von den Almosen zu sagen, daß sie Gott gefallen, dieweil sie geschehen in den Gläubigen. Denn Tobias redet nicht allein von Almosen, sondern auch vom Glauben. Denn er sagt: „Lobe Gott und bitte ihn, daß er dich wolle auf deinen Wegen leiten“ usw. Da redet er eigentlich von dem Glauben, da wir von reden, der da glaubt, daß er einen gnädigen Gott habe, den er zu loben schuldig ist für eitel große Güte und Gnade, von dem er auch täglich erwarte Hilfe, und bittet ihn, daß er ihn im Leben und Sterben leiten und regieren wolle. Auf die Weise mögen wir nachgeben, daß die Almosen nicht unverdienstlich seien gegen Gott, nicht aber, daß sie können den Tod, die Hölle, den Teufel, die Sünde überwinden, die Gewissen zur Ruhe stellen (denn das muß durch

Christ as Mediator, it is pleasing to God, even though the inchoate fulfilling of the Law be far from perfection and be very impure. Thus we must judge also concerning the preaching of repentance. For although in the doctrine of repentance the scholastics have said nothing at all concerning faith, yet we think that none of our adversaries is so mad as to deny that absolution is a voice of the Gospel. And absolution ought to be received by faith, in order that it may cheer the terrified conscience.

Therefore the doctrine of repentance, because it not only commands new works, but also promises the remission of sins, necessarily requires faith. For the remission of sins is not received unless by faith. Therefore, in those passages that refer to repentance, we should always understand that not only works, but also faith is required, as in Matt. 6, 14: *For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you.* Here a work is required, and the promise of the remission of sins is added, which does not occur on account of the work, but through faith, on account of Christ. Just as Scripture testifies in many passages: Acts 10, 43: *To Him give all the prophets witness that through His name, whosoever believeth in Him, shall receive remission of sins;* and 1 John 2, 12: *Your sins are forgiven you for His name's sake;* Eph. 1, 7: *In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins.* Although what need is there to recite testimonies? This is the very voice peculiar to the Gospel, namely, that for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our works, we obtain by faith remission of sins. Our adversaries endeavor to suppress this voice of the Gospel by means of distorted passages which contain the doctrine of the Law, or of works. For it is true that in the doctrine of repentance works are required, because certainly a new life is required. But here the adversaries wrongly add that by such works we merit the remission of sins, or justification. And yet Christ often connects the promise of the remission of sins to good works, not because He means that good works are a propitiation, for they follow reconciliation; but for two reasons. One is, because good fruits must necessarily follow. Therefore He reminds us that, if good fruits do not follow, the repentance is hypocritical and feigned. The other reason is, because we have need of external signs of so great a promise, because a conscience full of fear has need of manifold consolation. As, therefore, Baptism and the Lord's Supper are signs that continually admonish, cheer, and encourage desponding minds to believe the more firmly that their sins are forgiven, so the same promise is written and portrayed in good works, in order that these works may admonish us to believe the more firmly. And those who produce no good works do not excite themselves to believe, but despise these promises. The godly, on the other hand, embrace them, and rejoice that they have the signs and testimonies of so great a promise. Accordingly, they exercise themselves in these signs and testimonies. Just as, therefore, the Lord's Supper does not justify us *ex opere operato*, without faith, so alms do not justify us without faith, *ex opere operato*.

So also the address of Tobias, 4, 11, ought to be received: *Alms free from every sin and from death.* We will not say that this is hyperbole, although it ought thus to be received, so as not to detract from the praise of Christ, whose prerogative it is to free from sin and death. But we must come back to the rule that without Christ the doctrine of the Law is of no profit. Therefore those alms please God which follow reconciliation or justification, and not those which precede. Therefore they free from sin and death, not *ex opere operato*, but, as we have said above concerning repentance, that we ought to embrace faith and its fruits, so here we must say concerning alms that this entire newness of life saves [that they please God because they occur in believers]. Alms also are the exercises of faith, which receives the remission of sins and overcomes death, while it exercises itself more and more, and in these exercises receives strength. We grant also this, that alms merit many favors from God [but they cannot overcome death, hell, the devil, sins, and give the conscience peace (for this must occur alone through faith in Christ)], mitigate punishments, and that they merit our defense in the dangers of sins and of death, as we have said a little before concerning the entire repentance. [This is the simple meaning, which agrees also with other passages of Scripture. For wherever in the Scriptures good works are praised, we must always understand them according to the rule of Paul, that the Law and works must not be elevated above Christ, but that Christ and faith are as far above all works as the heavens are above the earth.] And the address of Tobias, regarded as a whole, shows that faith is required before alms, 4, 5: *Be mindful of the Lord, thy God, all thy days.* And afterwards, v. 19: *Bless the Lord, thy God, always, and desire of Him that thy ways be directed.* This, however, belongs properly to that faith of which we speak, which believes that God is reconciled to it because of His mercy, and which wishes to be justified, sanctified, and governed by God. But our ad-

159] Sed adversarii nostri, suaves homines, excerpunt mutilatas sententias, ut imperitis fucum faciant. Postea affingunt aliquid de suis opinionibus. Requirendi igitur sunt integri loci, quia, iuxta vulgare praeceptum, incivile est, nisi tota lege perspecta, una aliqua particula eius proposita, iudicare vel respondere. Et loci integri prolati plerumque secum afferunt interpretationem.

160] Citatur mutilatus et hic locus Luc. 11, 41: *Date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.* Plane surdi sunt [R. 118 adversarii. Toties iam dicimus ad praedicationem legis oportere addi evangelium de Christo, propter quem placent bona opera, sed illi ubique excluso Christo docent mereri **161**] iustificationem per opera legis. Hic locus integer prolatus ostendet fidem requiri. Christus obiurgat Pharisaeos, sentientes se coram Deo mundari, hoc est, iustificari crebris ablutionibus. Sicut papa, nescio quis, de aqua sale conspersa inquit, quod *populum sanctificet ac mundet;* et glossa ait, quod mundet *a venialibus.* Tales erant et Pharisaeorum opiniones, quas reprehendit Christus, et opponit huic fictae purgationi duplicem munditiam, alteram internam, alteram externam. Iubet, ut intus mundentur, et addit de munditie externa: *Date eleemosynam de eo, quod superest, et sic omnia erunt vobis munda.* **162**] Adversarii non recte accommodant particulam universalem *omnia;* Christus enim addit hanc conclusionem utrique membro: Tunc omnia erunt munda, si intus eritis mundi, et foris dederitis eleemosynam. Significat enim, quod externa mundities collocanda sit in operibus a Deo praeceptis, non in traditionibus humanis, ut tunc erant illae ablutiones, et nunc est quotidiana illa aspersio aquae, vestitus monachorum, discrimina ciborum et similes pompae. Sed adversarii corrumpunt sententiam, sophistice translata particula universali ad unam partem: Omnia **163**] erunt munda datis eleemosynis. Atqui Petrus dixit Act. 15, 9, *fide purificari corda.* Sed totus locus inspectus sententiam offert consentientem cum reliqua Scriptura, quod si corda sint mundata, et deinde foris accedant eleemosynae, hoc est, omnia opera caritatis: ita totos esse mundos, hoc est, non intus solum, sed foris etiam. Deinde cur non tota illa concio coniungitur? Multae sunt partes obiurgationis, quarum aliae de fide, aliae de operibus praecipiunt. Nec est candidi lectoris excerpere praecepta operum, omissis locis de fide.

den Glauben an Christum allein geschehen), sondern verdienen, daß uns Gott schützt vor künftigem Übel und Fahr [Gefahr] Leibes und der Seele. Das ist der einfältige Verstand, welcher auch mit andern Sprüchen der Schrift übereinstimmt. Denn wo gute Werke gelobt werden in der Schrift, so [da] soll man es allezeit nach der Regel Pauli verstehen, daß man das Gesetz und die Werke nicht über Christum hebe, daß Christus und der Glaube so hoch über alle Werke gehen, als der Himmel über der Erde ist.

Auch ziehen sie an den Spruch Christi: „Gebet Almosen, so wird euch alles rein sein." Die Widersacher sind taub und haben dicke Ohren, darum müssen wir ihnen die Regel oft erholen [wiederholen], daß das Gesetz ohne Christum niemand vor Gott fromm mache, und daß alle Werke allein um Christus' willen angenehm sind. Aber die Widersacher schließen Christum allenthalben aus, tun gleich, als sei Christus nichts, und lehren unverschämt, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch gute Werke usw. Wenn wir aber den Spruch unzerrissen, ganz ansehen, so werden wir sehen, daß er auch vom Glauben mit redet. Christus schilt die Pharisäer, daß sie wollten wähnen, sie würden vor Gott heilig und rein durch allerlei baptismata carnis, das ist, durch allerlei leibliches Baden, Waschen und Reinigung am Leibe, an Gefäßen, an Kleidern, wie auch ein Papst in seine Canones gesetzt hat ein nötig päpstlich Stück vom Weihwasser, daß, wenn es mit geweihtem Salz besprengt wird, so heiligt's und reinigt's das Volk von Sünden. Und die Glosse sagt, es reinige von täglichen Sünden. Also hatten die Pharisäer auch Irrtümer unter sich, welche Christus straft und setzt gegen die erdichteten Reinigungen zweierlei Reinigkeit, eine innerlich, die andere äußerlich, und vermahnt, daß sie inwendig sollen rein sein; das geschieht, wie Petrus sagt in Geschichten der Apostel am 15., „durch den Glauben". Und setzt dazu von äußerlicher Reinigkeit: „Gebet Almosen von dem, das ihr übrig habt, so wird euch alles rein sein." Die Widersacher führen nicht recht ein das Wort „alles". Denn Christus setzt den Beschluß auf beide Stücke, auf die innerliche und äußerliche Reinigkeit, und sagt: „Alles wird euch rein sein." Das ist, wenn ihr euch nicht allein leiblich badet, sondern Gott glaubt und also inwendig rein seid und auswendig Almosen gebt, so wird euch alles rein sein. Und zeigt an, daß auch die rechte äußerliche Reinigkeit stehe in den Werken, welche Gott geboten habe, und nicht in menschlichen Satzungen, als da waren dieselben traditiones Pharisaeorum usw., und wie bei unserer Zeit ist das Bespritzen und Sprengen des Weihwassers, die schneeweißen Mönchskleider, die Unterschiede der Speisen und dergleichen. Die Widersacher aber ziehen dies signum universale, nämlich das Wort „alles", sophistisch allein auf einen Teil und sagen: Alles wird euch rein sein, wenn ihr Almosen gebt usw. Als wenn einer sagt: Andreas ist da, darum sind alle Apostel da. Darum im antecedente oder vor[auf]gehenden Stück dieses Spruchs soll beides beieinander bleiben: Glaubt und: Gebt Almosen. Denn darauf geht die ganze Sendung, das ganze Amt Christi, darum ist er da, daß sie glauben sollen. Wenn nun beide Stücke zusammengefaßt werden: glauben und Eleemosynen geben, so folgt recht, daß alles rein sei, das Herz durch Glauben, der äußerliche Wandel durch gute Werke. Also soll man die Predigt ganz fassen und nicht das eine Stück umkehren und deuten, daß das Herz von Sünden rein wird durch unsere Eleemosynen. Es sind auch wohl etliche, die da meinen, daß es wider die Pharisäer von Christo ironice oder spöttisch geredet sei, als sollte er sagen: Ja, liebe Junker, raubt und stehlt und geht danach hin, gebt Almosen, so werdet ihr bald rein sein! Daß also Christus

versaries, charming men, pick out mutilated sentences, in order to deceive those who are unskilled. Afterwards they attach something from their own opinions. Therefore, entire passages are to be required, because, according to the common precept, it is unbecoming, before the entire Law is thoroughly examined, to judge or reply when any single clause of it is presented. And passages, when produced in their entirety, very frequently bring the interpretation with them.

Luke 11, 41 is also cited in a mutilated form, namely: *Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.* The adversaries are very stupid [are deaf, and have callous ears; therefore, we must so often etc.]. For time and again we have said that to the preaching of the Law there should be added the Gospel concerning Christ, because of whom good works are pleasing, but they everywhere teach [without shame] that, Christ being excluded, justification is merited by the works of the Law. When this passage is produced unmutilated, it will show that faith is required. Christ rebukes the Pharisees who think that they are cleansed before God, *i. e.*, that they are justified by frequent ablutions [by all sorts of *baptismata carnis*, that is, by all sorts of baths, washings, and cleansings of the body, of vessels, of garments]. Just as some Pope or other says of the water sprinkled with salt that *it sanctifies and cleanses the people;* and the gloss says that it cleanses *from venial* sins. Such also were the opinions of the Pharisees which Christ reproved, and to this feigned cleansing He opposes a double cleanness, the one internal, the other external. He bids them be cleansed inwardly [(which occurs only through faith)], and adds concerning the outward cleanness: *Give alms of such things as ye have; and, behold, all things are clean unto you.* The adversaries do not apply aright the universal particle *all things;* for Christ adds this conclusion to both members: "All things will be clean unto you, if you will be clean within, and will outwardly give alms." For He indicates that outward cleanness is to be referred to works commanded by God, and not to human traditions, such as the ablutions were at that time, and the daily sprinkling of water, the vesture of monks, the distinctions of food, and similar acts of ostentation are now. But the adversaries distort the meaning by sophistically transferring the universal particle to only one part: "All things will be clean to those having given alms." [As if any one would infer: Andrew is present; therefore all the apostles are present. Wherefore in the antecedent both members ought to be joined: Believe and give alms. For to this the entire mission, the entire office of Christ points; to this end He is come that we should believe in Him. Now, if both parts are combined, believing and giving alms, it follows rightly that all things are clean: the heart by faith, the external conversation by good works. Thus we must combine the entire sermon, and not invert the parts, and interpret the text to mean that the heart is cleansed from sin by alms. Moreover, there are some who think that these words were spoken by Christ against the Pharisees ironically, as if He meant to say: Aye, my dear lords, rob and steal, and then go and give alms, and you will be promptly cleansed, so that Christ would in a somewhat sarcastic and mocking way puncture their pharisaical hypocrisy. For, although they abounded in unbelief, avarice, and every evil work, they still observed their purifications, gave alms, and believed that they were quite pure, lovely saints. This interpretation is not contrary to the text.] Yet Peter says, Acts 15, 9, that *hearts are purified by faith.* And when this entire passage is examined, it presents a meaning harmonizing with the rest of Scripture, that, if the hearts are cleansed, and then outwardly alms are added, *i. e.*, all the works of love, they are thus entirely clean, *i. e.*, not only within, but also without. And why is not the entire discourse added to it? There are many parts of the reproof, some of which give commandment concerning faith, and others concerning works. Nor is it the part of a candid reader to pick out the commands concerning works, while the passages concerning faith are omitted.

Lastly, readers are to be admonished of this, namely, that the adversaries give the worst advice to godly consciences when they teach that by works the remission of sins is merited, because conscience, in acquiring remission through works, cannot be confident that the work will satisfy God. Accordingly, it is always tormented, and continually devises other works and other acts of worship, until it altogether despairs. This course is described by Paul, Rom. 4, 5, where he proves that the promise of righteousness is not obtained because of our works, because we could never affirm that we had a reconciled God. For the Law always accuses. Thus the promise would be in vain and uncertain. He accordingly concludes that this promise of the remission of sins and of righteousness is received by faith, not on account of works. This is the true, simple, and genuine meaning of Paul, in which the greatest consolation is offered godly consciences, and the glory of Christ is shown forth, who certainly was given to us for this purpose, namely, that through Him we might have grace, righteousness, and peace.

Thus far we have reviewed the principal passages which the adversaries cite against us, in order to show that faith does not justify, and that we merit, by our works, remission of sins and grace. But we hope that we have shown clearly enough to godly consciences that these passages are not opposed to our doctrine; that the adversaries wickedly distort the Scriptures to their opinions; that the most of the passages which they cite have been garbled; that, while omitting the clearest passages concerning faith, they only select from the Scriptures passages concerning works, and even these they distort; that everywhere they add certain human opinions to that which the words

etwas herbe und höhnisch ansteche ihre pharisäische Heuchelei. Denn wiewohl sie voll Unglaubens, voll Geizes und alles Argen waren, so hielten sie doch ihre Reinigung, gaben Almosen und meinten, sie wären gar reine, zarte Heilige. Die Auslegung ist dem Text daselbst nicht entgegen.

164] Postremo hoc monendi sunt lectores, quod adversarii pessime consulunt piis conscientiis, quum docent per opera mereri remissionem peccatorum, quia conscientia colligens per [R. 119 opera remissionem non potest statuere, quod opus satisfaciat Deo. Ideo semper angitur et subinde alia opera, alios cultus excogitat, donec prorsus desperat. Haec ratio exstat apud Paulum, Rom. 4, 5, ubi probat, quod promissio iustitiae non contingat propter opera nostra, quia nunquam possemus statuere, quod haberemus placatum Deum. Lex enim semper accusat. Ita promissio irrita esset et incerta. Ideo concludit, quod promissio illa remissionis peccatorum et iustitiae fide accipiatur, non propter opera. Haec est vera et simplex et germana sententia Pauli, in qua maxima consolatio piis conscientiis proposita est et illustratur gloria Christi, qui certe ad hoc donatus est nobis, ut per ipsum habeamus gratiam, iustitiam et pacem.

165] Hactenus recensuimus praecipuos locos, quos adversarii contra nos citant, ut ostendant, quod fides non iustificet et quod mereamur remissionem peccatorum et gratiam per opera nostra. Sed speramus nos piis conscientiis satis ostendisse, quod hi loci non adversentur nostrae sententiae, quod adversarii male detorqueant Scripturas ad suas opiniones, quod plerosque locos citent truncatos, quod omissis locis clarissimis de fide tantum excerpant ex Scripturis locos de operibus eosque depravent, quod ubique affingant humanas quasdam opiniones praeter id, quod verba Scripturae dicunt, quod legem ita doceant, ut evangelium de Christo **166**] obruant. Tota enim doctrina adversariorum partim est a ratione humana sumpta, partim est doctrina legis, non evangelii. Duos enim modos iustificationis tradunt, quorum alter est sumptus a ratione, alter ex lege, non ex evangelio seu promissione de Christo.

167] Prior modus iustificationis est apud ipsos, quod docent homines per bona opera [R. 120 mereri gratiam tum de congruo, tum de condigno. Hic modus est doctrina rationis, quia ratio non videns immunditiem cordis sentit se ita placare Deum, si bene operetur, et propterea subinde alia opera, alii cultus ab hominibus in magnis periculis excogitati sunt adversus terrores conscientiae. Gentes et Israelitae mactaverunt humanas hostias et alia multa durissima opera susceperunt, ut placarent iram Dei. Postea excogitati sunt monachatus, et hi certaverunt inter se acerbitate observationum contra terrores conscientiae, contra iram Dei. Et hic modus iustificationis, quia est rationalis et totus versatur in externis operibus, intelligi potest et utcunque praestari. Et ad hunc canonistae detorserunt ordinationes ecclesiasticas male intellectas, quae a patribus longe alio consilio factae sunt, nempe non ut per opera illa quaereremus iustitiam, sed ut ordo quidam propter tranquillitatem hominum inter se in ecclesia esset. Ad hunc modum detorserunt et sacramenta maximeque missam; per hanc quaerunt iustitiam, gratiam, salutem ex opere operato.

168] Alter modus iustificationis traditur a theologis scholasticis, quum docent, quod iusti simus per quendam habitum a Deo infusum, qui est dilectio, et quod hoc habitu adiuti intus et foris faciamus legem Dei, et quod illa impletio legis sit digna gratia et vita aeterna. Haec doctrina plane est doctrina legis. Verum est enim, quod lex inquit: *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum* etc., Deut. 6, 5. *Diliges proximum tuum*, Lev. 19, 18. Dilectio igitur est impletio legis.

169] Facile est autem iudicium homini Christiano de utroque modo, quia uterque modus excludit Christum, ideo reprehendendi sunt. In priore manifesta est impietas, qui docet, [R. 121 quod opera nostra sint propitiatio pro peccatis. Posterior modus multa habet incommoda. Non docet uti Christo, quum renascimur. Non docet iustificationem esse remissionem peccatorum. Non docet prius remissionem peccatorum contingere, quam diligimus, sed fingit, quod eliciamus actum dilectionis, per quem mereamur remissionem peccatorum. Nec docet fide in Christum vincere [vinci] terrores peccati et mortis. Fingit homines propria impletione legis accedere ad Deum sine propitiatore Christo; fingit postea ipsam impletionem legis sine propitiatore Christo iustitiam esse dignam gratia et vita aeterna, quum tamen vix imbecillis et exigua legis impletio contingat etiam sanctis.

170] Verum si quis cogitabit evangelium non esse frustra datum mundo, Christum non esse frustra promissum, exhibitum, natum, passum, resuscitatum, facillime intelliget nos non ex ratione aut lege iustificari. Nos igitur cogimur de iustificatione dissentire ab adversariis. Evangelium enim alium modum ostendit; evangelium cogit uti Christo in iustificatione, docet, quod per ipsum habeamus accessum ad Deum per fidem, docet, quod ipsum mediatorem et propitiatorem debeamus opponere irae Dei; docet fide in Christum accipi remissionem peccatorum **171**] et reconciliationem et vinci terrores peccati et mortis. Ita et Paulus ait, *iustitiam esse non ex lege, sed ex promissione*, in qua promisit Pater, quod velit ignoscere, quod velit reconciliari propter Christum. Haec autem promissio sola fide accipitur, ut testatur Paulus ad Rom., cap. 4, 13. Haec fides sola accipit remissionem peccatorum, iustificat et regenerat. Deinde sequitur dilectio et ceteri boni fructus. Sic igitur docemus hominem iustificari, ut supra diximus, quum conscientia, territa praedicatione poenitentiae, erigitur et credit se habere Deum placatum propter Christum. *Haec fides imputatur pro iustitia coram Deo*, Rom. 4, 3. 5. **172**] Et quum hoc modo cor erigitur et vivificatur fide, concipit Spiritum Sanctum, qui [R. 122 renovat nos, ut legem facere possimus, ut possimus diligere Deum, Verbum Dei, obedire Deo in afflictionibus, ut possimus esse casti, diligere proximum etc. Haec opera, etsi adhuc a perfectione legis procul absint, tamen placent propter fidem, qua iusti reputamur, quia credimus

of Scripture say; that they teach the Law in such a manner as to suppress the Gospel concerning Christ. For the entire doctrine of the adversaries is, in part, derived from human reason, and is, in part, a doctrine of the Law, not of the Gospel. For they teach two modes of justification, of which the one has been derived from reason and the other from the Law, not from the Gospel, or the promise concerning Christ.

The former mode of justification with them is, that they teach that by good works men merit grace both *de congruo* and *de condigno*. This mode is a doctrine of reason, because reason, not seeing the uncleanness of the heart, thinks that it pleases God if it perform good works, and for this reason other works and other acts of worship are constantly devised, by men in great peril, against the terrors of conscience. The heathen and the Israelites slew human victims, and undertook many other most painful works in order to appease God's wrath. Afterwards, orders of monks were devised, and these vied with each other in the severity of their observances against the terrors of conscience and God's wrath. And this mode of justification, because it is according to reason, and is altogether occupied with outward works, can be understood, and to a certain extent be rendered. And to this the canonists have distorted the misunderstood Church ordinances, which were enacted by the Fathers for a far different purpose, namely, not that by these works we should seek after righteousness, but that, for the sake of mutual tranquillity among men, there might be a certain order in the Church. In this manner they also distorted the Sacraments, and most especially the Mass, through which they seek *ex opere operato* righteousness, grace, and salvation.

Another mode of justification is handed down by the scholastic theologians when they teach that we are righteous through a habit infused by God, which is love, and that, aided by this habit, we observe the Law of God outwardly and inwardly, and that this fulfilling of the Law is worthy of grace and of eternal life. This doctrine is plainly the doctrine of the Law. For that is true which the Law says: *Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God*, etc., Deut. 6, 5. *Thou shalt love thy neighbor*, Lev. 19, 18. Love is, therefore, the fulfilling of the Law.

But it is easy for a Christian to judge concerning both modes, because both modes exclude Christ, and are therefore to be rejected. In the former, which teaches that our works are a propitiation for sin, the impiety is manifest. The latter mode contains much that is injurious. It does not teach that, when we are born again, we avail ourselves of Christ. It does not teach that justification is the remission of sins. It does not teach that we attain the remission of sins before we love, but falsely represents that we rouse in ourselves the act of love, through which we merit remission of sins. Nor does it teach that by faith in Christ we overcome the terrors of sin and death. It falsely represents that, by their own fulfilling of the Law, without Christ as Propitiator, men come to God. Finally, it represents that this very fulfilling of the Law, without Christ as Propitiator, is righteousness worthy of grace and eternal life, while nevertheless scarcely a weak and feeble fulfilling of the Law occurs even in saints.

But if any one will only reflect upon it that the Gospel has not been given in vain to the world, and that Christ has not been promised, set forth, has not been born, has not suffered, has not risen again in vain, he will most readily understand that we are justified not from reason or from the Law. In regard to justification, we therefore are compelled to dissent from the adversaries. For the Gospel shows another mode; the Gospel compels us to avail ourselves of Christ in justification; it teaches that through Him we have access to God by faith; it teaches that we ought to set Him as Mediator and Propitiator against God's wrath; it teaches that by faith in Christ the remission of sins and reconciliation are received, and the terrors of sin and of death overcome. Thus Paul also says that *righteousness is not of the Law, but of the promise*, in which the Father has promised that He wishes to forgive, that for Christ's sake He wishes to be reconciled. This promise, however, is received by faith alone, as Paul testifies, Rom. 4, 13. This faith alone receives remission of sins, justifies, and regenerates. Then love and other good fruits follow. Thus, therefore, we teach that man is justified, as we have above said, when conscience, terrified by the preaching of repentance, is cheered and believes that for Christ's sake it has a reconciled God. *This faith is counted for righteousness* before God, Rom. 4, 3. 5. And when in this manner the heart is cheered and quickened by faith, it receives the Holy Ghost, who renews us, so that we are able to observe the Law; so that we are able to love God and the Word of God, and to be submissive to God in afflictions; so that we are able to be chaste, to love our neighbor, etc. Even though these works are as yet far distant from the perfection of the Law, yet they please on account of faith, by which we are accounted righteous, because we believe that for Christ's sake we have a reconciled God. These things are plain and in harmony with the Gospel, and can be understood by persons of sound mind. And from this foundation it can easily be decided why we ascribe justification to faith, and not to love; although love follows faith, because love is the fulfilling of the Law. But Paul teaches that we are justified not from the Law, but from the promise which is received only by faith. For we neither come to God without Christ as Mediator, nor receive remission of sins for the sake of our love, but for the sake of Christ. Likewise we are not able to love God while He is angry, and the Law always accuses us, always manifests to us an angry God. Therefore, by faith we must first apprehend the promise that for Christ's sake the Father is reconciled and forgives. Afterwards we begin to observe the

nos propter Christum habere placatum Deum. Haec plana sunt et evangelio consentanea et
173] a sanis intelligi possunt. Et ex hoc fundamento facile iudicari potest, quare fidei tribuamus iustificationem, non dilectioni, etsi dilectio fidem sequitur, quia dilectio est impletio legis. At Paulus docet nos non ex lege, sed ex promissione iustificari, quae tantum fide accipitur. Neque enim accedimus ad Deum sine mediatore Christo, neque accipimus remissionem pecca-
174] torum propter nostram dilectionem, sed propter Christum. Ac ne diligere quidem possumus iratum Deum, et lex semper accusat nos, semper ostendit iratum Deum. Necesse est igitur nos prius fide apprehendere promissionem, quod propter Christum Pater sit placatus et igno-
175] scat. Postea incipimus legem facere. Procul a ratione humana, procul a Mose reiiciendi sunt oculi in Christum et sentiendum, quod Christus sit nobis donatus, ut propter eum iusti reputemur. Legi nunquam in carne satisfacimus. Ita igitur iusti reputamur non propter
176] legem, sed propter Christum, quia huius merita nobis donantur, si in eum credimus. Si quis igitur haec fundamenta consideraverit, quod non iustificemur ex lege, quia legem Dei humana natura non potest facere, non potest Deum diligere, sed quod iustificemur ex promissione, in qua propter Christum promissa est reconciliatio, iustitia et vita aeterna: is facile intelliget necessario tribuendam esse iustificationem fidei, si modo cogitabit Christum non esse frustra promissum, exhibitum, natum, passum, resuscitatum, si cogitabit promissionem gratiae in Christo non esse frustra, praeter legem et extra legem factam esse statim [R. 123 a principio mundi, si cogitabit promissionem fide accipiendam esse, sicut Iohannes inquit 1. ep. 5, 10 sq.: *Qui non credit Deo, mendacem facit eum, quia non credit in testimonium, quod testificatus est Deus de Filio suo, et hoc est testimonium, quod vitam aeternam dedit nobis Deus, et haec vita in Filio eius est. Qui habet Filium, habet vitam; qui non habet Filium Dei, vitam non habet.* Et Christus ait Ioh. 8, 36: *Si vos Filius liberaverit, vere liberi eritis.* Et Paulus Rom. 5, 2: *Per hunc habemus accessum ad Deum*, et addit: *per fidem.* Fide igitur in Christum accipitur promissio remissionis peccatorum et iustitiae. Nec iustificamur coram Deo ex ratione aut lege.

177] Haec tam perspicua, tam manifesta sunt, ut miremur tantum esse furorem adversariorum, ut haec vocent in dubium. Manifesta *ἀπόδειξις* est, quum non iustificemur coram Deo ex lege, sed ex promissione, quod necesse sit fidei tribuere iustificationem. Quid potest contra
178] hanc *ἀπόδειξιν* opponi, nisi totum evangelium, totum Christum abolere quis volet? Gloria Christi fit illustrior, quum docemus eo uti mediatore ac propitiatore. Piae conscientiae vident in hac doctrina uberrimam consolationem sibi proponi, quod videlicet credere ac certo statuere debent, quod propter Christum habeant placatum Patrem, non propter nostras iustitias, et
179] quod Christus adiuvet tamen, ut facere etiam legem possimus. Haec tanta bona eripiunt ecclesiae adversarii nostri, quum damnant, quum delere conantur doctrinam de iustitia fidei. Viderint igitur omnes bonae mentes, ne consentiant impiis consiliis adversariorum. In doctrina adversariorum de iustificatione non fit mentio Christi, quomodo ipsum debeamus opponere irae Dei, quasi vero nos possimus iram Dei dilectione vincere, aut diligere Deum iratum possimus.
180] Adhaec conscientiae relinquuntur incertae. Si enim ideo sentire debent se habere [R. 124 Deum placatum, quia diligunt, quia legem faciunt, semper dubitare necesse est, utrum habeamus Deum placatum, quia dilectionem illam aut non sentiunt, ut fatentur adversarii, aut certe sentiunt valde exiguam esse, et multo saepius sentiunt se irasci iudicio Dei, qui humanam naturam multis terribilibus malis opprimit, aerumnis huius vitae, terroribus aeternae irae etc. Quando igitur acquiescet, quando erit pacata conscientia? Quando diliget Deum in hac dubitatione, in his terroribus? Quid est aliud haec doctrina legis nisi doctrina desperationis?
181] Ac prodeat aliquis ex adversariis, qui doceat nos de hac dilectione, quomodo ipse diligat Deum. Prorsus, quid dicant, non intelligunt; tantum vocabulum dilectionis non intellectum reddunt, sicut parietes. Adeo confusa et obscura est eorum doctrina et gloriam Christi transfert in humana opera et conscientias vel ad praesumptionem vel ad desperationem adducit.
182] Nostra vero speramus a piis mentibus facile intelligi, et speramus afferre perterrefactis conscientiis piam et salubrem consolationem. Nam quod adversarii cavillantur multos impios ac diabolos etiam credere, saepe iam diximus nos de fide in Christum, hoc est, de fide remissionis peccatorum, de fide, quae vere et ex corde assentitur promissioni gratiae, loqui. Haec non fit sine magno agone in cordibus humanis. Et homines sani facile iudicare possunt, illam fidem, quae credit nos a Deo respici, nobis ignosci, nos exaudiri, rem esse supra naturam; nam humanus animus per sese nihil tale de Deo statuit. Itaque neque in impiis, neque in diabolis haec fides est, de qua loquimur.

183] Praeterea si quis sophista cavillatur iustitiam in voluntate esse, quare non possit tribui fidei, quae in intellectu est, facilis est responsio, quia isti in scholis etiam fatentur voluntatem imperare intellectui, ut assentiatur Verbo Dei. Ac nos clarius dicimus: Sicut terrores [R. 125 peccati et mortis non sunt tantum cogitationes intellectus, sed etiam horribiles motus voluntatis fugientis iudicium Dei, ita fides est non tantum notitia in intellectu, sed etiam fiducia in voluntate, hoc est, est velle et accipere hoc, quod in promissione offertur, videlicet reconcilia-
184] tionem et remissionem peccatorum. Sic utitur nomine fidei Scriptura, ut testatur haec sententia Pauli, Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide, pacem habemus erga Deum.* Iustificare vero hoc loco forensi consuetudine significat reum absolvere et pronuntiare iustum, sed propter alienam
185] iustitiam, videlicet Christi, quae aliena iustitia communicatur nobis per fidem. Itaque quum hoc loco iustitia nostra sit imputatio alienae iustitiae, aliter hic de iustitia loquendum est, quam quum in philosophia aut in foro quaerimus iustitiam proprii operis, quae certe est

Law. Our eyes are to be cast far away from human reason, far away from Moses upon Christ, and we are to believe that Christ is given us, in order that for His sake we may be accounted righteous. In the flesh we never satisfy the Law. Thus, therefore, we are accounted righteous, not on account of the Law, but on account of Christ, because His merits are granted us, if we believe on Him. If any one, therefore, has considered these foundations, that we are not justified by the Law, because human nature cannot observe the Law of God and cannot love God, but that we are justified from the promise, in which, for Christ's sake, reconciliation, righteousness, and eternal life have been promised, he will easily understand that justification must necessarily be ascribed to faith, if he only will reflect upon the fact that it is not in vain that Christ has been promised and set forth, that He has been born and has suffered and been raised again; if he will reflect upon the fact that the promise of grace in Christ is not in vain, that it was made immediately from the beginning of the world, apart from and beyond the Law; if he will reflect upon the fact that the promise should be received by faith, as John says, 1 Ep. 5, 10 sq.: *He that believeth not God hath made Him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of His Son. And this is the record that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son. He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.* And Christ says, John 8, 36: *If the Son, therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed.* And Paul, Rom. 5, 2: *By whom also we have access to God;* and he adds: *by faith.* By faith in Christ, therefore, the promise of remission of sins and of righteousness is received. Neither are we justified before God by reason or by the Law.

These things are so plain and so manifest that we wonder that the madness of the adversaries is so great as to call them into doubt. The proof is manifest that, since we are justified before God not from the Law, but from the promise, it is necessary to ascribe justification to faith. What can be opposed to this proof, unless some one wish to abolish the entire Gospel and the entire Christ? The glory of Christ becomes more brilliant when we teach that we avail ourselves of Him as Mediator and Propitiator. Godly consciences see that in this doctrine the most abundant consolation is offered to them, namely, that they ought to believe and most firmly assert that they have a reconciled Father for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our righteousness, and that, nevertheless, Christ aids us, so that we are able to observe also the Law. Of such great blessings as these the adversaries deprive the Church when they condemn, and endeavor to efface, the doctrine concerning the righteousness of faith. Therefore let all well-disposed minds beware of consenting to the godless counsels of the adversaries. In the doctrine of the adversaries concerning justification no mention is made of Christ, and how we ought to set Him against the wrath of God, as though, indeed, we were able to overcome the wrath of God by love, or to love an angry God. In regard to these things, consciences are left in uncertainty. For if they are to think that they have a reconciled God for the reason that they love, and that they observe the Law, they must needs always doubt whether they have a reconciled God, because they either do not feel this love, as the adversaries acknowledge, or they certainly feel that it is very small; and much more frequently do they feel that they are angry at the judgment of God, who oppresses human nature with many terrible evils, with troubles of this life, the terrors of eternal wrath, etc. When, therefore, will conscience be at rest, when will it be pacified? When, in this doubt and in these terrors, will it love God? What else is the doctrine of the Law than a doctrine of despair? And let any one of our adversaries come forward who can teach us concerning this love, how he himself loves God. They do not at all understand what they say; they only echo, just like the walls of a house, the little word "love," without understanding it. So confused and obscure is their doctrine: it not only transfers the glory of Christ to human works, but also leads consciences either to presumption or to despair. But ours, we hope, is readily understood by pious minds, and brings godly and salutary consolation to terrified consciences. For as the adversaries quibble that also many wicked men and devils believe, we have frequently already said that we speak of faith in Christ, *i. e.*, of faith in the remission of sins, of faith which truly and heartily assents to the promise of grace. This is not brought about without a great struggle in human hearts. And men of sound mind can easily judge that the faith which believes that we are cared for by God, and that we are forgiven and heard by Him, is a matter above nature. For of its own accord the human mind makes no such decision concerning God. Therefore this faith of which we speak is neither in the wicked nor in devils.

Furthermore, if any sophist cavils that righteousness is in the will, and therefore it cannot be ascribed to faith, which is in the intellect, the reply is easy, because in the schools even such persons acknowledge that the will commands the intellect to assent to the Word of God. We say also quite clearly: Just as the terrors of sin and death are not only thoughts of the intellect, but also horrible movements of the will fleeing God's judgment, so faith is not only knowledge in the intellect, but also confidence in the will, *i. e.*, it is to wish and to receive that which is offered in the promise, namely, reconciliation and remission of sins. Scripture thus uses the term "faith," as the following sentence of Paul testifies, Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* Moreover, in this passage, *to justify* signifies, according to forensic usage, to acquit a guilty one and declare him righteous, but on account of the righteousness of another, namely, of

in voluntate. Ideo Paulus inquit 1 Cor. 1, 30: *Ex ipso vos estis in Christo Iesu, qui factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, iustitia et sanctificatio et redemptio.* Et 2 Cor. 5, 21: *Eum, qui non* 186] *novit peccatum, pro nobis fecit peccatum, ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso.* Sed quia iustitia Christi donatur nobis per fidem, ideo fides est iustitia in nobis imputative, id est, est id, quo efficimur accepti Deo propter imputationem et ordinationem Dei, sicut Paulus ait 187] Rom. 4, 3. 5: *Fides imputatur ad iustitiam.* Etsi propter morosos quosdam τεχνολογικῶ loquendum est: Fides recte est iustitia, quia est obedientia erga evangelium. Constat enim obedientiam erga edictum superioris vere esse speciem distributivae iustitiae. Et haec obedientia erga evangelium imputatur pro iustitia adeo, ut tantum propter hanc, quia hac apprehendimus propitiatorem Christum, placeant bona opera seu obedientia erga legem. Neque enim legi satisfacimus, sed id propter Christum condonatur nobis, ut Paulus ait Rom. 8, 1: *Nulla nunc damnatio est his, qui in Christo Iesu* etc. Haec fides reddit Deo honorem, reddit Deo, 188] quod suum est, per hoc, quod obedit accipiens promissiones. Sicut et Paulus inquit [R. 126 Rom. 4, 20: *De promissione Dei non dubitavit per diffidentiam, sed firmus fuit fide dans gloriam* 189] *Deo.* Ita cultus et λατρεία evangelii est accipere bona a Deo; econtra cultus legis est bona nostra Deo offerre et exhibere. Nihil autem possumus Deo offerre, nisi antea reconciliati et renati. Plurimum autem consolationis affert hic locus, quod cultus in evangelio praecipuus est a Deo velle accipere remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et iustitiam. De hoc cultu ait Christus Ioh. 6, 40: *Haec est voluntas Patris mei, qui misit me, ut omnis, qui videt Filium et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam.* Et Pater inquit Matth. 17, 5: *Hic est Filius meus* 190] *dilectus, in quo mihi complacitum est; hunc audite.* Adversarii de obedientia erga legem dicunt, non dicunt de obedientia erga evangelium, quum tamen legi non possimus obedire, nisi renati per evangelium, quum non possimus diligere Deum, nisi accepta remissione peccatorum. 191] Donec enim sentimus eum nobis irasci, natura humana fugit iram et iudicium eius. Si quis hoc etiam cavilletur: Si fides est, quae vult illa, quae in promissione offeruntur, videntur confundi habitus, fides et spes, quia spes est, quae exspectat res promissas: ad hoc respondemus hos affectus non ita divelli posse re ipsa, ut in scholis distrahunt otiosis cogitationibus. Nam et ad Hebraeos definitur *fides esse exspectatio rerum sperandarum,* Hebr. 11, 1. Si quis tamen volet discerni, dicimus spei obiectum proprie esse eventum futurum, fidem autem de rebus futuris et praesentibus esse et accipere in praesentia remissionem peccatorum exhibitam in promissione.

192] Ex his speramus satis intelligi posse, et quid sit fides, et quod cogamur sentire, quod fide iustificemur, reconciliemur et regeneremur, siquidem iustitiam evangelii, non iustitiam legis docere volumus. Nam qui docent, quod dilectione iustificemur, legis iustitiam docent, 193] nec uti docent Christo mediatore in iustificatione. Et haec manifesta sunt, quod [R. 127 non dilectione, sed fide vincamus terrores peccati et mortis, quod non possimus nostram dilectionem et impletionem legis opponere irae Dei, quia Paulus dicit Rom. 5, 2: *Per Christum habemus accessum ad Deum per fidem.* Hanc sententiam toties inculcamus propter perspicuitatem. Totius enim causae nostrae statum clarissime ostendit, et diligenter inspecta abunde de tota re docere et consolari bonas mentes potest. Ideo prodest eam in promptu et in conspectu habere, non solum ut opponere possimus adversariorum doctrinae, qui docent non fide, sed dilectione et meritis sine mediatore Christo ad Deum accedere, sed etiam ut per eam 194] erigamus nos in pavoribus et fidem exerceamus. Manifestum est et hoc, quod sine auxilio Christi non possimus legem facere, sicut ipse inquit Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Ideo priusquam legem facimus, oportet corda fide renasci.

Was nun auf andere dergleichen mehr Sprüche zu antworten sei, ist leichtlich abzunehmen aus diesem, so wir erklärt haben. Denn die Regel legt aus alle Sprüche von guten Werken, daß sie außer Christo vor Gott nichts gelten, sondern das Herz muß zuvor Christum haben und glauben, daß es Gott gefalle um Christus' willen, nicht von wegen eigener Werke. Die Widersacher führen auch etliche Schulargumente, darauf leichtlich zu antworten ist, wenn man weiß, was Glaube ist. Erfahrene Christen reden viel anders vom Glauben denn die Sophisten, wie wir droben angezeigt, daß glauben heißt vertrauen auf Gottes Barmherzigkeit, daß er gnädig sein wolle um Christus' willen, ohne unser Verdienst, und das heißt glauben den Artikel: Vergebung der Sünde. Dieser Glaube ist nicht allein die Historia wissen, die auch die Teufel wissen. Darum ist das Schulargument leichtlich aufzulösen, daß sie sprechen, die Teufel glauben auch, darum mache der Glaube nicht gerecht. Ja, die Teufel wissen die Historia, glauben aber nicht Vergebung der Sünden. Item, daß sie sprechen, gerecht sein heißt Gehorsam; nun ist ja Werke tun ein Gehorsam, darum müssen die Werke gerecht machen. Darauf soll man also antworten: Gerecht sein heißt ein solcher Gehorsam, den Gott dafür annimmt. Nun will Gott unsern Gehorsam in Werken nicht annehmen für Gerechtigkeit; denn es ist nicht ein herzlicher Gehorsam, dieweil niemand das Gesetz recht hält. Darum hat er einen andern Gehorsam geordnet, den er will für Gerechtigkeit annehmen, nämlich daß wir unsern Ungehorsam erkennen und vertrauen, wir gefallen Gott um Christus' willen, nicht von wegen unsers Gehorsams. Derhalben heißt nun hier gerecht sein, Gott angenehm sein, nicht von wegen eigenen Gehorsams, sondern aus Barmherzigkeit, um Christus' willen. Item, Sünde ist Gott hassen, darum muß Gerechtigkeit sein, Gott lieben. Wahr ist's, Gott lieben ist Gerechtigkeit des Gesetzes; aber dieses Gesetz erfüllt niemand. Darum lehrt das Evangelium eine neue Gerechtigkeit, daß wir um Christus' willen Gott gefallen, ob wir schon das Gesetz nicht erfüllen, und sollen doch anheben, das Gesetz zu tun. Item, was ist der Unterschied zwischen Glauben und Hoffen? Antwort: Hoffnung wartet künftiger Güter und Rettung aus der Trübsal; Glaube empfängt gegenwärtige Versöhnung und schließt im Herzen, daß Gott die Sünden vergeben habe, und daß er jetzt

Christ, which righteousness of another is communicated to us by faith. Therefore, since in this passage our righteousness is the imputation of the righteousness of another, we must here speak concerning righteousness otherwise than when in philosophy or in a civil court we seek after the righteousness of one's own work, which certainly is in the will. Paul accordingly says, 1 Cor. 1, 30: *Of Him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption.* And 2 Cor. 5, 21: *He hath made Him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him.* But because the righteousness of Christ is given us by faith, faith is for this reason righteousness in us imputatively, *i. e.*, it is that by which we are made acceptable to God on account of the imputation and ordinance of God, as Paul says, Rom. 4, 3. 5: *Faith is reckoned for righteousness.* Although on account of certain captious persons we must say technically: Faith is truly righteousness, because it is obedience to the Gospel. For it is evident that obedience to the command of a superior is truly a species of distributive justice. And this obedience to the Gospel is reckoned for righteousness, so that, only on account of this, because by this we apprehend Christ as Propitiator, good works, or obedience to the Law, are pleasing. For we do not satisfy the Law, but for Christ's sake this is forgiven us, as Paul says, Rom. 8, 1: *There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.* This faith gives God the honor, gives God that which is His own, in this, that, by receiving the promises, it obeys Him. Just as Paul also says, Rom. 4, 20: *He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith, giving glory to God.* Thus the worship and divine service of the Gospel is to receive from God gifts; on the contrary, the worship of the Law is to offer and present our gifts to God. We can, however, offer nothing to God unless we have first been reconciled and born again. This passage, too, brings the greatest consolation, as the chief worship of the Gospel is to wish to receive remission of sins, grace, and righteousness. Of this worship Christ says, John 6, 40: *This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life.* And the Father says, Matt. 17, 5: *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye Him.* The adversaries speak of obedience to the Law; they do not speak of obedience to the Gospel; and yet we cannot obey the Law, unless, through the Gospel, we have been born again, since we cannot love God, unless the remission of sins has been received. For as long as we feel that He is angry with us, human nature flees from His wrath and judgment. If any one should make a cavil such as this: If that be faith which wishes those things that are offered in the promise, the habits of faith and hope seem to be confounded, because hope is that which expects promised things, — to this we reply that these dispositions cannot in reality be severed, in the manner that they are divided by idle speculations in the schools. For also in the Epistle to the Hebrews faith is defined as *the substance* (*exspectatio*) *of things hoped for*, Heb. 11, 1. Yet if any one wish a distinction to be made, we say that the object of hope is properly a future event, but that faith is concerned with future and present things, and receives in the present the remission of sins offered in the promise.

From these statements we hope that it can be sufficiently understood, both what faith is, and that we are compelled to hold that by faith we are justified, reconciled, and regenerated, if, indeed, we wish to teach the righteousness of the Gospel, and not the righteousness of the Law. For those who teach that we are justified by love teach the righteousness of the Law, and do not teach us in justification to avail ourselves of Christ as Mediator. These things also are manifest, namely, that not by love, but by faith, we overcome the terrors of sin and death, that we cannot oppose our love and fulfilling of the Law to the wrath of God, because Paul says, Rom. 5, 2: *By Christ we have access to God by faith.* We urge this sentence so frequently for the sake of perspicuity. For it shows most clearly the state of our whole case, and, when carefully considered, can teach abundantly concerning the whole matter, and can console well-disposed minds. Accordingly, it is of advantage to have it at hand and in sight, not only that we may be able to oppose it to the doctrine of our adversaries, who teach that we come to God not by faith, but by love and merits, without Christ as Mediator; and also, at the same time that, when in fear, we may cheer ourselves and exercise faith. This is also manifest, that without the aid of Christ we cannot observe the Law, as He Himself says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* Accordingly, before we observe the Law, our hearts must be born again by faith. [From the explanations which we have made it can easily be inferred what answer must be given to similar quotations. For the rule so interprets all passages that treat of good works that outside of Christ they are to be worthless before God, and that the heart must first have Christ, and believe that it is accepted with God for Christ's sake, not because of its own works. The adversaries also bring forward some arguments of the schools, which are easily answered, if you know what faith is. Tried Christians speak of faith quite differently from the sophists, for we have shown before that to believe means to rely on the mercy of God, that He desires to be gracious for Christ's sake, without our merits. That is what it means to believe the article of the forgiveness of sin. To believe this does not mean to know the history only, which the devils also know. Therefore we can easily meet the argument of the schools when they say that the devils also believe, therefore faith does not justify. Aye, the devils know the history, but they do not believe the for-

mir gnädig sei. Und dieses ist ein hoher Gottesdienst, der Gott damit dient, daß er ihm die Ehre tut und die Barmherzigkeit und Verheißung so gewiß hält, daß er ohne Verdienst kann allerlei Güter von ihm empfangen und warten [erwarten]. Und in diesem Gottesdienst soll das Herz geübt werden und zunehmen; davon wissen die tollen Sophisten nichts.

195] Hinc etiam intelligi potest, quare reprehendamus adversariorum doctrinam de merito condigni. Facillima diiudicatio est, quia non faciunt mentionem fidei, quod fide propter Christum placeamus, sed fingunt bona opera, facta adiuvante illo habitu dilectionis, iustitiam esse dignam, quae per se placeat Deo, et dignam aeterna vita, nec opus habere me-**196**] diatore Christo. Quid est hoc aliud, quam transferre gloriam Christi in opera nostra, quod videlicet propter opera nostra placeamus, non propter Christum? At hoc quoque est detrahere Christo gloriam mediatoris, qui perpetuo est mediator, non tantum in principio iustificationis. Et Paulus ait Gal. 2, 17, si iustificatus in Christo opus habet, ut postea alibi quaerat iustitiam, *tribui Christo, quod sit minister peccati*, id est, quod **197**] non plene iustificet. Et absurdissimum est, quod adversarii docent, quod bona [R. 128 opera de condigno mereantur gratiam, quasi vero post principium iustificationis, si conscientia terreatur, ut fit, gratia per bonum opus quaerenda sit, et non fide in Christum.

Aus diesem allem ist leichtlich zu verstehen, was man halten soll vom merito condigni, da die Widersacher erdichten, daß wir vor Gott gerecht sind durch die Liebe und unsere Werke. Da gedenken sie nicht einmal des Glaubens und anstatt des Mittlers Christi setzen sie unsere Werke, unsere Erfüllung des Gesetzes; das ist in keinem Weg zu leiden. Denn wiewohl wir oben gesagt, wo die neue Geburt ist durch Geist und Gnade, da folgt auch gewißlich die Liebe, so soll man doch die Ehre Christi nicht unsern Werken geben; sondern das ist gewiß, daß wir vor und nach, wenn wir zu dem Evangelio kommen, gerecht geschätzt werden um Christus' willen, und der Christus bleibt der Mittler und Versöhner vor als [wie] nach, nach als vor, und durch Christum haben wir einen Zugang zu Gott, nicht darum, daß wir das Gesetz gehalten haben und viel Gutes getan, sondern daß wir so fröhlich, getrost auf Gnade bauen und so gewiß uns verlassen, daß wir aus Gnaden um Christus' willen gerecht vor Gott geschätzt werden. Und das lehrt, predigt, bekennt die heilige catholica, christliche Kirche, daß wir selig werden durch Barmherzigkeit, wie wir oben haben angezogen aus Hieronymo. Unsere Gerechtigkeit steht nicht auf eigenem Verdienst, sondern auf Gottes Barmherzigkeit, und dieselbe Barmherzigkeit faßt man durch den Glauben.

198] Secundo. Doctrina adversariorum relinquit conscientias ambiguas, ut nunquam pacatae esse queant, quia lex semper accusat nos etiam in bonis operibus. Semper enim *caro concupiscit adversus Spiritum*, Gal. 5, 17. Quomodo igitur hic habebit conscientia pacem sine fide, si sentiet, quod non propter Christum, sed propter opus proprium iam placere debeat? Quod opus inveniet, quod statuet dignum esse vita aeterna? Siquidem spes ex meritis tantum debet **199**] existere. Adversus has dubitationes Paulus inquit Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide, pacem habemus;* certo statuere debemus, quod propter Christum donetur nobis iustitia et vita aeterna. Et de Abraham ait Rom. 4, 18: *Contra spem in spem credidit.*

200] Tertio. Quomodo sciet conscientia, quando opus inclinante illo habitu dilectionis factum sit, ut statuere possit, quod de condigno mereatur gratiam? Sed haec ipsa distinctio tantum ad eludendas Scripturas conficta est, quod alias de congruo, alias de condigno mereantur homines, quia, ut supra diximus, intentio operantis non distinguit genera meritorum, sed hypocritae securi sentiunt simpliciter opera sua esse digna, ut propterea iusti reputentur. Econtra territae conscientiae de omnibus operibus dubitant, ideo subinde alia quaerunt. Hoc est enim de congruo mereri, dubitare et sine fide operari, donec desperatio incidit. In summa, plena errorum et periculorum sunt omnia, quae in hac re tradunt adversarii.

201] Quarto. Tota ecclesia confitetur, quod vita aeterna per misericordiam contingat. Sic enim inquit Augustinus de gratia et libero arbitrio, quum quidem loquitur de operibus [R. 129 sanctorum post iustificationem factis: *Non meritis nostris Deus nos ad aeternam vitam, sed pro sua miseratione perducit.* Et lib. 9 *Confess.: Vae hominum vitae quantumcunque laudabili, si remota misericordia iudicetur!* Et Cyprianus in enarratione orationis dominicae: *Ne quis sibi quasi innocens placeat et se extollendo plus pereat, instruitur et docetur peccare* **202**] *quotidie, dum quotidie pro peccatis iubetur orare.* Sed res nota est et habet plurima et clarissima testimonia in Scriptura et ecclesiasticis patribus, qui uno ore omnes praedicant nos, **203**] etiamsi habeamus bona opera, tamen in illis bonis operibus misericordia indigere. Hanc misericordiam intuens fides erigit et consolatur nos. Quare adversarii male docent, quum ita efferunt merita, ut nihil addant de hac fide apprehendente misericordiam. Sicut enim supra diximus promissionem et fidem correlativa esse, nec apprehendi promissionem nisi fide, ita hic dicimus promissam misericordiam correlative requirere fidem, nec posse apprehendi nisi fide. Iure igitur reprehendimus doctrinam de merito condigni, quum nihil de fide iustificante tradat **204**] et obscuret gloriam et officium mediatoris Christi. Neque nos quidquam hac in re novi docere existimandi sumus, quum patres in ecclesia hanc sententiam tam clare tradiderint, quod misericordia indigeamus etiam in bonis operibus.

205] Et Scriptura idem saepe inculcat. In Psalmo 143, 2: *Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.* Hic simpliciter detrahit omnibus

giveness of sin. Again, they say: To be righteous is to be obedient. Now, to perform works is certainly obedience; therefore works must justify. We should answer this as follows: To be righteous is a kind of obedience which God accepts as such. Now, God is not willing to accept our obedience in works as righteousness; for it is not an obedience of the heart, because none truly keep the Law. For this reason He has ordained that there should be another kind of obedience which He will accept as righteousness, namely, that we are to acknowledge our disobedience, and trust that we are pleasing to God for Christ's sake, not on account of our obedience. Accordingly, to be righteous in this case means to be pleasing to God, not on account of our own obedience, but from mercy for Christ's sake. Again, to sin is to hate God; therefore, to love God must be righteousness. True, to love God is the righteousness of the Law. But nobody fulfils this Law. Therefore the Gospel teaches a new kind of righteousness, namely, that we are pleasing to God for Christ's sake, although we have not fulfilled the Law; and yet, we are to begin to do the Law. Again, what is the difference between faith and hope? Answer: Hope expects future blessings and deliverance from tribulation; faith receives the present reconciliation, and concludes in the heart, that God has forgiven my sin, and that He is now gracious to me. And this is a noble service of God, which serves God by giving Him the honor, and by esteeming His mercy and promise so sure that without merit we can receive and expect from Him all manner of blessings. And in this service of God the heart should be exercised and increase, of which the foolish sophists know nothing.]

Hence it can also be understood why we find fault with the doctrine of the adversaries concerning *meritum condigni.* The decision is very easy: because they do not make mention of faith, that we please God by faith for Christ's sake, but imagine that good works, wrought by the aid of the habit of love, constitute a righteousness worthy by itself to please God, and worthy of eternal life, and that they have no need of Christ as Mediator. [This can in no wise be tolerated.] What else is this than to transfer the glory of Christ to our works, namely, that we please God because of our works, and not because of Christ? But this is also to rob Christ of the glory of being the Mediator, who is Mediator perpetually, and not merely in the beginning of justification. Paul also says, Gal. 2, 17, that if one justified in Christ have need afterwards to seek righteousness elsewhere, he affirms of Christ that He is a minister of sin, *i. e.,* that He does not fully justify. [And this is what the holy, catholic, Christian Church teaches, preaches, and confesses, namely, that we are saved by mercy, as we have shown above from Jerome.] And most absurd is that which the adversaries teach, namely, that good works merit grace *de condigno,* as though indeed after the beginning of justification, if conscience is terrified, as is ordinarily the case, grace must be sought through a good work, and not by faith in Christ.

Secondly, the doctrine of the adversaries leaves consciences in doubt, so that they never can be pacified, because the Law always accuses us, even in good works. For always *the flesh lusteth against the Spirit,* Gal. 5, 17. How, therefore, will conscience here have peace without faith, if it believe that, not for Christ's sake, but for the sake of one's own work, it ought now to please God? What work will it find, upon what will it firmly rely as worthy of eternal life, if, indeed, hope ought to originate from merits? Against these doubts Paul says, Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God;* we ought to be firmly convinced that for Christ's sake righteousness and eternal life are granted us. And of Abraham he says, Rom. 4, 18: *Against hope he believed in hope.*

Thirdly, how will conscience know when, by the inclination of this habit of love, a work has been done of which it may affirm that it merits grace *de condigno?* But it is only to elude the Scriptures that this very distinction has been devised, namely, that men merit at one time *de congruo* and at another time *de condigno,* because, as we have above said, the intention of the one who works does not distinguish the kinds of merit; but hypocrites, in their security, think simply their works are worthy, and that for this reason they are accounted righteous. On the other hand, terrified consciences doubt concerning all works, and for this reason are continually seeking other works. For this is what it means to merit *de congruo,* namely, to doubt and, without faith, to work, until despair takes place. In a word, all that the adversaries teach in regard to this matter is full of errors and dangers.

Fourthly, the entire [the holy, catholic, Christian] Church confesses that eternal life is attained through mercy. For thus Augustine speaks *On Grace and Free Will,* when, indeed, he is speaking of the works of the saints wrought after justification: *God leads us to eternal life not by our merits, but according to His mercy.* And *Confessions,* Book IX: *Woe to the life of man, however much it may be worthy of praise, if it be judged with mercy removed.* And Cyprian in his treatise on the Lord's Prayer: *Lest any one should flatter himself that he is innocent, and by exalting himself, should perish the more deeply, he is instructed and taught that he sins daily, in that he is bidden to entreat daily for his sins.* But the subject is well known, and has very many and very clear testimonies in Scripture, and in the Church Fathers, who all with one mouth declare that, even though we have good works, yet in these very works we need mercy. Faith looking upon this mercy cheers and consoles us. Wherefore the adversaries teach erroneously when they so extol merits as to add nothing concerning this faith that apprehends mercy. For just as we have above said that the promise and faith stand in

etiam sanctis et servis Dei gloriam iustitiae, si non ignoscat Deus, sed iudicet et arguat corda eorum. Nam quod alibi gloriatur David de sua iustitia, loquitur de causa sua adversus persecutores Verbi Dei, non loquitur de personali munditie, et rogat causam et gloriam Dei defendi, ut Psalmo 7, 9: *Iudica me, Domine, secundum iustitiam meam et secundum innocentiam meam super me.* Rursus Psalmo 130, 3 ait neminem posse sustinere iudicium Dei, si observet [R. 130 206] peccata nostra: *Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, Domine, quis sustinebit?* Et Iob. 9, 28: *Verebar omnia opera mea.* Item v. 30: *Si lotus fuero quasi aquis nivis, et fulserint velut mundissimae manus meae, tamen sordibus intinges me.* Et Prov. 20, 9: *Quis potest* 207] *dicere, mundum est cor meum, purus sum a peccato?* Et 1 Ioh. 1, 8: *Si dixerimus, quod peccatum non habemus, ipsi nos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est* etc. Et in oratione 208] dominica sancti petunt remissionem peccatorum. Habent igitur et sancti peccata. In Numeris, cap. 14, 18: *Et innocens non erit innocens.* Et Deut. 4, 24: *Deus tuus ignis consumens est.* Et Zacharias ait 2, 13: *Sileat a facie Domini omnis caro.* Et Esaias 40, 6: *Omnis caro foenum et omnis gloria eius quasi flos agri; exsiccatum est foenum, et cecidit flos, quia Spiritus Domini sufflavit in eo*, id est, caro et iustitia carnis non potest sustinere iudicium Dei. 209] Et Ionas ait cap. 2, 9: *Frusta observant vana, qui misericordia relinquunt*, id est, omnis fiducia est inanis, praeter fiduciam misericordiae, misericordia servat nos, propria merita, pro- 210] prii conatus non servant nos. Ideo et Daniel orat cap. 9, 18 sq.: *Neque enim in iustificationibus nostris prosternimus preces coram te, sed in miserationibus tuis multis. Exaudi, Domine, placare, Domine, attende et fac ne moreris propter temet ipsum, Deus meus, quia nomen tuum invocatum est super civitatem et super populum tuum.* Sic docet nos Daniel apprehendere misericordiam in orando, hoc est, confidere misericordia Dei, non confidere nostris 211] meritis coram Deo. Et miramur, quid agant in precatione adversarii, si tamen homines profani unquam aliquid a Deo petunt. Si commemorant se dignos esse, quia dilectionem et bona opera habeant, et reposcunt gratiam tamquam debitam, perinde orant ut Pharisaeus apud Lucam, cap. 18, 11, qui ait: *Non sum sicut ceteri homines.* Qui sic petit gratiam, nec [R. 131 nititur misericordia Dei, iniuria afficit Christum, qui, quum sit pontifex noster, interpellat pro 212] nobis. Sic igitur nititur oratio misericordia Dei, quando credimus nos propter Christum pontificem exaudiri, sicut ipse ait Ioh. 14, 13: *Quidquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis. In nomine meo*, inquit, quia sine hoc pontifice non possumus accedere ad Patrem.

Hier wollen aber alle Verständigen sehen, was aus der Widersacher Lehre folgen wollte. Denn so wir halten werden, daß Christus allein uns primam gratiam, das ist, die erste Gnade, verdient hätte (wie sie es nennen), und wir hernach durch unsere Werke erst das ewige Leben müßten verdienen, so werden die Herzen oder Gewissen weder an [in] der Todesstunde noch sonst nimmermehr zufrieden werden, werden nimmermehr bauen können auf gewissen Grund, werden nimmer gewiß, ob uns Gott gnädig wäre. Also führt ihre Lehre die Gewissen ohne Unterlaß auf eitel Herzeleid und endlich auf Verzweiflung. Denn Gottes Gesetz ist nicht ein Scherz; das klagt die Gewissen an außer Christo ohne Unterlaß, wie Paulus sagt Röm. 4, 15: „Das Gesetz richtet Zorn an." Also dann, wenn die Gewissen Gottes Urteil fühlen und haben keinen gewissen Trost, fallen sie dahin in Verzweiflung.

Paulus sagt Röm. 14, 23: „Alles, was nicht aus dem Glauben ist, das ist Sünde." Diejenigen aber können nichts aus Glauben tun, die dann sollen einen gnädigen Gott erst bekommen, wenn sie mit ihren Werken das Gesetz erfüllt haben. Denn sie werden allezeit wanken und zweifeln, ob sie Werke genug getan haben, ob dem Gesetz genug geschehen sei. Ja, sie werden stark fühlen und empfinden, daß sie noch dem Gesetz schuldig seien; darum werden sie nimmermehr bei sich gewiß halten, daß sie einen gnädigen Gott haben, oder daß ihr Gebet erhört werde. Derhalben können sie Gott nimmer recht lieben, auch nichts Gutes sich zu Gott versehen oder Gott recht dienen. Denn was sind doch solche Herzen und Gewissen anders denn die Hölle selbst, so nichts anderes in solchen Herzen ist denn eitel Zweifeln, eitel Verzagen, eitel Murren, Verdrieß und Haß wider Gott. Und in dem Haß rufen sie doch gleichwohl Gott heuchlerisch an, wie der gottlose König Saul tat.

Hier können wir uns berufen auf alle christlichen Gewissen und alle diejenigen, die Anfechtungen versucht haben; die müssen bekennen und sagen, daß solche große Ungewißheit, solche Unruhe, solche Qual und Angst, solch schrecklich Zagen und Verzweiflung aus solcher Lehre der Widersacher folgt, da sie lehren oder wähnen, daß wir durch unsere Werke oder Erfüllung des Gesetzes, so wir tun, vor Gott gerecht werden, und weisen uns den Holzweg, zu vertrauen nicht auf die reichen, seligen Zusagungen der Gnade, welche uns durch den Mittler Christum werden angeboten, sondern auf unsere elenden Werke.

Darum bleibt dieser Beschluß wie eine Mauer, ja wie ein Fels feststehen, daß wir, ob wir schon angefangen haben, das Gesetz zu tun, dennoch nicht um solcher Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen durch den Glauben Gott angenehm sind und mit Gott Frieden haben, und ist uns Gott für dieselben Werke nicht schuldig das ewige Leben, sondern gleichwie uns Vergebung der Sünden und Gerechtigkeit um Christus' willen, nicht um unserer Werke oder des Gesetzes willen, wird zugerechnet, also wird uns auch nicht um unserer Werke willen noch um des Gesetzes willen, sondern um Christus' willen samt der Gerechtigkeit ewiges Leben angeboten, wie denn Christus sagt Joh. 6, 40: „Das ist der Wille des Vaters, der mich gesandt hat, daß ein jeglicher, der den Sohn siehet und glaubet an ihn, habe das ewige Leben"; item V. 47: „Der da glaubet in den Sohn, hat das ewige Leben."

Nun sind hier wohl die Widersacher zu fragen, was sie doch den armen Gewissen in der Todesstunde für Rat geben; ob sie die Gewissen vertrösten, daß sie sollen wohl fahren, selig werden, einen gnädigen Gott haben um ihres eigenen Verdienstes willen oder aus Gottes Gnade und Barmherzigkeit um

a reciprocal relation, and that the promise is not apprehended unless by faith, so we here say that the promised mercy correlatively requires faith, and cannot be apprehended without faith. Therefore we justly find fault with the doctrine concerning *meritum condigni*, since it teaches nothing of justifying faith, and obscures the glory and office of Christ as Mediator. Nor should we be regarded as teaching anything new in this matter, since the Church Fathers have so clearly handed down the doctrine that even in good works we need mercy.

Scripture also often inculcates the same. In Ps. 143, 2: *And enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.* This passage denies absolutely, even to all saints and servants of God, the glory of righteousness, if God does not forgive, but judges and convicts their hearts. For when David boasts in other places of his righteousness, he speaks concerning his own cause against the persecutors of God's Word; he does not speak of his personal purity; and he asks that the cause and glory of God be defended, as in Ps. 7, 8: *Judge me, O Lord, according to Thy righteousness, and according to mine integrity that is in me.* Likewise in Ps. 130, 3, he says that no one can endure God's judgment, if God were to mark our sins: *If Thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?* Job 9, 28: *I am afraid of all my sorrows* [Vulg., *opera*, works]; v. 30: *If I wash myself with snow-water, and make my hands never so clean, yet Thou shalt plunge me in the ditch.* Prov. 20, 9: *Who can say, I have made my heart clean, I am pure from my sin?* 1 John 1, 8: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us*, etc. And in the Lord's Prayer the saints ask for the remission of sins. Therefore even the saints have sins. Num. 14, 18: *The innocent shall not be innocent* [cf. Ex. 34, 7]. Deut. 4, 24: *The Lord, thy God, is a consuming fire.* Zechariah also says, 2, 13: *Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord.* Is. 40, 6: *All flesh is as grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field; the grass withereth, the flower fadeth, because the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it, i. e.*, flesh and righteousness of the flesh cannot endure the judgment of God. Jonah also says, chap. 2, 8: *They that observe lying vanities forsake their own mercy, i. e.*, all confidence is vain, except confidence in mercy; mercy delivers us; our own merits, our own efforts, do not. Accordingly, Daniel also prays, 9, 18 sq.: *For we do not present our supplications before Thee for our righteousnesses, but for Thy great mercies. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do it; defer not for Thine own sake, O my God; for Thy city and Thy people are called by Thy name.* Thus Daniel teaches us in praying to lay hold upon mercy, *i. e.*, to trust in God's mercy, and not to trust in our own merits before God. We also wonder what our adversaries do in prayer, if, indeed, the profane men ever ask anything of God. If they declare that they are worthy because they have love and good works, and ask for grace as a debt, they pray precisely like the Pharisee in Luke 18, 11, who says: *I am not as other men are.* He who thus prays for grace, and does not rely upon God's mercy, treats Christ with dishonor, who, since He is our High Priest, intercedes for us. Thus, therefore, prayer relies upon God's mercy, when we believe that we are heard for the sake of Christ, the High Priest, as He Himself says, John 14, 13: *Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He will give it you. In My name*, He says, because without this High Priest we cannot approach the Father.

[All prudent men will see what follows from the opinion of the adversaries. For if we shall believe that Christ has merited only the *prima gratia*, as they call it, and that we afterwards merit eternal life by our works, hearts or consciences will be pacified neither at the hour of death, nor at any other time, nor can they ever build upon certain ground; they are never certain that God is gracious. Thus their doctrine unintermittingly leads to nothing but misery of soul and, finally, to despair. For God's Law is not a matter of pleasantry; it ceaselessly accuses consciences outside of Christ, as Paul says, Rom. 4, 15: *The Law worketh wrath.* Thus it will happen that if consciences feel the judgment of God, they have no certain comfort and will rush into despair.

Paul says: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin*, Rom. 14, 23. But those persons can do nothing from faith who are first to attain to this that God is gracious to them only when they have at length fulfilled the Law. They will always quake with doubt whether they have done enough good works, whether the Law has been satisfied, yea, they will keenly feel and understand that they are still under obligation to the Law. Accordingly, they will never be sure that they have a gracious God, and that their prayer is heard. Therefore they can never truly love God, nor expect any blessing from Him, nor truly worship God. What else are such hearts and consciences than hell itself, since there is nothing in them but despair, fainting away, grumbling, discontent, and hatred of God, and yet in this hatred they invoke and worship God, just as Saul worshiped Him.

Here we appeal to all Christian minds and to all that are experienced in trials; they will be forced to confess and say that such great uncertainty, such disquietude, such torture and anxiety, such horrible fear and doubt follow from this teaching of the adversaries who imagine that we are accounted righteous before God by our own works or fulfilling of the Law which we perform, and point us to Queer Street by bidding us trust not in the rich, blessed promises of Grace, given us by Christ the Mediator, but in our own miserable works. Therefore, this conclusion stands like a rock, yea, like a wall, namely, that, although we have begun to do the Law, still we are accepted with God and at peace with Him, not on account of such works of ours,

Christus' willen. Denn St. Peter, St. Paul und dergleichen Heilige können nicht rühmen, daß ihnen Gott für ihre Marter das ewige Leben schuldig sei, haben auch nicht auf ihre Werke vertraut, sondern auf die Barmherzigkeit, in Christo verheißen.

Und es wäre auch nicht möglich, daß ein Heiliger, wie groß und hoch er ist, wider das Anklagen göttliches Gesetzes, wider die große Macht des Teufels, wider die Schrecken des Todes und endlich wider die Verzweiflung und Angst der Hölle sollte bleiben oder bestehen können, wenn er nicht die göttliche Zusage, das Evangelium, wie einen Baum oder Zweig ergriffe in der großen Flut, in dem starken, gewaltigen Strome, unter den Wellen und Bulgen [Wogen] der Todesangst, wenn er nicht durch den Glauben sich an das Wort, welches Gnade verkündigt, hielte, und also ohne alle Werke, ohne Gesetz, lauter aus Gnaden, das ewige Leben erlangte. Denn diese Lehre allein erhält die christlichen Gewissen in Anfechtungen und Todesängsten, von welchen die Widersacher nichts wissen und reden davon wie der Blinde von der Farbe.

Hier werden sie aber sagen: So wir aus lauter Barmherzigkeit sollen selig werden, was ist dann für ein Unterschied unter denen, die da selig werden, und die da nicht selig werden? Gilt kein Verdienst, so ist kein Unterschied unter Bösen und Guten und folgt, daß sie zugleich selig werden. Das Argument hat die Scholastiker bewegt, daß sie haben erfunden das meritum condigni; denn es muß ein Unterschied unter denen sein, die da selig werden, und die verdammt werden.

Für das erste aber sagen wir, daß das ewige Leben gehöre denen, die Gott gerecht schätzt, und wenn sie sind gerecht geschätzt, sind sie damit Gottes Kinder und Christi Miterben geworden, wie Paulus zu den Römern am 8, 30 sagt: „Welche er hat gerecht gemacht, die hat er auch herrlich gemacht." Darum wird niemand selig denn allein, die da glauben dem Evangelio. Wie aber unsere Versöhnung gegen Gott ungewiß [wäre], wenn sie sollte auf unsern Werken stehen und nicht auf Gottes gnädiger Verheißung, welche nicht fehlen kann, also auch wäre alles ungewiß, was wir durch die Hoffnung erwarten, wenn sie sollte gebaut sein auf unser Verdienst und Werke. Denn Gottes Gesetz klagt das Gewissen an ohne Unterlaß, und [wir] fühlen im Herzen nichts anderes denn diese Stimme aus der Wolke und Feuerflammen, Deut. am 5, 6 ff.: „Ich bin der HErr, dein Gott; das sollst du tun, das bist du schuldig, das will ich haben" usw. Und kein Gewissen kann Ruhe haben einen Augenblick, wenn das Gesetz und Moses im Herzen drängt, ehe es Christum ergreift durch den Glauben. Es kann auch nicht recht hoffen das ewige Leben, es sei denn erst zur Ruhe [gekommen]. Denn ein Gewissen, das da zweifelt, das flieht vor Gott und verzweifelt und kann nicht hoffen. Nun muß aber die Hoffnung des ewigen Lebens gewiß sein. Damit sie nun nicht wanke, sondern gewiß sei, so müssen wir glauben, daß wir das ewige Leben haben nicht durch unsere Werke oder Verdienst, sondern aus lauter Gnade, durch den Glauben an Christum.

In Welthändeln und in den weltlichen Gerichtsstühlen, da ist zweierlei, Gnade und Recht. Recht ist durch die Gesetze und Urteil gewiß, Gnade ist ungewiß. Hier vor Gott ist's ein ander Ding; denn die Gnade und Barmherzigkeit ist durch ein gewiß Wort zugesagt, und das Evangelium ist das Wort, das uns gebietet zu glauben, daß uns Gott gnädig sei und selig machen wolle um Christus' willen, wie der Text lautet, Joh. 3, 17: „Gott hat seinen Sohn nicht in die Welt geschickt, daß er die Welt richte, sondern daß die Welt selig werde durch ihn. Wer in ihn glaubet, der wird nicht gerichtet."

Sooft als man nun redet von Barmherzigkeit, so ist's also zu verstehen, daß Glaube gefordert wird, und derselbe Glaube, der macht den Unterschied unter denen, die selig, und unter denen, die verdammt werden, unter Würdigen und Unwürdigen. Denn das ewige Leben ist niemand zugesagt denn den Versöhnten in Christo. Der Glaube aber versöhnt und macht uns gerecht vor Gott, wenn und zu welcher Zeit wir die Zusage durch den Glauben ergreifen. Und das ganze Leben durch sollen wir Gott bitten und uns fleißigen, daß wir den Glauben bekommen und in dem Glauben zunehmen. Denn, wie oben gesagt ist, der Glaube ist, wo Buße ist, und ist nicht in denen, die nach dem Fleisch wandeln. Derselbe Glaube soll auch durch allerlei Anfechtungen das ganze Leben durch wachsen und zunehmen. Und welche den Glauben erlangen, die werden neugeboren, daß sie auch ein neu Leben führen und gute Werke tun.

Wie wir nun sagen, daß die rechte Buße soll das ganze Leben durch währen, also sagen wir auch, daß die guten Werke und Früchte des Glaubens das ganze Leben durch geschehen sollen; wiewohl unsere Werke nimmermehr so teuer werden, daß sie sollten dem Schatze Christi gleich sein oder das ewige Leben verdienen. Wie auch Christus sagt Luk. 17, 10: „Wenn ihr alles getan habt, so sprecht: Wir sind unnütze Knechte." Und St. Bernhardus sagt recht: „Es ist not, und du mußt erst glauben, daß du Vergebung der Sünden nicht haben könnest denn allein durch Gottes Gnade, und danach, daß du auch sonst hernach kein gut Werk haben und tun könnest, wenn Gott dir's nicht gibt; endlich, daß du das ewige Leben mit keinen Werken verdienen kannst, wenn dir dasselbe auch nicht ohne Verdienst gegeben wird." Und bald hernach: „Niemand wolle sich selbst verführen; denn wenn du würdest recht die Sache bedenken, so würdest du ohne Zweifel finden, daß du mit zehntausend nicht könnest entgegenkommen dem, der dir mit zwanzigtausend begegnet" usw. Das sind je starke Sprüche St. Bernhardi; sie möchten doch denselben glauben, ob sie uns nicht glauben wollten. [Im Original lauten Bernhards Worte, die auch in die Oktavausgabe der Apologie von 1531 Aufnahme fanden, also: „Necesse est primo credere, quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis nisi per indulgentiam Dei. Deinde, quod nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni, nisi et hoc dederit ipse. Postremo, quod aeternam vitam nullis possis operibus promereri, nisi gratis detur et illa. Nemo itaque se seducat, quia, si bene cogitare voluerit, inveniet procul dubio, quod nec cum decem millibus possit occurrere ei, qui cum viginti millibus venit ad se."]

but for Christ's sake by faith; nor does God owe us everlasting life on account of these works. But just as forgiveness of sin and righteousness is imputed to us for Christ's sake, not on account of our works, or the Law, so everlasting life, together with righteousness, is offered us, not on account of our works, or of the Law, but for Christ's sake, as Christ says, John 6, 40: *This is the Father's will that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on Him, may have everlasting life.* Again, v. 47: *He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.* Now, the adversaries should be asked at this point what advice they give to poor consciences in the hour of death: whether they comfort consciences by telling them that they will have a blessed departure, that they will be saved, and have a propitiated God, because of their own merits, or because of God's grace and mercy for Christ's sake. For St. Peter, St. Paul, and saints like them cannot boast that God owes them eternal life for their martyrdom, nor have they relied on their works, but on the mercy promised in Christ.

Nor would it be possible that a saint, great and high though he be, could make a firm stand against the accusations of the divine Law, the great might of the devil, the terror of death, and, finally, against despair and the anguish of hell, if he would not grasp the divine promises, the Gospel, as a tree or branch in the great flood, in the strong, violent stream, amidst the waves and billows of the anguish of death; if he does not cling by faith to the Word, which proclaims grace, and thus obtains eternal life without works, without the Law, from pure grace. For this doctrine alone preserves Christian consciences in afflictions and anguish of death. Of these things the adversaries know nothing, and talk of them like a blind man about color.

Here they will say: If we are to be saved by pure mercy, what difference is there between those who are saved, and those who are not saved? If merit is of no account, there is no difference between the evil and the good, and it follows that both are saved alike. This argument has moved the scholastics to invent the *meritum condigni;* for there must be (they think) a difference between those who are saved, and those who are damned.

We reply, in the first place, that everlasting life is accorded to those whom God esteems just, and when they have been esteemed just, they are become, by that act, the children of God and coheirs of Christ, as Paul says, Rom. 8, 30: *Whom He justified, them He also glorified.* Hence nobody is saved except only those who believe the Gospel. But as our reconciliation with God is uncertain if it is to rest on our works, and not on the gracious promise of God, which cannot fail, so, too, all that we expect by hope would be uncertain if it must be built on the foundation of our merits and works. For the Law of God ceaselessly accuses the conscience, and men feel in their hearts nothing but this voice from the fiery, flaming cloud: *I am the Lord, thy God; this thou shalt do; that thou art obliged to do; this I require of thee.* Deut. 5, 6 ff. No conscience can for a moment be at rest when the Law and Moses assails the heart, before it apprehends Christ by faith. Nor can it truly hope for eternal life, unless it be pacified before. For a doubting conscience flees from God, despairs, and cannot hope. However, hope of eternal life must be certain. Now, in order that it may not be fickle, but certain, we must believe that we have eternal life, not by our works or merits, but from pure grace, by faith in Christ.

In secular affairs and in secular courts we meet with both, mercy and justice. Justice is certain by the laws and the verdict rendered; mercy is uncertain. In this matter that relates to God the case is different; for grace and mercy have been promised us by a certain word, and the Gospel is the word which commands us to believe that God is gracious and wishes to save us for Christ's sake, as the text reads, John 3, 17: *God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved. He that believeth on Him is not condemned.*

Now, whenever we speak of mercy, the meaning is to be this, that faith is required, and it is this faith that makes the difference between those who are saved, and those who are damned, between those who are worthy, and those who are unworthy. For everlasting life has been promised to none but those who have been reconciled by Christ. Faith, however, reconciles and justifies before God the moment we apprehend the promise by faith. And throughout our entire life we are to pray God and be diligent, to receive faith and to grow in faith. For, as stated before, faith is where repentance is, and it is not in those who walk after the flesh. This faith is to grow and increase throughout our life by all manner of afflictions. Those who obtain faith are regenerated, so that they lead a new life and do good works.

Now, just as we say that true repentance is to endure throughout our entire life, we say, too, that good works and the fruits of faith must be done throughout our life, although our works never become so precious as to be equal to the treasure of Christ, or to merit eternal life, as Christ says, Luke 17, 10: *When ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.* And St. Bernard truly says: *There is need that you must first believe that you cannot have forgiveness of sin except by the grace of God; next, that thereafter you cannot have and do any good work, unless God grants it to you; lastly, that you cannot earn eternal life with your works, though it is not given you without merit.* A little further on he says: *Let no one deceive himself; for when you rightly consider the matter, you will undoubtedly find that you cannot meet with ten thousand him who approaches you with twenty thousand.* These are strong sayings of St. Bernard; let them believe these if they will not believe us.

Darum, damit die Herzen einen rechten, gewissen Trost und Hoffnung haben mögen, so weisen wir sie, wie Paulus tut, auf die göttliche Zusage der Gnade in Christo und lehren, daß man müsse glauben, daß Gott nicht um unserer Werke, nicht um Erfüllung des Gesetzes willen, uns das ewige Leben gibt, sondern um Christus' willen; wie Johannes der Apostel in seiner Epistel spricht, 1 Joh. 5, 12: „Wer den Sohn hat, der hat das Leben; wer den Sohn nicht hat, der hat nicht das Leben."

213] Huc pertinet et sententia Christi Luc. 17, 10: *Quum feceritis omnia, quae praecepta sunt vobis, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus.* Haec verba clare dicunt, quod Deus salvet per misericordiam et propter suam promissionem, non quod debeat propter dignitatem **214**] operum nostrorum. Sed adversarii mirifice ludunt hic in verbis Christi. Primum faciunt *ἀντιστρέφον* et in nos retorquent. Multo magis, inquiunt, dici posse: Si credideritis omnia, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus. Deinde addunt opera inutilia esse Deo, nobis **215**] vero non esse inutilia. Videte, quam delectet adversarios puerile studium sophistices. Et quamquam hae ineptiae indignae sint, quae refutentur, tamen paucis respondebimus. *Ἀντιστρέφον* est vitiosum. Primum **216**] enim decipiuntur adversarii in vocabulo fidei, quodsi significaret nobis notitiam illam historiae, quae etiam in impiis et diabolis est, recte ratiocinarentur adversarii fidem inutilem esse, quum dicunt: Quum credideritis omnia, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus. Sed nos non de notitia historiae, sed de fiducia promissionis et misericordiae Dei loquimur. Et haec fiducia promissionis fatetur nos esse servos inutiles, imo haec confessio, quod opera nostra sint indigna, est ipsa vox fidei, sicut apparet in hoc exemplo Danielis, 9, 18, quod paulo ante citavimus: *Non in iustificationibus nostris prosternimus preces* etc. Fides **217**] enim salvat, quia apprehendit misericordiam seu promissionem gratiae, etiamsi nostra opera sint indigna. Et in hanc sententiam nihil laedit nos *ἀντιστρέφον:* Quum credideritis omnia, dicite: Servi inutiles sumus, videlicet, quod opera nostra [R. 132 sint indigna; hoc enim cum tota ecclesia docemus, quod per misericordiam salvemur. **218**] Sed si ex simili ratiocinari volunt: Quum feceris omnia, noli confidere operibus tuis, ita: Quum credideris omnia, noli confidere promissione divina: haec non cohaerent. Sunt enim dissimillima. Dissimiles causae, dissimilia obiecta fiduciae sunt in priore propositione et in posteriore. Fiducia in priore est fiducia nostrorum operum. Fiducia in posteriore est fiducia promissionis divinae. Christus autem damnat fiduciam nostrorum operum, non damnat fiduciam promissionis suae. Non vult nos de gratia et misericordia Dei desperare, arguit opera nostra tamquam indigna, **219**] non arguit promissionem, quae gratis offert misericordiam. Et praeclare hic inquit Ambrosius: *Agnoscenda est gratia, sed non ignoranda natura.* [Ambrosius, Tom. V, p. 131, Basileae 1567: „Sequitur, ut nemo in operibus glorietur, quia iure Domino debemus obsequium. . . . Si ergo tu non solum non dicis servo tuo: Recumbe, sed exigis ab eo aliud ministerium et gratias ei non agis: ita nec in te patitur Dominus unius usum esse operis aut laboris, quia dum vivimus, debemus semper operari. Ergo agnosce te esse servum plurimis obsequiis defoeneratum. Non te praeferas, quia Filius Dei diceris: agnoscenda gratia, sed non ignoranda natura (das natuerliche, kreatuerliche Verhaeltnis). Neque te iactes, si bene servisti, quod facere debuisti. Obsequitur sol, obtemperat luna, serviunt angeli. Vas gentium electus a Domino: non sum, inquit, dignus vocari apostolus, quia persecutus sum Ecclesiam Dei. Deinde alibi nullius se ostendens conscium culpae, subiecit; sed non in hoc iustificatus sum. Et nos ergo non a nobis laudem exigamus, nec praecipiamus iudicium Dei, et praeveniamus sententiam Iudicis, sed suo tempori, suo Iudici reservemus."] Promissioni gratiae confidendum est, non **220**] naturae nostrae. Sed adversarii suo more faciunt, contra fidei doctrinam detorquent **221**] sententias pro fide traditas. Verum haec spinosa reiiciamus ad scholas. Illa cavillatio

Hier haben die Widersacher ihre große Kunst trefflich bewiesen und den Spruch Christi verkehrt: „Wenn ihr alles getan habt, so sprecht: Wir sind unnütze Knechte." Ziehen ihn von Werken auf Glauben, sagen vielmehr, wenn wir alles glauben, sind wir unnütze Knechte. Das sind je schändliche Sophisten, die die tröstliche Lehre vom Glauben so gar verkehren. Sagt, ihr Esel, wenn einer da liegt am Tode und fühlt, daß er kein Werk hat, das vor Gottes Gericht genug sei, und kann auf kein Werk vertrauen, was wollt ihr demselben raten? Wollt ihr ihm auch sagen: Wenn du schon glaubst, so bist du doch ein unnützer Knecht, und hilft dir nichts? Da muß das arme Gewissen in Verzweiflung fallen, wenn es nicht weiß, daß das Evangelium den Glauben eben darum fordert, dieweil wir untüchtige Knechte sind und nicht Verdienst haben. Darum soll man sich hüten vor den Sophisten, so die Worte Christi also lästerlich verkehren. Denn es folgt nicht: Die Werke helfen nicht, darum hilft der Glaube auch nicht. Wir müssen den groben Eseln ein grob Exempel geben. Es folgt nicht: Der Heller hilft nicht, darum hilft der Gulden auch nicht. Also, wie der Gulden viel höher und stärker ist denn der Heller, soll man verstehen, daß Glaube viel höher und stärker ist denn Werke. Nicht, daß Glaube helfe um seiner Würdigkeit willen, sondern darum, daß er auf Gottes Verheißung und Barmherzigkeit vertraut. Glaube ist stark, nicht um seiner Würdigkeit willen, sondern von wegen der göttlichen Verheißung. Und darum verbietet Christus hier vertrauen auf eigene Werke; denn sie können nicht helfen. Dagegen verbietet er nicht vertrauen auf Gottes Verheißung. Ja, er fordert dasselbe Vertrauen auf Gottes Verheißung eben darum, dieweil wir untüchtige Knechte sind und die Werke nicht helfen können. Derhalben ziehen die Bösewichter die Worte Christi unrecht von Vertrauen eigener Würdigkeit auf Vertrauen göttlicher Zusage. Damit ist ihre Sophisterei klar verlegt [widerlegt] und aufgelöst. Der HErr Christus wolle die Sophisten, so sein heiliges Wort also zerreißen, bald zuschanden machen! Amen.

In order, then, that hearts may have a true, certain comfort and hope, we point them, with Paul, to the divine promise of grace in Christ, and teach that we must believe that God gives us eternal life, not on account of our works, but for Christ's sake, as the Apostle John says in his Epistle, I, 5, 12: *He that hath the Son hath life, and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.*]

Here belongs also the declaration of Christ, Luke 17, 10: *So likewise ye, when ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants.* These words clearly declare that God saves by mercy and on account of His promise, not that it is due on account of the value of our works. But at this point the adversaries play wonderfully with the words of Christ. In the first place, they make an antistrophe and turn it against us. Much more, they say, can it be said: "If we have believed all things, say, We are unprofitable servants." Then they add that works are of no profit to God, but are not without profit to us. See how the puerile study of sophistry delights the adversaries, and although these absurdities do not deserve a refutation, nevertheless we will reply to them in a few words. The antistrophe is defective. For, in the first place, the adversaries are deceived in regard to the term faith; because, if it would signify that knowledge of the history which is also in the wicked and in devils, the adversaries would be correct in arguing that faith is unprofitable when they say: "When we have believed all things, say, We are unprofitable servants." But we are speaking, not of the knowledge of the history, but of confidence in the promise and mercy of God. And this confidence in the promise confesses that we are unprofitable servants; yea, this confession that our works are unworthy is the very voice of faith, as appears in this example of Daniel, 9, 18, which we cited a little above: *We do not present our supplications before Thee for our righteousnesses,* etc. For faith saves because it apprehends mercy, or the promise of grace, even though our works are unworthy; and, thus understood, namely, that our works are unworthy, the antistrophe does not injure us: "When ye shall have believed all things, say, We are unprofitable servants"; for that we are saved by mercy, we teach with the entire Church. But if they mean to argue from the similar: When you have done all things, do not trust in your works, so also, when you have believed all things, do not trust in the divine promise, there is no connection. [The inference is wrong: "Works do not help; therefore, faith also does not help." We must give the uncultured men a homely illustration: It does not follow that because a half-farthing does not help, therefore a florin also does not help. Just as the florin is of much higher denomination and value than the half-farthing, so also should it be understood that faith is much higher and more efficacious than works. Not that faith helps because of its worth, but because it trusts in God's promises and mercy. Faith is strong, not because of its worthiness, but because of the divine promise.] For they are very dissimilar, as the causes and objects of confidence in the former proposition are far dissimilar to those of the latter. In the former, confidence is confidence in our own works. In the latter, confidence is confidence in the divine promise. Christ, however, condemns confidence in our works; He does not condemn confidence in His promise. He does not wish us to despair of God's grace and mercy. He accuses our works as unworthy, but does not accuse the promise which freely offers mercy. And here Ambrose says well: *Grace is to be acknowledged; but nature must not be disregarded.* We must trust in the promise of grace and not in our own nature. But the adversaries act in accordance with their custom, and distort, against faith, the judgments which have been given on behalf of faith. [Hence, Christ in this place forbids men to trust in their own works; for they cannot help them. On the other hand, He does not forbid to trust in God's promise. Yea, He requires such trust in the promise of God for the very reason that we are unprofitable servants and works can be of no help. Therefore, the knaves have improperly applied to our trust in the divine promise the words of Christ which treat of trust in our own worthiness. This clearly reveals and defeats their sophistry. May the Lord Christ soon put to shame the sophists who thus mutilate His holy Word! Amen.] We leave, however, these thorny points to the schools. The sophistry is plainly puerile when they interpret "unprofitable servant," as meaning that the works are unprofitable to God, but are profitable to us. Yet Christ speaks concerning that profit which makes God a debtor of grace to us, although it is out of place to discuss here concerning that which is profitable or unprofitable. For "unprofitable servants" means "insufficient," because no one fears God as much, and loves God as much, and believes God as much as he ought. But let us dismiss these frigid cavils of the adversaries, concerning which,

plane puerilis est, quum interpretantur servos inutiles, quia opera Deo sint inutilia, nobis vero sint utilia. At Christus de ea utilitate loquitur, quae constituit nobis Deum debitorem gratiae. Quamquam alienum est hoc loco disputare de utili aut inutili. Nam servi inutiles significant insufficientes, quia nemo tantum timet, tantum diligit Deum, tantum credit Deo, 222] quantum oportuit. Sed missas faciamus has frigidas cavillationes adversariorum, de quibus quid iudicaturi sint homines, si quando proferentur in lucem, facile possunt existimare viri prudentes. In verbis maxime planis et perspicuis repererunt rimam. At nemo non videt, in illo loco fiduciam nostrorum operum improbari.

223] Teneamus igitur hoc, quod ecclesia confitetur, quod per misericordiam salvemur. [R. 133 Et ne quis hic cogitet: Si per misericordiam salvandi sumus, incerta spes erit, si nihil praecedit in his, quibus contingit salus, quo discernantur ab illis, quibus non contingit: huic satisfaciendum est. Scholastici enim videntur hac ratione moti quaesivisse meritum condigni. 224] Nam haec ratio valde potest exercere humanum animum. Breviter igitur respondemus. Ideo ut sit certa spes, ideo ut sit praecedens discrimen inter hos, quibus contingit, et illos, quibus non contingit salus, necesse est constituere, quod per misericordiam salvemur. Hoc, quum ita nude dicitur, absurdum videtur. Nam in foro et iudiciis humanis ius seu debitum certum est, misericordia incerta. Sed alia res est de iudicio Dei. Hic enim misericordia habet claram et certam promissionem et mandatum Dei. Nam evangelium proprie hoc mandatum est, quod praecipit, ut credamus Deum nobis propitium esse propter Christum. *Non misit Deus Filium suum in mundum, ut iudicet mundum, sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum. Qui* 225] *credit in eum, non iudicatur* etc., Ioh. 3, 17. 18. Quoties igitur de misericordia dicitur, addenda est fides promissionis. Et haec fides parit certam spem, quia nititur Verbo et mandato Dei. Si spes niteretur operibus, tunc vero esset incerta, quia opera non possunt pacare 226] conscientiam, ut supra saepe dictum est. Et haec fides facit discrimen inter hos, quibus contingit salus, et illos, quibus non contingit. Fides facit discrimen inter dignos et indignos, quia vita aeterna promissa est iustificatis, fides autem iustificat.

227] Sed hic iterum clamitabunt adversarii, nihil opus esse bonis operibus, si non merentur vitam aeternam. Has calumnias supra refutavimus. Imo vero necesse est bene operari. Iustificatis dicimus promissam esse vitam aeternam. At nec fidem nec iustitiam retinent illi, [R. 134 qui ambulant secundum carnem. Ideo iustificamur, ut iusti bene operari et obedire legi Dei 228] incipiamus. Ideo regeneramur et Spiritum Sanctum accipimus, ut nova vita habeat nova 229] opera, novos affectus, timorem, dilectionem Dei, odium concupiscentiae etc. Haec fides, de qua loquimur, existit in poenitentia, et inter bona opera, inter tentationes et pericula confirmari et crescere debet, ut subinde certius apud nos statuamus, quod Deus propter Christum respiciat nos, ignoscat nobis, exaudiat nos. Haec non discuntur sine magnis et multis certaminibus. Quoties recurrit conscientia, quoties sollicitat ad desperationem, quum ostendit aut vetera peccata aut nova aut immunditiem naturae! Hoc chirographum non deletur sine magno 230] agone, ubi testatur experientia, quam difficilis res sit fides. Et dum inter terrores erigimur et consolationem concipimus, simul crescunt alii motus spirituales, notitia Dei, timor Dei, spes, dilectio Dei, et *regeneramur*, ut ait Paulus Col. 3, 10 et 2 Cor. 3, 18, *ad agnitionem Dei, et intuentes gloriam Domini transformamur in eandem imaginem*, id est, concipimus veram no- 231] titiam Dei, ut vere timeamus eum, vere confidamus nos respici, nos exaudiri. Haec regeneratio est quasi inchoatio aeternae vitae, ut Paulus ait Rom. 8, 10: *Si Christus in vobis* 232] *est, spiritus vivit, corpus autem mortuum est* etc. Et 2 Cor. 5, 2. 3: *Superinduemur, si tamen induti, non nudi reperiemur.* Ex his iudicare candidus lector potest, nos maxime requirere bona opera, siquidem hanc fidem docemus in poenitentia existere et debere subinde crescere in poenitentia. Et in his rebus perfectionem Christianam et spiritualem ponimus, si simul crescant poenitentia et fides in poenitentia. Haec intelligi melius a piis possunt, quam 233] quae de contemplatione aut perfectione apud adversarios docentur. Sicut autem iustificatio ad fidem pertinet, ita pertinet ad fidem vita aeterna. Et Petrus ait 1 Petr. 1, 9: *Reportantes finem seu fructum fidei vestrae, salutem animarum.* Fatentur enim adversarii, [R. 135 234] quod iustificati sint filii Dei et coheredes Christi. Postea opera, quia placent Deo propter fidem, merentur alia praemia corporalia et spiritualia. Erunt enim discrimina gloriae sanctorum.

235] Sed hic reclamant adversarii, vitam aeternam vocari mercedem, quare necesse sit eam de condigno mereri per bona opera. Breviter et plane respondemus. Paulus Rom. 6, 23 vitam aeternam *donum* appellat, quia donata iustitia propter Christum simul efficimur filii Dei et coheredes Christi, sicut ait Iohannes 3, 36: *Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam aeternam.* Et Augustinus inquit, et hunc secuti alii multi idem dixerunt: *Dona sua coronat Deus in nobis.* Alibi vero, Luc. 6, 23, scriptum est: *Merces vestra copiosa erit in coelis.* Haec si videntur adversariis 236] pugnare, ipsi expediant. Sed parum aequi iudices sunt, nam *doni* vocabulum omit-

Die Widersacher aber wollen beweisen, daß wir das ewige Leben mit Werken verdienen de condigno, damit, daß das ewige Leben wird genannt **ein Lohn.** Wir wollen darauf kurz und richtig antworten. Paulus nennt das ewige Leben ein **Geschenk** und **Gabe;** denn wenn wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden, so werden wir Gottes Söhne und Miterben Christi. An einem andern Ort aber steht geschrieben: „Euer Lohn ist reichlich im Himmel." Wenn nun die Widersacher dünkt, daß dieses widereinander sei, so mögen sie es ausrichten. Sie tun, wie sie pflegen: sie lassen das Wort donum außen und lassen allenthalben außen das Hauptstück, wie wir vor Gott gerecht werden, item, daß Christus allezeit der Mittler

if at any time they are brought to the light, prudent men will easily decide what they should judge. They have found a flaw in words which are very plain and clear. But every one sees that in this passage confidence in our own works is condemned.

Let us, therefore, hold fast to this which the Church confesses, namely, that we are saved by mercy. And lest any one may here think: "If we are to be saved by mercy, hope will be uncertain, if in those who obtain salvation nothing precedes by which they may be distinguished from those who do not obtain it," we must give him a satisfactory answer. For the scholastics, moved by this reason, seem to have devised the *meritum condigni.* For this consideration can greatly exercise the human mind. We will therefore reply briefly. For the very reason that hope may be sure, for the very reason that there may be an antecedent distinction between those who obtain salvation, and those who do not obtain it, it is necessary firmly to hold that we are saved by mercy. When this is expressed thus unqualifiedly, it seems absurd. For in civil courts and in human judgment, that which is of right or of debt is certain, and mercy is uncertain. But the matter is different with respect to God's judgment; for here mercy has a clear and certain promise and command from God. For the Gospel is properly that command which enjoins us to believe that God is propitious to us for Christ's sake. *For God sent not His Son into the world to condemn the world, but that the world through Him might be saved,* John 3, 17. 18. As often, therefore, as mercy is spoken of, faith in the promise must be added; and this faith produces sure hope, because it relies upon the Word and command of God. If hope would rely upon works, then, indeed, it would be uncertain, because works cannot pacify the conscience, as has been said above frequently. And this faith makes a distinction between those who obtain salvation, and those who do not obtain it. Faith makes the distinction between the worthy and the unworthy, because eternal life has been promised to the justified; and faith justifies.

But here again the adversaries will cry out that there is no need of good works if they do not merit eternal life. These calumnies we have refuted above. Of course, it is necessary to do good works. We say that eternal life has been promised to the justified. But those who walk according to the flesh retain neither faith nor righteousness. We are for this very end justified, that, being righteous, we may begin to do good works and to obey God's Law. We are regenerated and receive the Holy Ghost for the very end that the new life may produce new works, new dispositions, the fear and love of God, hatred of concupiscence, etc. This faith of which we speak arises in repentance, and ought to be established and grow in the midst of good works, temptations, and dangers, so that we may continually be the more firmly persuaded that God for Christ's sake cares for us, forgives us, hears us. This is not learned without many and great struggles. How often is conscience aroused, how often does it incite even to despair when it brings to view sins, either old or new, or the impurity of our nature! This handwriting is not blotted out without a great struggle, in which experience testifies what a difficult matter faith is. And while we are cheered in the midst of the terrors and receive consolation, other spiritual movements at the same time grow, the knowledge of God, fear of God, hope, love of God; and we are *regenerated,* as Paul says, Col. 3, 10 and 2 Cor. 3, 18, *in the knowledge of God,* and, *beholding the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image, i. e.,* we receive the true knowledge of God, so that we truly fear Him, truly trust that we are cared for, and that we are heard by Him. This regeneration is, as it were, the beginning of eternal life, as Paul says, Rom. 8, 10: *If Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life because of righteousness.* And 2 Cor. 5, 2. 3: *We are clothed upon, if so be that, being clothed, we shall not be found naked.* From these statements the candid reader can judge that we certainly require good works, since we teach that this faith arises in repentance, and in repentance ought continually to increase; and in these matters we place Christian and spiritual perfection, if repentance and faith grow together in repentance. This can be better understood by the godly than those things which are taught by the adversaries concerning contemplation or perfection. Just as, however, justification pertains to faith, so also life eternal pertains to faith. And Peter says, 1 Pet. 1, 9: *Receiving the end, or fruit, of your faith, the salvation of your souls.* For the adversaries confess that the justified are children of God and coheirs of Christ. Afterwards works, because on account of faith they please God, merit other bodily and spiritual rewards. For there will be distinctions in the glory of the saints.

But here the adversaries reply that eternal life is called a reward, and that therefore it is merited *de condigno* by good works. We reply briefly and plainly: Paul, Rom. 6, 23, calls eternal life a *gift,* because by the righteousness presented for Christ's sake, we are made at the same time sons of God and coheirs of Christ, as John says, 3, 36: *He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life.* And Augustine says, as also do very many others who follow him: *God crowns His gifts in us.* Elsewhere indeed, Luke 6, 23, it is written: *Your reward is great in heaven.* If these passages seem to the adversaries to conflict, they themselves may explain them. But they are not fair judges; for they omit the word *gift.* They omit also the sources of the entire matter [the chief part, how we are justified before God, also that Christ remains at all times the Mediator], and they select the word *reward,* and most harshly interpret this not only against Scripture, but also against the usage of the language. Hence they infer that inasmuch as it is called a *reward,* our works, therefore, are such that

tunt et fontes totius negotii, et excerpunt vocabulum *mercedis* idque acerbissime interpretantur non solum contra Scripturam, sed etiam contra sermonis consuetudinem. Hinc ratiocinantur, quia merces nominatur, igitur opera nostra sunt eiusmodi, quae debeant esse pretium, pro quo debetur vita aeterna. Sunt igitur digna gratia et vita aeterna, nec indigent misericordia aut mediatore Christo
237] aut fide. Plane nova est haec dialectica: vocabulum audimus *mercedis*, igitur nihil opus est mediatore Christo aut fide habente accessum ad Deum propter Christum, non propter opera nostra. Quis non
238] videt haec esse *ἀναπόλογητα?* Nos non rixamur de vocabulo *mercedis*. De hac re litigamus, utrum bona opera per se sint digna gratia et vita aeterna, an vero placeant tantum propter fidem, quae apprehendit media-
239] torem Christum. Adversarii nostri non solum hoc tribuunt operibus, quod sint digna gratia et vita aeterna, sed fingunt etiam, quod merita supersint sibi, quae donare aliis [R. 136 et iustificare alios queant, ut quum monachi suorum ordinum merita vendunt aliis. Haec portenta Chrysippeo more coacervant, hac una voce mercedis audita: Merces appellatur, igitur habemus opera, quae sunt pretium, pro quo debetur merces; igitur opera per sese, non propter mediatorem Christum placent. Et quum alius alio plura habeat merita, igitur quibusdam supersunt merita. Et haec merita donare aliis possunt isti, qui meren-
240] tur. Mane lector, nondum habes totum

bleibt, und klauben danach heraus das Wort merces oder „Lohn" und legen dann dasselbe ihres Gefallens aufs ärgste aus, nicht allein wider die Schrift, sondern auch wider gemeinen Gebrauch zu reden, und schließen dann also: Da steht in der Schrift: „Euer Lohn" usw.; darum sind unsere Werke so würdig, daß wir dadurch das ewige Leben verdienen. Das ist gar eine neue Dialektika, da finden wir das einzelne Wort „Lohn"; darum tun unsere Werke vollkömmlich genug dem Gesetz, darum sind wir durch unsere Werke Gott angenehm, bedürfen keiner Gnade noch keines Mittlers Christi. Unsere guten Werke sind der Schatz, dadurch das ewige Leben erkauft und erlangt wird. Darum können wir durch unsere guten Werke das erste, höchste Gebot Gottes und das ganze Gesetz halten. Weiter können wir auch tun opera supererogationis, das ist, übrige Werke und mehr, denn das Gesetz fordert. Darum haben die Mönche, so sie mehr tun, denn sie schuldig sind, übriges, überflüssiges Verdienst, das mögen sie andern schenken oder um Geld mitteilen und mögen des Geschenks, als die neuen Götter, ein neu Sakrament einsetzen, damit sie bezeugen, daß sie ihre Verdienste jenen verkauft und mitgeteilt haben; wie denn die Barfüßermönche und andere Orden unverschämt getan, daß sie den toten Körpern haben Ordenskappen angezogen. Das sind feine, starke Gründe, welche sie alle aus der einigen Syllabe „Lohn" spinnen können, damit sie Christum und den Glauben verdunkeln.

soriten. Addenda sunt enim certa sacramenta huius donationis, mortuis induitur cucullus etc. Talibus coacervationibus beneficium Christi et iustitia fidei obscurata sunt.

241] Non movemus inanem *λογομαχίαν* de vocabulo *mercedis*. Si concedent adversarii, quod fide propter Christum iusti reputemur, et quod bona opera propter fidem placeant Deo, de nomine *mercedis* postea non valde rixabimur. Nos fatemur vitam aeternam mercedem esse, quia est res debita propter promissionem, non propter nostra merita. Est enim promissa iustificatio, quam supra ostendimus proprie esse donum Dei. Et huic dono coniuncta est promissio vitae aeternae, iuxta illud, Rom. 8, 30: *Quos iustificavit, eosdem*
242] *et glorificavit.* Huc pertinet, quod Paulus ait 2 Tim. 4, 8: *Reposita est mihi corona iustitiae, quam reddet mihi Dominus iustus iudex* etc. Debetur enim corona iustificatis
243] propter promissionem. Et hanc promissionem scire sanctos oportet, non ut propter suum commodum laborent, debent enim laborare propter gloriam Dei; sed ne desperent in afflictionibus, scire eos oportet voluntatem Dei, quod velit eos adiuvare, eripere, servare. Etsi aliter perfecti, aliter infirmi audiunt mentionem poenarum et praemiorum; nam infirmi laborant sui commodi causa.
244] Et tamen praedicatio praemiorum et poenarum necessaria est. In praedicatione poenarum ira Dei ostenditur, quare ad praedicationem poenitentiae pertinet. In praedicatione praemiorum gratia ostenditur. [R. 137 Et sicut Scriptura saepe mentione bonorum operum fidem complectitur, vult enim complecti iustitiam cordis cum fructibus: ita

Wir aber zanken nicht um das Wort „Lohn", sondern von diesen großen, hohen, allerwichtigsten Sachen, nämlich wo christliche Herzen rechten, gewissen Trost suchen sollen; item, ob unsere Werke die Gewissen können zu Ruhe oder Frieden bringen; item, ob wir halten sollen, daß unsere Werke des ewigen Lebens würdig sind, oder ob es um Christus' willen gegeben werde. Dieses sind die rechten Fragen in diesen Sachen; wenn da die Gewissen nicht recht berichtet sind, so können sie keinen gewissen Trost haben. Wir aber haben klar genug gesagt, daß die guten Werke das Gesetz nicht erfüllen, daß wir Gottes Barmherzigkeit bedürfen, und daß wir durch den Glauben Gott angenehm werden, und daß die guten Werke, sie seien, wie köstlich sie wollen, wenn es auch St. Paulus' Werke selbst wären, kein Gewissen können zu Ruhe machen. Aus dem allem folgt, daß wir sollen glauben, daß wir das ewige Leben erlangen durch Christum aus Gnaden, nicht um der Werke oder des Gesetzes willen. Was sagen wir aber von dem Lohn, welches [dessen] die Schrift gedenkt? Für das erste, wenn wir sagten, daß das ewige Leben werde ein Lohn genannt darum, daß es den Gläubigen Christi aus der göttlichen Verheißung gehört, so hätten wir recht gesagt. Aber die Schrift nennt das ewige Leben einen Lohn, nicht daß Gott schuldig sei, um die Werke das ewige Leben zu geben, sondern nachdem das ewige Leben sonst gegeben wird aus andern Ursachen, daß dennoch damit vergolten werden unsere Werke und Trübsale, obschon der Schatz so groß ist, daß ihn Gott uns um die Werke nicht

they ought to be a price for which eternal life is due. They are, therefore, worthy of grace and life eternal, and do not stand in need of mercy, or of Christ as Mediator, or of faith. This logic is altogether new; we hear the term *reward*, and therefore are to infer that there is no need of Christ as Mediator, or of faith having access to God for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our works! Who does not see that these are anacoluthons? We do not contend concerning the term *reward*. We dispute concerning this matter, namely, whether good works are of themselves worthy of grace and of eternal life, or whether they please only on account of faith, which apprehends Christ as Mediator. Our adversaries not only ascribe this to works, namely, that they are worthy of grace and of eternal life, but they also state falsely that they have superfluous merits, which they can grant to others, and by which they can justify others, as when monks sell the merits of their orders to others. These monstrosities they heap up in the manner of Chrysippus, where this one word *reward* is heard, namely: "It is called a reward, and therefore we have works which are a price for which a reward is due; therefore works please by themselves, and not for the sake of Christ as Mediator. And since one has more merits than another, therefore some have superfluous merits. And those who merit them can bestow these merits upon others." Stop, reader; you have not the whole of this sorites. For certain sacraments of this donation must be added; the hood is placed upon the dead. [As the Barefooted monks and other orders have shamelessly done in placing the hoods of their orders upon dead bodies.] By such accumulations the blessings brought us in Christ, and the righteousness of faith have been obscured. [These are acute and strong arguments, all of which they can spin from the single word *reward*, whereby they obscure Christ and faith.]

We are not agitating an idle logomachy concerning the term *reward* [but this great, exalted, most important matter, namely, where Christian hearts are to find true and certain consolation; again, whether our works can give consciences rest and peace; again, whether we are to believe that our works are worthy of eternal life, or whether that is given us for Christ's sake. These are the real questions regarding these matters; if consciences are not rightly instructed concerning these, they can have no certain comfort. However, we have stated clearly enough that good works do not fulfil the Law, that we need the mercy of God, that by faith we are accepted with God, that good works, be they ever so precious, even if they were the works of St. Paul himself, cannot bring rest to the conscience. From all this it follows that we are to believe that we obtain eternal life through Christ by faith, not on account of our works, or of the Law. But what do we say of the reward which Scripture mentions?] If the adversaries will concede that we are accounted righteous by faith because of Christ, and that good works please God because of faith, we will not afterwards contend much concerning the term *reward*. We confess that eternal life is a reward, because it is something due on account of the promise, not on account of our merits. For the justification has been promised, which we have above shown to be properly a gift of God; and to this gift has been added the promise of eternal life, according to Rom. 8, 30: *Whom He justified, them He also glorified.* Here belongs what Paul says, 2 Tim. 4, 8: *There is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me.* For the crown is due the justified because of the promise. And this promise saints should know, not that they may labor for their own profit, for they ought to labor for the glory of God; but in order that they may not despair in afflictions, they should know God's will, that He desires to aid, to deliver, to protect them. [Just as the inheritance and all possessions of a father are given to the son, as a rich compensation and reward for his obedience, and yet the son receives the inheritance, not on account of his merit, but because the father, for the reason that he is his father, wants him to have it. Therefore it is a sufficient reason why eternal life is called a reward, because thereby the tribulations which we suffer, and the works of love which we do, are compensated, although we have not deserved it. For there are two kinds of compensation: one, which we are obliged, the other, which we are not obliged, to render. *E. g.*, when the emperor grants a servant a principality, he therewith compensates the servant's work; and yet the work is not worth the principality, but the servant acknowledges that he has received a gracious lien. Thus God does not owe us eternal life, still, when He grants it to believers for Christ's sake, that is a compensation for our sufferings and works.] Although the perfect hear the mention of penalties and rewards in one way, and the weak hear it in another way; for the weak labor for the sake of their own advantage. And yet the preaching of rewards and punishments is necessary. In the preaching of punishments the wrath of God is set forth, and therefore this pertains to the preaching of repentance. In the preaching of rewards, grace is set forth. And just as Scripture, in the mention of good works, often embraces faith, — for it wishes righteousness of the heart to be included with the fruits, — so sometimes it offers grace together with other rewards, as in Is. 58, 8 f., and frequently in other places in the prophets. We also confess what we have often testified, that, although justification and eternal life pertain to faith, nevertheless good works merit other bodily and spiritual rewards [which are rendered both in this life and after this life; for God defers most rewards until He glorifies saints after this life, because He wishes them in this life to be exercised in mortifying the old man] and degrees of rewards, according to 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Every man shall receive his*

interdum cum aliis praemiis simul offert gratiam, ut Esa. 58, 8 sq. et saepe alias apud pro-
245] phetas. Fatemur et hoc, quod saepe testati sumus, quod, etsi iustificatio et vita aeterna ad fidem pertinent, tamen bona opera mereantur alia praemia corporalia et spiritualia et gradus praemiorum iuxta illud, 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Unus quisque accipiet mercedem iuxta suum laborem.* Nam iustitia evangelii, quae versatur circa promissionem gratiae, gratis accipit iustificationem et vivificationem. Sed impletio legis, quae sequitur fidem, versatur circa legem, in qua non gratis, sed pro nostris operibus offertur et debetur merces. Sed qui hanc merentur, prius iustificati sunt, quam legem faciunt. Itaque prius sunt *translati in regnum Filii Dei*, ut Paulus ait Col. 1, 13; Rom. 8, 17, *et facti co-*
246] *heredes Christi.* Sed adversarii, quoties de merito dicitur, statim transferunt rem a reliquis praemiis ad iustificationem, quum evangelium gratis offerat iustificationem propter Christi merita, non nostra; et merita Christi communicantur nobis per fidem. Ceterum opera et afflictiones merentur non iustificationem, sed alia praemia, ut in his sententiis merces operibus offertur: *Qui parce seminat, parce metet, et qui largiter seminat, largiter metet*, 2 Cor. 9, 6. Hic clare modus mercedis ad modum operis confertur. *Honora patrem et matrem, ut sis longaevus super terram*, Exod. 20, 12. Et hic proponit lex certo
247] operi mercedem. Quamquam igitur legis impletio meretur mercedem, proprie enim merces ad legem pertinet: tamen meminisse nos evangelii oportet, quod gratis offert iustificationem propter Christum. Nec legem prius facimus, aut facere possumus, quam reconciliati Deo, iustificati et renati sumus. Nec illa legis impletio placeret Deo, nisi propter fidem essemus accepti. Et quia [R. 138 homines propter fidem sunt accepti, ideo illa inchoata legis impletio placet, et habet mercedem in hac vita et post hanc vitam. De
248] nomine mercedis pleraque alia hic etiam dici poterant ex natura legis, quae, quia longiora sunt, alio in loco explicanda erunt.

249] Verum urgent adversarii, quod proprie mereantur vitam aeternam bona opera, quia Paulus dicit Rom. 2, 6: *Reddet unicuique secundum opera eius.* Item v. 10: *Gloria, honor et pax omni operanti bonum.* Ioh. 5, 29: *Qui bona fecerunt, in resurrectionem vitae.* Matth. 25, 35: *Esurivi, et dedistis mihi man-*
250] *ducare* etc. In his locis et similibus omnibus, in quibus opera laudantur in Scripturis, necesse est intelligere non tantum externa opera, sed fidem etiam cordis, quia Scriptura non loquitur de hypocrisi, sed de iustitia cordis cum fructibus suis. Quoties
251] autem fit mentio legis et operum, sciendum est, quod non sit excludendus Christus mediator. Is est enim finis legis et ipse inquit Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Ex hoc canone diximus supra iudicari posse omnes locos de operibus. Quare quum operibus redditur vita aeterna, redditur iustificatis, quia neque bene operari possunt homines nisi iustificati, qui aguntur Spiritu Christi,

schuldig wäre. Gleichwie das Erbteil oder alle Güter eines Vaters dem Sohn gegeben werden und sind eine reiche Vergleichung und Belohnung seines Gehorsams; aber dennoch empfängt er das Erbe nicht um seines Verdienstes willen, sondern daß es ihm der Vater gönnt als ein Vater usw. Darum ist's genug, daß das ewige Leben deshalb werde ein Lohn genannt, daß dadurch vergolten werden die Trübsale, so wir leiden, und die Werke der Liebe, die wir tun, ob es wohl damit nicht verdient wird. Denn es ist zweierlei Vergelten, eins, das man schuldig ist, das andere, das man nicht schuldig ist. Als, so der Kaiser einem Diener ein Fürstentum gibt, damit wird vergolten des Dieners Arbeit, und ist doch die Arbeit nicht würdig des Fürstentums, sondern der Diener bekennt, es sei ein Gnadenlehen. Also ist uns Gott um die Werke nicht schuldig das ewige Leben; aber dennoch, so er's gibt um Christus' willen den Gläubigen, so wird damit unser Leiden und Werke vergolten. Weiter sagen wir, daß die guten Werke wahrlich verdienstlich und meritoria seien. Nicht daß sie Vergebung der Sünden uns sollten verdienen oder vor Gott gerecht machen. Denn sie gefallen Gott nicht, sie geschehen denn von denjenigen, welchen die Sünden schon vergeben sind. So sind sie auch nicht wert des ewigen Lebens, sondern sie sind verdienstlich zu andern Gaben, welche in diesem und nach diesem Leben gegeben werden. Denn Gott, der verzieht viele Gaben bis in jenes Leben, da nach diesem Leben Gott die Heiligen wird zu Ehren setzen. Denn hier in diesem Leben will er den alten Adam kreuzigen und töten mit allerlei Anfechtungen und Trübsalen. Und dahin gehört der Spruch Pauli: „Ein jeder wird Lohn empfangen nach seiner Arbeit." Denn die Seligen werden Belohnung haben, einer höher denn der andere. Solchen Unterschied macht das Verdienst, nachdem es nun Gott gefällt, und ist Verdienst, dieweil diejenigen solche gute Werke tun, die Gott zu Kindern und Erben angenommen hat. So haben sie denn eigenes und sonderliches Verdienst, wie ein Kind vor dem andern.

Die Widersacher ziehen auch andere Sprüche an, zu beweisen, daß die Werke das ewige Leben verdienen. Als diese: Paulus sagt: „Er wird einem jeden geben nach seinen Werken." Item, Joh. am 5.: „Die Gutes getan haben, werden auferstehen zur Auferstehung des Lebens." Item, Matth. 25: „Mich hat gehungert, und ihr habt mich gespeiset." Antwort: Diese Sprüche alle, welche die Werke loben, sollen wir verstehen nach der Regel, welche ich oben gesetzt habe, nämlich, daß die Werke außerhalb Christo Gott nicht gefallen, und daß man in keinem Wege ausschließen soll den Mittler Christum. Darum, so der Text sagt, daß das ewige Leben werde gegeben denen, „die Gutes getan haben", so zeigt er an, daß es werde denjenigen gegeben, die durch den Glauben an Christum zuvor gerecht sind worden. Denn Gott gefallen keine guten Werke, es sei denn der Glaube dabei, dadurch sie glauben, daß sie Gott angenehm seien um Christus' willen; und welche also durch den Glauben sind gerecht worden, die bringen gewißlich gute Werke und gute Früchte;

own reward according to his own labor. [For the blessed will have reward, one higher than the other. This difference merit makes, according as it pleases God; and it is merit, because they do these good works whom God has adopted as children and heirs. For thus they have merit, which is their own and peculiar, as one child with respect to another.] For the righteousness of the Gospel, which has to do with the promise of grace, freely receives justification and quickening. But the fulfilling of the Law, which follows faith, has to do with the Law, in which a reward is offered and is due, not freely, but according to our works. But those who merit this are justified before they do the Law. Therefore, as Paul says, Col. 1, 13; Rom. 8, 17, they have before *been translated into the kingdom of God's Son, and been made joint-heirs with Christ.* But as often as mention is made of merit, the adversaries immediately transfer the matter from other rewards to justification, although the Gospel freely offers justification on account of Christ's merits and not of our own; and the merits of Christ are communicated to us by faith. But works and afflictions merit, not justification, but other remunerations, as the reward is offered for the works in these passages: *He which soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he which soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully,* 2 Cor. 9, 6. Here clearly the measure of the reward is connected with the measure of the work. *Honor thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land,* Ex. 20, 12. Also here the Law offers a reward to a certain work. Although, therefore, the fulfilling of the Law merits a reward, for a reward properly pertains to the Law, yet we ought to be mindful of the Gospel, which freely offers justification for Christ's sake. We neither observe the Law, nor can observe it, before we have been reconciled to God, justified, and regenerated. Neither would this fulfilling of the Law please God, unless we would be accepted on account of faith. And because men are accepted on account of faith, for this very reason the inchoate fulfilling of the Law pleases, and has a reward in this life and after this life. Concerning the term *reward,* very many other remarks might here be made, derived from the nature of the Law, which, as they are too extensive, must be explained in another connection.

But the adversaries urge that it is the prerogative of good works to merit eternal life, because Paul says, Rom. 2, 6: *Who will render to every one according to his works.* Likewise v. 10: *Glory, honor, and peace to every man that worketh good.* John 5, 29: *They that have done good [shall come forth] unto the resurrection of life.* Matt. 25, 35: *I was an hungred and ye gave Me meat,* etc. In these and all similar passages in which works are praised in the Scriptures, it is necessary to understand not only outward works, but also the faith of the heart, because Scripture does not speak of hypocrisy, but of the righteousness of the heart with its fruits. Moreover, as often as mention is made of the Law and of works, we must know that Christ as Mediator is not to be excluded. For He is the end of the Law, and He Himself says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* According to this rule we have said above that all passages concerning works can be judged. Wherefore, when eternal life is granted to works, it is granted to those who have been justified, because no men except justified men, who are led by the Spirit of Christ, can do good works; and without faith and Christ, as Mediator, good works do not please, according to Heb. 11, 6: *Without faith it is impossible to please God.* When Paul says: *He will render to every one according to his works,* not only the outward work ought to be understood, but all righteousness or unrighteousness. So: *Glory to him that worketh good, i. e.,* to the righteous. *Ye gave Me meat,* is cited as the fruit and witness of the righteousness of the heart and of faith, and therefore eternal life is rendered to righteousness. [There it must certainly be acknowledged that Christ means not only the works, but that He desires to have the heart, which He wishes to esteem God aright, and to believe correctly concerning Him, namely, that it is through mercy that it is pleasing to God. Therefore Christ teaches that everlasting life will be given the righteous, as Christ says: *The righteous shall go into everlasting life.*] In this way Scripture, at the same time with the fruits, embraces the righteousness of the heart. And it often names the fruits, in order that it may be better

nec sine mediatore Christo et fide placent bona opera, iuxta illud, Hebr. 11, 6: *Sine fide im-*
252] *possibile est placere Deo.* Quum dicit Paulus: *Reddet unicuique secundum opera eius,* intelligi debet non tantum opus externum, sed tota iustitia vel iniustitia. Sic: *Gloria operanti bonum,* hoc est, iusto. *Dedistis mihi manducare,* fructus et testimonium iustitiae cordis et fidei allegatur, redditur
253] igitur vita aeterna iustitiae. Ad hunc modum Scriptura simul complectitur iustitiam cordis cum fructibus. Et saepe fructus nominat, ut ab imperitis magis intelligatur, et ut significet requiri novam vitam et regenerationem, non hypocrisin. Fit autem regeneratio fide in poenitentia.

als der Text sagt: „Mich hat gehungert, und ihr habt mich gespeiset" usw. Da muß man ja bekennen, daß Christus nicht allein das Werk verstehe, sondern das Herz haben wolle, das da recht von Gott hält und glaubt, daß es Gott gefalle durch Barmherzigkeit. Also lehrt Christus, daß das ewige Leben den Gerechten gegeben wird, wie dabei Christus spricht Matth. 25, 46: „Die Gerechten werden ins ewige Leben gehen", und nennt doch droben die Früchte, daß wir lernen sollen, daß Gerechtigkeit und Glaube nicht eine Heuchelei, sondern ein neu Leben sei, da gute Werke müssen folgen.

254] Nemo sanus iudicare aliter potest, nec nos aliquam otiosam subtilitatem hic affectamus, ut divellamus fructus a iustitia cordis, si tantum adversarii concesserint, quod [R. 139 fructus propter fidem et mediatorem Christum placeant, non sint per sese digni gratia et vita
255] aeterna. Hoc enim reprehendimus in adversariorum doctrina, quod talibus locis Scripturae, seu philosophico, seu Iudaico more intellectis, abolent iustitiam fidei et excludunt mediatorem Christum. Ex his locis ratiocinantur, quod haec opera mereantur gratiam, alias de congruo, alias de condigno, quum videlicet accedit dilectio, id est, quod iustificent et, quia sint iustitia, digna sint vita aeterna. Hic error manifeste abolet iustitiam fidei, quae sentit, quod accessum ad Deum habeamus propter Christum, non propter opera nostra, quae sentit nos per pontificem et mediatorem Christum adduci ad Patrem et habere placatum Patrem, ut supra
256] satis dictum est. Et haec doctrina de iustitia fidei non est in ecclesia Christi negligenda, quia sine ea non potest officium Christi conspici, et reliqua doctrina iustificationis tantum est doctrina legis. Atqui nos oportet retinere evangelium et doctrinam de promissione propter Christum donata.

Wir suchen hier nicht eine unnötige Subtilität, sondern es hat große Ursache, warum man in diesen Fragen einen gewissen Bericht muß haben. Denn alsbald, wenn man den Widersachern zuläßt, daß die Werke das ewige Leben verdienen, bald spinnen sie diese ungeschickte Lehre daraus, daß wir vermögen Gottes Gesetz zu halten, daß wir keiner Barmherzigkeit bedürfen, daß wir vor Gott gerecht seien, das ist, Gott angenehm, durch unsere Werke, nicht um Christus' willen, daß wir auch opera supererogationis und mehr tun können, denn das Gesetz erfordert. Also wird dann die ganze Lehre vom Glauben gar unterdrückt. Soll aber eine christliche Kirche sein und bleiben, so muß je die reine Lehre von Christo, von Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens erhalten werden. Darum müssen wir solche große pharisäische Irrtümer anfechten, damit wir den Namen Christi und die Ehre des Evangelii und Christi erretten und den christlichen Herzen einen rechten, beständigen, gewissen Trost erhalten. Denn wie ist es möglich, daß ein Herz oder Gewissen könne zur Ruhe kommen oder die Seligkeit hoffen, wenn in Anfechtungen und Todesängsten vor Gottes Urteil und Augen unsere Werke so gar zu Staub werden, wo es nicht durch Glauben des gewiß wird, daß wir selig werden aus Gnaden, um Christus' willen, nicht um unsere Werke, um unsere Erfüllung des Gesetzes? Und freilich St. Lorenz, da er auf dem Rost gelegen und um Christus' willen gemartert, ist nicht also gesinnt gewesen, daß dasselbe sein Werk Gottes Gesetz vollkömmlich und rein erfüllte, daß er ohne Sünde wäre, daß er des Mittlers Christi oder der Gnade nicht bedürfte. Er hat's freilich bleiben lassen bei dem Worte des Propheten David, Ps. 143, 2: „Du wollest nicht ins Gericht gehen, HErr, mit deinem Knechte" usw. St. Bernhardus hat auch nicht gerühmt, daß seine Werke würdig wären des ewigen Lebens, da er spricht: „Perdite vixi, ich habe sündlich gelebt" usw. Doch richtet er sich getrost wieder auf, hält sich an die Verheißung der Gnade und glaubt, daß er um Christus' willen Vergebung der Sünden habe und das ewige Leben, wie der Psalm sagt, 32, 1: „Wohl denen, welchen die Sünden vergeben sind", und Paulus zu den Römern am 4, 6: „Dies ist des Menschen Seligkeit, wenn ihm die Gerechtigkeit wird zugerechnet ohne Werke." So sagt nun Paulus, der sei selig, welchem die Gerechtigkeit wird zugerechnet **durch den Glauben an Christum,** ob er gleich kein gut Werk getan hat. Das ist der rechte beständige Trost, welcher in Anfechtungen besteht, damit die Herzen und Gewissen können gestärkt und getröstet werden, nämlich, daß um Christus' willen durch den Glauben uns Vergebung der Sünden, Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben gegeben wird. Wenn nun die Sprüche, so von Werken reden, dermaßen verstanden werden, daß sie den Glauben mitbegreifen, so sind sie gar nichts wider diese Lehre. Und man muß allezeit den Glauben mitbegreifen, damit wir den Mittler Christum nicht ausschließen. Dem Glauben aber folgt Erfüllung des Gesetzes; denn der Heilige Geist ist da, der macht ein neu Leben. Das sei genug von diesem Artikel.

257] Non igitur litigamus in hoc loco de parva re cum adversariis. Non quaerimus otiosas subtilitates, quum reprehendimus eos, quod docent vitam aeternam mereri operibus, omissa hac
258] fide, quae apprehendit mediatorem Christum. Nam de hac fide, quae credit nobis Patrem propitium esse propter Christum, nulla apud scholasticos syllaba exstat. Ubique sentiunt, quod simus accepti, iusti propter opera nostra vel ex ratione facta, vel certe facta, inclinante
259] illa dilectione, de qua dicunt. Et tamen habent quaedam dicta, quasi apophthegmata
260] veterum auctorum, quae depravant interpretando. Iactatur in scholis, quod bona opera

understood by the inexperienced, and to signify that a new life and regeneration, and not hypocrisy, are required. But regeneration occurs, by faith, in repentance.

No sane man can judge otherwise; neither do we here affect any idle subtilty, so as to separate the fruits from the righteousness of the heart; if the adversaries would only have conceded that the fruits please because of faith, and of Christ as Mediator, and that by themselves they are not worthy of grace and of eternal life. For in the doctrine of the adversaries we condemn this, that in such passages of Scripture, understood either in a philosophical or a Jewish manner, they abolish the righteousness of faith, and exclude Christ as Mediator. From these passages they infer that works merit grace, sometimes *de congruo*, and at other times *de condigno*, namely, when love is added; *i. e.*, that they justify, and because they are righteousness they are worthy of eternal life. This error manifestly abolishes the righteousness of faith, which believes that we have access to God for Christ's sake, not for the sake of our works, and that through Christ, as Priest and Mediator, we are led to the Father, and have a reconciled Father, as has been sufficiently said above. And this doctrine concerning the righteousness of faith is not to be neglected in the Church of Christ, because without it the office of Christ cannot be considered, and the doctrine of justification that is left is only a doctrine of the Law. But we should retain the Gospel, and the doctrine concerning the promise, granted for Christ's sake.

[We are here not seeking an unnecessary subtilty, but there is a great reason why we must have a reliable account as regards these questions. For as soon as we concede to the adversaries that works merit eternal life, they spin from this concession the awkward teaching that we are able to keep the Law of God, that we are not in need of mercy, that we are righteous before God, that is, accepted with God by our works, not for the sake of Christ, that we can also do works of supererogations, namely, more than the Law requires. Thus the entire teaching concerning faith is suppressed. However, if there is to be and abide a Christian Church, the pure teaching concerning Christ, concerning the righteousness of faith, must surely be preserved. Therefore we must fight against these great pharisaical errors, in order that we redeem the name of Christ and the honor of the Gospel and of Christ, and preserve for Christian hearts a true, permanent, certain consolation. For how is it possible that a heart or conscience can obtain rest, or hope for salvation, when in afflictions and in the anguish of death our works in the judgment and sight of God utterly become dust, unless it becomes certain by faith that men are saved by mercy, for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of their works, their fulfilling of the Law? And, indeed, St. Laurentius, when placed on the gridiron, and being tortured for Christ's sake, did not think that by this work he was perfectly and absolutely fulfilling the Law, that he was without sin, that he did not need Christ as Mediator and the mercy of God. He rested his case, indeed, with the prophet, who says: *Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified*, Ps. 143, 2. Nor did St. Bernard boast that his works were worthy of eternal life, when he says: *Perdite vixi, I have led a sinful life*, etc. But he boldly comforts himself, clings to the promise of grace, and believes that he has remission of sins and life eternal for Christ's sake, just as Psalm 32, 1 teaches: *Blessed is he whose transgression is forgiven, whose sin is covered.* And Paul says, Rom. 4, 6: *David also describeth the blessedness of the man to whom God imputeth righteousness without works.* Paul, then, says that he is blessed to whom righteousness is imputed *through faith in Christ*, even though he have not performed any good works. That is the true, permanent consolation, by which hearts and consciences can be confirmed and encouraged, namely, that for Christ's sake, through faith, the remission of sins, righteousness, and life eternal are given us. Now, if passages which treat of works are understood in such a manner as to comprise faith, they are not opposed to our doctrine. And, indeed, it is necessary always to add faith, so as not to exclude Christ as Mediator. But the fulfilment of the Law follows faith; for the Holy Ghost is present, who renews life. Let this suffice concerning this article.]

We are not, therefore, on this topic contending with the adversaries concerning a small matter. We are not seeking out idle subtilties when we find fault with them for teaching that we merit eternal life by works, while that faith is omitted which apprehends Christ as Mediator. For of this faith which believes that for Christ's sake the Father is propitious to us there is not a syllable in the scholastics. Everywhere they hold that we are accepted and righteous because of our works, wrought either from reason, or certainly wrought by the inclination of that love concerning which they speak. And yet they have certain sayings, maxims, as it were, of the old writers, which they distort in interpreting. In the schools the boast is made that good works please on account of grace, and that confidence must be put in God's grace. Here they interpret grace as a habit by which we love God, as though, indeed, the ancients meant to say that we ought to trust in our love, of which we certainly experience how small and how impure it is. Although it is strange how they bid us trust in love, since they teach us that we are not able to know whether it be present. Why do they not here set forth the grace, the mercy of God toward us? And as often as mention is made of this, they ought to add faith. For the promise of God's mercy, reconciliation, and love towards us is not apprehended unless by faith. With this view they would be right in saying that we ought to trust in grace, that good works please because of grace,

placeant propter gratiam, et quod sit confidendum gratiae Dei. Hic interpretantur [R. 140
gratiam habitum, quo nos diligimus Deum, quasi vero voluerint dicere veteres, quod debeamus confidere nostra dilectione, quae, quam sit exigua, quam sit immunda, certe experimur. Quamquam hoc mirum est, quomodo isti iubeant confidere dilectione, quum doceant nesciri, utrum adsit. Cur non exponunt hic gratiam misericordiam Dei erga nos? Et quoties mentio huius fit, addere oportebat fidem. Non enim apprehenditur nisi fide promissio misericordiae, reconciliationis, dilectionis Dei erga nos. In hanc sententiam recte dicerent confidendum esse gratia,
261] placere bona opera propter gratiam, quum fides gratiam apprehendit. Iactatur et hoc in scholis, valere bona opera nostra virtute passionis Christi. Recte dicitur. Sed cur non addunt de fide? Christus enim *est propitiatio*, ut Paulus Rom. 3, 25 ait, *per fidem*. Quum fide eriguntur pavidae conscientiae et sentiunt peccata nostra deleta esse morte Christi et Deum nobis reconciliatum esse propter passionem Christi, tum vero prodest nobis passio Christi. Si omittatur doctrina de fide, frustra dicitur opera valere virtute passionis Christi.

262] Et plerasque alias sententias corrumpunt in scholis, propterea quia non tradunt iustitiam fidei, et fidem intelligunt tantum notitiam historiae seu dogmatum, non intelligunt hanc virtutem esse, quae apprehendit promissionem gratiae et iustitiae, quae vivificat corda in ter-
263] roribus peccati et mortis. Quum Paulus inquit Rom. 10, 10: *Corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore fit confessio ad salutem*. Hic fateri adversarios existimamus, quod confessio ex opere operato non iustificet aut salvet, sed tantum propter fidem cordis. Et Paulus sic loquitur, quod confessio salvet, ut ostendat, qualis fides consequatur vitam aeternam, nempe firma et
264] efficax fides. Non est autem firma fides, quae non ostendit se in confessione. Sic cetera bona opera placent propter fidem, sicut et orationes ecclesiae rogant, ut omnia sint accepta propter Christum. Item petunt omnia propter Christum. Constat enim semper in fine [R. 141
265] precationum addi hanc clausulam: *per Christum, Dominum nostrum*. Ideo concludimus, quod fide iustificemur coram Deo, reconciliemur Deo et regeneremur, quae in poenitentia apprehendit promissionem gratiae et vere vivificat perterritam mentem, ac statuit, quod Deus sit nobis placatus ac propitius propter Christum. Et hac *fide* ait Petrus 1. ep. 1, 5, *nos custodiri*
266] *ad salutem, quae revelabitur*. Huius fidei cognitio Christianis necessaria est et uberrimam affert consolationem in omnibus afflictionibus et officium Christi nobis ostendit, quia isti, qui negant homines fide iustificari, negant Christum mediatorem esse ac propitiatorem, negant promissionem gratiae et evangelium. Tantum docent aut doctrinam rationis aut legis de iusti-
267] ficatione. Nos, quantum hic fieri potuit, ostendimus fontes huius causae et exposuimus ea, quae adversarii obiiciunt. Quae quidem facile diiudicabunt boni viri, si cogitabunt, quoties citatur locus de dilectione aut operibus, legem non fieri sine Christo, nec nos ex lege, sed ex
268] evangelio, hoc est, promissione gratiae in Christo promissae, iustificari. Et speramus hanc, quamvis brevem, disputationem bonis viris ad confirmandam fidem, ad docendam et consolandam conscientiam utilem futuram esse. Scimus enim ea, quae diximus, consentanea esse scripturis propheticis et apostolicis, sanctis patribus, Ambrosio, Augustino et plerisque aliis et universae ecclesiae Christi, quae certe confitetur Christum esse propitiatorem et iustificatorem.

269] Nec statim censendum est Romanam ecclesiam sentire, quidquid papa aut cardinales aut episcopi aut theologi quidam aut monachi probant. Constat enim pontificibus magis curae esse dominationem suam quam evangelium Christi. Et plerosque compertum est palam Epicuraeos esse. Theologos constat plura ex philosophia admiscuisse doctrinae Christianae, [R. 142
270] quam satis erat. Nec auctoritas horum videri debet tanta, ut nusquam dissentire a disputationibus eorum liceat, quum multi manifesti errores apud eos reperiantur, ut quod possimus ex puris naturalibus Deum super omnia diligere. Hoc dogma peperit alios errores multos,
271] quum sit manifeste falsum. Reclamant enim ubique Scripturae, sancti patres et omnium piorum iudicia. Itaque, etiamsi in ecclesia pontifices aut nonnulli theologi ac monachi docuerunt remissionem peccatorum, gratiam et iustitiam per nostra opera et novos cultus quaerere, qui obscuraverunt Christi officium, et ex Christo non propitiatorem et iustificatorem, sed tan-
272] tum legislatorem fecerunt: mansit tamen apud aliquos pios semper cognitio Christi. Porro Scriptura praedixit, fore ut iustitia fidei hoc modo obscuraretur per traditiones humanas et doctrinam operum. Sicut Paulus saepe (cf. Gal. 4, 9; 5, 7; Col. 2, 8. 16 sq.; 1 Tim. 4, 2 sq. et al.) queritur tunc quoque fuisse, qui pro iustitia fidei docebant homines per opera propria et proprios cultus, non fide propter Christum reconciliari Deo et iustificari, quia homines
273] naturaliter ita iudicant Deum per opera placandum esse. Nec videt ratio aliam iustitiam quam iustitiam legis civiliter intellectae. Ideo semper exstiterunt in mundo, qui hanc carnalem iustitiam solam docuerunt, oppressa iustitia fidei, et tales doctores semper existent etiam.
274] Idem accidit in populo Israel. Maxima populi pars sentiebat se per sua opera mereri remissionem peccatorum, cumulabant sacrificia et cultus. Econtra prophetae, damnata illa opinione, docebant iustitiam fidei. Et res gestae in populo Israel sunt exempla eorum, quae in
275] ecclesia futura fuerunt. Itaque non perturbet pias mentes multitudo adversariorum, qui nostram doctrinam improbant. Facile enim iudicari de spiritu eorum potest, quia in quibusdam articulis adeo perspicuam et manifestam veritatem damnaverunt, ut palam appareat
276] eorum impietas. Nam et bulla Leonis X. [Iunii 15, 1520: *Exsurge, Domine*] damnavit articulum maxime necessarium, quem omnes Christiani teneant et credant, videlicet [R. 143
non esse confidendum, quod simus absoluti propter nostram contritionem, sed propter verbum
277] *Christi* Matth. 16, 19: *Quodcunque ligaveris* etc. Et nunc in hoc conventu auctores con-

when faith apprehends grace. In the schools the boast is also made that our good works avail by virtue of Christ's passion. Well said! But why add nothing concerning faith? For Christ *is a propitiation*, as Paul, Rom. 3, 25, says, *through faith*. When timid consciences are comforted by faith, and are convinced that our sins have been blotted out by the death of Christ, and that God has been reconciled to us on account of Christ's suffering, then, indeed, the suffering of Christ profits us. If the doctrine concerning faith be omitted, it is said in vain that works avail by virtue of Christ's passion.

And very many other passages they corrupt in the schools because they do not teach the righteousness of faith, and because they understand by faith merely a knowledge of the history or of dogmas, and do not understand by it that virtue which apprehends the promise of grace and of righteousness, and which quickens hearts in the terrors of sin and of death. When Paul says, Rom. 10, 10: *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation*, we think that the adversaries acknowledge here that confession justifies or saves, not *ex opere operato*, but only on account of the faith of the heart. And Paul thus says that confession saves, in order to show what sort of faith obtains eternal life; namely, that which is firm and active. That faith, however, which does not manifest itself in confession is not firm. Thus other good works please on account of faith, as also the prayers of the Church ask that all things may be accepted for Christ's sake. They likewise ask all things for Christ's sake. For it is manifest that at the close of prayers this clause is always added: *Through Christ, our Lord.* Accordingly, we conclude that we are justified before God, are reconciled to God and regenerated by faith, which in repentance apprehends the promise of grace, and truly quickens the terrified mind, and is convinced that for Christ's sake God is reconciled and propitious to us. And *through* this *faith*, says Peter, 1 Ep. 1, 5, *we are kept unto salvation, ready to be revealed.* The knowledge of this faith is necessary to Christians, and brings the most abundant consolation in all afflictions, and displays to us the office of Christ, because those who deny that men are justified by faith, and deny that Christ is Mediator and Propitiator, deny the promise of grace and the Gospel. They teach only the doctrine either of reason or of the Law concerning justification. We have shown the origin of this case, so far as can here be done, and have explained the objections of the adversaries. Good men, indeed, will easily judge these things, if they will think, as often as a passage concerning love or works is cited, that the Law cannot be observed without Christ, and that we cannot be justified from the Law, but from the Gospel, that is, from the promise of the grace promised in Christ. And we hope that this discussion, although brief, will be profitable to good men for strengthening faith, and teaching and comforting conscience. For we know that those things which we have said are in harmony with the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, with the holy Fathers, Ambrose, Augustine, and very many others, and with the whole Church of Christ, which certainly confesses that Christ is Propitiator and Justifier.

Nor are we immediately to judge that the Roman Church agrees with everything that the Pope, or cardinals, or bishops, or some of the theologians, or monks approve. For it is manifest that to most of the pontiffs their own authority is of greater concern than the Gospel of Christ. And it has been ascertained that most of them are openly Epicureans. It is evident that theologians have mingled with Christian doctrine more of philosophy than was sufficient. Nor ought their influence to appear so great that it will never be lawful to dissent from their disputations, because at the same time many manifest errors are found among them, such as, that we are able from purely natural powers to love God above all things. This dogma, although it is manifestly false, has produced many other errors. For the Scriptures, the holy Fathers, and the judgments of all the godly everywhere make reply. Therefore, even though Popes, or some theologians, and monks in the Church have taught us to seek remission of sins, grace, and righteousness through our own works, and to invent new forms of worship, which have obscured the office of Christ, and have made out of Christ not a Propitiator and Justifier, but only a Legislator, nevertheless the knowledge of Christ has always remained with some godly persons. Scripture, moreover, has predicted that the righteousness of faith would be obscured in this way by human traditions and the doctrine of works. Just as Paul often complains (cf. Gal. 4, 9; 5, 7; Col. 2, 8, 16 sq.; 1 Tim. 4, 2 sq., etc.) that there were even at that time those who, instead of the righteousness of faith, taught that men were reconciled to God and justified by their own works and own acts of worship, and not by faith for Christ's sake; because men judge by nature that God ought to be appeased by works. Nor does reason see a righteousness other than the righteousness of the Law, understood in a civil sense. Accordingly, there have always existed in the world some who have taught this carnal righteousness alone to the exclusion of the righteousness of faith; and such teachers will also always exist. The same happened among the people of Israel. The greater part of the people thought that they merited remission of sins by their works; they accumulated sacrifices and acts of worship. On the contrary, the prophets, in condemnation of this opinion, taught the righteousness of faith. And the occurrences among the people of Israel are illustrations of those things which were to occur in the Church. Therefore, let the multitude of the adversaries, who condemn our doctrine, not disturb godly minds. For their spirit can easily be judged, because in some articles they have condemned truth that is so clear and mani-

futationis damnaverunt apertis verbis hoc, quod fidem diximus partem esse poenitentiae, qua consequimur remissionem peccatorum et vincimus terrores peccatorum et conscientia pacata redditur. Quis autem non videt hunc articulum, quod fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum, verissimum, certissimum et maxime necessarium esse omnibus Christianis? Quis ad omnem posteritatem, audiens talem sententiam damnatam esse, iudicabit auctores huius condemnationis ullam Christi notitiam habuisse?

278] Et de spiritu eorum coniectura fieri potest ex illa inaudita crudelitate, quam constat eos in bonos viros plurimos hactenus exercuisse. Et accepimus in hoc conventu quendam reverendum patrem in senatu imperii, quum de nostra confessione sententiae dicerentur, dixisse nullum sibi consilium videri utilius, quam si ad confessionem, quam nos exhibuissemus atramento scriptam, sanguine rescriberetur. Quid diceret crudelius Phalaris? Itaque hanc vocem nonnulli etiam principes iudicaverunt indignam esse, quae in tali consessu diceretur. Quare 279] etiamsi vindicant sibi adversarii nomen ecclesiae, tamen nos sciamus ecclesiam Christi apud hos esse, qui evangelium Christi docent, non qui pravas opiniones contra evangelium defendunt, sicut inquit Dominus Ioh. 10, 27: *Oves meae vocem meam audiunt.* Et Augustinus ait: *Quaestio est, ubi sit ecclesia. Quid ergo facturi sumus? In verbis nostris eam quaesituri sumus, an in verbis capitis sui, Domini nostri Iesu Christi? Puto, quod in illius verbis quaerere debemus, qui veritas est et optime novit corpus suum.* Proinde non perturbent [R. 144 nos iudicia adversariorum, quum humanas opiniones contra evangelium, contra auctoritatem sanctorum patrum, qui in ecclesia scripserunt, contra piarum mentium testimonia defendunt.

Art. VII. VIII. (IV.) De Ecclesia.

1] Septimum articulum confessionis nostrae damnaverunt, in quo diximus *ecclesiam esse congregationem sanctorum.* Et addiderunt longam declamationem, quod mali non sint ab ecclesia segregandi, quum Iohannes comparaverit ecclesiam *areae, in qua triticum et paleae simul coacervata sint,* Matth. 3, 12, et Christus comparaverit eam *sagenae, in qua* 2] *pisces boni et mali sunt,* 13, 47 etc. Profecto verum est, quod aiunt: Nullum remedium esse adversus sycophantae morsum. Nihil tam circumspecte dici potest, ut calu- 3] mniam evitare queat. Nos ob hanc ipsam causam adiecimus octavum articulum, ne quis existimaret nos segregare malos et hypocritas ab externa societate ecclesiae, aut adimere sacramentis efficaciam, quae per hypocritas aut malos administrantur. Itaque hic non est opus longa defensione adversus hanc calumniam. Satis nos purgat articulus octavus. Concedimus enim, quod hypocritae et mali in hac vita sint admixti ecclesiae et sint membra ecclesiae, secundum externam societatem signorum ecclesiae, hoc est, Verbi, professionis et sacramentorum, praesertim si non sint excommunicati. Nec sacramenta ideo non sunt efficacia, quia per malos tractantur, imo recte uti possumus sacramentis, quae per 4] malos administrantur. Nam et Paulus 2 Thess. 2, 4 praedicit futurum, ut *antichristus sedeat in templo Dei,* hoc est, in ec- 5] clesia dominetur et gerat officia. At ecclesia non est tantum societas externarum rerum ac rituum, sicut aliae politiae, sed principaliter est societas fidei et Spiritus Sancti in cordibus, quae tamen habet externas [R. 145 notas, ut agnosci possit, videlicet puram evangelii doctrinam et administrationem sacramentorum consentaneam evangelio Christi. Et haec ecclesia sola dicitur *corpus Christi,* quod Christus Spiritu suo renovat, sanctificat et gubernat, ut testatur Paulus Eph. 1, 22 sq., quum ait: *Et ipsum dedit caput super omnia ecclesiae, quae est corpus eius, videlicet integritas, id est, tota congregatio ipsius, qui* 6] *omnia in omnibus perficit.* Quare illi, in quibus nihil agit Christus, non sunt membra

Art. VII und VIII (IV). Von der Kirche.

Den siebten Artikel unsers Bekenntnisses, da wir sagen, daß die christliche Kirche sei die Versammlung der Heiligen, verdammen die Widersacher und führen weitläuftig Geschwätz ein, daß die Bösen oder Gottlosen von der Kirche nicht sollen gesondert werden, dieweil Johannes der Täufer die Kirche vergleicht einer Tenne, in welcher Korn und Spreu beieinander liegen; item, Christus die Kirche vergleicht einem Netze, da böse und gute Fische innen sind. Da sehen wir, daß [es] wahr ist, wie man sagt, daß man nicht so deutlich reden kann, böse Zungen können's verkehren. Wir haben eben darum und aus dieser Ursache den achten Artikel dazugesetzt, daß niemand darf Gedanken fassen, als wollten wir die Bösen und Heuchler von der äußerlichen Gesellschaft der Christen oder Kirche absondern, oder als wäre unsere Meinung, daß die Sakramente, wenn sie durch Gottlose gereicht werden, ohne Kraft oder Wirkung seien. Darum darf [bedarf] diese falsche, unrechte Deutung keiner langen Antwort; der achte Artikel entschuldigt uns genugsam. Wir bekennen und sagen auch, daß die Heuchler und Bösen auch mögen Glieder der Kirche sein in äußerlicher Gemeinschaft des Namens und der Ämter, und daß man von Bösen möge die Sakramente recht empfangen, sonderlich wenn sie nicht verbannt [gebannt] sind. Und die Sakramente sind darum nicht ohne Kraft oder Wirkung, daß sie durch Gottlose gereicht werden. Denn auch Paulus zuvor hat prophezeit, daß antichristus soll sitzen im Tempel Gottes, herrschen und regieren in der Kirche, Regiment und Amt darin haben. Aber die christliche Kirche steht nicht allein in Gesellschaft äußerlicher Zeichen, sondern steht vornehmlich in Gemeinschaft inwendig der ewigen Güter im Herzen, als des Heiligen Geistes, des Glaubens, der Furcht und Liebe Gottes. Und dieselbe Kirche hat doch auch äußerliche Zeichen, dabei man sie kennt, nämlich, wo Gottes Wort rein geht, wo die Sakramente demselben gemäß gereicht werden, da ist gewiß die Kirche, da sind Christen, und dieselbe Kirche wird allein genannt in der Schrift Christus' Leib. Denn Christus ist ihr Haupt und heiligt und stärkt sie durch seinen Geist, wie Paulus zu den Ephesern am 1. sagt: „Und hat ihn gesetzt zum Haupt der Gemeinde,

fest that their godlessness appears openly. For the bull of Leo X condemned a very necessary article, which all Christians should hold and believe, namely, that *we ought to trust that we have been absolved not because of our contrition, but because of Christ's word, Matt. 16, 19: Whatsoever thou shalt bind*, etc. And now, in this assembly, the authors of the Confutation have in clear words condemned this, namely, that we have said that faith is a part of repentance, by which we obtain remission of sins, and overcome the terrors of sin, and conscience is rendered pacified. Who, however, does not see that this article, that by faith we obtain the remission of sins, is most true, most certain, and especially necessary to all Christians? Who to all posterity, hearing that such a doctrine has been condemned, will judge that the authors of this condemnation had any knowledge of Christ?

And concerning their spirit, a conjecture can be made from the unheard-of cruelty, which it is evident that they have hitherto exercised towards most good men. And in this assembly we have heard that a reverend father, when opinions concerning our Confession were expressed, said in the senate of the Empire that no plan seemed to him better than to make a reply written in blood to the Confession which we had presented written in ink. What more cruel would Phalaris say? Therefore some princes also have judged this expression unworthy to be spoken in such a meeting. Wherefore, although the adversaries claim for themselves the name of the Church, nevertheless we know that the Church of Christ is with those who teach the Gospel of Christ, not with those who defend wicked opinions contrary to the Gospel, as the Lord says, John 10, 27: *My sheep hear My voice.* And Augustine says: *The question is, Where is the Church? What, therefore, are we to do? Are we to seek it in our own words or in the words of its Head, our Lord Jesus Christ? I think that we ought to seek it in the words of Him who is Truth, and who knows His own body best.* Hence the judgments of our adversaries will not disturb us, since they defend human opinions contrary to the Gospel, contrary to the authority of the holy Fathers, who have written in the Church, and contrary to the testimonies of godly minds.

Articles VII and VIII: Of the Church.

The Seventh Article of our Confession, in which we said that *the Church is the congregation of saints*, they have condemned, and have added a long disquisition, that the wicked are not to be separated from the Church, since John has compared the Church to *a threshing-floor on which wheat and chaff are heaped together*, Matt. 3, 12, and Christ has compared it to *a net in which there are both good and bad fishes*, Matt. 13, 47. It is, verily, a true saying, namely, that there is no remedy against the attacks of the slanderer. Nothing can be spoken with such care that it can escape detraction. For this reason we have added the Eighth Article, lest any one might think that we separate the wicked and hypocrites from the outward fellowship of the Church, or that we deny efficacy to Sacraments administered by hypocrites or wicked men. Therefore there is no need here of a long defense against this slander. The Eighth Article is sufficient to exculpate us. For we grant that in this life hypocrites and wicked men have been mingled with the Church, and that they are members of the Church according to the outward fellowship of the signs of the Church, *i. e.*, of Word, profession, and Sacraments, especially if they have not been excommunicated. Neither are the Sacraments without efficacy for the reason that they are administered by wicked men; yea, we can even be right in using the Sacraments administered by wicked men. For Paul also predicts, 2 Thess. 2, 4, that *Antichrist will sit in the temple of God, i. e.*, he will rule and bear office in the Church. But the Church is not only the fellowship of outward objects and rites, as other governments, but it is originally a fellowship of faith and of the Holy Ghost in hearts. [The Christian Church consists not alone in fellowship of outward signs, but it consists especially in inward communion of eternal blessings in the heart, as of the Holy Ghost, of faith, of the fear and love of God]; which fellowship nevertheless has outward marks so that it can be recognized, namely, the pure doctrine of the Gospel, and the administration of the Sacraments in accordance with the Gospel of Christ. [Namely, where God's Word is pure, and the Sacraments are administered in conformity with the same, there certainly is the Church, and there are Christians.] And this Church alone is called *the body of Christ*, which Christ renews [Christ is its Head, and] sanctifies and governs by His Spirit, as Paul testifies, Eph. 1, 22 sq., when he says: *And gave Him to be the Head over all things to the Church, which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all.* Wherefore, those in whom Christ does not act [through His Spirit] are not the members of Christ. This, too, the adversaries acknowledge, namely, that the wicked are dead members

Christi. Idque fatentur adversarii, malos esse mortua membra ecclesiae. Quare miramur, cur reprehenderint nostram descriptionem, 7] quae de vivis membris loquitur. Neque novi quidquam diximus. Paulus omnino eodem modo definivit ecclesiam Eph. 5, 25 sq., quod purificetur, ut sit *sancta*. Et addit externas notas, *Verbum et sacramenta*. Sic enim ait: *Christus dilexit ecclesiam et se tradidit pro ea, ut eam sanctificet, purificans lavacro aquae per Verbum, ut exhibeat eam sibi gloriosam ecclesiam non habentem maculam neque rugam aut aliquid tale, sed ut sit sancta et inculpata.* Hanc sententiam pene totidem verbis nos in confessione posuimus. Sic definit ecclesiam et articulus in symbolo, qui iubet nos credere, quod sit *sancta catho-* 8] *lica ecclesia.* Impii vero non sunt sancta ecclesia. Et videtur additum, quod sequitur, *sanctorum communio*, ut exponeretur, quid significet ecclesia, nempe congregationem sanctorum, qui habent inter se societatem eiusdem evangelii seu doctrinae et eiusdem Spiritus Sancti, qui corda eorum renovat, sanctificat et gubernat.

welche ist sein Leib und die Fülle des, der alles in allem erfüllt." Darum in welchen Christus durch seinen Geist nichts wirkt, die sind nicht Gliedmaßen Christi. Und das bekennen auch die Widersacher, daß die Bösen allein tote Gliedmaßen der Kirche sind. Darum kann ich mich nicht genugsam verwundern, warum sie doch unsern Beschluß von der Kirche anfechten, so wir von lebendigen Gliedmaßen der Kirche reden. Und wir haben nichts Neues gesagt. Denn Paulus zu den Ephesern am 5. Kapitel sagt gleich auch also, was die Kirche sei, und setzt auch die äußerlichen Zeichen, nämlich das Evangelium, die Sakramente; denn also sagt er: „Christus hat geliebet die Gemeinde und sich selbst für sie gegeben, auf daß er sie heiligte, und hat sie gereinigt durch das Wasserbad im Wort, auf daß er sie ihm selbst zurichtete eine Gemeinde, die herrlich sei, die nicht habe Flecken oder Runzel [oder des etwas], sondern daß sie heilig sei, unsträflich" usw. Diesen Spruch des Apostels haben wir gar nahe von Wort zu Wort gesetzt in unser Bekenntnis und also bekennen wir auch in unserm heiligen Symbolo und Glauben: „Ich glaube eine heilige christliche Kirche." Da sagen wir, daß die Kirche heilig sei; die Gottlosen aber und Bösen können nicht die heilige Kirche sein. In unserm Glauben folgt bald hernach: „Gemeinschaft der Heiligen", welches noch klarer, deutlicher auslegt, was die Kirche heißt, nämlich der Haufe und die Versammlung, welche ein Evangelium bekennen, gleich eine Erkenntnis Christi haben, einen Geist haben, welcher ihre Herzen verneuert, heiligt und regiert.

9] Et hic articulus necessaria de causa propositus est. Infinita pericula videmus, quae minantur ecclesiae interitum. Infinita multitudo est impiorum in ipsa ecclesia, qui opprimunt eam. Itaque ne desperemus, sed sciamus ecclesiam tamen mansuram esse; item, ut sciamus, quamvis magna multitudo sit impiorum, tamen ecclesiam existere [R. 146 et Christum praestare illa, quae promisit ecclesiae, remittere peccata, exaudire, dare Spiritum Sanctum: has consolationes proponit 10] nobis articulus ille in symbolo. Et *catholicam ecclesiam* dicit, ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam certarum gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per totum orbem, qui de evangelio consentiunt et habent eundem Christum, eundem Spiritum Sanctum et eadem sacramenta, sive habeant easdem 11] traditiones humanas sive dissimiles. Et in decretis inquit glossa, *ecclesiam large dictam complecti bonos et malos;* item, malos nomine tantum in ecclesia esse, non re, bonos vero re et nomine. [Glossa decreti: „Ecclesia Christi, quandoque *large* sumitur, ut granum et paleam complectitur. . . . Vel dic aliud esse *de ecclesia*, quod hic negatur de malis; aliud esse *in ecclesia*, quod in contrariis conceditur. Vel distingue. Nam sunt quidam in ecclesia *nomine et re*, ut boni catholici; ut hic: quidam *nec nomine nec re*, ut praecisi."] Et in hanc sententiam multa leguntur apud patres. Hieronymus enim ait: *Qui ergo peccator est aliqua sorde maculatus, de ecclesia Christi non potest appellari nec Christo subiectus dici.*

Und der Artikel von der katholischen oder gemeinen Kirche, welche von aller Nation unter der Sonne zusammen sich schickt, ist gar tröstlich und hochnötig. Denn der Haufe der Gottlosen ist viel größer, gar nahe unzählig, welche das Wort verachten, bitter hassen und aufs äußerste verfolgen, als da sind Türken, Mahometisten, andere Tyrannen, Ketzer usw. Darüber wird die rechte Lehre und Kirche oft so gar untergedrückt [unterdrückt] und verloren, wie unterm Papsttum geschehen, als sei keine Kirche, und läßt sich oft ansehen, als sei sie gar untergegangen. Dagegen, daß wir gewiß sein mögen, nicht zweifeln, sondern fest und gänzlich glauben, daß eigentlich eine christliche Kirche bis an das Ende der Welt auf Erden sein und bleiben werde; daß wir auch gar nicht zweifeln, daß eine christliche Kirche auf Erden lebe und sei, welche Christi Braut sei, obwohl der gottlose Haufe mehr und größer ist; daß auch der HErr Christus hier auf Erden in dem Haufen, welcher Kirche heißt, täglich wirke, Sünden vergebe, täglich das Gebet erhöre, täglich in Anfechtungen mit reichem, starkem Trost die Seinen erquicke und immer wieder aufrichte: so ist der tröstliche Artikel im Glauben gesetzt: „Ich glaube eine katholische, gemeine, christliche Kirche", damit niemand denken möchte, die Kirche sei, wie eine andere äußerliche Polizei, an dieses oder jenes Land, Königreich oder Stand gebunden, wie der Papst von Rom sagen will, sondern daß [es] gewiß wahr bleibt, daß der Haufe und die Menschen die rechte Kirche seien, welche hin und wieder in der Welt, vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zum Niedergang, an Christum wahrlich glauben, welche denn ein Evangelium, einen Christum, einerlei Taufe und Sakramente haben, durch einen Heiligen Geist regiert werden, ob sie wohl ungleiche Zeremonien haben. Denn auch im Dekret Gratiani sagt klar die Glosse, daß dies Wort „Kirche", large zu nehmen, begreift Böse und Gute; item, daß die Bösen allein mit dem Namen in der Kirche seien, nicht mit dem Werke; die Guten aber sind beide mit

of the Church. Therefore we wonder why they have found fault with our description [our conclusion concerning the Church] which speaks of living members. Neither have we said anything new. Paul has defined the Church precisely in the same way, Eph. 5, 25 f., that it should be cleansed in order to be *holy*. And he adds the outward marks, *the Word and Sacraments*. For he says thus: *Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the Word, that He might present it to Himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that it should be holy and without blemish.* In the Confession we have presented this sentence almost in the very words. Thus also the Church is defined by the article in the Creed which teaches us to believe that there is *a holy Catholic Church*. The wicked indeed are not a holy Church. And that which follows, namely, *the communion of saints*, seems to be added in order to explain what the Church signifies, namely, the congregation of saints, who have with each other the fellowship of the same Gospel or doctrine [who confess one Gospel, have the same knowledge of Christ] and of the same Holy Ghost, who renews, sanctifies, and governs their hearts.

And this article has been presented for a necessary reason. [The article of the Church Catholic or Universal, which is gathered together from every nation under the sun, is very comforting and highly necessary.] We see the infinite dangers which threaten the destruction of the Church. In the Church itself, infinite is the multitude of the wicked who oppress it [despise, bitterly hate, and most violently persecute the Word, as, *e. g.*, the Turks, Mohammedans, other tyrants, heretics, etc. For this reason the true teaching and the Church are often so utterly suppressed and disappear, as if there were no Church, which has happened under the papacy; it often seems that the Church has completely perished]. Therefore, in order that we may not despair, but may know that the Church will nevertheless remain [until the end of the world], likewise that we may know that, however great the multitude of the wicked is, yet the Church [which is Christ's bride] exists, and that Christ affords those gifts which He has promised to the Church, to forgive sins, to hear prayer, to give the Holy Ghost, this article in the Creed presents us these consolations. And it says *Church Catholic*, in order that we may not understand the Church to be an outward government of certain nations [that the Church is like any other external polity, bound to this or that land, kingdom, or nation, as the Pope of Rome will say], but rather men scattered throughout the whole world [here and there in the world, from the rising to the setting of the sun], who agree concerning the Gospel, and have the same Christ, the same Holy Ghost, and the same Sacraments, whether they have the same or different human traditions. And the gloss upon the *Decrees* says that *the Church in its wide sense embraces good and evil;* likewise, that the wicked are in the Church only in name, not in fact; but that the good are in the Church both in fact and in name. And to this effect there are many passages in the Fathers. For Jerome says: *The sinner, therefore, who has been soiled with any blotch cannot be called a member of the Church of Christ, neither can he be said to be subject to Christ.*

Namen und Werken darin. Und auf die Meinung lieſt man viel Sprüche bei den Vätern. Denn Hieronymus ſagt: „Welcher ein Sünder iſt und in Sünden noch unrein liegt, der kann nicht genannt werden ein Gliedmaß der Kirche, noch in dem Reich Chriſti ſein.“

12] Quamquam igitur hypocritae et mali sint socii huius verae ecclesiae secundum externos ritus, tamen quum definitur ecclesia, necesse est eam definiri, quae est vivum corpus Christi, item, quae est nomine et re ec-
13] clesia. Et multae sunt causae. Necesse est enim intelligi, quae res principaliter efficiat nos membra et viva membra ecclesiae. Si ecclesiam tantum definiemus externam politiam esse bonorum et malorum, non intelligent homines regnum Christi esse iustitiam cordis et donationem Spiritus Sancti, sed iudicabunt tantum externam observationem esse certorum cultuum ac rituum. Item,
14] quid intererit inter populum legis et ecclesiam, si ecclesia est externa politia? At sic discernit Paulus ecclesiam a populo legis, quod ecclesia sit populus spiritualis, hoc est, non civilibus ritibus distinctus a gentibus, sed verus populus Dei, renatus per Spiritum Sanctum. In populo legis praeter promissionem de Christo habebat et carnale semen promissiones rerum corporalium, regni etc. [R. 147 Et propter has dicebantur populus Dei etiam mali in his, quia hoc carnale semen Deus separaverat ab aliis gentibus per certas ordinationes externas et promissiones; et tamen
15] mali illi non placebant Deo. At evangelium affert non umbram aeternarum rerum, sed ipsas res aeternas, Spiritum Sanctum et iustitiam, qua coram Deo iusti sumus.

Wiewohl nun die Böſen und [die] gottloſen Heuchler mit der rechten Kirche Geſellſchaft haben in äußerlichen Zeichen, in Namen und Ämtern, dennoch, wenn man eigentlich reden will, was die Kirche ſei, muß man von dieſer Kirche ſagen, die der Leib Chriſti heißt und Gemeinſchaft hat nicht allein in äußerlichen Zeichen, ſondern die Güter im Herzen hat, den Heiligen Geiſt und Glauben. Denn man muß je recht eigentlich wiſſen, wodurch wir Gliedmaßen Chriſti werden, und was uns macht zu lebendigen Gliedmaßen der Kirche. Denn ſo wir würden ſagen, daß die Kirche allein eine äußerliche Polizei wäre, wie andere Regimente, darin Böſe und Gute wären uſw., ſo wird [würde] niemand daraus lernen noch verſtehen, daß Chriſti Reich geiſtlich iſt, wie es doch iſt, darin Chriſtus inwendig die Herzen regiert, ſtärkt, tröſtet, den Heiligen Geiſt und mancherlei geiſtliche Gaben austeilt, ſondern man wird gedenken, es ſei eine äußerliche Weiſe, gewiſſe Ordnung etlicher Zeremonien und Gottesdienſts. Item, was wollte für ein Unterſchied ſein zwiſchen dem Volk des Geſetzes und der Kirche, ſo die Kirche allein eine äußerliche Polizei wäre? Nun unterſcheidet Paulus alſo die Kirche von den Juden, daß er ſagt, die Kirche ſei ein geiſtlich Volk, das iſt, ein ſolch Volk, welches nicht allein in der Polizei und bürgerlichem Weſen unterſchieden ſei von den Heiden, ſondern ein recht Volk Gottes, welches im Herzen erleuchtet wird und neugeboren durch den Heiligen Geiſt. Item, in dem jüdiſchen Volk, da hatten alle diejenigen, ſo von Natur Juden und aus Abrahams Samen geboren waren, über die Verheißung der geiſtlichen Güter in Chriſto auch viele Zuſagen von leiblichen Gütern, als vom Königreich uſw. Und um der göttlichen Zuſagen willen waren [wurden] auch die Böſen unter ihnen Gottes Volk genannt. Denn den leiblichen Samen Abrahams und alle gebornen Juden hatte Gott abgeſondert von andern Heiden durch dieſelben leiblichen Verheißungen; und dieſelben Gottloſen und Böſen waren doch nicht das rechte Gottesvolk, gefielen auch Gott nicht. Aber das Evangelium, welches in der Kirche gepredigt wird, bringt mit ſich nicht allein den Schatten der ewigen Güter, ſondern ein jeder rechter Chriſt, der wird hier auf Erden der ewigen Güter ſelbſt, auch des ewigen Troſtes, des ewigen Lebens und Heiligen Geiſtes und der Gerechtigkeit, die aus Gott iſt, teilhaftig, bis daß er dort vollkömmlich ſelig werde.

16] Igitur illi tantum sunt populus iuxta evangelium, qui hanc promissionem Spiritus accipiunt. Adhaec ecclesia est regnum Christi, distinctum contra regnum diaboli. Certum est autem impios in potestate diaboli et membra regni diaboli esse, sicut docet Paulus Eph. 2, 2, quum ait, *diabolum efficacem esse in incredulis.* Et Christus inquit ad Pharisaeos, quibus certe erat externa societas cum ecclesia, id est, cum sanctis in populo legis, praeerant enim, sacrificabant et docebant: *Vos ex patre diabolo estis,* Ioh. 8, 44. Itaque ecclesia, quae vere est regnum Christi, est proprie congregatio sanctorum. Nam impii reguntur a diabolo et sunt captivi diaboli, non reguntur Spiritu Christi.

17] Sed quid verbis opus est in re manifesta? Si ecclesia, quae vere est regnum Christi, distinguitur a regno diaboli, necesse est impios, quum sint in regno diaboli, non esse ecclesiam; quamquam in hac vita, quia nondum revelatum est regnum Christi, sint admixti ecclesiae et gerant officia in ecclesia.
18] Nec propterea impii sunt regnum Christi, quia revelatio nondum facta est. Semper

Derhalben ſind die allein nach dem Evangelio Gottes Volk, welche die geiſtlichen Güter, den Heiligen Geiſt empfangen, und dieſelbe Kirche iſt das Reich Chriſti, unterſchieden von dem Reich des Teufels. Denn es iſt gewiß, daß alle Gottloſen in der Gewalt des Teufels ſind und Gliedmaßen ſeines Reichs, wie Paulus zu den Epheſern ſagt, daß „der Teufel kräftig regiere in den Kindern des Unglaubens“. Und Chriſtus ſagt zu den Phariſäern (welche die Heiligſten waren und auch den Namen hatten, daß ſie Gottes Volk und die Kirche wären, welche auch ihr Opfer täten): „Ihr ſeid aus eurem Vater, dem Teufel.“ Darum, die rechte Kirche iſt das Reich Chriſti, das iſt, die Verſammlung aller Heiligen; denn die Gottloſen werden nicht regiert durch den Geiſt Chriſti.

Was ſind aber viele Worte vonnöten in ſo klarer, öffentlicher Sache? Allein die Widerſacher widerſprechen der hellen Wahrheit. So die Kirche, welche je gewiß Chriſti und Gottes Reich iſt, unterſchieden iſt von des Teufels Reich, ſo können die Gottloſen, welche in des Teufels Reich ſind, je nicht die Kirche ſein, wiewohl ſie in dieſem Leben, dieweil das Reich Chriſti noch nicht offenbart iſt, unter den rechten Chriſten und in der Kirche ſind,

Although, therefore, hypocrites and wicked men are members of this true Church according to outward rites [titles and offices], yet when the Church is defined, it is necessary to define that which is the living body of Christ, and which is in name and in fact the Church [which is called the body of Christ, and has fellowship not alone in outward signs, but has gifts in the heart, namely, the Holy Ghost and faith]. And for this there are many reasons. For it is necessary to understand what it is that principally makes us members, and that, living members, of the Church. If we will define the Church only as an outward polity of the good and wicked, men will not understand that the kingdom of Christ is righteousness of heart and the gift of the Holy Ghost [that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual, as nevertheless it is; that therein Christ inwardly rules, strengthens, and comforts hearts, and imparts the Holy Ghost and various spiritual gifts], but they will judge that it is only the outward observance of certain forms of worship and rites. Likewise, what difference will there be between the people of the Law and the Church if the Church is an outward polity? But Paul distinguishes the Church from the people of the Law thus, that the Church is a spiritual people, *i. e.*, that it has been distinguished from the heathen not by civil rites [not in the polity and civil affairs], but that it is the true people of God, regenerated by the Holy Ghost. Among the people of the Law, apart from the promise of Christ, also the carnal seed [all those who by nature were born Jews and Abraham's seed] had promises concerning corporeal things, of government, etc. And because of these even the wicked among them were called the people of God, because God had separated this carnal seed from other nations by certain outward ordinances and promises; and yet, these wicked persons did not please God. But the Gospel [which is preached in the Church] brings not merely the shadow of eternal things, but the eternal things themselves, the Holy Ghost and righteousness, by which we are righteous before God. [But every true Christian is even here upon earth partaker of eternal blessings, even of eternal comfort, of eternal life, and of the Holy Ghost, and of righteousness which is from God, until he will be completely saved in the world to come.]

Therefore, only those are the people, according to the Gospel, who receive this promise of the Spirit. Besides, the Church is the kingdom of Christ, distinguished from the kingdom of the devil. It is certain, however, that the wicked are in the power of the devil, and members of the kingdom of the devil, as Paul teaches, Eph. 2, 2, when he says that the devil *now worketh in the children of disobedience.* And Christ says to the Pharisees, who certainly had outward fellowship with the Church, *i. e.*, with the saints among the people of the Law (for they held office, sacrificed, and taught): *Ye are of your father, the devil,* John 8, 44. Therefore, the Church, which is truly the kingdom of Christ, is properly the congregation of saints. For the wicked are ruled by the devil, and are captives of the devil; they are not ruled by the Spirit of Christ.

But what need is there of words in a manifest matter? [However, the adversaries contradict the plain truth.] If the Church, which is truly the kingdom of Christ, is distinguished from the kingdom of the devil, it follows necessarily that the wicked, since they are in the kingdom of the devil, are not the Church; although in this life, because the

enim hoc est regnum Christi, quod Spiritu suo vivificat, sive sit revelatum, sive sit tectum cruce. Sicut idem est Christus, qui nunc glorificatus est, antea afflictus erat. Et 19] conveniunt huc similitudines Christi, qui clare dicit Matth. 13, 38, *bonum semen esse filios regni, at zizania filios diaboli; agrum* dicit *mundum esse*, non ecclesiam. Ita Iohannes de illa tota gente Iudaeorum loquitur et dicit fore, ut vera ecclesia separetur ab illo populo. Itaque hic locus magis contra adversarios facit, quam pro eis, quia [R. 148 ostendit verum et spiritualem populum a populo carnali separandum esse. Et Christus de specie ecclesiae dicit, quum ait Matth. 13, 47: *Simile est regnum coelorum sagenae aut decem virginibus*, et docet ecclesiam tectam esse multitudine malorum, ne id scandalum pios offendat; item ut sciamus Verbum et sacramenta efficacia esse, etsi tractentur a malis. Atque interim docet impios illos, quamvis habeant societatem externorum signorum, tamen non esse verum regnum Christi et membra Christi. 20] Sunt enim membra regni diaboli. Neque vero somniamus nos Platonicam civitatem, ut quidam impie cavillantur, sed dicimus existere hanc ecclesiam, videlicet vere credentes ac iustos sparsos per totum orbem. Et addimus notas: *puram doctrinam evangelii et sacramenta.* Et haec ecclesia proprie est *columna veritatis*, 1 Tim. 3, 15. Retinet enim purum evangelium et, ut Paulus inquit 1 Cor. 3, 12, *fundamentum*, hoc est, veram Christi cognitionem et fidem. Etsi sunt in his etiam multi imbecilles, qui *supra fundamentum aedificant stipulas perituras*, hoc est, quasdam inutiles opiniones, quae tamen, quia non evertunt fundamentum, tum condonantur illis, 21] tum etiam emendantur. Ac sanctorum patrum scripta testantur, quod interdum stipulas etiam aedificaverint supra fundamentum, sed quae non everterunt fidem eorum. Verum pleraque istorum, quae adversarii nostri defendunt, fidem evertunt, ut quod damnant articulum de remissione peccatorum, in quo dicimus fide accipi remissionem peccatorum. Manifestus item et perniciosus error est, quod docent adversarii mereri homines remissionem peccatorum dilectione erga Deum ante gratiam. Nam hoc quoque est tollere *fundamentum*, hoc est, *Christum*. Item, quid opus erit fide, si sacramenta ex opere operato 22] sine bono motu utentis iustificant? Sicut autem habet ecclesia promissionem, quod semper sit habitura Spiritum Sanctum, ita [R. 149 habet comminationes, quod sint futuri impii doctores et lupi. Illa vero est proprie ecclesia, quae habet Spiritum Sanctum. Lupi et mali doctores, etsi grassantur in ecclesia, tamen non sunt proprie regnum Christi. Sicut et Lyra testatur, quum ait: *Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticae vel saecularis, quia multi principes et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostatasse a fide. Propter quod ecclesia consistit in illis personis, in quibus est notitia vera et confessio fidei et veritatis.* Quid aliud diximus nos in confessione nostra, quam quod hic dicit Lyra?

darin auch Lehramt und andere Ämter mit haben. Und die Gottlosen sind darum mittlerzeit nicht ein Stück des Reichs Christi, weil es noch nicht offenbart ist. Denn das rechte Reich Christi, der rechte Hause Christi, sind und bleiben allezeit diejenigen, welche Gottes Geist erleuchtet hat, stärkt, regiert, ob es wohl vor der Welt noch nicht offenbart, sondern unterm Kreuz verborgen ist, gleichwie es allzeit ein Christus ist und bleibt, der die Zeit gekreuzigt ward und nun in ewiger Herrlichkeit herrscht und regiert im Himmel. Und da reimen sich auch die Gleichnisse Christi hin, da er klar sagt Matth. 13, daß „der gute Same seien die Kinder des Reichs, das Unkraut seien die Kinder des Teufels, der Acker sei die Welt", nicht die Kirche. Also ist auch zu verstehen das Wort Johannis, da er sagt Matth. 3: „Er wird seine Tenne fegen und den Weizen in seine Scheuer sammeln; aber die Spreu wird er verbrennen." Da redet er von dem ganzen jüdischen Volk und sagt, die rechte Kirche solle von dem Volk abgesondert werden. Derselbe Spruch ist den Widersachern mehr entgegen denn für sie. Denn er zeigt klar an, wie das recht gläubige, geistliche Volk solle von dem leiblichen Israel abgeschieden werden. Und da Christus spricht: „Das Himmelreich ist gleich einem Netze", item, „den zehn Jungfrauen", will er nicht, daß die Bösen die Kirche seien, sondern unterrichtet, wie die Kirche scheint [sichtbar wird] in dieser Welt. Darum spricht er, sie sei gleich diesem usw.; das ist, wie im Haufen Fische die guten und bösen durcheinanderliegen, also ist die Kirche hier verborgen unter dem großen Haufen und Menge der Gottlosen, und will, daß sich die Frommen nicht ärgern sollen; item, daß wir wissen sollen, daß das Wort und die Sakramente darum nicht ohne Kraft seien, obgleich Gottlose predigen oder die Sakramente reichen. Und lehrt uns Christus damit also, daß die Gottlosen, ob sie wohl nach äußerlicher Gesellschaft in der Kirche sind, doch nicht Gliedmaßen Christi, nicht die rechte Kirche seien, denn sie sind Gliedmaßen des Teufels. Und wir reden nicht von einer erdichteten Kirche, die nirgend zu finden sei, sondern wir sagen und wissen fürwahr, daß diese Kirche, darin Heilige leben, wahrhaftig auf Erden ist und bleibt, nämlich daß etliche Gotteskinder sind hin und wieder in aller Welt, in allerlei Königreichen, Inseln, Ländern, Städten, vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zum Niedergang, die Christum und das Evangelium recht erkannt haben; und [wir] sagen, dieselbe Kirche habe diese äußerlichen Zeichen: **das Predigtamt oder Evangelium und die Sakramente.** Und dieselbe Kirche ist eigentlich, wie Paulus sagt, „eine Säule der Wahrheit", denn sie behält das reine Evangelium, den rechten Grund. Und wie Paulus sagt: „Einen andern Grund kann niemand legen außer dem, der gelegt ist, welcher ist Christus." Auf den Grund sind nun die Christen gebaut. Und wiewohl nun in dem Haufen, welcher auf den rechten Grund, das ist, Christum und den Glauben, gebaut ist, viel Schwache sind, welche auf solchen Grund Stroh und Heu bauen, das ist, etliche menschliche Gedanken und Opinionen, mit welchen sie doch den **Grund, Christum,** nicht umstoßen noch verwerfen, derhalben sie dennoch Christen sind und werden ihnen solche Fehle vergeben, werden auch etwa erleuchtet und besser unterrichtet: also sehen wir in Vätern, daß sie auch bisweilen Stroh und Heu

kingdom of Christ has not yet been revealed; they are mingled with the Church, and hold offices [as teachers, and other offices] in the Church. Neither are the wicked the kingdom of Christ, for the reason that the revelation has not yet been made. For that is always the kingdom which He quickens by His Spirit, whether it be revealed or be covered by the cross; just as He who has now been glorified is the same Christ who was before afflicted. And with this clearly agree the parables of Christ, who says, Matt. 13, 38, that *the good seed are the children of the kingdom, but the tares are the children of the Wicked One. The field,* He says, *is the world,* not the Church. Thus John [Matt. 3, 12: *He will throughly purge His floor, and gather His wheat into the garner; but He will burn up the chaff*] speaks concerning the whole race of the Jews, and says that it will come to pass that the true Church will be separated from that people. Therefore, this passage is more against the adversaries than in favor of them, because it shows that the true and spiritual people is to be separated from the carnal people. Christ also speaks of the outward appearance of the Church when He says, Matt. 13, 47: *The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net,* likewise, *to ten virgins;* and He teaches that the Church has been covered by a multitude of evils, in order that this stumbling-block may not offend the pious; likewise, in order that we may know that the Word and Sacraments are efficacious even when administered by the wicked. And meanwhile He teaches that these godless men, although they have the fellowship of outward signs, are nevertheless not the true kingdom of Christ and members of Christ; for they are members of the kingdom of the devil. Neither, indeed, are we dreaming of a Platonic state, as some wickedly charge, but we say that *this Church exists, namely, the truly believing and righteous men scattered throughout the whole world.* [We are speaking not of an imaginary Church, which is to be found nowhere; but we say and know certainly that this Church, wherein saints live, is and abides truly upon earth; namely, that some of God's children are here and there in all the world, in various kingdoms, islands, lands, and cities, from the rising of the sun to its setting, who have truly learned to know Christ and His Gospel.] And we add the marks: *the pure doctrine of the Gospel* [the ministry or the Gospel] *and the Sacraments.* And this Church is properly *the pillar of the truth,* 1 Tim. 3, 15. For it retains the pure Gospel, and, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 3, 11 [: "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ"], *the foundation, i. e.,* the true knowledge of Christ and faith. Although among these [in the body which is built upon the true foundation, *i. e.,* upon Christ and faith] there are also many weak persons, *who build upon the foundation stubble that will perish, i. e.,* certain unprofitable opinions [some human thoughts and opinions], which, nevertheless, because they do not overthrow the foundation, are both forgiven them and also corrected. And the writings of the holy Fathers testify that sometimes even they built stubble upon the foundation, but that this did not overthrow their faith. But most of those errors which our adversaries defend, overthrow faith, as, their condemnation of the article concerning the remission of sins, in which we say that the remission of sins is received by faith. Likewise it is a manifest and pernicious error when the adversaries teach that men merit the remission of sins by love to God, prior to grace. [In the place of Christ they set up their works, orders, masses, just as the Jews, the heathen, and the Turks intend to be saved by their works.] For this also is to remove "the foundation," *i. e.,* Christ. Likewise, what need will there be of faith if the Sacraments justify *ex opere operato,* without a good disposition on the part of the one using them? [without faith. Now, a person that does not regard faith as necessary has already lost Christ. Again, they set up the worship of saints, call upon them instead of Christ, the Mediator, etc.] But just as the Church has the promise that it will always have the Holy

auf den Grund gebaut haben, doch haben sie damit den Grund nicht umstoßen wollen. Aber viele Artikel bei unsern Widersachern stoßen den rechten Grund nieder, die Erkenntnis Christi und den Glauben. Denn sie verwerfen und verdammen den hohen, größten Artikel, da wir sagen, daß wir allein durch den Glauben, ohne alle Werke, Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum erlangen. Dagegen lehren sie vertrauen auf unsere Werke, damit Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen, und setzen anstatt Christi ihre Werke, Orden, Messe, wie auch die Juden, Heiden und Türken mit eigenen Werken vorhaben selig zu werden. Item, sie lehren, die Sakramente machen fromm ex opere operato, ohne Glauben. Wer nun den Glauben nicht nötig achtet, der hat Christum bereits verloren. Item, sie richten Heiligendienst an, rufen sie an anstatt Christi, als Mittler usw. Wie aber klare Verheißungen Gottes in der Schrift stehen, daß die Kirche allezeit soll den Heiligen Geist haben, also stehen auch ernste Dräuungen in der Schrift, daß neben den rechten Predigern werden einschleichen falsche Lehrer und Wölfe. Diese ist aber eigentlich die christliche Kirche, die den Heiligen Geist hat. Die Wölfe und falsche Lehrer, wiewohl sie in der Kirche wüten und Schaden tun, so sind sie doch nicht die Kirche oder das Reich Christi, wie auch Lyra bezeugt, da er sagt: „Die rechte Kirche steht nicht auf Prälaten ihres Gewalts halben, denn viele hohen Standes, Fürsten und Bischöfe, auch viele niedern Standes sind vom Glauben abgefallen. Darum steht die Kirche auf denjenigen, in welchen ist eine rechte Erkenntnis Christi, eine rechte Konfession und Bekenntnis des Glaubens und der Wahrheit." Nun haben wir in unserer Konfession nichts anderes gesagt im Grunde denn eben das, was Lyra also mit klaren Worten sagt, daß er nicht klarer reden könnte.

23] Sed fortassis adversarii sic postulant definiri ecclesiam, quod sit monarchia externa suprema totius orbis terrarum, in qua oporteat Romanum pontificem habere potestatem *ἀνυπεύθυνον*, de qua nemini liceat disputare aut iudicare, condendi articulos fidei, abolendi Scripturas, quas velit, instituendi cultus et sacrificia, item condendi leges, quas velit, dispensandi et solvendi, quibuscunque legibus velit, divinis, canonicis et civilibus, a quo imperator et reges omnes accipiant potestatem et ius tenendi regna de mandato Christi, cui quum Pater omnia subiecerit, intelligi oporteat hoc ius in papam translatum esse. Quare necesse sit papam esse dominum totius orbis terrarum, omnium regnorum mundi, omnium rerum privatarum et publicarum, habere plenitudinem potestatis in temporalibus et spiritualibus, habere utrumque gladium, spiritualem et temporalem. Atque **24**] haec definitio, non ecclesiae Christi, sed regni pontificii, habet auctores non solum canonistas, sed etiam Danielem, cap. 11, 36 sqq.

Aber es wollten gern die Widersacher eine neue römische Definition der Kirche haben, daß wir sollten sagen, die Kirche ist die oberste Monarchia, die größte, mächtigste Hoheit in der ganzen Welt, darin der römische Papst als das Haupt der Kirche aller hohen und niedern Sachen und Händel, weltlicher, geistlicher, wie er will und denken darf, durchaus ganz mächtig ist, von welches [dessen] Gewalt (er brauch's, mißbrauch's, wie er wolle) niemand disputieren, reden oder mucken darf; item, in welcher Kirche der Papst Macht hat, Artikel des Glaubens zu machen, allerlei Gottesdienste aufzurichten, die Heilige Schrift nach allem seinem Gefallen abzutun, zu verkehren und zu deuten wider alle göttlichen Gesetze, wider sein eigen Dekretal, wider alle Kaiserrechte, wie oft, wieviel und wann es ihn gelüstet, Freiheit und Dispensation um Geld zu verkaufen, von welchem der römische Kaiser, alle Könige, Fürsten und Potentaten schuldig seien, ihre königliche Krone, ihre Herrlichkeit und Titel zu empfangen, als vom Statthalter Christi. Derhalben der Papst ein irdischer Gott, eine oberste Majestät und allein der großmächtigste Herr in aller Welt ist, über alle Königreiche, über alle Lande und Leute, über alle Güter, geistliche und weltliche, und also in seiner Hand hat alles, beide weltliches und geistliches Schwert. Diese Definition, welche sich auf die rechte Kirche gar nicht, aber auf des römischen Papsts Wesen wohl reimt, findet man nicht allein in der Kanonisten Büchern, sondern Daniel der Prophet malt den Antichristen auf diese Weise.

25] Quodsi hoc modo definiremus ecclesiam, fortassis haberemus aequiores iudices. Multa enim exstant immoderate et impie scripta de potestate Romani pontificis, propter quae nemo unquam reus factus est. Nos soli plectimur, quia praedicamus beneficium [R. 150 Christi, quod fide in Christum consequamur remissionem peccatorum, non cultibus excogi-**26**] tatis a pontifice. Porro Christus, prophetae et apostoli longe aliter definiunt ecclesiam Christi quam regnum pontificium. Nec **27**] est ad pontifices transferendum, quod ad veram ecclesiam pertinet, quod videlicet sint *columnae veritatis*, quod non errent. Quotusquisque enim curat evangelium aut iudicat dignum esse lectione? Multi etiam palam irrident religiones omnes, aut si quid probant, probant illa, quae humanae rationi consentanea sunt; cetera fabulosa esse arbitrantur **28**] et similia tragoediis poetarum. Quare nos iuxta Scripturas sentimus ecclesiam pro-

Wenn wir eine solche Definition setzten und sagten, daß die Kirche wäre eine solche Pracht, wie des Papsts Wesen steht, so möchten wir vielleicht nicht so gar ungnädige Richter haben. Denn es sind der Widersacher Bücher am Tage, darin des Papsts Gewalt allzuhoch gehoben wird; dieselben straft niemand. Allein wir müssen herhalten derhalben, daß wir Christus' Wohltat preisen und hoch heben und die klaren Worte und Lehre der Apostel schreiben und predigen, nämlich daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch den Glauben an JEsum Christum und nicht durch Heuchelei oder erdichtete Gottesdienste, welche der Papst unzählig angerichtet. Christus aber und die Propheten und Apostel schreiben und reden gar viel anders davon, was die Kirche Christi sei, und des Papsts Reich will sich zu derselben Kirche gar nicht reimen, sondern sieht ihr gar unähnlich. Darum soll man die Sprüche, so von der rechten Kirche reden, nicht auf die Päpste oder Bischöfe deuten, nämlich daß sie Säulen der Wahrheit

Ghost, so it has also the threatenings that there will be wicked teachers and wolves. But that is the Church in the proper sense which has the Holy Ghost. Although wolves and wicked teachers become rampant [rage and do injury] in the Church, yet they are not properly the kingdom of Christ. Just as Lyra also testifies, when he says: *The Church does not consist of men with respect to power, or ecclesiastical or secular dignity, because many princes and archbishops and others of lower rank have been found to have apostatized from the faith. Therefore, the Church consists of those persons in whom there is a true knowledge and confession of faith and truth.* What else have we said in our Confession than what Lyra here says [in terms so clear that he could not have spoken more clearly]?

But the adversaries perhaps require [a new Roman definition], that the Church be defined thus, namely, that it is the supreme outward monarchy of the whole world, in which the Roman pontiff necessarily has unquestioned power, which no one is permitted to dispute or censure [no matter whether he uses it rightly, or misuses it], to frame articles of faith; to abolish, according to his pleasure, the Scriptures [to pervert and interpret them contrary to all divine law, contrary to his own decretals, contrary to all imperial rights, as often, to as great an extent, and whenever it pleases him; to sell indulgences and dispensations for money]; to appoint rites of worship and sacrifices; likewise, to frame such laws as he may wish, and to dispense and exempt from whatever laws he may wish, divine, canonical, or civil; and that from him [as from the vicegerent of Christ] the Emperor and all kings receive, according to the command of Christ, the power and right to hold their kingdoms, from whom, since the Father has subjected all things to Him, it must be understood, this right was transferred to the Pope; therefore the Pope must necessarily be [a God on earth, the supreme Majesty,] lord of the whole world, of all the kingdoms of the world, of all things private and public, and must have absolute power in temporal and spiritual things, and both swords, the spiritual and temporal. Besides, this definition, not of the Church of Christ, but of the papal kingdom, has as its authors not only the canonists, but also Daniel 11, 36 ff. [Daniel, the prophet, represents Antichrist in this way.]

Now, if we would define the Church in this way [that it is such pomp, as is exhibited in the Pope's rule], we would perhaps have fairer judges. For there are many things extant written extravagantly and wickedly concerning the power of the Pope of Rome, on account of which no one has ever been arraigned. We alone are blamed, because we proclaim the beneficence of Christ [and write and preach the clear word and teaching of the apostles], that by faith in Christ we obtain remission of sins, and not by [hypocrisy or innumerable] rites of worship devised by the Pope. Moreover, Christ, the prophets, and the apostles define the Church of Christ far otherwise than as the papal kingdom. Neither must we transfer to the Popes what belongs to the true Church, namely, that they are *pillars of the truth*, that they do not err. For how many of them care for the Gospel, or judge that it [one little page, one letter of it] is worth being read? Many [in Italy and elsewhere] even publicly ridicule all religions, or, if they approve anything, they approve such things only as are in harmony

prie dictam esse congregationem sanctorum, qui vere credunt evangelio Christi et habent Spiritum Sanctum. Et tamen fatemur multos hypocritas et malos his in hac vita admixtos habere societatem externorum signorum, qui sunt membra ecclesiae secundum societatem externorum signorum ideoque gerunt officia in ecclesia. Nec adimit sacramentis efficaciam, quod per indignos tractantur, quia repraesentant Christi personam propter vocationem ecclesiae, non repraesentant proprias personas, ut testatur Christus Luc. 10, 16: *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Quum Verbum Christi, quum sacramenta porrigunt, Christi vice et loco porrigunt. Id docet nos illa vox Christi, ne indignitate ministrorum offendamur.

seien, item, daß sie nicht irren können. Denn wieviel findet man wohl oder wieviel sind bisanher gefunden unter Bischöfen, Päpsten usw., die sich des Evangelii mit Ernst und herzlich angenommen oder das wert geachtet hätten, ein Blättlein, einen Buchstaben darin recht zu lesen. Man weiß wohl leider viele Exempel, daß ihrer viele in Welschland [Italien] und sonst sind, welche die ganze Religion, Christum und das Evangelium verlachen und öffentlich für einen Spott halten. Und lassen sie ihnen etwas gefallen, so lassen sie ihnen das gefallen, das menschlicher Vernunft gemäß [ist]; das andere alles halten sie für Fabeln. Darum sagen und schließen wir nach der Heiligen Schrift, daß die rechte christliche Kirche sei der Haufe hin und wieder in der Welt derjenigen, die da wahrlich glauben dem Evangelio Christi und den Heiligen Geist haben. Und wir bekennen doch auch, daß, solange dieses Leben auf Erden währt, viele Heuchler und Böse in der Kirchen seien unter den rechten Christen, welche auch Glieder sind der Kirche, sofern [es] äußerliche Zeichen betrifft. Denn sie haben Ämter in der Kirche, predigen, reichen Sakramente und tragen den Titel und Namen der Christen. Und die Sakramente, Taufe usw., sind darum nicht ohne Wirkung oder Kraft, daß sie durch Unwürdige und Gottlose gereicht werden. Denn um des Berufs willen der Kirche sind solche da, nicht für ihre eigene Person, sondern als Christus, wie Christus zeugt: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich." Also ist auch Judas zu predigen gesendet. Wenn nun gleich Gottlose predigen und die Sakramente reichen, so reichen sie dieselben an Christus' Statt. Und das lehrt uns das Wort Christi, daß wir in solchem Fall die Unwürdigkeit der Diener uns nicht sollen irren [irremachen] lassen.

29] Sed de hac re satis clare diximus in Confessione, nos improbare Donatistas et Viglevistas, qui senserunt homines peccare, accipientes sacramenta ab indignis in ecclesia. Haec in praesentia videbantur sufficere ad defensionem descriptionis ecclesiae, quam tradidimus. Neque videmus, quum ecclesia proprie dicta appelletur *corpus Christi*, quomodo aliter describenda fuerit, quam nos descripsimus. Constat enim impios ad regnum et corpus diabolo pertinere, qui impellit et habet captivos impios. Haec sunt luce meridiana clariora, quae tamen si pergent calumniari adversarii, non gravabimur copiosius [R. 151 respondere.

Aber von dem Stück haben wir klar genug geredet in unserer Konfession, nämlich, daß wir es nicht halten mit den Donatisten und Wiklisiten, die da hielten, daß diejenigen sündigen, die die Sakramente in der Kirche von gottlosen Dienern empfangen. Dieses, achten wir, soll genug sein, zu schützen und zu erhalten die Definition, da wir gesagt, was die Kirche sei. Und nachdem [da] die rechte Kirche in der Schrift genannt wird Christus' Leib, so ist je gar nicht möglich, anders davon zu reden, denn wie wir davon geredet haben. Denn es ist je gewiß, daß die Heuchler und Gottlosen nicht Christus' Leib sein können, sondern in das Reich des Teufels gehören, welcher sie gefangen hat und treibt, wozu er will. Dieses alles ist ganz öffentlich und so klar, daß [es] niemand leugnen mag. Werden aber die Widersacher mit ihren Kalumnien fortfahren, soll ihnen ferner Antwort gegeben werden.

30] Damnant adversarii et hanc partem septimi articuli, quod diximus ad veram unitatem ecclesiae satis esse, consentire de doctrina evangelii et administratione sacramentorum, nec necesse esse, ubique similes traditiones humanas esse seu ritus aut ceremonias ab hominibus institutas. Hic distinguunt *universales* et *particulares* ritus et probant articulum nostrum, si intelligatur de particularibus ritibus; de universalibus ritibus non **31**] recipiunt. Non satis intelligimus, quid velint adversarii. Nos de vera, hoc est, spirituali unitate loquimur, sine qua non potest existere fides in corde seu iustitia cordis coram Deo. Ad hanc, dicimus, non esse necessariam similitudinem rituum humanorum sive universalium sive particularium, quia iustitia fidei non est iustitia alligata certis traditionibus, sicut iustitia legis erat alligata Mosaicis ceremoniis, quia illa iustitia cordis est res vivificans corda. Ad hanc vivificationem nihil conducunt humanae traditiones sive universales, sive particulares, nec sunt

Auch verdammen die Widersacher dieses Stück vom siebten Artikel, da wir gesagt haben, daß genug sei zur Einigkeit der Kirche, daß einerlei Evangelium, einerlei Sakramente gereicht werden, und sei nicht not, daß die Menschensatzungen allenthalben gleichförmig seien. Diese Stücke lassen sie also zu, daß nicht not sei zur Einigkeit der Kirche, daß traditiones particulares gleich seien. Aber daß traditiones universales gleich seien, das sei not zu wahrer Einigkeit der Kirche. Das ist eine gute, grobe distinctio. Wir sagen, daß diejenigen eine einträchtige Kirche heißen, die an einen Christum glauben, ein Evangelium, einen Geist, einen Glauben, einerlei Sakramente haben, und reden also von geistlicher Einigkeit, ohne welche der Glaube und ein christlich Wesen nicht sein kann. Zu derselben Einigkeit sagen wir nun, es sei nicht not, daß Menschensatzungen, sie seien universales oder particulares, allenthalben gleich seien. Denn die Gerechtigkeit, welche vor Gott gilt, die durch den Glauben kommt, ist nicht gebunden an äußerliche Zeremonien oder Menschensatzungen. Denn der Glaube

with human reason, and regard the rest fabulous and like the tragedies of the poets. Wherefore we hold, according to the Scriptures, that the Church, properly so called, is the congregation of saints [of those here and there in the world], who truly believe the Gospel of Christ, and have the Holy Ghost. And yet we confess that in this life many hypocrites and wicked men, mingled with these, have the fellowship of outward signs, who are members of the Church according to this fellowship of outward signs, and accordingly bear offices in the Church [preach, administer the Sacraments, and bear the title and name of Christians]. Neither does the fact that the Sacraments are administered by the unworthy detract from their efficacy, because, on account of the call of the Church, they represent the person of Christ, and do not represent their own persons, as Christ testifies, Luke 10, 16: *He that heareth you heareth Me.* [Thus even Judas was sent to preach.] When they offer the Word of God, when they offer the Sacraments, they offer them in the stead and place of Christ. Those words of Christ teach us not to be offended by the unworthiness of the ministers.

But concerning this matter we have spoken with sufficient clearness in the Confession that we condemn the Donatists and Wyclifites, who thought that men sinned when they received the Sacraments from the unworthy in the Church. These things seem, for the present, to be sufficient for the defense of the description of the Church which we have presented. Neither do we see how, when the Church, properly so called, is named *the body of Christ*, it should be described otherwise than we have described it. For it is evident that the wicked belong to the kingdom and body of the devil, who impels and holds captive the wicked. These things are clearer than the light of noonday; however, if the adversaries still continue to pervert them, we will not hesitate to reply at greater length.

The adversaries condemn also the part of the Seventh Article in which we said that "to the unity of the Church it is sufficient to agree concerning the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the Sacraments; nor is it necessary that human traditions, rites, or ceremonies instituted by men should be alike everywhere." Here they distinguish between *universal* and *particular* rites, and approve our article if it be understood concerning particular rites; they do not receive it concerning universal rites. [That is a fine, clumsy distinction!] We do not sufficiently understand what the adversaries mean. We are speaking of true, *i. e.*, of spiritual unity [we say that those are one harmonious Church who believe in one Christ; who have one Gospel, one Spirit, one faith, the same Sacraments; and we are speaking, therefore, of spiritual unity], without which faith in the heart, or righteousness of heart before God, cannot exist. For this we say that similarity of human rites, whether universal or particular, is not necessary, because the righteousness of faith is not a righteousness bound to certain traditions [outward ceremonies of human ordinances] as the righteousness of the Law was bound to the Mosaic ceremonies, because this righteousness of the heart is a matter that quickens the heart. To this quickening, human traditions, whether they be universal or particular, contribute noth-

effectus Spiritus Sancti, sicut castitas, patientia, timor Dei, dilectio proximi et opera dilectionis.

32] Nec leves causae fuerunt, cur hunc articulum poneremus. Constat enim multas stultas opiniones de traditionibus serpsisse in ecclesiam. Nonnulli putaverunt humanas traditiones necessarios cultus esse ad promerendam iustificationem. Et postea disputaverunt, qui fieret, quod tanta varietate coleretur Deus, quasi vero observationes illae essent cultus, et non potius externae et politicae ordinationes, nihil ad iustitiam cordis seu cultum Dei pertinentes, quae alibi casu, alibi propter quasdam probabiles rationes variant. Item aliae ecclesiae alias propter tales traditiones excommunicaverunt, ut propter observationem Paschatis, picturas et res similes. [R. 152 Unde imperiti existimaverunt fidem seu iustitiam cordis coram Deo non posse existere sine his observationibus. Exstant enim de hoc negotio multa inepta scripta Summistarum et aliorum.

33] Sed sicut dissimilia spatia dierum ac noctium non laedunt unitatem ecclesiae, ita sentimus non laedi veram unitatem ecclesiae dissimilibus ritibus institutis ab hominibus. Quamquam placet nobis, ut universales ritus propter tranquillitatem serventur. Sicut et nos in ecclesiis ordinem missae, diem dominicum et alios dies festos celebriores libenter servamus. Et gratissimo animo amplectimur utiles ac veteres ordinationes, praesertim quum contineant paedagogiam, qua prodest populum et imperitos assuefacere ac docere. 34] Sed non disputamus nunc, an conducat propter tranquillitatem aut corporalem utilitatem servare. Alia res agitur. Disputatur enim, utrum observationes traditionum humanarum sint cultus necessarii ad iustitiam coram Deo. Hoc est *κοινόμενον* in hac controversia, quo constituto postea iudicari potest, utrum ad veram unitatem ecclesiae necesse sit, ubique similes esse traditiones humanas. Si enim traditiones humanae non sunt cultus necessarii ad iustitiam coram Deo, sequitur posse iustos et filios Dei esse, etiamsi quas traditiones non habent, quae alibi receptae sunt. Ut si forma vestitus Germanici non est cultus Dei necessarius ad iustitiam coram Deo, sequitur posse iustos ac filios Dei et ecclesiam Christi esse, etiamsi qui utantur non Germanico, sed Gallico vestitu.

ist ein Licht im Herzen, das die Herzen verneuert und lebendig macht; da helfen äußerliche Satzungen oder Zeremonien, sie sind [seien] universal oder partikular, wenig zu.

Und es hat nicht geringe Ursachen gehabt, daß wir den Artikel gesetzt haben; denn es ist gar mancher große Irrtum und närrische Opinion von den Satzungen eingerissen in der Kirche. Etliche haben wollen wähnen, daß christliche Heiligkeit und Glaube ohne solche Menschensatzungen nicht gelte vor Gott, könne auch niemand [ein] Christ sein, er halte denn solche traditiones, so sie doch nichts anderes sind denn äußerliche Ordnungen, welche oft zufällig, oft auch aus Ursachen an einem Ort anders sind denn am andern; wie im weltlichen Regiment eine Stadt andere Gebräuche hat denn die andere. Auch liest man in Historien, daß eine Kirche die andern in Bann getan solcher Satzungen halben, als um des Ostertags willen, um der Bilder willen und desgleichen. Darum haben die Unerfahrenen nicht anders gehalten, denn daß man durch solche Zeremonien vor Gott fromm würde, und daß niemand [ein] Christ sein könnte ohne solche Gottesdienste und Zeremonien. Denn es sind gar viel ungeschickte Bücher der Summisten und anderer davon noch vor Augen.

Aber wie die Einigkeit der Kirche dadurch nicht getrennt wird, ob in einem Lande, an einem Ort die Tage natürlich länger oder kürzer sind denn am andern, also halten wir auch, daß die Einigkeit der Kirche dadurch nicht getrennt wird, ob solche Menschensatzungen an einem Ort diese, am andern jene Ordnung haben. Wiewohl es uns auch wohlgefällt, daß die Universalzeremonien um Einigkeit und guter Ordnung willen gleichförmig gehalten werden, wie wir denn in unsern Kirchen die Messe, des Sonntags Feier und die andern hohen Feiern auch behalten. Und wir lassen uns gefallen alle guten, nützlichen Menschensatzungen, sonderlich die da zu einer feinen, äußerlichen Zucht dienen der Jugend und des Volks. Aber hier ist die Frage darüber nicht, ob Menschensatzungen um äußerlicher Zucht willen, um Friedens willen zu halten seien; es ist gar viel eine andere Frage, nämlich ob solche Menschensatzungen halten ein Gottesdienst sei, dadurch man Gott versöhne, und daß ohne solche Satzungen niemand vor Gott gerecht sein möge. Das ist die Hauptfrage. Wenn darauf schließlich und endlich geantwortet ist, so ist danach klar zu urteilen, ob das heiße einig oder einträchtig mit der Kirche sein, wenn wir allenthalben solche Satzungen zugleich [gleich] halten. Denn so solche Menschensatzungen nicht ein nötiger Gottesdienst sind, so folgt, daß etliche fromm, heilig, gerecht, Gotteskinder und Christen sein können, die gleich nicht die Zeremonien haben, so in andern Kirchen im Gebrauch sind. Als ein Gleichnis: Wenn dies steht, daß deutsche und französische Kleidung tragen nicht ein nötiger Gottesdienst sei, so folgt, daß etliche gerecht, heilig und in der Kirche Christi sein können, die auch gleich nicht deutsche oder französische Kleidung tragen.

35] Hoc clare docet Paulus ad Col. 2, 16. 17, quum ait: *Nemo vos iudicet in cibo aut in potu aut in parte diei festi aut neomeniae aut sabbatorum, quae sunt umbra futurorum, corpus autem Christi.* Item, v. 20 sqq.: *Si mortui estis cum Christo ab elementis mundi, quid adhuc tamquam viventes mundo decreta facitis: ne tetigeritis, neque gustaveritis,*

Also lehrt auch Paulus klar zu den Kolossern am 2: „So lasset nun niemand euch Gewissen machen über Speise, Trank oder bestimmte Feiertage oder Neumonden oder Sabbate, welche sind der Schatten von dem, das zukünftig war, aber der Körper selbst ist in Christo.“ Item: „So ihr denn nun abgestorben seid mit Christo den Satzungen der Welt, was laßt ihr euch denn

ing; neither are they effects of the Holy Ghost, as are chastity, patience, the fear of God, love to one's neighbor, and the works of love.

Neither were the reasons trifling why we presented this article. For it is evident that many [great errors and] foolish opinions concerning traditions had crept into the Church. Some thought that human traditions were necessary services for meriting justification [that without such human ordinances Christian holiness and faith are of no avail before God; also that no one can be a Christian unless he observe such traditions, although they are nothing but an outward regulation]. And afterwards they disputed how it came to pass that God was worshiped with such variety, as though, indeed, these observances were acts of worship, and not rather outward and political ordinances, pertaining in no respect to righteousness of heart or the worship of God, which vary, according to the circumstances, for certain probable reasons, sometimes in one way, and at other times in another [as in worldly governments one state has customs different from another]. Likewise some Churches have excommunicated others because of such traditions, as the observance of Easter, pictures, and the like. Hence the ignorant have supposed that faith, or the righteousness of the heart before God, cannot exist [and that no one can be a Christian] without these observances. For many foolish writings of the Summists and of others concerning this matter are extant.

But just as the dissimilar length of day and night does not injure the unity of the Church, so we believe that the true unity of the Church is not injured by dissimilar rites instituted by men; although it is pleasing to us that, for the sake of tranquillity [unity and good order], universal rites be observed, just as also in the churches we willingly observe the order of the Mass, the Lord's Day, and other more eminent festival days. And with a very grateful mind we embrace the profitable and ancient ordinances, especially since they contain a discipline by which it is profitable to educate and train the people and those who are ignorant [the young people]. But now we are not discussing the question whether it be of advantage to observe them on account of peace or bodily profit. Another matter is treated of. For the question at issue is, whether the observances of human traditions are acts of worship necessary for righteousness before God. This is the point to be judged in this controversy, and when this is decided, it can afterwards be judged whether to the true unity of the Church it is necessary that human traditions should everywhere be alike. For if human traditions be not acts of worship necessary for righteousness before God, it follows that also they can be righteous and be the sons of God who have not the traditions which have been received elsewhere. *F. i.*, if the style of German clothing is not worship of God, necessary for righteousness before God, it follows that men can be righteous and sons of God and the Church of Christ, even though they use a costume that is not German, but French.

Paul clearly teaches this to the Colossians, 2, 16. 17: *Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holyday, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.* Likewise, v. 20 sqq.: *If ye be dead with Christ from the rudiments of the world, why, as though living in the*

neque contrectaveritis, quae omnia pereunt usu consumpta et sunt praecepta et doctrinae hominum, speciem habentia sapien- [R. 153 36] *tiae in superstitione et humilitate?* Est enim sententia: Quum iustitia cordis sit res spiritualis vivificans corda, et constet, quod traditiones humanae non vivificent corda, nec sint effectus Spiritus Sancti, sicut dilectio proximi, castitas etc., nec sint instrumenta, per quae Deus movet corda ad credendum, sicut Verbum et sacramenta divinitus tradita, sed sint usus rerum nihil ad cor pertinentium, quae usu pereant, non est sentiendum, quod sint necessariae ad iustitiam coram Deo. Et in eandem sententiam inquit Rom. 14, 17: *Regnum Dei non est esca et potus, sed iustitia* 37] *et pax et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto.* Sed non est opus citare multa testimonia, quum ubique sint obvia in Scripturis, et nos plurima in confessione congesserimus in posterioribus articulis. Et huius controversiae *κοινόμενον* infra paulo post repetendum erit, videlicet utrum traditiones humanae sint cultus necessarii ad iustitiam coram Deo. Ubi de hac re copiosius disputabimus.

38] Adversarii dicunt universales traditiones ideo servandas esse, quia existimentur ab apostolis traditae esse. O religiosos homines! Ritus ab apostolis sumptos retineri volunt, non volunt retineri doctrinam apostolorum. 39] Sic iudicandum est de ritibus illis, sicut ipsi apostoli in suis scriptis iudicant. Non enim voluerunt apostoli nos sentire, quod per tales ritus iustificemur, quod tales ritus sint res necessariae ad iustitiam coram Deo. Non voluerunt apostoli tale onus imponere conscientiis; non voluerunt iustitiam et peccatum collocare in observationibus dierum, ci- 40] borum et similium rerum. Imo Paulus appellat huiusmodi opiniones *doctrinas daemoniorum*, 1 Tim. 4, 1. Itaque voluntas et consilium apostolorum ex scriptis eorum quaeri debet; non est satis allegare exemplum. Servabant certos dies, non quod ea observatio ad iustificationem necessaria esset, sed ut populus sciret, quo tempore conveniendum esset. Servabant et alios quosdam ritus, ordinem [R. 154 lectionum, si quando conveniebant. Quaedam etiam ex patriis moribus, ut fit, retinebat populus, quae apostoli nonnihil mutata ad historiam evangelii accommodaverunt, ut Pascha, Pentecosten, ut non solum docendo, sed etiam per haec exempla memoriam maximarum 41] rerum traderent posteris. Quodsi haec tradita sunt tamquam necessaria ad iustificationem, cur in his ipsis postea multa mutarunt episcopi? Quodsi erant iuris divini, non licuit ea mutare auctoritate humana. Pascha 42] ante synodum Nicaenam alii alio tempore servabant. Neque haec dissimilitudo laesit fidem. Postea ratio inita est, ne incideret nostrum Pascha in Iudaici Paschatis tempus. At apostoli iusserant ecclesias servare Pascha cum fratribus conversis ex

fangen mit Satzungen, als lebtet ihr noch in der Welt? Die da sagen: Du sollst das nicht angreifen, du sollst das nicht kosten, du sollst das nicht anrühren, welches sich doch alles unter den Händen verzehrt und ist Menschengebot und -lehre; welche haben einen Schein der Weisheit durch selbsterwählte Geistlichkeit und Demut." Denn das ist Pauli Meinung: Der Glaube im Herzen, dadurch wir fromm werden, ist ein geistlich Ding und Licht im Herzen, dadurch wir verneuert werden, andern Sinn und Mut gewinnen. Die Menschensatzungen aber sind nicht ein solch lebendig Licht und Kraft des Heiligen Geistes im Herzen, sind nichts Ewiges; darum machen sie nicht ewig Leben, sondern sind äußerliche, leibliche Übungen, die das Herz nicht ändern. Darum ist nicht zu halten, daß sie nötig seien zu der Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt. Und auf die Meinung redet Paulus auch zu den Römern am 14: „Das Reich Gottes ist nicht Speise und Trank, sondern Gerechtigkeit, Friede und Freude im Heiligen Geist." Aber es ist nicht not, hier viel Sprüche anzuzeigen, so die ganze Bibel deren voll ist, und wir auch in unserer Konfession, in den letzten Artikeln, deren viele vorgebracht; so wollen wir dieser Sache Hauptfrage hernach auch sonderlich handeln, nämlich ob solche Menschensatzungen ein Gottesdienst seien, welcher not sei zur Seligkeit, da wir denn reichlicher und mehr von dieser Sache reden wollen.

Die Widersacher sagen, man müsse darum solche Satzungen, sonderlich die Universalzeremonien, halten; denn es sei vermutlich, daß sie von den Aposteln auf uns geerbt [seien]. O wie große, heilige, treffliche, apostolische Leute! Wie fromm und geistlich sind sie doch nun geworden! Die Satzungen und Zeremonien, von den Aposteln, wie sie sagen, aufgerichtet, wollen sie halten, und der Apostel Lehre und klare Worte wollen sie nicht halten. Wir sagen aber und wissen, daß es recht ist: Man soll also und nicht anders von allen Satzungen lehren, urteilen und reden, denn wie die Apostel selbst in ihren Schriften davon gelehrt haben. Die Apostel aber fechten auf das allerstärkste und heftigste allenthalben nicht allein wider diejenigen, so Menschensatzungen wollen hoch heben, sondern auch, die das göttliche Gesetz, die Zeremonien der Beschneidung usw. wollten als nötig achten zur Seligkeit. Die Apostel haben in keinem Weg eine solche Bürde auf die Gewissen legen wollen, daß solche Satzungen von gewissen Tagen, von Fasten, von Speise und dergleichen sollten Sünde sein, so man's nicht hielte. Und, das mehr ist, Paulus nennt klar solche Lehren Teufelslehren. Darum was die Apostel in dem für gut und recht gehalten, das muß man aus ihren klaren Schriften suchen und nicht allein Exempel anzeigen. Sie haben wohl gehalten etliche gewisse Tage, nicht daß solches nötig wäre, vor Gott fromm und gerecht zu werden, sondern daß das Volk wüßte, wann es sollte zusammenkommen. Auch haben sie wohl etliche Gebräuche und Zeremonien gehalten, als ordentliche Lektion in der Bibel, wenn sie zusammenkamen usw. Auch haben im Anfang der Kirche die Juden, so Christen geworden, viel behalten von ihren jüdischen Festen und Zeremonien, welches die Apostel danach auf die Historien des Evangelii gerichtet haben. Also sind unsere Ostern von der Juden

world, are ye subject to ordinances (touch not; taste not; handle not; which all are to perish with the using), after the commandments and doctrines of men? Which things have, indeed, a show of wisdom in will-worship and humility. For the meaning is: Since righteousness of the heart is a spiritual matter, quickening hearts, and it is evident that human traditions do not quicken hearts, and are not effects of the Holy Ghost, as are love to one's neighbor, chastity, etc., and are not instruments through which God moves hearts to believe, as are the divinely given Word and Sacraments, but are usages with regard to matters that pertain in no respect to the heart, which perish with the using, we must not believe that they are necessary for righteousness before God. [They are nothing eternal; hence, they do not procure eternal life, but are an external bodily discipline, which does not change the heart.] And to the same effect he says, Rom. 14, 17: *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.* But there is no need to cite many testimonies, since they are everywhere obvious in the Scriptures, and in our Confession we have brought together very many of them, in the latter articles. And the point to be decided in this controversy must be repeated after a while, namely, whether human traditions be acts of worship necessary for righteousness before God. There we will discuss this matter more fully.

The adversaries say that universal traditions are to be observed because they are supposed to have been handed down by the apostles. What religious men they are! They wish that the rites derived from the apostles be retained; they do not wish the doctrine of the apostles to be retained. They must judge concerning these rites just as the apostles themselves judge in their writings. For the apostles did not wish us to believe that through such rites we are justified, that such rites are necessary for righteousness before God. The apostles did not wish to impose such a burden upon consciences; they did not wish to place righteousness and sin in the observance of days, food, and the like. Yea, Paul calls such opinions *doctrines of devils*, 1 Tim. 4, 1. Therefore the will and advice of the apostles ought to be derived from their writings; it is not enough to mention their example. They observed certain days, not because this observance was necessary for justification, but in order that the people might know at what time they should assemble. They observed also certain other rites and orders of lessons whenever they assembled. The people [In the beginning of the Church the Jews who had become Christians] retained also from the customs of the Fathers [from their Jewish festivals and ceremonies], as is commonly the case, certain things which, being somewhat changed, the apostles adapted to the history of the Gospel, as the Passover, Pentecost, so that not only by teaching, but also through these examples they might hand down to posterity the memory of the most important subjects. But if these things were handed down as necessary for justification, why afterwards did the bishops change many things in these very matters? For, if they were matters of divine right, it was not lawful to change them by human authority. Before the Synod of Nice, some observed Easter at one time and others at another time. Neither did this want of uniformity injure faith. Afterward the plan was adopted by which our Passover [Easter] did not fall at the same time as that of the Jewish Passover. But the apostles had commanded the Churches to observe the Passover with the brethren who had been converted from Judaism. Therefore, after the Synod of Nice, certain nations tenaciously held to the custom of observing the Jewish time.

Iudaismo. Itaque hunc morem quaedam gentes pertinaciter post synodum Nicaenam retinuerunt, ut Iudaicum tempus observarent. Verum apostoli decreto illo non voluerunt ecclesiis imponere necessitatem, id quod verba decreti testantur. Iubet enim, ne quis curet, etiamsi fratres servantes Pascha non recte supputent tempus. Verba decreti exstant apud Epiphanium: *Ὑμεῖς μὴ ψηφίζητε, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖτε, ὅταν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ὑμῶν οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, μετ' ἀυτῶν ἅμα ποιεῖτε, κἄν τε πλανηθῶσι, μηδὲν ὑμῖν μελέτω.** Haec scribit Epiphanius verba esse apostolorum in decreto quodam posita de Paschate, in quibus prudens lector facile potest iudicare, apostolos voluisse populo stultam opinionem de necessitate certi temporis eximere, quum prohibent curare,
43] etiamsi in supputando erretur. Porro quidam in Oriente, qui Audiani appellati sunt ab auctore dogmatis, propter hoc decretum apostolorum contenderunt Pascha cum Iudaeis servandum esse. Hos refellens Epiphanius laudat decretum et inquit nihil continere, quod dissentiat a fide aut ecclesiastica regula, et vituperat Audianos, quod non recte intelligant *τὸ ῥητόν*, et interpretatur in hanc sententiam, in quam nos interpretamur, [R. 155 quod non senserint apostoli referre, quo tempore servaretur Pascha, sed quia praecipui fratres ex Iudaeis conversi erant, qui morem suum servabant, horum exemplum propter
44] concordiam voluerint reliquos sequi. Et sapienter admonuerunt lectorem apostoli, se neque libertatem evangelicam tollere, neque necessitatem conscientiis imponere, quia addunt non esse curandum, etiamsi erretur in supputando.

Ostern und unsere Pfingsten von der Juden Pfingsten hergekommen. Und haben die Apostel nicht allein mit Lehren, sondern auch durch solche Feste von der Historie die Erkenntnis Christi und den großen Schatz auf die Nachkommen erben wollen. So nun solche und dergleichen Zeremonien nötig sind zur Seligkeit, warum haben hernach die Bischöfe viel darin verändert? Denn sind sie durch Gottes Befehl eingesetzt, so hat kein Mensch Macht gehabt, sie zu verändern. Die Ostern hat man vor dem Concilio zu Nizäa an einem Ort auf eine andere Zeit gehalten denn am andern. Und die Ungleichheit hat dem Glauben oder der christlichen Einigkeit nichts geschadet. Danach hat man mit Fleiß den Ostertag verrückt, daß unser Ostertag mit der Juden Ostertag je nicht sollte übereintreffen. Die Apostel aber haben befohlen, in [den] Kirchen den Ostertag also auf die Zeit zu halten, wie ihn die Brüder, so aus dem Judentum bekehrt waren, hielten. Darum haben etliche Bistümer und Völker, auch nach dem Concilio zu Nizäa, hart darüber gehalten, daß der Ostertag mit dem jüdischen Ostertag sollte [zu] gleicher Zeit gehalten werden. Aber die Apostel haben mit ihrem Dekret den Kirchen nicht wollen eine solche Last auflegen, als wäre solches nötig zur Seligkeit, wie die klaren Worte auch desselben ihres Dekrets anzeigen; denn sie drücken's mit klaren Worten aus, „daß niemand sich darum bekümmern solle, ob die Brüder, so Ostertag halten usw., gleich die Zeit nicht eigentlich abrechnen". Denn Epiphanius zieht an die Worte der Apostel, daraus ein jeder Verständiger klar zu merken hat, daß die Apostel die Leute von dem Irrtum haben wollen abweisen, damit ihm niemand Gewissen mache über Feiertage, gewisse Zeit usw. Denn sie setzen klar dazu, man solle sich nicht groß darum bekümmern, obschon in der Rechnung des Ostertags geirrt sei. [Die im lateinischen Text zitierte griechische Stelle findet sich nicht in den sogenannten Apostolischen Konstitutionen; auch Epiphanius, gestorben 402, findet den apostolischen Ursprung derselben zweifelhaft.]

45] Multa huius generis colligi possunt ex historiis, in quibus apparet dissimilitudinem humanarum observationum non laedere unitatem fidei. Quamquam quid opus est disputatione? Omnino quid sit iustitia fidei, quid sit regnum Christi, non intelligunt adversarii, si iudicant necessariam esse similitudinem observationum in cibis, diebus, vestitu et similibus rebus, quae non habent manda-
46] tum Dei. Videte autem religiosos homines, adversarios nostros! Requirunt ad unitatem ecclesiae similes observationes humanas, quum ipsi mutaverint ordinationem Christi in usu coenae, quae certe fuit antea ordinatio universalis. Quodsi ordinationes universales necessariae sunt, cur mutant ipsi ordinationem coenae Christi, quae non est humana, sed divina? Sed de hac tota controversia infra aliquoties dicendum erit.

47] Octavus articulus approbatus est totus, in quo confitemur, quod hypocritae et mali admixti sint ecclesiae, et quod sacramenta sint efficacia, etiamsi per malos ministros tractentur, quia ministri funguntur vice Christi, non repraesentant suam personam, iuxta illud
48] Luc. 10, 16: *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Impii doctores deserendi sunt, quia hi iam non funguntur persona Christi, sed sunt anti-

Dergleichen unzählig könnte ich aus den Historien vorbringen und noch klarer anzeigen, daß solche Ungleichheit an [in] äußerlichen Satzungen niemand von der gemeinen Christenkirche absondert oder scheidet. Die Widersacher verstehen gar nicht, was der Glaube, was das Reich Christi sei, die da lehren, daß in den Satzungen, welche von Speise, von Tagen, von Kleidung und dergleichen Dingen reden, die Gott nicht geboten hat, die Einigkeit der christlichen Kirche stehe. Es mag aber hier jedermann sehen und merken, wie andächtige, überaus heilige Leute die Widersacher seien. Denn so Universalordnungen nötig sind und nicht sollen geändert werden, wer hat ihnen befohlen, die Ordnung im Abendmahl Christi zu ändern, welche nicht eine Menschensatzung ist, sondern eine göttliche Ordnung? Aber davon wollen wir hernach sonderlich handeln.

Den VIII. Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher ganz gefallen, da wir sagen, daß auch Heuchler und Gottlose in der Kirche gefunden werden, und daß die Sakramente nicht darum ohne Kraft seien, ob sie durch Heuchler gereicht werden; denn sie reichen's an Christus' Statt und nicht für ihre Person, wie der Spruch lautet: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich." Doch soll man falsche Lehrer nicht annehmen oder hören; denn dieselben sind nicht

But the apostles, by this decree, did not wish to impose necessity upon the Churches, as the words of the decree testify. For it bids no one to be troubled, even though his brethren, in observing Easter, do not compute the time aright. The words of the decree are extant in Epiphanius: *Do not calculate, but celebrate it whenever your brethren of the circumcision do; celebrate it at the same time with them, and even though they may have erred, let not this be a care to you.* Epiphanius writes that these are the words of the apostles presented in a decree concerning Easter, in which the discreet reader can easily judge that the apostles wished to free the people from the foolish opinion of a fixed time, when they prohibit them from being troubled, even though a mistake should be made in the computation. Some, moreover, in the East, who were called, from the author of the dogma, Audians, contended, on account of this decree of the apostles, that the Passover should be observed with the Jews. Epiphanius, in refuting them, praises the decree, and says that it contains nothing which deviates from the faith or rule of the Church, and blames the Audians because they do not understand aright the expression, and interprets it in the sense in which we interpret it, because the apostles did not consider it of any importance at what time the Passover should be observed, but because prominent brethren had been converted from the Jews, who observed their custom, and, for the sake of harmony, wished the rest to follow their example. And the apostles wisely admonished the reader neither to remove the liberty of the Gospel, nor to impose necessity upon consciences, because they add that they should not be troubled even though there should be an error in making the computation.

Many things of this class can be gathered from the histories, in which it appears that a want of uniformity in human observances does not injure the unity of faith [separate no one from the universal Christian Church]. Although, what need is there of discussion? The adversaries do not at all understand what the righteousness of faith is, what the kingdom of Christ is, when they judge that uniformity of observances in food, days, clothing, and the like, which do not have the command of God, is necessary. But look at the religious men, our adversaries. For the unity of the Church they require uniform human observances, although they themselves have changed the ordinance of Christ in the use of the Supper, which certainly was a universal ordinance before. But if universal ordinances are so necessary, why do they themselves change the ordinance of Christ's Supper, which is not human, but divine? But concerning this entire controversy we shall have to speak at different times below.

The entire Eighth Article has been approved, in which we confess that hypocrites and wicked persons have been mingled with the Church, and that the Sacraments are efficacious even though dispensed by wicked ministers, because the ministers act in the place of Christ, and do not represent their own persons, according to Luke 10, 16: *He that heareth you heareth Me.* Impious teachers are to be deserted [are not to be re-

christi. Et Christus ait Matth. 7, 15: *Cavete a pseudoprophetis.* Et Paulus Gal. 1, 9: *Si quis aliud evangelium evangelizaverit, anathema sit.*

49] Ceterum monuit nos Christus in collationibus de ecclesia, ne offensi privatis [R. 156 vitiis sive sacerdotum sive populi schismata excitemus, sicut scelerate fecerunt Donatistae. 50] Illos vero, qui ideo excitaverunt schismata, quia negabant sacerdotibus licere, tenere possessiones aut proprium, plane seditiosos iudicamus. Nam tenere proprium civilis ordinatio est. Licet autem Christianis uti civilibus ordinationibus, sicut hoc aëre, hac luce, cibo, potu. Nam ut haec rerum natura et hi siderum certi motus vere sunt ordinatio Dei et conservantur a Deo, ita legitimae politiae vere sunt ordinatio Dei et retinentur ac defenduntur a Deo adversus diabolum.

mehr an Christus' Statt, sondern sind Widerchristi. Und Christus hat von denen klar befohlen: „Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten"; und Paulus zu den Galatern: „Wer euch ein ander Evangelium prediget, der sei verflucht."

Sonst, was der Priester eigen Leben belangt, hat uns Christus vermahnt in den Gleichnissen von der Kirche, daß wir nicht schismata oder Trennungen sollen anrichten, ob die Priester oder das Volk nicht allenthalben rein, christlich leben, wie die Donatisten getan haben. Diejenigen aber, die darum an etlichen Orten haben schismata und Trennungen angerichtet, daß sie vorgeben, die Priester dürften nicht Güter oder Eigenes haben, die achten wir für aufrührerisch. Denn Eigenes haben, Güter haben ist eine weltliche Ordnung. Die Christen aber mögen allerlei weltliche Ordnung so frei brauchen, als sie der Luft, Speise, Tranks, gemeines Lichts brauchen. Denn gleichwie Himmel, Erde, Sonne, Mond und Sterne Gottes Ordnung sind und von Gott erhalten werden, also sind Politien und alles, was zur Polizei gehört, Gottes Ordnung und werden erhalten und beschützt von Gott wider den Teufel.

[Art. IX. De Baptismo.]

51] Nonus articulus approbatus est, in quo confitemur, quod *Baptismus sit necessarius ad salutem*, et quod *pueri sint baptizandi*, et quod *baptismus puerorum non sit irritus, sed ne-* 52] *cessarius et efficax ad salutem.* Et quoniam evangelium pure ac diligenter apud nos docetur, Dei beneficio hunc quoque fructum ex eo capimus, quod in ecclesiis nostris nulli exstiterunt Anabaptistae, quia populus Verbo Dei adversus impiam et seditiosam factionem illorum latronum munitus est. Et quum plerosque alios errores Anabaptistarum damnamus, tum hunc quoque, quod disputant baptismum parvulorum inutilem esse. Certissimum est enim, quod promissio salutis pertinet etiam ad parvulos. Neque vero pertinet ad illos, qui sunt extra ecclesiam Christi, ubi nec Verbum nec sacramenta sunt, quia regnum Christi tantum cum Verbo et sacramentis existit. Igitur necesse est baptizare parvulos, ut applicetur eis promissio salutis iuxta mandatum Christi, Matth. 28, 19: *Baptizate omnes gentes.* Ubi sicut offertur omnibus salus, ita offertur omnibus baptismus: viris, mulieribus, pueris, infantibus. Sequitur igitur clare infantes baptizandos esse, quia salus cum 53] baptismo offertur. Secundo manifestum est, quod Deus approbat baptismum [R. 157 parvulorum. Igitur Anabaptistae impie sentiunt, qui damnant baptismum parvulorum. Quod autem Deus approbet baptismum parvulorum, hoc ostendit, quod Deus dat Spiritum Sanctum sic baptizatis. Nam si hic baptismus irritus esset, nullis daretur Spiritus Sanctus, nulli fierent salvi, denique nulla esset ecclesia. Haec ratio bonas et pias mentes vel sola satis confirmare potest contra impias et fanaticas opiniones Anabaptistarum.

Artikel IX. Von der Taufe.

Den neunten Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher auch gefallen, da wir bekennen, **daß die Taufe zur Seligkeit vonnöten sei, und daß die Taufe der jungen Kinder nicht vergeblich sei, sondern nötig und seliglich.** Und dieweil das Evangelium bei uns rein und mit allem Fleiß gepredigt wird, so haben wir auch, Gott Lob, den großen Nutzen und selige Frucht davon, daß nicht Wiedertäufer in unsere Kirchen eingerissen [sind]. Denn unser Volk ist, Gott Lob, unterrichtet durch Gottes Wort wider die gottlosen, aufrührerischen Rotten derselben mörderischen Bösewichte, und so wir viel andere Irrtümer der Wiedertäufer dämpfen und verdammen, so haben wir den doch sonderlich wider sie erstritten und erhalten, daß die Kindertaufe nicht unnütz sei. Denn es ist ganz gewiß, daß die göttlichen Verheißungen der Gnade des Heiligen Geistes nicht allein die Alten, sondern auch die Kinder belangen. Nun gehen die Verheißungen diejenigen nicht an, so außerhalb der Kirche Christi sind, da weder Evangelium noch Sakrament ist. Denn das Reich Christi ist nirgend, denn wo das Wort Gottes und die Sakramente sind. Darum ist es auch recht christlich und not, die Kinder zu taufen, damit sie des Evangelii, der Verheißung des Heils und der Gnade teilhaftig werden, wie Christus befiehlt: „Gehet hin, taufet alle Heiden." Wie ihnen nun wird Gnade, Heil in Christo, also wird ihnen angeboten die Taufe, beide Männern und Weibern, Knaben und jungen Kindern. So folgt gewiß daraus, daß man die jungen Kinder taufen mag und soll, denn in und mit der Taufe wird ihnen die gemeine Gnade und der Schatz des Evangelii angeboten. Zum andern ist's am Tage, daß Gott der HErr ihm gefallen läßt die Taufe der jungen Kinder. Derhalben lehren die Wiedertäufer unrecht, so dieselbe Taufe verdammen. Daß aber Gott Gefallen hat an der Taufe der jungen Kinder, zeigt er damit an, daß er vielen, so in der Kindheit getauft sind, den Heiligen Geist hat gegeben; denn es sind viel heilige Leute in der Kirche gewesen, die nicht anders getauft sind.

ceived or heard], because these do not act any longer in the place of Christ, but are antichrists. And Christ says Matt. 7, 15: *Beware of false prophets.* And Paul, Gal. 1, 9: *If any man preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed.*

Moreover, Christ has warned us in His parables concerning the Church, that when offended by the private vices, whether of priests or people, we should not excite schisms, as the Donatists have wickedly done. As to those, however, who have excited schisms, because they denied that priests are permitted to hold possessions and property, we hold that they are altogether seditious. For to hold property is a civil ordinance. It is lawful, however, for Christians to use civil ordinances, just as they use the air, the light, food, drink. For as this order of the world and fixed movements of the heavenly bodies are truly God's ordinances and these are preserved by God, so lawful governments are truly God's ordinances, and are preserved and defended by God against the devil.

Article IX: Of Baptism.

The Ninth Article has been approved, in which we confess that *Baptism is necessary to salvation,* and that *children are to be baptized,* and that *the baptism of children is not in vain, but is necessary and effectual to salvation.* And since the Gospel is taught among us purely and diligently, by God's favor we receive also from it this fruit, that in our Churches no Anabaptists have arisen [have not gained ground in our Churches], because the people have been fortified by God's Word against the wicked and seditious faction of these robbers. And as we condemn quite a number of other errors of the Anabaptists, we condemn this also, that they dispute that the baptism of little children is unprofitable. For it is very certain that the promise of salvation pertains also to little children [that the divine promises of grace and of the Holy Ghost belong not alone to the old, but also to children]. It does not, however, pertain to those who are outside of Christ's Church, where there is neither Word nor Sacraments, because the kingdom of Christ exists only with the Word and Sacraments. Therefore it is necessary to baptize little children, that the promise of salvation may be applied to them, according to Christ's command, Matt. 28, 19: *Baptize all nations.* Just as here salvation is offered to all, so Baptism is offered to all, to men, women, children, infants. It clearly follows, therefore, that infants are to be baptized, because with Baptism salvation [the universal grace and treasure of the Gospel] is offered. Secondly, it is manifest that God approves of the baptism of little children. Therefore the Anabaptists, who condemn the baptism of little children, believe wickedly. That God, however, approves of the baptism of little children is shown by this, namely, that God gives the Holy Ghost to those thus baptized [to many who have been baptized in childhood]. For if this baptism would be in vain, the Holy Ghost would be given to none, none would be saved, and finally there would be no Church. [For there have been many holy men in the Church who have not been baptized otherwise.] This reason, even taken alone, can sufficiently establish good and godly minds against the godless and fanatical opinions of the Anabaptists.

[Art. X. De Sacra Coena.]

54] Decimus articulus approbatus est, in quo confitemur nos sentire, quod *in coena Domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi et vere exhibeantur cum illis rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino, his, qui sacramentum accipiunt.* Hanc sententiam constanter defendimus re diligenter inquisita et agitata. Quum enim Paulus dicat 1 Cor. 10, 16, *panem esse participationem corporis Domini* etc., sequeretur panem non esse participationem corporis, sed tantum spiritus Christi, si non adesset vere corpus Domini. 55] Et comperimus non tantum Romanam ecclesiam affirmare corporalem praesentiam Christi, sed idem et nunc sentire et olim sensisse Graecam ecclesiam. Id enim testatur *canon missae* apud illos, in quo aperte orat sacerdos, ut mutato pane ipsum corpus Christi fiat. Et Vulgarius [Theophylactus Bulgarius], scriptor, ut nobis videtur non stultus, diserte inquit, *panem non tantum figuram esse, sed* 56] *vere in carnem mutari.* Et longa sententia est Cyrilli in Iohannem, cap. 15, in qua docet, Christum corporaliter nobis exhiberi in coena. Sic enim ait: *Non tamen negamus recta nos fide caritateque sincera Christo spiritualiter coniungi. Sed nullam nobis* [R. 158 *coniunctionis rationem secundum carnem cum illo esse, id profecto pernegamus. Idque a divinis Scripturis omnino alienum dicimus. Quis enim dubitavit Christum etiam sic vitem esse, nos vero palmites, qui vitam inde nobis acquirimus? Audi Paulum dicentem* 1 Cor. 10, 17; Rom. 12, 5; Gal. 3, 28: *Quia „omnes unum corpus sumus in Christo", quia, „etsi multi sumus, unum tamen in eo sumus. Omnes enim uno pane participamus". An fortasse putat ignotam nobis mysticae benedictionis virtutem esse? Quae quum in nobis sit, nonne corporaliter quoque facit, communicatione carnis Christi, Christum in nobis habitare?* Et paulo post: *Unde considerandum est non habitudine solum, quae per caritatem intelligitur, Christum in nobis esse, verum* 57] *etiam participatione naturali* etc. Haec recitavimus, non ut hic disputationem de hac re institueremus, non enim improbat hunc articulum Caesarea Maiestas, sed ut clarius etiam perspicerent, quicunque ista legent, nos defendere receptam in tota ecclesia sententiam, quod in coena Domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi et vere exhibeantur cum his rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino. Et loquimur de praesentia vivi Christi; *scimus enim, quod mors ei ultra non dominabitur,* Rom. 6, 9.

[Artikel X. Vom heiligen Abendmahl.]

Den zehnten Artikel fechten die Widerſacher nicht an, darin wir bekennen, **daß unſers HErrn Chriſti Leib und Blut wahrhaftiglich im Nachtmahl Chriſti zugegen und mit den ſichtbaren Dingen, Brot und Wein, dargereicht und genommen wird;** wie man bisanher in der Kirche gehalten hat, wie auch der Gräken [Griechen] Kanon zeugt. Und Cyrillus ſpricht, daß uns Chriſtus leiblich gereicht und gegeben wird im Abendmahl. Denn ſo ſagt er: „Wir leugnen nicht, daß wir durch rechten Glauben und reine Liebe Chriſto geiſtlich vereinigt werden. Daß wir aber nach dem Fleiſch gar keine Vereinigung mit ihm haben ſollten, da ſagen wir nein zu, und das iſt auch wider die Schrift. Denn wer will zweifeln, daß Chriſtus auch alſo der Weinſtock ſei, wir die Reben, daß wir Saft und Leben von ihm haben? Höre, wie Paulus ſagt: ‚Wir ſind alle ein Leib in Chriſto; wiewohl unſer viel ſind, ſo ſind wir in ihm doch eins; denn wir genießen alle eines Brots.' Meineſt du, daß wir die Kraft des göttlichen Segens im Abendmahl nicht wiſſen? Denn wenn der geſchieht, ſo macht er, daß durch die Genießung des Fleiſches und Leibes Chriſti Chriſtus auch leiblich in uns wohnt." Item: „Darum iſt das zu merken, daß Chriſtus nicht allein durch geiſtliche Einigkeit, durch die Liebe, ſondern auch durch natürliche Gemeinſchaft in uns iſt." Und wir reden von Gegenwärtigkeit des lebendigen Leibes; denn wir wiſſen, wie Paulus ſagt, „daß der Tod forthin nicht über ihn herrſchen wird". [Was den Meßkanon betrifft, auf den ſich der lateiniſche Text bezieht, ſo betet der Prieſter in der „Missa s. Iacobi": „*Αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ πανάγιον κατάπεμψον, Δέσποτα, ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα ἅγια δῶρα ταῦτα . . . ἵνα ἐπιφοιτῆσαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ αὐτοῦ παρουσίᾳ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου . . . καὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.*" In der „Liturgia s. Marci" betet der Prieſter: „*Ἐξαπόστειλον . . . ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρτους τούτους καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ποτήρια ταῦτα τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον, ἵνα ἀντὰ ἁγιάσῃ καὶ τελειώσῃ ὡς παντοδύναμος θεὸς καὶ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ἄρτον σῶμα.*" In der „Missa s. Basilii": „*Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα, τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον . . . τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον, αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου . . . μεταβαλὼν τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ.*" In der „Missa s. Chrysostomi": „*Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτ , τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον . . . ποίησον τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου.*" In der „Liturgia s. Gregorii" betet der Prieſter: „Mitte super nos gratiam Spiritus Sancti tui, qui purificet et commutet has propositas oblationes in corpus et sanguinem liberationis nostrae. Et fiat panis corpus sacrosanctum tuum." Endlich in der „Liturgia s. Cyrilli": „Emitte Spiritum Sanctum tuum super nos, famulos tuos, et super has oblationes venerandas, quas incipio apponere coram te, super hunc panem et super hunc calicem, ut sanctificentur et commutentur. Et hunc panem faciat corpus sanctum Christi." Mit dem Meßkanon und dem Zitat aus Theophylakt ſoll nur, wie der Text des zehnten Artikels klar zeigt, die reale Gegenwart des Leibes und Blutes Chriſti mit dem Brot und Wein bezeugt werden; was in dieſen Stellen darüber hinausgeht, iſt darum ſelbſtverſtändlich nicht Lehre der Apologie.]

[Art. XI. De Confessione.]

58] Undecimus articulus *de retinenda absolutione in ecclesia* probatur. Sed de *confessione* addunt correctionem, videlicet observan-

[Artikel XI. Von der Beichte.]

Den elften Artikel, da wir ſagen von der **Abſolution,** laſſen ihnen die Widerſacher gefallen. Aber was die **Beichte** belangt, ſetzen ſie dieſes

Article X: Of the Holy Supper.

The Tenth Article has been approved, in which we confess that we believe, that *in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly tendered, with those things which are seen, bread and wine, to those who receive the Sacrament.* This belief we constantly defend, as the subject has been carefully examined and considered. For since Paul says, 1 Cor. 10, 16, that *the bread is the communion of the Lord's body*, etc., it would follow, if the Lord's body were not truly present, that the bread is not a communion of the body, but only of the spirit of Christ. And we have ascertained that not only the Roman Church affirms the bodily presence of Christ, but the Greek Church also both now believes, and formerly believed, the same. For the canon of the Mass among them testifies to this, in which the priest clearly prays that the bread may be changed and become the very body of Christ. And Vulgarius, who seems to us to be not a silly writer, says distinctly that *bread is not a mere figure, but is truly changed into flesh.* And there is a long exposition of Cyril on John 15, in which he teaches that Christ is corporeally offered us in the Supper. For he says thus: *Nevertheless, we do not deny that we are joined spiritually to Christ by true faith and sincere love. But that we have no mode of connection with Him, according to the flesh, this indeed we entirely deny. And this, we say, is altogether foreign to the divine Scriptures. For who has doubted that Christ is in this manner a vine, and we the branches, deriving thence life for ourselves? Hear Paul saying 1 Cor. 10, 17; Rom. 12, 5; Gal. 3, 28: We are all one body in Christ; although we are many, we are, nevertheless, one in Him; for we are all partakers of that one bread. Does he perhaps think that the virtue of the mystical benediction is unknown to us? Since this is in us, does it not also, by the communication of Christ's flesh, cause Christ to dwell in us bodily?* And a little after: *Whence we must consider that Christ is in us not only according to the habit, which we call love, but also by natural participation*, etc. We have cited these testimonies, not to undertake a discussion here concerning this subject, for His Imperial Majesty does not disapprove of this article, but in order that all who may read them may the more clearly perceive that we defend the doctrine received in the entire Church, that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly tendered with those things which are seen, bread and wine. And we speak of the presence of the living Christ [living body]; *for we know that death hath no more dominion over Him*, Rom. 6, 9.

Article XI: Of Confession.

The Eleventh Article, *Of Retaining Absolution in the Church*, is approved. But they add a correction in reference to confession,

dam esse constitutionem cap. *Omnis utriusque,** ut et quotannis fiat confessio, et quamvis omnia peccata enumerari non queant, tamen diligentiam adhibendam esse, ut colligantur, et illa, quae redigi in memoriam possunt, recenseantur. [Concilium Lateranense, A. D. 1515, can. 21: „Omnis utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annos discretionis pervenerit, omnia sua solus peccata fideliter confiteatur, saltem semel in anno, proprio sacerdoti, et iniunctam sibi poenitentiam studeat pro viribus adimplere, suscipiens reverenter ad minus in Pascha eucharistiae sacramentum, nisi forte de consilio proprii sacerdotis ob aliquam rationabilem causam ad tempus ab eius perceptione duxerit abstinendum; alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiae arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ignorantiae caecitate velamen excusationis assumat. Si quis autem alieno sacerdoti voluerit iusta de causa sua confiteri peccata, licentiam prius postulet et obtineat a proprio sacerdote, cum aliter ille ipse non possit solvere vel ligare.“ Mansi, Collectio amplissima 22, 1007.] De hoc toto articulo dicemus paulo post copiosius, quum sententiam nostram de poenitentia totam ex-
59] plicabimus. Constat nos beneficium absolutionis et potestatem clavium ita illustravisse et ornavisse, ut multae afflictae conscientiae ex doctrina nostrorum consolationem conceperint, postquam audiverunt mandatum Dei esse, imo propriam evangelii vocem, [R. 159 ut absolutioni credamus et certo statuamus nobis gratis donari remissionem peccatorum propter Christum, et sentiamus vere nos hac fide reconciliari Deo. Haec sententia multas pias mentes erexit, et initio commendationem maximam apud omnes bonos viros attulit Luthero, quum ostendit certam et firmam consolationem conscientiis, quia antea tota vis absolutionis erat oppressa doctrinis operum, quum de fide et gratuita remissione nihil docerent sophistae et monachi.

dazu, daß mit der Beichte soll gehalten werden nach dem Kapitel Omnis utriusque sexus, daß ein jeder Christ alle Jahr einmal beichte, und ob er alle Sünden so rein nicht kann erzählen, daß er doch Fleiß habe, sich deren aller zu erinnern, und soviel er sich erinnern mag, daß er die in der Beichte sage. Vom ganzen Artikel wollen wir hernach weiter handeln, wenn wir von der christlichen Buße werden reden. Es ist am Tage und es können die Widersacher nicht leugnen, daß die Unsern von der Absolution, von den Schlüsseln, also christlich, richtig, rein gepredigt, geschrieben und gelehrt haben, daß viel betrübte, angefochtene Gewissen daraus großen Trost empfangen, nachdem sie dieses nötigen Stücks klar unterrichtet sind, nämlich daß es Gottes Gebot ist, daß es der rechte Brauch des Evangelii ist, daß wir der Absolution glauben und gewiß bei uns dafürhalten, daß ohne unser Verdienst uns Sünden vergeben werden durch Christum, daß wir auch so wahrhaftig, wenn wir dem Wort der Absolution glauben, Gotte werden versöhnt, als hörten wir eine Stimme vom Himmel. Diese Lehre, welche fast [sehr] nötig, ist vielen angefochtenen Gewissen fast tröstlich gewesen. Auch haben viel redliche, verständige Leute, viel fromme Herzen im Anfang dieser unserer Lehre halben D. Luther hoch gelobt und des eine sondere Freude gehabt, daß der nötige, gewisse Trost wiederum wäre an [den] Tag gebracht. Denn zuvor war die ganze nötige Lehre von der Buße und Absolution untergedrückt [unterdrückt], nachdem die Sophisten keinen rechten und beständigen Trost des Gewissens lehrten, sondern weiseten die Leute auf ihre eigenen Werke, daraus eitel Verzweiflung in erschrockene Gewissen kommt.

60] Ceterum de *tempore*, certe in ecclesiis nostris plurimi saepe in anno utuntur sacramentis, absolutione et coena Domini. Et qui docent de dignitate et fructibus sacramentorum, ita dicunt, ut invitent populum, ut saepe utantur sacramentis. Exstant enim de hac re multa a nostris ita scripta, ut adversarii, si qui sunt boni viri, haud dubie probent ac
61] laudent. Denuntiatur et excommunicatio flagitiosis et contemptoribus sacramentorum. Haec ita fiunt et iuxta evangelium et iuxta
62] veteres canones. Sed certum tempus non praescribitur, quia non omnes pariter eodem tempore idonei sunt. Imo si accurrant eodem tempore omnes, non possunt ordine audiri et institui homines. Et veteres canones ac patres non constituunt certum tempus. Tantum ita dicit canon: *Si qui intrant ecclesiam Dei et deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur. Quodsi non communicant, ad poenitentiam accedant. Si communicant, non semper abstineant. Si non fecerint, abstineant.* [Concilium Toletanum, A. D. 400, can. 13: „De his, qui intrant in ecclesiam, et deprehenduntur nunquam communicare, admoneantur, ut si (quod si) non communicant, ad poenitentiam accedant; si communicant, non super abstineantur; si non fecerint, abstineantur.“

Was aber die **gewisse Zeit der Beichte** belangt, so ist es wahr und den Widersachern unverborgen, daß in unsern Kirchen viele Leute des Jahrs nicht allein einmal, sondern oft beichten, der Absolution und des heiligen Sakraments brauchen. Und die Prediger, wenn sie von dem Brauch und Nutz der heiligen Sakramente lehren, lehren sie also, daß sie das Volk mit Fleiß vermahnen, des heiligen Sakraments oft zu gebrauchen. Und es sind auch die Bücher und Schriften der Unsern am Licht, welche also geschrieben, daß die Widersacher, welche ehrbare, gottesfürchtige Leute sind, solche nicht anfechten, sondern loben müssen. So wird auch von unsern Predigern allezeit daneben gemeldet, daß die sollen verbannt und ausgeschlossen werden, die in öffentlichen Lastern leben, Hurerei, Ehebruch usw.; item, so die heiligen Sakramente verachten. Das halten wir also nach dem Evangelio und nach den alten canonibus. Aber auf gewisse Tage oder Zeit im Jahr wird niemand zum Sakrament gedrungen; denn es ist nicht möglich, daß die Leute alle gleich auf eine gewisse Zeit geschickt seien, und wenn sie alle in einer ganzen Pfarre auf eine Zeit zum Altar laufen, können sie nicht so fleißig verhört und unterrichtet werden, wie sie bei uns unterrichtet werden. Und die alten Canones und Väter setzen keine gewisse Zeit; allein also sagt der Kanon: „So etliche sich zu der

namely, that the regulation headed, *Omnis Utriusque*, be observed, and that both annual confession be made, and, although all sins cannot be enumerated, nevertheless diligence be employed in order that they be recollected, and those which can be recalled, be recounted. Concerning this entire article, we will speak at greater length after a while, when we will explain our entire opinion concerning repentance. It is well known that we have so elucidated and extolled [that we have preached, written, and taught in a manner so Christian, correct, and pure] the benefit of absolution and the power of the keys that many distressed consciences have derived consolation from our doctrine; after they heard that it is the command of God, nay, rather the very voice of the Gospel, that we should believe the absolution, and regard it as certain that the remission of sins is freely granted us for Christ's sake; and that we should believe that by this faith we are truly reconciled to God [as though we heard a voice from heaven]. This belief has encouraged many godly minds, and, in the beginning, brought Luther the highest commendation from all good men, since it shows consciences sure and firm consolation; because previously the entire power of absolution [entire necessary doctrine of repentance] had been kept suppressed by doctrines concerning works, since the sophists and monks taught nothing of faith and free remission [but pointed men to their own works, from which nothing but despair enters alarmed consciences].

But with respect to the *time*, certainly most men in our churches use the Sacraments, absolution and the Lord's Supper, frequently in a year. And those who teach of the worth and fruits of the Sacraments speak in such a manner as to invite the people to use the Sacraments frequently. For concerning this subject there are many things extant written by our theologians in such a manner that the adversaries, if they are good men, will undoubtedly approve and praise them. Excommunication is also pronounced against the openly wicked [those who live in manifest vices, fornication, adultery, etc.] and the despisers of the Sacraments. These things are thus done both according to the Gospel and according to the old canons. But a fixed time is not prescribed, because all are not ready in like manner at the same time. Yea, if all are to come at the same time, they cannot be heard and instructed in order [so diligently]. And the old canons and Fathers do not appoint a fixed time. The canon speaks only thus: *If any enter the Church and be found never to commune, let them be admonished that, if they do not commune, they*

Mansi, Coll. amp. 3, 1000.] Christus ait 1 Cor. 11, 29, illos sibi iudicium manducare, qui manducant indigne. Ideo pastores non cogunt hos, qui non sunt idonei, ut sacramentis utantur.

Kirche begeben und befunden werden, daß sie das Sakrament nicht brauchen, soll man sie vermahnen. Wo etliche nicht kommunizieren, sollen sie zur Buße vermahnt werden; so sie aber wollen für Christen gehalten sein, sollen sie sich nicht allezeit davon halten. Paulus 1 Kor. 11 sagt, daß diejenigen das Sakrament zum Gericht empfangen, die es unwürdig empfangen. Darum zwingen unsere Pfarrer diejenigen nicht, die nicht geschickt sind, das Sakrament zu empfangen.

63] *De enumeratione peccatorum in confessione* sic docentur homines, ne laquei iniiciantur conscientiis. Etiamsi prodest rudes assuefacere, ut quaedam enumerent, ut doceri facilius possint: verum disputamus [R. 160 nunc, quid sit necessarium iure divino. Non igitur debebant adversarii nobis allegare constitutionem *Omnis utriusque*, quae nobis non est ignota, sed ex iure divino ostendere, quod enumeratio peccatorum sit necessaria ad con-
64] sequendam remissionem. Tota ecclesia per universam Europam scit, quales laqueos iniecerit conscientiis illa particula constitutionis, quae iubet omnia peccata confiteri. Nec tantum habet incommodi textus per se, quantum postea affinxerunt Summistae, qui colligunt circumstantias peccatorum. Quales ibi labyrinthi, quanta carnificina fuit optimarum mentium! Nam feros et profanos ista
65] terriculamenta nihil movebant. Postea quales tragoedias excitavit quaestio de proprio sacerdote inter pastores et fratres, qui tunc minime erant fratres, quum de regno confessionum belligerabantur. Nos igitur sentimus enumerationem peccatorum non esse necessariam iure divino. Idque placet Panormitano et plerisque aliis eruditis iurisconsultis. Nec volumus imponere necessitatem conscientiis nostrorum per constitutionem illam *Omnis utriusque*, de qua perinde iudicamus, ut de aliis traditionibus humanis, de quibus sentimus, quod non sint cultus ad iustificationem necessarii. Et haec constitutio rem impossibilem praecipit, ut omnia peccata confiteamur. Constat autem plurima nos nec meminisse, nec intelligere iuxta illud Ps. 19, 13: *Delicta quis intelligit?*

Von dem Erzählen aber und Erinnerung der Sünden in der Beichte unterrichten unsere Prediger also die Leute, daß sie doch die Gewissen nicht verstricken, als sei es not, alle Sünden bei Namen zu erzählen. Wiewohl es nun gut ist, die Groben, Unerfahrenen dazu [zu] unterweisen, daß sie etliche Sünden in der Beichte namhaftig machen, was sie drückt, damit man sie leichtlicher unterrichten kann: so disputieren wir doch davon hier nicht, sondern davon, ob Gott geboten habe, daß man die Sünden also alle erzählen müsse, und ob die Sünden unerzählt nicht mögen vergeben werden. Derhalben sollten die Widersacher uns nicht angezogen haben das Kapitel Omnis utriusque sexus, welches wir sehr wohl kennen, sondern aus der Heiligen Schrift, aus Gottes Wort, uns bewiesen haben, daß solch Erzählen der Sünden von Gott geboten wäre. Es ist leider allzu klar am Tage und rüchtig [ruchtbar] durch alle Kirchen in ganz Europa, wie diese particula des Kapitels Omnis utriusque sexus, da es gebietet, man solle schuldig sein, alle Sünden zu beichten, die Gewissen in Elend, Jammer und Verstrickung gebracht hat. Und der Text an ihm selbst hat nicht so viel Schaden getan als hernach der Summisten Bücher, darin die Umstände, Zirkumstanz der Sünden zusammengelesen; denn damit haben sie erst die Gewissen recht irregemacht und unsäglich geplagt, und dazu eitel gutherzige Leute, denn die Frechen und Wilden haben danach nicht viel gefragt. Darüber, nachdem der Text also lautet: ein jeder sollte seinem eigenen Priester beichten, was großes Zanks und wie mördlichen Neid und Haß hat zwischen Pfarrern und Mönchen allerlei Ordens diese Frage angerichtet, welches doch der eigene Priester wäre! Denn da war alle Brüderschaft, alle Freundschaft aus, wenn es um die Herrschaft, um den Beichtpfennig zu tun war. Darum halten wir, daß Gott nicht geboten hat, die Sünden namhaftig zu machen und zu erzählen. Und das hält auch Panormitanus und viel andere Gelehrte. Darum wollen wir keine Bürde auf die Gewissen legen durch das Kapitel Omnis utriusque sexus, sondern sagen von demselben wie von andern Menschensatzungen, nämlich daß es nicht ein Gottesdienst sei, der nötig sei zur Seligkeit. Auch so wird in dem Kapitel ein unmöglich Ding geboten, nämlich daß wir alle Sünden beichten sollen. Nun ist's gewiß, daß wir vieler Sünden nicht können gedenken, auch wohl die größten Sünden nicht sehen, wie der Psalm sagt: „Wer kennet seine Fehle?"

66] Si sint boni pastores, scient, quatenus prosit examinare rudes, sed illam carnificinam Summistarum confirmare non volumus, quae tamen minus fuisset intolerabilis, si verbum unum addidissent de fide consolante et erigente conscientias. Nunc de hac fide consequente remissionem peccatorum nulla est syllaba in tanta mole constitutionum, glossarum, summarum, confessionalium. Nusquam ibi Christus legitur. Tantum leguntur supputationes peccatorum. Et maxima pars [R. 161 consumitur in peccatis contra traditiones
67] humanas, quae est vanissima. Haec doctrina adegit multas pias mentes ad desperationem, quae non potuerunt acquiescere, quia sentiebant iure divino necessariam esse enume-

Wo verständige, gottesfürchtige Pfarrherren und Prediger sind, die werden wohl wissen, wiefern not und nütze sein mag, die Jugend und sonst unerfahrene Leute in der Beichte zu fragen. Aber diese Tyrannei über die Gewissen, da die Summisten als die Stockmeister die Gewissen ohne Unterlaß geplagt haben, können noch wollen wir nicht loben; welche dennoch weniger beschwerlich gewesen wären, wenn sie doch mit einem Wort auch des Glaubens an Christum, dadurch die Gewissen recht getröstet werden, gedacht hätten. Nun aber ist von Christo, vom Glauben, von Vergebung der Sünde nicht eine Silbe, nicht ein Tüttel in so viel großen Büchern ihrer Dekretale, ihrer Kommente, ihrer Summisten, ihrer Konfessionale; da wird niemand ein Wort lesen, daraus er Chri-

come to repentance. If they commune [*if they wish to be regarded as Christians*], *let them not be expelled; if they fail to do so, let them be excommunicated.* Christ [Paul] says, 1 Cor. 11, 29, that those who eat unworthily eat judgment to themselves. The pastors, accordingly, do not compel those who are not qualified to use the Sacraments.

Concerning the enumeration of sins in confession, men are taught in such a way as not to ensnare their consciences. Although it is of advantage to accustom inexperienced men to enumerate some things [which worry them], in order that they may be the more readily taught, yet we are now discussing what is necessary according to divine Law. Therefore, the adversaries ought not to cite for us the regulation *Omnis Utriusque,* which is not unknown to us, but they ought to show from the divine Law that an enumeration of sins is necessary for obtaining their remission. The entire Church, throughout all Europe, knows what sort of snares this point of the regulation, which commands that all sins be confessed, has cast upon consciences. Neither has the text by itself as much disadvantage as was afterwards added by the Summists, who collect the circumstances of the sins. What labyrinths were there! How great a torture for the best minds! For the licentious and profane were in no way moved by these instruments of terror. Afterwards, what tragedies [what jealousy and hatred] did the questions concerning one's own priest excite among the pastors and brethren [monks of various orders], who then were by no means brethren when they were warring concerning jurisdiction of confessions! [For all brotherliness, all friendship, ceased, when the question was concerning authority and confessor's fees.] We, therefore, believe that, according to divine Law, the enumeration of sins is not necessary. This also is pleasing to Panormitanus and very many other learned jurisconsults. Nor do we wish to impose necessity upon the consciences of our people by the regulation *Omnis Utriusque,* of which we judge, just as of other human traditions, that they are not acts of worship necessary for justification. And this regulation commands an impossible matter, that we should confess all sins. It is evident, however, that most sins we neither remember nor understand [nor do we indeed even see the greatest sins], according to Ps. 19, 13: *Who can understand his errors?*

If the pastors are good men, they will know how far it is of advantage to examine [the young and otherwise] inexperienced persons; but we do not wish to sanction the torture [the tyranny of consciences] of the Summists, which notwithstanding would have been less intolerable if they had added one word concerning faith, which comforts and encourages consciences. Now, concerning this faith, which obtains the remission of sins, there is not a syllable in so great a mass of regulations, glosses, summaries, books of confession. Christ is nowhere read there. [Nobody will there read a word by which he could learn to know Christ, or what Christ is.] Only the lists of sins are read [to the end of gathering and accumulating sins; and this would be of some value if they understood those

rationem, et tamen experiebatur impossibilem esse. Sed haerent alia non minora vitia in doctrina adversariorum de poenitentia, quae iam recensebimus.

stum, oder was Christus sei, möge lernen. Allein gehen sie mit diesen Registern um, die Sünden zu sammeln, zu häufen, und wäre noch etwas, wenn sie doch die Sünden verstünden, die Gott für Sünden hält. Nun ist der größere Teil ihrer Summen nichts anderes denn von Narrenwerk, von Menschensatzungen. O was hat die heillose, gottlose Lehre viel fromme Herzen und Gewissen, die gern recht getan hätten, zur Verzweiflung gebracht, welche nicht haben ruhen können! Denn sie wußten nicht anders, sie müßten sich also fressen und beißen mit dem Erzählen, Zusammenrechnen der Sünden, und befanden doch immer Unruhe, und daß es ihnen unmöglich war. Aber nicht weniger ungeschicktes Dinges haben die Widersacher von der ganzen Buße gelehrt, welches wir hernach wollen erzählen.

Art. XII. (V.) De Poenitentia.

1] In articulo duodecimo probant primam partem, qua exponimus lapsis post baptismum contingere posse remissionem peccatorum, quocunque tempore et quotiescunque convertuntur. Secundam partem damnant, in qua *poenitentiae partes* dicimus esse *contritionem* et *fidem*. Negant fidem esse alteram partem 2] poenitentiae. Quid hic, Carole, Caesar invictissime, faciamus? Haec est propria vox evangelii, quod fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum. Hanc vocem evangelii damnant isti scriptores Confutationis. Nos igitur nullo modo assentiri Confutationi possumus. Non possumus saluberrimam vocem evangelii et plenam consolationis damnare. Quid est aliud negare, quod fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum, quam contumelia afficere sangui- 3] nem et mortem Christi? Rogamus igitur te, Carole, Caesar invictissime, ut nos de hac re maxima, quae praecipuum evangelii locum, quae veram Christi cognitionem, quae verum cultum Dei continet, patienter ac diligenter audias et cognoscas. Comperient enim omnes boni viri, nos in hac re praecipue docuisse vera, pia, salubria et necessaria universae ecclesiae Christi. Comperient ex scriptis nostrorum plurimum lucis accessisse evangelio, et multos perniciosos errores emendatos [R. 162 esse, quibus antea obruta fuit doctrina de poenitentia per scholasticorum et canonistarum opiniones.

Artikel XII. (V.) Von der Buße.

In dem zwölften Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher den ersten Teil gefallen, da wir sagen, daß alle diejenigen, so nach der Taufe in Sünde fallen, Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, zu welcher Zeit und wie oft sie sich bekehren. Den andern Teil verwerfen und verdammen sie, da wir sagen, **die Buße habe zwei Stücke,** *contritionem* und *fidem*, das ist, zur Buße gehören diese zwei, **ein reuig, zerschlagen Herz und der Glaube,** daß ich glaube, daß ich Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum erlange. Da höre man nun, wozu die Widersacher nein sagen! Da dürfen sie unverschämt verneinen, daß der Glaube nicht ein Stück der Buße sei. Was sollen wir nun hier, allergnädigster Herr Kaiser, gegen diese Leute tun? Gewiß ist's, daß wir durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Dieses Wort ist nicht unser Wort, sondern die Stimme und Wort JEsu Christi, unsers Heilandes. Das klare Wort Christi nun verdammen diese Meister der Konfutation, darum können wir in keinem Wege in die Konfutation willigen. Wir wollen, ob Gott will, die klaren Worte des Evangelii, die heilige göttliche Wahrheit und das selige Wort, darin aller Trost und Seligkeit steht, nicht verleugnen. Denn dieses also verneinen, daß wir durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, was wäre das anders, denn das Blut Christi und seinen Tod lästern und schänden? Darum bitten wir, allergnädigster Herr Kaiser, daß Ew. Kaiserliche Majestät in dieser großen, höchsten, allerwichtigsten Sache, welche unsere eigene Seele und Gewissen, welche auch den ganzen Christenglauben, das ganze Evangelium, die Erkenntnis Christi und das Höchste, Größte nicht allein in diesem vergänglichen, sondern auch künftigem Leben, ja unser aller ewiges Genesen und Verderben vor Gott belangt, gnädiglich und mit Fleiß hören und erkennen. Es sollen alle gottesfürchtigen, frommen und ehrbaren Leute nicht anders befinden, denn daß wir in dieser Sache die göttliche Wahrheit und eitel heilsamen, hochnötigsten, tröstlichsten Unterricht der Gewissen gelehrt haben und lehren lassen, daran allen frommen Herzen der ganzen christlichen Kirche das Merklichste und Größte, ja all ihr Heil und Wohlfahrt gelegen, ohne welchen Unterricht kein Predigtamt, keine christliche Kirche sein noch bleiben kann. Es sollen alle Gottesfürchtigen befinden, daß diese Lehre der Unsern von der Buße das Evangelium und reinen Verstand wieder an [den] Tag gebracht hat, und daß dadurch viel schädliche, häßliche Irrtümer abgetan, wie denn durch der Scholastiker und Kanonisten Bücher diese Lehre, was doch rechte Buße sei oder nicht sei, gar unterdrückt war.

4] Ac priusquam accedimus ad defensionem nostrae sententiae, hoc praefandum est. Omnes boni viri omnium ordinum, ac theologici ordinis etiam, haud dubie fatentur ante Lutheri scripta confusissimam fuisse doctri- 5] nam poenitentiae. Exstant libri Sententiariorum, ubi sunt infinitae quaestiones, quas nulli theologi unquam satis explicare potuerunt. Populus neque rei summam complecti potuit nec videre, quae praecipue requirerentur in poenitentia, ubi quaerenda esset pax 6] conscientiae. Prodeat nobis aliquis ex adversariis, qui dicat, quando fiat remissio pec-

Und ehe wir zur Sache greifen, müssen wir dieses anzeigen: Es werden alle ehrbaren, redlichen, gelehrten Leute hohen und niedern Standes, auch die Theologen selbst bekennen müssen, und ohne Zweifel auch die Feinde werden von ihrem eigenen Herzen überzeugt, daß zuvor und ehe denn Doktor Luther geschrieben hat, eitel dunkle, verworrene Schriften und Bücher von der Buße vorhanden gewesen [sind]. Wie man sieht bei den Sententiarien, da unzählige unnütze Fragen sind, welche noch keine Theologi selbst haben genugsam können aussörtern. Viel weniger hat das Volk aus ihren Predigten und verwirrten

sins which God regards as such]. And the greater part is occupied with sins against human traditions, and this is most vain. This doctrine has forced to despair many godly minds, which were not able to find rest, because they believed that by divine Law an enumeration was necessary, and yet they experienced that it was impossible. But other faults of no less moment inhere in the doctrine of the adversaries concerning repentance, which we will now recount.

Article XII (V): Of Repentance.

In the Twelfth Article they approve of the first part, in which we set forth that such as have fallen after baptism may obtain remission of sins at whatever time, and as often as they are converted. They condemn the second part, in which we say that the parts of repentance are *contrition and faith* [a penitent, contrite heart, and faith, namely, that I receive the forgiveness of sins through Christ]. [Hear, now, what it is that the adversaries deny.] They [without shame] deny that faith is the second part of repentance. What are we to do here, O Charles, thou most invincible Emperor? The very voice of the Gospel is this, that by faith we obtain the remission of sins. [This word is not our word, but the voice and word of Jesus Christ, our Savior.] This voice of the Gospel these writers of the Confutation condemn. We, therefore, can in no way assent to the Confutation. We cannot condemn the voice of the Gospel, so salutary and abounding in consolation. What else is the denial that by faith we obtain remission of sins than to treat the blood and death of Christ with scorn? We therefore beseech thee, O Charles, most invincible Emperor, patiently and diligently to hear and examine this most important subject, which contains the chief topic of the Gospel, and the true knowledge of Christ, and the true worship of God [these great, most exalted and important matters which concern our own souls and consciences, yea, also the entire faith of Christians, the entire Gospel, the knowledge of Christ, and what is highest and greatest, not only in this perishable, but also in the future life: the everlasting welfare or perdition of us all before God]. For all good men will ascertain that especially on this subject we have taught things that are true, godly, salutary, and necessary for the whole Church of Christ [things of the greatest significance to all pious hearts in the entire Christian Church, on which their whole salvation and welfare depends, and without instruction on which there can be or remain no ministry, no Christian Church]. They will ascertain from the writings of our theologians that very much light has been added to the Gospel, and many pernicious errors have been corrected, by which, through the opinions of the scholastics and canonists, the doctrine of repentance was previously covered.

Before we come to the defense of our position, we must say this first: All good men of all ranks, and also of the theological rank, undoubtedly confess that before the writings of Luther appeared, the doctrine of repentance was very much confused. The books of the Sententiaries are extant, in which there are innumerable questions which no theologians were ever able to explain satisfactorily. The people were able neither to comprehend the sum of the matter, nor to see what things especially were required in repentance, where peace of conscience was to be

catorum. Bone Deus, quantae tenebrae sunt! Dubitant, utrum in attritione vel in contritione fiat remissio peccatorum. Et si fit propter contritionem, quid opus est absolutione, quid agit potestas clavium, si peccatum iam est remissum? Hic vero multo magis etiam sudant et potestatem clavium impie extenuant. **7**] Alii somniant potestate clavium non remitti culpam, sed mutari poenas aeternas in temporales. Ita saluberrima potestas esset ministerium non vitae et Spiritus, sed tantum irae et poenarum. Alii, videlicet cautiores, fingunt potestate clavium remitti peccata coram ecclesia, non coram Deo. Hic quoque perniciosus error est. Nam si potestas clavium non consolatur nos coram Deo, quae res tandem reddet pacatam conscientiam? Iam **8**] illa sunt magis etiam perplexa. Docent nos contritione mereri gratiam. Ubi si quis interroget, quare Saul, Iudas et similes non consequantur gratiam, qui horribiliter contriti sunt? Hic de fide et de evangelio respondendum erat, quod Iudas non crediderit, non erexerit se evangelio et promissione Christi. Fides enim ostendit discrimen inter contritionem Iudae et Petri. Verum adversarii de lege respondent, quod Iudas non dilexerit **9**] Deum, sed timuerit poenas. Quando [R. 163 autem territa conscientia praesertim in seriis, veris et illis magnis terroribus, qui describuntur in psalmis ac prophetis et quos certe degustant isti, qui vere convertuntur, iudicare poterit, utrum Deum propter se timeat, an fugiat aeternas poenas? Hi magni motus literis et vocabulis discerni possunt, re ipsa non ita divelluntur, ut isti suaves sophistae **10**] somniant. Hic appellamus iudicia omnium bonorum et sapientum virorum. Hi haud dubie fatebuntur has disputationes apud adversarios perplexissimas et intricatissimas esse. Et tamen agitur de re maxima, de praecipuo evangelii loco: de remissione peccatorum. Tota haec doctrina de his quaestionibus, quas recensuimus, apud adversarios plena est errorum et hypocrisis, et obscurat beneficium Christi, potestatem clavium et iustitiam fidei.

Büchern von der Buße eine Summa faſſen mögen oder merken, was doch zu wahrer Buße vornehmlich gehört, wie oder durch was Weiſe ein Herz und Gewiſſen Ruhe und Frieden ſuchen müßte; und Trotz! es trete noch einer hervor, der aus ihren Büchern einen einigen Menſchen unterrichte, wann gewiß die Sünden vergeben ſind. Lieber HErr Gott, wie ſieht man da Blindheit! Wie wiſſen ſie ſo gar nichts davon, wie ſind ihre Schriften eitel Nacht, eitel Finſternis! Sie bringen Fragen vor, ob in attritione oder contritione Vergebung der Sünden geſchehe, und ſo die Sünde vergeben wird um der Reue oder Kontrition willen, was dann der Abſolution vonnöten ſei; und ſo die Sünden ſchon vergeben ſind, was dann die Gewalt der Schlüſſel vonnöten ſei. Und da ängſten ſie ſich und verbrechen ſich erſt über [zerbrechen ſich den Kopf darüber] und machen die Gewalt der Schlüſſel gar zunichte. Etliche unter ihnen erdichten und ſagen, durch die Gewalt der Schlüſſel werde nicht vergeben die Schuld vor Gott, ſondern die ewige Pein werde dadurch verwandelt in zeitliche; und machen alſo aus der Abſolution, aus [der] Gewalt der Schlüſſel, dadurch wir Troſt und Leben gewarten ſollen, eine ſolche Gewalt, dadurch uns nur Strafe aufgelegt werde. Die andern wollen klüger ſein, die ſagen, daß durch [die] Gewalt der Schlüſſel Sünden vergeben werden vor den Leuten oder vor der chriſtlichen Gemeinde, aber nicht vor Gott. Das iſt auch faſt ein [ein ſehr] ſchädlicher Irrtum; denn ſo die Gewalt der Schlüſſel, welche von Gott gegeben iſt, uns nicht tröſtet vor Gott, wodurch will denn das Gewiſſen zur Ruhe kommen? Darüber ſo lehren und ſchreiben ſie noch ungeſchickter und verwirrter Ding; ſie lehren, man könne durch Reue Gnade verdienen, und wenn ſie da gefragt werden, warum denn Saul und Judas und dergleichen nicht Gnade verdient haben, in welchen gar eine ſchreckliche Kontrition geweſen iſt: auf dieſe Frage ſollten ſie antworten, daß es Judas und Saul am Evangelio und Glauben gefehlt hätte, daß Judas ſich nicht getröſtet hat durchs Evangelium und hat nicht geglaubt; denn der Glaube unterſcheidet die Reue Petri und Judä. Aber die Widerſacher gedenken des Evangelii und Glaubens gar nicht, ſondern des Geſetzes; ſagen, Judas habe Gott nicht geliebt, ſondern habe ſich vor der Strafe gefürchtet. Iſt aber das nicht ungewiß und ungeſchickt von der Buße gelehrt? Denn wann will ein erſchrocken Gewiſſen, ſonderlich in den rechten großen Ängſten, welche in Pſalmen und Propheten beſchrieben werden, wiſſen, ob es Gott aus Liebe als ſeinen Gott fürchtet, oder ob es ſeinen Zorn und ewige Verdammnis flieht und haßt? Es mögen diejenigen von dieſen großen Ängſten nicht viel erfahren haben, dieweil ſie alſo mit Worten ſpielen und nach ihren Träumen Unterſchied machen. Aber im Herzen, und wenn es zur Erfahrung kommt, findet ſich's viel anders, und mit den ſchlechten Syllaben und Worten findet kein Gewiſſen Ruhe, wie die guten, ſanften, müßigen Sophiſten träumen. Hier berufen wir uns auf [die] Erfahrung aller Gottesfürchtigen, auf alle redlichen, verſtändigen Leute, die auch gern die Wahrheit erkennten; die werden bekennen, daß die Widerſacher in allen ihren Büchern nichts Rechtſchaffenes gelehrt haben von der Buße, ſondern eitel verworren, unnütz Geſchwätz; und iſt doch dies ein Hauptartikel der chriſtlichen Lehre, von der Buße, von Vergebung der Sünden. Nun iſt dieſelbe Lehre von den Fragen, die jetzo erzählt, voll großer Irrtümer und Heuchelei, dadurch die rechte Lehre von Chriſto, von den Schlüſſeln, vom Glauben zu unſäglichem Schaden der Gewiſſen unterdrückt geweſen.

11] Haec fiunt in primo actu. Quid quum ventum est ad *confessionem?* Quantum ibi negotii est in illa infinita enumeratione peccatorum, quae tamen magna ex parte consumitur in traditionibus humanis? Et quo magis crucientur bonae mentes, fingunt hanc **12**] enumerationem esse iuris divini. Et quum ipsam enumerationem exigant praetextu iuris

Weiter richten ſie noch mehr Irrtümer an, wenn man von der **Beichte** reden ſoll; da lehren ſie nichts, denn lange Regiſter machen und Sünden erzählen und mehrenteils Sünden wider Menſchengebote, und treiben hier die Leute, als ſei ſolch Zählen de iure divino, das iſt, von Gott geboten; und dieſes wäre noch ſo hoch beſchwerlich nicht, wenn ſie nur auch recht von der Abſo-

sought for. Let any one of the adversaries come forth and tell us when remission of sins takes place. O good God, what darkness there is! They doubt whether it is in attrition or in contrition that remission of sins occurs. And if it occurs on account of contrition, what need is there of absolution, what does the power of the keys effect, if sins have been already remitted? Here, indeed, they also labor much more, and wickedly detract from the power of the keys. Some dream that by the power of the keys guilt is not remitted, but that eternal punishments are changed into temporal. Thus the most salutary power would be the ministry, not of life and the Spirit, but only of wrath and punishments. Others, namely, the more cautious, imagine that by the power of the keys sins are remitted before the Church and not before God. This also is a pernicious error. For if the power of the keys does not console us before God, what, then, will pacify the conscience? Still more involved is what follows. They teach that by contrition we merit grace. In reference to which, if any one should ask why Saul and Judas and similar persons, who were dreadfully contrite, did not obtain grace, the answer was to be taken from faith and according to the Gospel, that Judas did not believe, that he did not support himself by the Gospel and promise of Christ. For faith shows the distinction between the contrition of Judas and of Peter. But the adversaries take their answer from the Law, that Judas did not love God, but feared the punishments. [Is not this teaching uncertain and improper things concerning repentance?] When, however, will a terrified conscience, especially in those serious, true, and great terrors which are described in the psalms and the prophets, and which those certainly taste who are truly converted, be able to decide whether it fears God for His own sake [out of love it fears God, as its God], or is fleeing from eternal punishments? [These people may not have experienced much of these anxieties, because they juggle words and make distinctions according to their dreams. But in the heart, when the test is applied, the matter turns out quite differently, and the conscience cannot be set at rest with paltry syllables and words.] These great emotions can be distinguished in letters and terms; they are not thus separated in fact, as these sweet sophists dream. Here we appeal to the judgments of all good and wise men [who also desire to know the truth]. They undoubtedly will confess that these discussions in the writings of the adversaries are very confused and intricate. And nevertheless the most important subject is at stake, the chief topic of the Gospel, the remission of sins. This entire doctrine concerning these questions which we have reviewed, is, in the writings of the adversaries, full of errors and hypocrisy, and obscures the benefit of Christ, the power of the keys, and the righteousness of faith [to inexpressible injury of conscience].

These things occur in the first act. What when they come to *confession?* What a work there is in the endless enumeration of sins, which is nevertheless, in great part, devoted to those against human traditions! And in order that good minds may by this means be the more tortured, they falsely assert that this enumeration is of divine right. And while they demand this enumeration under the pretext of divine right, in the mean time they speak coldly concerning absolution, which is truly of divine right. They falsely assert that the Sacrament itself confers grace

divini, interim de absolutione, quae vere est iuris divini, frigide loquuntur. Fingunt ipsum sacramentum ex opere operato conferre gratiam sine bono motu utentis; de fide apprehendente absolutionem et consolante conscientiam nulla fit mentio. Hoc vere est, quod dici solet, *ἀπιέναι πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων.*

13] Restat tertius actus de *satisfactionibus.* Hic vero habet confusissimas disputationes. Fingunt aeternas poenas mutari in poenas purgatorii, et harum partem remitti potestate clavium, partem docent redimendam esse satis-
14] factionibus. Addunt amplius, quod oporteat satisfactiones esse opera supererogationis, et haec constituunt in stultissimis observationibus, velut in peregrinationibus, [R. 164 rosariis aut similibus observationibus, quae
15] non habent mandata Dei. Deinde, sicut purgatorium satisfactionibus redimunt, ita excogitata est ars redimendi satisfactiones, quae fuit quaestuosissima. Vendunt enim indulgentias, quas interpretantur esse remissiones satisfactionum. Et hic quaestus non solum ex vivis, sed multo amplior est ex mortuis.* Neque solum indulgentiis, sed etiam sacrificio missae redimunt satisfactiones mor-
16] tuorum. Denique infinita res est de satisfactionibus. Inter haec scandala (non enim possumus enumerare omnia) et doctrinas daemoniorum iacet obruta doctrina de iustitia fidei in Christum et de beneficio Christi. Quare intelligunt omnes boni viri utiliter et pie reprehensam esse doctrinam sophistarum et canonistarum de poenitentia. Nam haec dogmata aperte falsa sunt, et non solum aliena a Scripturis sanctis, sed etiam ab ecclesiasticis patribus:

lution und Glauben hätten gelehrt. Aber da fahren sie abermal vorüber und lassen den hohen Trost liegen und dichten, das Werk, beichten und reuen, mache fromm ex opere operato, ohne Christum, ohne Glauben. Das heißen rechte Juden.

Das dritte Stück von diesem Spiel ist die *satisfactio* oder **Genugtuung für die Sünde.** Daselbst lehren sie noch ungeschickter, verwirrter, werfen das Hundert ins Tausend, daß daselbst nicht ein Tröpflein guten oder nötigen Trostes ein arm Gewissen finden möchte. Denn da erdichten sie ihnen selbst, daß die ewige Pein werde vor Gott verwandelt in Pein des Fegfeuers, und ein Teil der Pein werde vergeben und erlassen durch die Schlüssel, für einen Teil aber müsse man genugtun mit Werken. Darüber sagen sie weiter und nennen die Genugtuung opera supererogationis, das sind denn bei ihnen die kindischen, närrischen Werke, als Wallfahrten, Rosenkränze und dergleichen, da kein Gebot Gottes von ist. Und weiter, wie sie die Pein des Fegfeuers abkaufen und lösen mit ihrem Genugtun, also haben sie noch weiter ein Fündlein erdacht, dieselben Genugtuungen für das Fegfeuer auch abzulösen, welches denn ein recht genießlicher, reicher Kauf und großer Jahrmarkt geworden. Denn sie haben unverschämt ihren Ablaß verkauft und gesagt, wer Ablaß löse, der kaufe sich also ab, da er sonst müßte genugtun; und die Kretschmerei, den Jahrmarkt, haben sie unverschämt getrieben, nicht allein daß sie den Lebendigen Ablaß verkauft, sondern auch für die Toten hat man Ablaß müssen kaufen. Darüber haben sie auch den schrecklichen Mißbrauch der Messe eingeführt, daß sie die Toten haben mit Messehalten erlösen wollen, und unter solchen Teufelslehren ist unterdrückt gewesen die ganze christliche Lehre vom Glauben, von Christo, wie wir dadurch sollen getröstet werden. Darum merken und verstehen hier alle ehrbaren, redlichen, ehrliebenden, verständigen Leute, geschweige denn Christen, daß ganz hoch vonnöten gewesen ist, solche ungöttliche Lehre der Sophisten und Kanonisten von der Buße zu tadeln. Denn dieselbe ihre Lehre ist öffentlich falsch, unrecht, wider die klaren Worte Christi, wider alle Schrift der Apostel, wider die ganze Heilige Schrift und Väter, und sind das ihre Irrtümer:

17] I. Quod per bona opera extra gratiam facta mereamur ex pacto divino gratiam.

I. Daß uns Gott muß die Sünde vergeben, so wir gute Werke tun, auch außerhalb der Gnade.

18] II. Quod per attritionem mereamur gratiam.

II. Daß wir durch die Attrition oder Reue Gnade verdienen.

19] III. Quod ad deletionem peccati sola detestatio criminis sufficiat.

III. Daß unsere Sünde auszulöschen genug sei, wenn ich die Sünde an mir selbst hasse und schelte.

20] IV. Quod propter contritionem, non fide in Christum consequamur remissionem peccatorum.

IV. Daß wir durch unsere Reue, nicht um des Glaubens willen an Christum, Vergebung der Sünden erlangen.

21] V. Quod potestas clavium valeat ad remissionem peccatorum non coram Deo, sed coram ecclesia.

V. Daß die Gewalt der Schlüssel verleihe Vergebung der Sünden nicht vor Gott, sondern vor der Kirche oder den Leuten.

22] VI. Quod potestate clavium non remittantur peccata coram Deo, sed quod sit instituta potestas clavium, ut mutet poenas aeternas in temporales, ut imponat certas satisfactiones conscientiis, ut instituat novos cultus et ad tales satisfactiones et cultus obliget conscientias.

VI. Daß durch die Gewalt der Schlüssel nicht allein die Sünden vergeben werden, sondern dieselbe Gewalt sei darum eingesetzt, daß sie die ewige Pein verwandle in zeitliche, und daß sie den Gewissen etliche Genugtuungen auflege und Gottesdienste und satisfactiones aufrichte, dazu die Gewissen vor Gott verpflichte und verbinde.

23] VII. Quod enumeratio delictorum in confessione, de qua praecipiunt adversarii, sit necessaria iure divino.

VII. Daß das Erzählen und eigentlich Rechnen aller Sünden von Gott geboten sei.

24] VIII. Quod canonicae satisfactiones necessariae sint ad poenam purgatorii [R. 165 redimendam, aut prosint tamquam compen-

VIII. Daß satisfactiones, welche doch von Menschen aufgesetzt, not seien, zu bezahlen die Pein oder auch die Schuld; denn wiewohl man

ex opere operato, without a good disposition on the part of the one using it; no mention is made of faith apprehending the absolution and consoling the conscience. This is truly what is generally called *ἀπιέναι πρὸ τῶν μυστηρίων*, departing before the mysteries. [Such people are called genuine Jews.]

The third act [of this play] remains, *concerning satisfactions*. But this contains the most confused discussions. They imagine that eternal punishments are commuted to the punishments of purgatory, and teach that a part of these is remitted by the power of the keys, and that a part is to be redeemed by means of satisfactions. They add further that satisfactions ought to be works of supererogation, and they make these consist of most foolish observances, such as pilgrimages, rosaries, or similar observances which do not have the command of God. Then, just as they redeem purgatory by means of satisfactions, so a scheme of redeeming satisfactions which was most abundant in revenue [which became quite a profitable, lucrative business and a grand fair] was devised. For they sell [without shame] indulgences which they interpret as remissions of satisfactions. And this revenue [this trafficking, this fair, conducted so shamelessly] is not only from the living, but is much more ample from the dead. Nor do they redeem the satisfactions of the dead only by indulgences, but also by the sacrifice of the Mass. In a word, the subject of satisfactions is infinite. Among these scandals (for we cannot enumerate all things) and doctrines of devils lies buried the doctrine of the righteousness of faith in Christ and the benefit of Christ. Wherefore, all good men understand that the doctrine of the sophists and canonists concerning repentance has been censured for a useful and godly purpose. For the following dogmas are clearly false, and foreign not only to Holy Scripture, but also to the Church Fathers: —

I. That from the divine covenant we merit grace by good works wrought without grace.

II. That by attrition we merit grace.

III. That for the blotting out of sin the mere detestation of the crime is sufficient.

IV. That on account of contrition, and not by faith in Christ, we obtain remission of sins.

V. That the power of the keys avails for the remission of sins, not before God, but before the Church.

VI. That by the power of the keys sins are not remitted before God, but that the power of the keys has been instituted to commute eternal to temporal punishments, to impose upon consciences certain satisfactions, to institute new acts of worship, and to obligate consciences to such satisfactions and acts of worship.

VII. That according to divine right the enumeration of offenses in confession, concerning which the adversaries teach, is necessary.

VIII. That canonical satisfactions are necessary for redeeming the punishment of purgatory, or they profit as a compensation for the blotting out of guilt. For thus uninformed persons understand it. [For, although in the

satio ad delendam culpam. Sic enim imperiti intelligunt.

25] IX. Quod susceptio sacramenti poenitentiae ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis, hoc est, sine fide in Christum, consequatur gratiam.

26] X. Quod potestate clavium per indulgentias liberentur animae ex purgatorio.

27] XI. Quod in reservatione casuum non solum poena canonica, sed etiam culpa reservari debeat in eo, qui vere convertitur.

28] Nos igitur, ut explicaremus pias conscientias ex his labyrinthis sophistarum, constituimus *duas partes poenitentiae*, videlicet *contritionem* et *fidem*. Si quis volet addere tertiam, videlicet dignos fructus poenitentiae, hoc est, mutationem totius vitae ac morum in 29] melius, non refragabimur. De contritione praecidimus illas otiosas et infinitas disputationes, quando ex dilectione Dei, quando ex timore poenae doleamus. Sed dicimus contritionem esse veros terrores conscientiae, quae Deum sentit irasci peccato, et dolet se peccasse. Et haec contritio ita fit, quando Verbo Dei arguuntur peccata, quia haec est summa praedicationis evangelii, arguere peccata et offerre remissionem peccatorum et iustitiam propter Christum et Spiritum Sanctum et vitam aeternam, et ut renati bene- 30] faciamus. Sic complectitur summam evangelii Christus, quum ait Lucae ultimo, v. 47: *Praedicari in nomine meo poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum inter omnes gentes.* 31] Et de his terroribus loquitur Scriptura, ut Ps. 38, 5: *Quoniam iniquitates meae supergressae sunt caput meum, sicut onus grave gravatae sunt super me,* etc. *Afflictus sum et humiliatus sum nimis. Rugiebam a gemitu cordis mei.* Et Ps. 6, 3. 4: *Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum. Sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea, et anima mea turbata est valde. Et tu, Domine, usque quo?* Et Es. 38, 10. 13: *Ego dixi in dimidio dierum meorum: Vadam* [R. 166 *ad portas inferi. Sperabam usque ad mane. Quasi leo, sic contrivit omnia ossa mea.* In 32] his terroribus sentit conscientia iram Dei adversus peccatum, quae est ignota securis hominibus secundum carnem ambulantibus. Videt peccati turpitudinem et serio dolet se peccasse; etiam fugit interim horribilem iram Dei, quia non potest eam sustinere humana 33] natura, nisi sustentetur Verbo Dei. Ita Paulus ait, Gal. 2, 19: *Per legem legi mortuus* 34] *sum.* Lex enim tantum accusat et terret conscientias. In his terroribus adversarii nostri nihil de fide dicunt: ita tantum proponunt verbum, quod arguit peccata. Quod quum solum traditur, doctrina legis est, non evangelii. His doloribus ac terroribus dicunt homines mereri gratiam, si tamen diligunt Deum. At quomodo diligent Deum homines in veris terroribus, quum sentiunt horribilem et inexplicabilem humana voce iram Dei? Quid aliud nisi desperationem docent, qui in his terroribus tantum ostendunt legem?

in der Schule die satisfactiones allein für die Pein abrechnet, so versteht doch männiglich, daß man dadurch Vergebung der Schuld verdiene.

IX. Daß wir aus Empfangung des Sakraments der Buße, ex opere operato, wenn das Herz gleich nicht dabei ist, ohne den Glauben an Christum, Gnade erlangen.

X. Daß aus der Gewalt der Schlüssel durch den Ablaß die Seelen aus dem Fegfeuer erlöst werden.

XI. Daß in Reservatfällen nicht die Strafe der canonum, sondern die Schuld der Sünden vor Gott durch den Papst möge reserviert werden in denen, die sich wahrlich [wahrhaft] zu Gott bekehren.

Daß wir nun den Gewissen hülfen aus den unzähligen Stricken und verworrenen Netzen der Sophisten, so sagen wir, **die Buße oder Bekehrung habe zwei Stücke,** contritionem und fidem. So nun jemand will das dritte Stück dazusetzen, nämlich die Früchte der Buße und Bekehrung, welche sind gute Werke, so folgen sollen und müssen, mit dem will ich nicht groß fechten. Wenn wir aber de contritione, das ist, von rechter Reue, reden, schneiden wir ab die unzähligen unnützen Fragen, da sie Fragen vorgeben, wann wir aus der Liebe Gottes, item, wann wir aus Furcht der Strafe Reue haben. Denn es sind allein bloße Worte und vergebliche Geschwätze derjenigen, die nicht erfahren haben, wie einem erschrockenen Gewissen zu Sinne ist. Wir sagen, daß contritio oder rechte Reue das sei, wenn das Gewissen erschreckt wird und seine Sünde und den großen Zorn Gottes über die Sünde anhebt zu fühlen, und ist ihm leid, daß es gesündigt hat. Und dieselbe contritio geht also zu, wenn unsere Sünde durch Gottes Wort gestraft wird. Denn in diesen zwei Stücken steht die Summa des Evangelii. Erstlich sagt es: Bessert euch! und macht jedermann zu Sündern. Zum andern bietet's an Vergebung der Sünden, das ewige Leben, Seligkeit, alles Heil und den Heiligen Geist durch Christum, durch welchen wir neugeboren werden. Also faßt auch die Summa des Evangelii Christus, da er Lucä am letzten sagt: „zu predigen in meinem Namen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden unter allen Heiden". Und von dem Schrecken und Angst des Gewissens redet die Schrift im 38. Psalm: „Denn meine Missetaten sind über mein Haupt gegangen; wie eine schwere Last sind sie mir zu schwer geworden." Und im 6. Psalm: „HErr, sei mir gnädig, denn ich bin schwach! Heile mich, HErr; denn meine Gebeine sind erschrocken, und meine Seele ist sehr erschrocken usw. Ach du HErr, wie lange!" Und Jes. 38: „Ich sprach: Nun muß ich zur Höllen Pforten fahren, da ich länger zu leben gedachte usw. Ich dachte: Möchte ich bis morgen leben; aber er zerbrach mir alle meine Gebeine wie ein Löwe." Item: „Meine Augen wollten mir brechen; HErr, ich leide Not!" usw. In denselben Ängsten fühlt das Gewissen Gottes Zorn und Ernst wider die Sünde, welches gar eine unbekannte Sache ist solchen müßigen und fleischlichen Leuten wie den Sophisten und ihresgleichen. Denn da merkt erst das Gewissen, was die Sünde für ein großer Ungehorsam gegen Gott ist, da drückt erst recht das Gewissen der schreckliche Zorn Gottes, und es ist unmöglich der menschlichen Natur, denselben zu tragen, wenn sie nicht durch Gottes Wort würde aufgerichtet. Also sagt Pau-

schools satisfactions are made to apply only to the punishment, everybody thinks that remission of guilt is thereby merited.]

IX. That the reception of the sacrament of repentance *ex opere operato*, without a good disposition on the part of the one using it, *i. e.*, without faith in Christ, obtains grace.

X. That by the power of the keys our souls are freed from purgatory through indulgences.

XI. That in the reservation of cases not only canonical punishment, but the guilt also, ought to be reserved in reference to one who is truly converted.

In order, therefore, to deliver pious consciences from these labyrinths of the sophists, we have ascribed to repentance [or conversion] these two parts, namely, contrition and faith. If any one desires to add a third, namely, fruits worthy of repentance, *i. e.*, a change of the entire life and character for the better [good works which shall and must follow conversion], we will not make any opposition. From contrition we separate those idle and infinite discussions, as to when we grieve from love of God, and when from fear of punishment. [For these are nothing but mere words and a useless babbling of persons who have never experienced the state of mind of a terrified conscience.] But we say that contrition is the true terror of conscience, which feels that God is angry with sin, and which grieves that it has sinned. And this contrition takes place in this manner when sins are censured by the Word of God, because the sum of the preaching of the Gospel is this, namely, to convict of sin, and to offer for Christ's sake the remission of sins and righteousness, and the Holy Ghost, and eternal life, and that as regenerate men we should do good works. Thus Christ comprises the sum of the Gospel when He says in the last chapter of Luke, v. 74: *That repentance and remission of sins should be preached in My name among all nations.* And of these terrors Scripture speaks, as Ps. 38, 4. 8: *For mine iniquities are gone over mine head, as a heavy burden they are too heavy for me. . . . I am feeble and sore broken; I have roared by reason of the disquietness of my heart.* And Ps. 6, 2. 3: *Have mercy upon me, O Lord; for I am weak; O Lord, heal me; for my bones are vexed. My soul is also sore vexed; but Thou, O Lord, how long?* And Is. 38, 10. 13: *I said in the cutting off of my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave: I am deprived of the residue of my years. . . . I reckoned till morning, that, as a lion, so will He break all my bones.* [Again, v. 14: *Mine eyes fail with looking upward; O Lord, I am oppressed.*] In these terrors, conscience feels the wrath of God against sin, which is unknown to secure men walking according to the flesh [as the sophists and their like]. It sees the turpitude of sin, and seriously grieves that it has sinned; meanwhile it also flees from the dreadful wrath of God, because human nature, unless sustained by the Word of God, cannot endure it. Thus Paul says, Gal. 2, 19: *I through the Law am dead to the Law.* For the Law only accuses

lus: „Durch das Gesetz bin ich dem Gesetz gestorben.“ Denn das Gesetz klagt allein die Gewissen an, gebietet, was man tun solle, und erschreckt sie. Und da reden die Widersacher nicht ein Wort vom Glauben, lehren also kein Wort vom Evangelio noch von Christo, sondern eitel Gesetzlehre und sagen, daß die Leute mit solchem Schmerz, Reue und Leid, mit solchen Ängsten Gnade verdienen, doch wo sie aus Liebe Gottes Reue haben oder Gott lieben. Lieber HErr Gott, was ist doch das für eine Predigt für die Gewissen, denen Trosts vonnöten ist! Wie können wir doch dann Gott lieben, wenn wir in so hohen, großen Ängsten und unsäglichem Kampf stecken, wenn wir so großen, schrecklichen Gottes Ernst und Zorn fühlen, welcher sich da stärker fühlt, denn kein Mensch auf Erden nachsagen oder reden kann? Was lehren doch solche Prediger und Doctores anders denn eitel Verzweiflung, die in so großen Ängsten einem armen Gewissen kein Evangelium, keinen Trost, allein das Gesetz predigen?

35] Nos igitur addimus alteram partem poenitentiae de *fide in Christum*, quod in his terroribus debeat conscientiis proponi evangelium de Christo, in quo promittitur gratis remissio peccatorum per Christum. Debent igitur credere, quod propter Christum gratis **36**] remittantur ipsis peccata. Haec fides erigit, sustentat et vivificat contritos, iuxta illud, Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide pacem habemus.* Haec fides consequitur remissionem peccatorum. Haec fides iustificat coram Deo, ut idem locus testatur: *Iustificati ex fide.* Haec fides ostendit discrimen inter contritionem Iudae et Petri, Saulis et Davidis. Ideo Iudae aut Saulis contritio non prodest, quia non accedit ad eam haec fides apprehendens remissionem peccatorum donatam propter Christum. Ideo prodest Davidis aut Petri contritio, quia ad eam fides accedit [R. 167 apprehendens remissionem peccatorum dona-**37**] tam propter Christum. Nec prius dilectio adest, quam sit facta fide reconciliatio. Lex enim non fit sine Christo, iuxta illud, Rom. 5, 2: *Per Christum habemus accessum ad Deum.* Et haec fides paulatim crescit et per omnem vitam luctatur cum peccato, ut vincat peccatum et mortem. Ceterum fidem sequitur **38**] dilectio, ut supra diximus. Et sic clare definiri potest filialis timor, talis pavor, qui cum fide coniunctus est, hoc est, ubi fides consolatur et sustentat pavidum cor. Servilis timor, ubi fides non sustentat pavidum cor.

Wir aber setzen das andere Stück der Buße dazu, nämlich **den Glauben an Christum,** und sagen, daß in solchem Schrecken den Gewissen soll vorgehalten werden das Evangelium von Christo, in welchem verheißen ist Vergebung der Sünden aus Gnaden durch Christum. Und solche Gewissen sollen glauben, daß ihnen um Christus' willen Sünden vergeben werden. Derselbe Glaube richtet wieder auf, tröstet und macht wieder lebendig und fröhlich solche zerschlagene Herzen; wie Paulus zu den Röm. 5 sagt: „So wir nun gerechtfertigt sind, so haben wir Frieden mit Gott.“ Derselbe Glaube zeigt recht an den Unterschied unter der Reue Judä und Petri, Sauls und Davids. Und darum ist Judä und Sauls Reue nichts nütze gewesen; denn da ist nicht Glaube gewesen, der sich gehalten hätte an die Verheißung Gottes durch Christum. Dagegen sind Davids und St. Peters Reue rechtschaffen gewesen; denn da ist der Glaube gewesen, welcher gefaßt hat die Zusage Gottes, welche anbietet Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum. Denn eigentlich ist in keinem Herzen einige Liebe Gottes, es sei denn, daß wir erst Gott versöhnt werden durch Christum. Denn Gottes Gesetz oder das erste Gebot kann ohne Christum niemand erfüllen noch halten; wie Paulus zu den Ephesern, 2, 18; 3, 12, sagt: „Durch Christum haben wir einen Zutritt zu Gott.“ Und der Glaube kämpft das ganze Leben durch wider die Sünde und wird durch mancherlei Anfechtungen probiert und nimmt zu. Wo nun der Glaube ist, da folgt denn erst die Liebe Gottes, wie wir hier oben gesagt. Und das heißt also recht gelehrt, was timor filialis sei, nämlich ein solches Fürchten und Erschrecken vor Gott, da dennoch der Glaube an Christum uns wiederum tröstet. Servilis timor autem, knechtliche [knechtische] Furcht, ist Furcht ohne Glauben, da wird eitel Zorn und Verzweiflung.

39] Porro potestas clavium administrat et exhibet evangelium per absolutionem, quae est vera vox evangelii. Ita et absolutionem complectimur, quum de fide dicimus, quia *fides est ex auditu*, ut ait Paulus Rom. 10, 17. Nam audito evangelio, audita absolutione erigitur et concipit consolationem conscientia. **40**] Et quia Deus vere per Verbum vivificat, claves vere coram Deo remittunt peccata, iuxta illud, Luc. 10, 16: *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Quare voci absolventis non secus ac **41**] voci de coelo sonanti credendum est. Et absolutio proprie dici potest sacramentum poenitentiae, ut etiam scholastici theologi **42**] eruditiores loquuntur. Interim haec fides in tentationibus multipliciter alitur per evangelii sententias et per usum sacramentorum. Haec enim sunt signa novi testamenti, hoc est, signa remissionis peccatorum. Offerunt igitur remissionem peccatorum, sicut clare testantur verba coenae Domini, Matth. 26, 26. 28: *Hoc est corpus meum, quo pro vobis traditur. Hic est calix novi testamenti* etc.

Die Gewalt nun der Schlüssel, die verkündigt uns durch die Absolution das Evangelium. Denn das Wort der Absolution verkündigt mir Frieden und ist das Evangelium selbst. Darum wenn wir vom Glauben reden, wollen wir die Absolution mitbegriffen haben. Denn **der Glaube ist aus dem Gehör,** und wenn ich die Absolution höre, das ist, die Zusage göttlicher Gnade oder das Evangelium, so wird mein Herz und Gewissen getröstet. Und dieweil Gott durch das Wort wahrlich neu Leben und Trost ins Herz gibt, so werden auch durch [die] Gewalt der Schlüssel wahrhaftig hier auf Erden die Sünden losgezählt, also daß sie vor Gott im Himmel los sind, wie der Spruch lautet: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich.“ Darum sollen wir das Wort der Absolution nicht weniger achten noch glauben, denn wenn wir Gottes klare Stimme vom Himmel hörten, und die Absolution, das selige, tröstliche Wort, sollte billig das Sakrament der Buße heißen, wie denn auch etliche Scholastici, welche gelehrter denn die andern gewesen, davon reden. Und derselbe Glaube an das Wort soll für und

and terrifies consciences. In these terrors our adversaries say nothing of faith; they present only the Word, which convicts of sin. When this is taught alone, it is the doctrine of the Law, not of the Gospel. By these griefs and terrors, they say, men merit grace, provided they love God. But how will men love God in true terrors when they feel the terrible and inexpressible wrath of God? What else than despair do those teach who, in these terrors, display only the Law?

We therefore add as the second part of repentance, *Of Faith in Christ*, that in these terrors the Gospel concerning Christ ought to be set forth to consciences, in which Gospel the remission of sins is freely promised concerning Christ. Therefore, they ought to believe that for Christ's sake sins are freely remitted to them. This faith cheers, sustains, and quickens the contrite, according to Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God.* This faith obtains the remission of sins. This faith justifies before God, as the same passage testifies: *Being justified by faith.* This faith shows the distinction between the contrition of Judas and Peter, of Saul and of David. The contrition of Judas or Saul is of no avail, for the reason that to this there is not added this faith, which apprehends the remission of sins, bestowed as a gift for Christ's sake. Accordingly, the contrition of David or Peter avails, because to it there is added faith, which apprehends the remission of sins granted for Christ's sake. Neither is love present before reconciliation has been made by faith. For without Christ the Law [God's Law or the First Commandment] is not performed, according to [Eph. 2, 18; 3, 12] Rom. 5, 2: *By Christ we have access to God.* And this faith grows gradually and throughout the entire life, struggles with sin [is tested by various temptations] in order to overcome sin and death. But love follows faith, as we have said above. And thus filial fear can be clearly defined as such anxiety as has been connected with faith, *i. e.*, where faith consoles and sustains the anxious heart. It is servile fear when faith does not sustain the anxious heart [fear without faith, where there is nothing but wrath and doubt].

Moreover, the power of the keys administers and presents the Gospel through absolution, which [proclaims peace to me and] is the true voice of the Gospel. Thus we also comprise absolution when we speak of faith, because *faith cometh by hearing*, as Paul says Rom. 10, 17. For when the Gospel is heard, and the absolution [*i. e.*, the promise of divine grace] is heard, the conscience is encouraged and receives consolation. And because God truly quickens through the Word, the keys truly remit sins before God [here on earth sins are truly canceled in such a manner that they are canceled also before God in heaven] according to Luke 10, 16: *He that heareth you heareth Me.* Wherefore the voice of the one absolving must be believed not otherwise than we would believe a voice from heaven. And absolution [that blessed word of comfort] properly can be called a sacrament of repentance, as also the more learned scholastic theologians speak. Meanwhile this faith is nourished in a manifold way in temptations, through the declarations of the Gospel [the hearing of sermons, reading] and the use of the Sacraments. For these are [seals and] signs of [the covenant and grace in] the New Testament, *i. e.*, signs of [propitiation and] the remission of sins. They offer, therefore, the remission of sins, as the words of the

Ita fides concipitur et confirmatur per absolutionem, per auditum evangelii, per usum sacramentorum, ne succumbat, dum luctatur 43] cum terroribus peccati et mortis. Haec ratio poenitentiae plana et perspicua est, et auget dignitatem potestatis clavium et [R. 168 sacramentorum, et illustrat beneficium Christi, docet nos uti mediatore ac propitiatore Christo.

für gestärkt werden durch Predigthören, durch Lesen, durch Brauch der Sakramente. Denn das sind die Siegel und Zeichen des Bundes und der Gnade im neuen Testament; das sind Zeichen der Versöhnung und Vergebung der Sünden. Denn sie bieten an Vergebung der Sünden, wie denn klar zeugen die Worte im Abendmahl: „Das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird" usw. „Das ist der Kelch des neuen Testaments" usw. Also wird auch der Glaube gestärkt durch das Wort der Absolution, durch die Prediger des Evangelii, durch Empfangung des Sakraments, damit er in solchen Schrecken und Ängsten des Gewissens nicht untergehe. Das ist eine klare, gewisse, richtige Lehre von der Buße; dadurch kann man verstehen und wissen, was die Schlüssel sind oder nicht sind, was die Sakramente nütze sind, was Christi Wohltat ist, warum und wie Christus unser Mittler ist.

44] Sed quia Confutatio damnat nos, quod has duas partes poenitentiae posuerimus, ostendendum est, quod Scriptura in poenitentia seu conversione impii ponat has praecipuas partes. Christus enim inquit Matth. 11, 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.* Hic duo membra sunt. *Labor et onus* significant contritionem, pavores et terrores peccati et mortis. *Venire ad Christum* est credere, quod propter Christum remittantur peccata; quum credimus, vivificantur corda Spiritu Sancto 45] per verbum Christi. Sunt igitur hic duae partes praecipuae, contritio et fides. Et Marci primo, v. 15, Christus ait: *Agite poenitentiam et credite evangelio.* Ubi in priore particula arguit peccata, in posteriore consolatur nos et ostendit remissionem peccatorum. Nam credere evangelio non est illa generalis fides, quam habent et diaboli, sed proprie est credere remissionem peccatorum propter Christum donatam. Haec enim revelatur in evangelio. Videtis et hic duas partes coniungi, contritionem, quum arguuntur peccata, et fidem, quum dicitur: *Credite evangelio.* Si quis hic dicat Christum complecti etiam fructus poenitentiae seu totam novam vitam, non dissentiemus. Nam hoc nobis sufficit, quod hae partes praecipuae nominantur: contritio et fides.

Dieweil aber die Widersacher verdammen, daß wir die zwei Teile der Buße gesetzt haben, so müssen wir anzeigen, daß nicht wir, sondern die Schrift diese zwei Stücke der Buße oder Bekehrung also ausdrückt. Christus sagt Matthäi 11: „Kommt zu mir alle, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid, und ich will euch erquicken." Da sind zwei Stücke: die **Last** oder die **Bürde,** da Christus von redet, das ist, der Jammer, das große Erschrecken vor Gottes Zorn im Herzen; zum andern das Kommen zu Christo, denn das Kommen ist nichts anderes, denn glauben, daß um Christus' willen uns Sünden vergeben werden, und daß wir durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren und lebendig werden. Darum müssen diese zwei die vornehmsten Stücke in der Buße sein: die Reue und der Glaube. Und Marci am 1. sagt Christus: „Tut Buße und glaubet dem Evangelio!" Für das erste macht er uns zu Sündern und schreckt uns. Zum andern tröstet er uns und verkündigt Vergebung der Sünden. Denn dem Evangelio glauben heißt nicht allein die Historien des Evangelii glauben, welchen Glauben auch die Teufel haben, sondern heißt eigentlich glauben, daß uns durch Christum Sünden vergeben sind; denn denselben Glauben predigt uns das Evangelium. Da seht ihr auch die zwei Stücke: die Reue oder das Schrecken des Gewissens, da er sagt: „Tut Buße!" und den Glauben, da er sagt: „Glaubet dem Evangelio!" Ob nun jemand wollte sagen, Christus begreift auch die Früchte der Buße, das ganze neue Leben, das fechten wir nicht groß an. Es ist uns hier genug, daß die Schrift diese zwei Stücke vornehmlich ausdrückt: Reue und Glauben.

46] Paulus fere ubique, quum describit conversionem seu renovationem, facit has duas partes, *mortificationem et vivificationem,* ut Col. 2, 11: *In quo circumcisi estis circumcisione non manu facta,* videlicet exspoliatione corporis peccatorum carnis. Et postea, v. 12: *In quo simul resuscitati estis per fidem efficaciae Dei.* Hic duae sunt partes. Altera est exspoliatio corporis peccatorum, altera est resuscitatio per fidem. Neque haec [R. 169 verba, mortificatio, vivificatio, exspoliatio corporis peccatorum, resuscitatio, Platonice intelligi debent de simulata mutatione; sed mortificatio significat veros terrores, quales sunt morientium, quos sustinere natura non posset, nisi erigeretur fide. Ita hic exspoliationem corporis peccatorum vocat, quam nos dicimus usitate contritionem, quia in illis doloribus concupiscentia naturalis expurgatur. Et vivificatio intelligi debet non imaginatio

Paulus in allen Episteln, sooft er handelt, wie wir bekehrt werden, faßt er diese zwei Stücke zusammen: **Sterben des alten Menschen,** das ist, Reue, Erschrecken vor Gottes Zorn und Gericht, und dagegen **Verneuerung** durch den Glauben. Denn durch [den] Glauben werden wir getröstet und wieder zum Leben gebracht und errettet von Tod und Hölle. Von diesen zwei Stücken redet er klar Röm. 6, 2. 4. 11: „Daß wir der Sünde gestorben sind", das geschieht durch Reue und Schrecken; „und wiederum sollen wir mit Christo auferstehen", das geschieht, so wir durch [den] Glauben wiederum Trost und Leben erlangen. Und dieweil Glaube soll Trost und Frieden im Gewissen bringen laut des Spruchs Röm. 5, 1: „So wir gerecht sind worden durch den Glauben, haben wir Frieden", folgt, daß zuvor Schrecken und Angst im Gewissen ist. Also gehen Reue und Glaube nebeneinander.

Lord's Supper clearly testify, Matt. 26, 26. 28: *This is My body, which is given for you. This is the cup of the New Testament*, etc. Thus faith is conceived and strengthened through absolution, through the hearing of the Gospel, through the use of the Sacraments, so that it may not succumb while it struggles with the terrors of sin and death. This method of repentance is plain and clear, and increases the worth of the power of the keys and of the Sacraments, and illumines the benefit of Christ, and teaches us to avail ourselves of Christ as Mediator and Propitiator.

But as the Confutation condemns us for having assigned these two parts to repentance, we must show that [not we, but] Scripture expresses these as the chief parts in repentance or conversion. For Christ says, Matt. 11, 28: *Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Here there are two members. The *labor* and the *burden* signify the contrition, anxiety, and terrors of sin and of death. *To come to Christ* is to believe that sins are remitted for Christ's sake; when we believe, our hearts are quickened by the Holy Ghost through the Word of Christ. Here, therefore, there are these two chief parts, contrition and faith. And in Mark 1, 15 Christ says: *Repent ye and believe the Gospel*, where in the first member He convicts of sins; in the latter He consoles us, and shows the remission of sins. For to believe the Gospel is not that general faith which devils also have [is not only to believe the history of the Gospel], but in the proper sense it is to believe that the remission of sins has been granted for Christ's sake. For this is revealed in the Gospel. You see also here that the two parts are joined, contrition when sins are reproved, and faith, when it is said: *Believe the Gospel.* If any one should say here that Christ includes also the fruits of repentance or the entire new life, we shall not dissent. For this suffices us, that contrition and faith are named as the chief parts.

Paul almost everywhere, when he describes conversion or renewal, designates these two parts, *mortification and quickening*, as in Col. 2, 11: *In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands*, namely, by *putting off the body of the sins of the flesh.* And afterward, v. 12: *Wherein also ye are risen with Him through the faith of the operation of God.* Here are two parts. [Of these two parts he speaks plainly Rom. 6, 2. 4. 11, that *we are dead to sin*, which takes place by contrition and its terrors, and that *we should rise again with Christ*, which takes place when by faith we again obtain consolation and life. And since faith is to bring consolation and peace into the conscience, according to Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace*, it follows that there is first terror and anxiety in the conscience. Thus contrition and faith go side by side.] One is putting off the body of sins; the other is the rising again through faith. Neither ought these words, mortification, quickening, putting off the body of sins, rising again, to be understood in a Platonic way, concerning a feigned change; but mortification signifies true terrors, such as those of the dying, which nature could not sustain unless it were supported by faith. So he names that as the putting off of the body of sins which we ordinarily call contrition, because in these griefs the natural concupiscence is purged away. And quickening ought not to be understood as a Platonic fancy, but as consolation which truly sustains life that is escaping in contrition. Here, therefore, are two parts: contrition and faith. For as conscience cannot be paci-

47] Platonica, sed consolatio, quae vere sustentat fugientem vitam in contritione. Sunt ergo hic duae partes, contritio et fides. Quia enim conscientia non potest reddi pacata nisi fide, ideo sola fides vivificat, iuxta hoc dictum, Hab. 2, 4; Rom. 1, 17: *Iustus ex fide vivet.*

48] Et deinde in Colossensibus, 2, 14, inquit, *Christum delere chirographum, quod per legem adversatur nobis.* Hic quoque duae sunt partes, chirographum et deletio chirographi. Est autem chirographum conscientia arguens et condemnans nos. Porro lex est verbum, quod arguit et condemnat peccata. Haec igitur vox, quae dicit: *Peccavi Domino*, sicut David ait 2 Sam. 12, 13, est chirographum. Et hanc vocem impii et securi homines non emittunt serio. Non enim vident, non legunt scriptam in corde sententiam legis. In veris doloribus ac terroribus cernitur haec sententia. Est igitur chirographum ipsa contritio, condemnans nos. *Delere chirographum* est tollere hanc sententiam, qua pronuntiamus, fore ut damnemur, et sententiam insculpere, qua sentiamus nos liberatos esse ab illa condemnatione. Est autem fides nova illa sententia, quae abolet priorem sententiam et reddit pacem et vitam cordi.

49] Quamquam quid opus est multa citare testimonia, quum ubique obvia sint in Scripturis. Psalmo 118, 18: *Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me.* Psalmo 119, 28: *Defecit anima mea prae angustia; confirma me Verbo tuo.* Ubi in priore membro continetur contritio, in [R. 170 secundo modus clare describitur, quomodo in contritione recreemur, scilicet Verbo Dei, quod 50] offert gratiam. Id sustentat et vivificat corda. Et 1 Reg. 2 (1 Sam. 2, 6): *Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit.* Horum altero significatur contritio, 51] altero significatur fides. Et Es. 28, 21: *Dominus irascetur, ut faciat opus suum. Alienum est opus eius, ut operetur opus suum.* Alienum opus Dei vocat, quum terret, quia Dei proprium opus est vivificare et consolari. Verum ideo terret, inquit, ut sit locus consolationi et vivificationi, quia secura corda et non sentientia iram Dei fastidiunt consolatio- 52] nem. Ad hunc modum solet Scriptura haec duo coniungere, terrores et consolationem, ut doceat haec praecipua membra esse in poenitentia, *contritionem et fidem consolantem et iustificantem.* Neque videmus, quomodo natura poenitentiae clarius et simplicius tradi possit.

Wiewohl, was ist not, viel Sprüche oder Zeugnisse der Schrift einzuführen, so die ganze Schrift der Sprüche voll ist? Als im 118. Psalm: „Der HErr züchtigt mich wohl, aber er gibt mich dem Tode nicht." Und im 119. Psalm: „Meine Seele vergehet vor Grämen; richte mich auf nach deinen Worten!" Erstlich sagt er von Schrecken oder von der Reue. Im andern Stück des Verses zeigt er klar an, wie ein reuig arm Gewissen wieder getröstet wird, nämlich durch das Wort Gottes, welches Gnade anbietet und wieder erquickt. Item 1 Sam. 2: „Der HErr tötet und macht lebendig; er führt in die Hölle und wieder heraus." Da werden auch die zwei Stücke gerührt [berührt]: Reue und Glaube. Item Jesaia am 28.: „Der HErr wird zürnen, daß er sein Werk tue, welches doch nicht sein Werk ist." Er sagt: Gott werde schrecken, wiewohl dasselbe nicht Gottes Werk sei; denn Gottes eigen Werk ist, lebendig machen. Andere Werke, als Schrecken, Töten, sind nicht Gottes eigene Werke. Denn Gott macht allein lebendig, und wenn er schreckt, tut er's darum, daß sein seliger Trost uns desto angenehmer und süßer werde; denn sichere und fleischliche Herzen, die Gottes Zorn und ihre Sünde nicht fühlen, achten keines Trosts. Auf die Weise pflegt die Heilige Schrift die zwei Stücke beieinander zu setzen, erstlich das Schrecken, danach den Trost, daß sie anzeige, daß diese zwei Stücke zu einer rechten Buße oder Bekehrung gehören, **erstlich herzliche Reue, danach Glaube, der das Gewissen wieder aufrichte.** Und ist je gewiß also, daß nicht wohl möglich ist, von der Sache klarer oder richtiger zu reden. So wissen wir fürwahr, daß Gott in seinen Christen, in der Kirche, also wirkt.

53] Haec enim sunt duo praecipua opera Dei in hominibus, perterrefacere, et iustificare ac vivificare perterrefactos. In haec duo opera distributa est universa Scriptura. Altera pars *lex* est, quae ostendit, arguit et condemnat peccata. Altera pars *evangelium*, hoc est, promissio gratiae in Christo donatae, et haec promissio subinde repetitur in tota Scriptura, primum tradita Adae, postea patriarchis, deinde a prophetis illustrata, postremo praedicata et exhibita a Christo inter Iudaeos et ab apostolis sparsa in totum mundum. 54] Nam fide huius promissionis sancti omnes iustificati sunt, non propter suas attritiones vel contritiones.

Dies sind nun die vornehmsten zwei Werke, dadurch Gott in den Seinen wirkt. Von den zwei Stücken redet die ganze Schrift: erstlich, daß er unsere Herzen erschreckt und uns die Sünde zeigt; zum andern, daß er wiederum uns tröstet, aufrichtet und lebendig macht. Darum führt auch die ganze Schrift diese zweierlei Lehre: Eine ist das **Gesetz,** welche uns zeigt unsern Jammer, straft die Sünde. Die andere Lehre ist das **Evangelium;** denn Gottes Verheißung, da er Gnade zusagt durch Christum, und die Verheißung der Gnade wird von Adam her durch die ganze Schrift immer wiederholt. Denn erstlich ist die Verheißung der Gnade oder das erste Evangelium Adam zugesagt: „Ich will Feindschaft setzen" usw. Hernach sind Abraham und andern Patriarchen von demselben Christo Verheißungen geschehen, welche dann die Propheten hernach gepredigt; und zuletzt ist dieselbe Verheißung der Gnade durch Christum selbst, als er nun gekommen war, gepredigt unter den Juden und endlich durch die Apostel unter die Heiden in alle Welt ausgebreitet. Denn durch den Glauben an das Evangelium oder an die Zusage von Christo sind alle Patriarchen, alle Heiligen von Anbeginn der Welt gerecht vor Gott geworden und nicht um ihrer Reue oder Leids oder einigerlei Werke willen.

55] Et exempla ostendunt similiter has duas partes. Adam obiurgatur post peccatum et

Und die Exempel, wie die Heiligen sind fromm geworden, zeigen auch die obgedachten zwei Stücke

fied except by faith, therefore faith alone quickens, according to the declaration, Hab. 2, 4; Rom. 1, 17: *The just shall live by faith.*

And then in Col. 2, 14 it is said that *Christ blots out the handwriting which through the Law is against us.* Here also there are two parts, the handwriting and the blotting out of the handwriting. The handwriting, however, is conscience, convicting and condemning us. The Law, moreover, is the word which reproves and condemns sins. Therefore, this voice which says, *I have sinned against the Lord,* as David says, 2 Sam. 12, 13, is the handwriting. And wicked and secure men do not seriously give forth this voice. For they do not see, they do not read the sentence of the Law written in the heart. In true griefs and terrors this sentence is perceived. Therefore the handwriting which condemns us is contrition itself. To blot out the handwriting is to expunge this sentence by which we declare that we shall be condemned, and to engrave the sentence according to which we know that we have been freed from this condemnation. But faith is the new sentence, which reverses the former sentence, and gives peace and life to the heart.

However, what need is there to cite many testimonies since they are everywhere obvious in the Scriptures? Ps. 118, 18: *The Lord hath chastened me sore, but He hath not given me over unto death.* Ps. 119, 28: *My soul melteth for heaviness; strengthen Thou me according unto Thy word.* Here, in the first member, contrition is contained, and in the second the mode is clearly described how in contrition we are revived, namely, by the Word of God, which offers grace. This sustains and quickens hearts. And 1 Sam. 2, 6: *The Lord killeth and maketh alive; He bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up.* By one of these, contrition is signified; by the other, faith is signified. And Is. 28, 21: *The Lord shall be wroth that He may do His work, His strange work, and bring to pass His act, His strange act.* He calls it the strange work of the Lord when He terrifies, because to quicken and console is God's own work. [Other works, as, to terrify and to kill, are not God's own works, for God only quickens.] But He terrifies, he says, for this reason, namely, that there may be a place for consolation and quickening, because hearts that are secure and do not feel the wrath of God loathe consolation. In this manner Scripture is accustomed to join these two, the terrors and the consolation, in order to teach that in repentance there are these chief members, *contrition, and faith that consoles and justifies.* Neither do we see how the nature of repentance can be presented more clearly and simply. [We know with certainty that God thus works in His Christians, in the Church.]

For the two chief works of God in men are these, to terrify, and to justify and quicken those who have been terrified. Into these two works all Scripture has been distributed. The one part is the *Law,* which shows, reproves, and condemns sins. The other part is the *Gospel, i. e.,* the promise of grace bestowed in Christ, and this promise is constantly repeated in the whole of Scripture, first having been delivered to Adam [*I will put enmity,* etc., Gen. 3, 15], afterwards to the patriarchs; then, still more clearly proclaimed by the prophets; lastly, preached and set forth among the Jews by Christ, and disseminated over the entire world by the apostles. For all the saints were justified by faith in this promise, and not by their own attrition or contrition.

And the examples [how the saints became godly] show likewise these two parts. After

perterrefit; haec fuit contritio. Postea promittit Deus gratiam, dicit futurum semen, quo destruetur regnum diaboli, mors et peccatum; ibi offert remissionem peccati. Haec sunt praecipua. Nam etsi postea additur poena, tamen haec poena non meretur remissionem peccati. Et de hoc genere [R. 171 poenarum paulo post dicemus.

an, nämlich das Gesetz und Evangelium. Denn Adam, als er gefallen war, wird er erst gestraft, daß sein Gewissen erschrickt und in große Angste kommt; dasselbe ist die rechte Reue oder contritio. Hernach sagt ihm Gott Gnade und Heil zu durch den gebenedeiten Samen, das ist, Christum, durch welchen der Tod, die Sünde und des Teufels Reich sollte zerbrochen werden; da bietet er ihm wieder an Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden. Das sind die zwei Stücke. Denn wiewohl Gott hernach Adam Strafe auflegt, so verdient er doch durch die Strafe nicht Vergebung der Sünden. Und von derselben aufgelegten Strafe wollen wir hernach sagen.

56] Sic David obiurgatur a Nathan et perterrefactus inquit 2 Sam. 12, 13: *Peccavi Domino.* Ea est contritio. Postea audit absolutionem: *Dominus sustulit peccatum tuum, non morieris.* Haec vox erigit Davidem et fide sustentat, iustificat et vivificat eum. Additur et hic poena, sed haec poena non mere-
57] tur remissionem peccatorum. Nec semper adduntur peculiares poenae, sed haec duo semper existere in poenitentia oportet, *contritionem* et *fidem*, ut Luc. 7, 37. 38. Mulier peccatrix venit ad Christum lacrymans. Per has lacrymas agnoscitur contritio. Postea audit absolutionem: *Remittuntur tibi peccata; fides tua salvam te fecit; vade in pace.* Haec est altera pars poenitentiae, fides, quae
58] erigit et consolatur eam. Ex his omnibus apparet piis lectoribus nos eas partes poenitentiae ponere, quae propriae sunt in conversione seu regeneratione et remissione peccati. Fructus digni et poenae sequuntur regenerationem et remissionem peccati. Ideoque has duas partes posuimus, ut magis conspici fides possit, quam in poenitentia requirimus. Et magis intelligi potest, quid sit fides, quam praedicat evangelium, quum opponitur contritioni ac mortificationi.

Also wird David vom Propheten Nathan hart angeredet und erschreckt, daß er spricht und bekennt: „Ich habe vor dem HErrn gesündigt." Das ist nun die Reue. Hernach hört er das Evangelium und die Absolution: „Der HErr hat deine Sünde weggenommen, du sollst nicht sterben." Als David das Wort glaubt, empfängt sein Herz wieder Trost, Licht und Leben. Und wiewohl ihm auch die Strafe wird aufgelegt, so verdient er doch durch die Strafe nicht Vergebung der Sünden. Und es sind auch wohl Exempel, da solche sonderliche Strafen nicht dazugetan werden, sondern diese zwei Stücke gehören allzeit vornehmlich zu einer rechten Buße: erstlich, **daß unser Gewissen die Sünde erkenne und erschrecke;** zum andern, **daß wir der göttlichen Zusage glauben.** Als Luk. 7 kommt das arme, sündige Weib zu Christo und weint bitterlich. Das Weinen zeigt die Reue an. Hernach hört sie das Evangelium: „Deine Sünden sind dir vergeben; dein Glaube hat dir geholfen; gehe hin in Frieden." Das ist nun das andere, vornehmste Stück der Buße, nämlich der Glaube, der sie wieder tröstet. Aus diesem können hier alle christlichen Leser merken, daß wir nicht unnötige Disputationes einführen, sondern klar, richtig und eigentlich die Stücke der Buße setzen, ohne welche die Sünden nicht können vergeben werden, ohne welche niemand vor Gott fromm, heilig oder neugeboren wird. Die Früchte aber und guten Werke, item Geduld, daß wir gern leiden Kreuz und Strafe, was Gott dem alten Adam auflegt, das alles folgt, wenn also erst durch den Glauben die Sünde vergeben ist und wir neugeboren sind. Und wir haben diese zwei Stücke klar gesetzt, damit der Glaube an Christum, davon die Sophisten, Kanonisten alle geschwiegen, auch einmal gelehrt werde, damit man auch desto klarer sehen möge, was der Glaube sei oder nicht sei, wenn er also gegen das große Schrecken und Angst gehalten wird.

59] Sed quia adversarii nominatim hoc damnant, quod dicimus homines fide consequi remissionem peccatorum, addemus paucas quasdam probationes, ex quibus intelligi poterit remissionem peccatorum contingere non ex opere operato propter contritionem, sed fide illa speciali, qua unusquisque credit sibi remitti peccata. Nam hic articulus praecipuus est, de quo digladiamur cum adversariis, et cuius cognitionem ducimus maxime necessariam esse Christianis omnibus. Quum autem supra de iustificatione de eadem re satis dictum videatur, hic breviores erimus. Sunt enim loci maxime cognati, doctrina poenitentiae et doctrina iustificationis.

Dieweil aber die Widersacher diesen klaren, gewissen, trefflichsten Artikel ohne alle Scheu und Scham namhaftig verdammen, da wir sagen, daß die Menschen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch den Glauben an Christum, so wollen wir des etliche Gründe und Beweisungen setzen, aus welchen zu verstehen sei, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden nicht erlangen ex opere operato oder durch das getane Werk, durch Reue oder Leid usw., sondern allein durch den Glauben, da ein jeder für sich selbst glaubt, daß ihm [die] Sünden vergeben sind. Denn dieser Artikel ist der vornehmste und nötigste, darum wir mit den Widersachern streiten; welcher auch der nötigste ist allen Christen zu wissen. So wir aber hier oben im Artikel De iustificatione von demselben genugsam gesagt, so wollen wir desto kürzer hier dasselbe handeln.

60] Adversarii quum de fide loquuntur et dicunt eam praecedere poenitentiam, [R. 172 intelligunt fidem, non hanc, quae iustificat, sed quae in genere credit Deum esse, poenas propositas esse impiis etc. Nos praeter illam

Die Widersacher, wenn sie vom Glauben reden, sagen sie, der Glaube müsse vor der Buße hergehen, und verstehen nicht den Glauben, welcher vor Gott gerecht macht, sondern den Glauben, durch welchen in genere, das ist, insgemein, ge-

his sin Adam is reproved and becomes terrified; this was contrition. Afterward God promises grace, and speaks of a future seed (the blessed seed, *i. e.*, Christ), by which the kingdom of the devil, death, and sin will be destroyed; there He offers the remission of sins. These are the chief things. For although the punishment is afterwards added, yet this punishment does not merit the remission of sin. And concerning this kind of punishment we shall speak after a while.

So David is reproved by Nathan, and, terrified, he says, 2 Sam. 12, 13: *I have sinned against the Lord.* This is contrition. Afterward he hears the absolution: *The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die.* This voice encourages David, and by faith sustains, justifies, and quickens him. Here a punishment is also added, but this punishment does not merit the remission of sins. Nor are special punishments always added, but in repentance these two things ought always to exist, namely, *contrition and faith*, as Luke 7, 37. 38. The woman, who was a sinner, came to Christ weeping. By these tears the contrition is recognized. Afterward she hears the absolution: *Thy sins are forgiven; thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace.* This is the second part of repentance, namely, faith, which encourages and consoles her. From all these it is apparent to godly readers that we assign to repentance those parts which properly belong to it in conversion, or regeneration, and the remission of sin. Worthy fruits and punishments [likewise, patience that we be willing to bear the cross, and punishments, which God lays upon the old Adam] follow regeneration and the remission of sin. For this reason we have mentioned these two parts, in order that the faith which we require in repentance [of which the sophists and canonists have all been silent] might be the better seen. And what that faith is which the Gospel proclaims can be better understood when it is set over against contrition and mortification.

But as the adversaries expressly condemn our statement that men obtain the remission of sins by faith, we shall add a few proofs from which it will be understood that the remission of sins is obtained not *ex opere operato* because of contrition, but by that special faith by which an individual believes that sins are remitted to him. For this is the chief article concerning which we are contending with our adversaries, and the knowledge of which we regard especially necessary to all Christians. As, however, it appears that we have spoken sufficiently above concerning the same subject, we shall here be briefer. For very closely related are the topics of the doctrine of repentance and the doctrine of justification.

When the adversaries speak of faith, and say that it precedes repentance, they understand by faith, not that which justifies, but that which, in a general way, believes that God exists, that punishments have been threatened to the wicked [that there is a hell], etc. In addition to this faith we require that each one believe that his sins are remitted to him. Concerning this special faith we are disputing, and we oppose it to the opinion which bids us trust not in the

fidem requirimus, ut credat sibi quisque remitti peccata. De hac fide speciali litigamus; et opponimus eam opinioni, quae iubet confidere non in promissione Christi, sed in opere operato contritionis, confessionis et satisfactionum etc. Haec fides ita sequitur terrores, ut vincat eos et reddat pacatam conscientiam. Huic fidei tribuimus, quod iustificet et regeneret, dum ex terroribus liberat, et pacem, gaudium et novam vitam in corde parit. Hanc fidem defendimus vere esse necessariam ad remissionem peccatorum, ideo ponimus inter partes poenitentiae. Nec aliud sentit ecclesia Christi, etiamsi adversarii nostri reclamant.

glaubt wird, daß ein Gott sei, daß eine Hölle sei usw. Wir reden aber darüber [außerdem] von einem Glauben, da ich für mich gewiß glaube, daß mir die Sünden vergeben sind um Christus' willen. Von diesem Glauben streiten wir, der nach dem Schrecken folgen soll und muß, und das Gewissen trösten und das Herz in dem schweren Kampf und Angst wieder zufrieden machen. Und das wollen wir, will's Gott, ewiglich verfechten und wider alle Pforten der Hölle erhalten, daß derselbe Glaube muß da sein, sollen jemand Sünden vergeben werden. Darum setzen wir dieses Stück auch zur Buße. Es kann auch die christliche Kirche nicht anders halten, denn daß Sünden vergeben werden durch solchen Glauben, wiewohl die Widersacher als die wütenden Hunde dawider bellen.

61] Principio autem interrogamus adversarios, utrum absolutionem accipere pars sit poenitentiae nec ne. Quod si a confessione separant, ut sunt subtiles in distinguendo, non videmus, quid prosit confessio sine absolutione. Sin autem non separant a confessione acceptionem absolutionis, necesse est eos sentire, quod fides sit pars poenitentiae, quia absolutio non accipitur nisi fide. Quod autem absolutio non accipiatur nisi fide, ex Paulo probari potest, qui docet Rom. 4, 16, quod promissio non possit accipi *nisi fide.* Absolutio autem est promissio remissionis peccatorum. **62]** Igitur necessario requirit fidem. Nec videmus, quomodo dicatur is accipere absolutionem, qui non assentitur ei. Et quid aliud est non assentiri absolutioni, quam Deum accusare mendacii? Si cor dubitet, sentit incerta et inania esse, quae promittit Deus. Ideo 1 Ioh. 5, 10 scriptum est: *Qui non credit Deo, mendacem facit eum, quia non credit in testimonium, quod testificatus est Deus de Filio suo.*

Für das erste frage ich hier die Widersacher, ob es auch ein Stück der Buße sei, die Absolution hören oder empfangen. Denn wo sie die Absolution absondern von der Beichte, wie sie denn subtil sein wollen zu distinguieren, so wird niemand wissen oder sagen können, was die Beichte ohne die Absolution nütze sei. So sie aber die Absolution von der Beichte nicht absondern, so müssen sie sagen, daß der Glaube an das Wort Christi sei ein Stück der Buße, so man die Absolution nicht empfangen kann denn allein durch den Glauben. Daß man aber das Wort der Absolution nicht empfangen kann denn allein durch den Glauben, ist zu beweisen aus Paulo, Röm. 4, da er sagt, daß die Verheißung Gottes niemand fassen kann denn allein durch den Glauben. Die Absolution aber ist nichts anderes denn das Evangelium, eine göttliche Zusage der Gnade und Huld Gottes usw. Darum kann man sie nicht haben noch erlangen denn allein durch den Glauben. Denn wie kann denjenigen das Wort der Absolution nütze werden, die sie nicht glauben? Die Absolution aber nicht glauben, was ist das anders, denn Gott Lügen strafen? Dieweil das Herz wankt, zweifelt, hält's für ungewiß, was Gott da zusagt. Darum steht 1 Joh. 5 geschrieben: „Wer Gott nicht glaubt, der lügenstraft ihn, denn er glaubt nicht dem Zeugnis, das Gott von seinem Sohne zeugt."

63] Secundo fateri adversarios existimamus, remissionem peccatorum poenitentiae [R. 173 seu partem, seu finem, seu, ut ipsorum more loquamur, terminum esse ad quem. Ergo id, quo accipitur remissio peccatorum, recte additur partibus poenitentiae. Certissimum est autem, etiamsi omnes portae inferorum reclamant, remissionem peccatorum non posse accipi nisi sola fide, quae credit peccata remitti propter Christum, iuxta illud Rom. 3, 25: *Quem proposuit Deus propitiatorem per fidem in sanguine ipsius.* Item Rom. 5, 2: *Per quem accessum habemus per fidem in* **64]** *gratiam* etc. Nam conscientia territa non potest opponere irae Dei opera nostra aut dilectionem nostram, sed ita demum fit pacata, quum apprehendit mediatorem Christum et credit promissionibus propter illum donatis. Non enim intelligunt, quid sit remissio peccatorum aut quomodo nobis contingat, qui somniant corda pacata fieri sine **65]** fide in Christum. Petrus, 1. ep. 2, 6, citat ex Esaia, 49, 23 et 28, 16: *Qui crediderit in eum, non confundetur.* Necesse est igitur confundi hypocritas, confidentes se accipere re-

Zum andern, so müssen je die Widersacher gewiß bekennen, daß die Vergebung der Sünden sei ein Stück oder, daß wir auf ihre Weise reden, sei finis, das Ende, oder terminus ad quem der ganzen Buße. Denn was hülfe Buße, wenn nicht Vergebung der Sünden erlangt würde? Darum dasjenige, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden erlangt wird, soll und muß je ein vornehmstes Stück der Buße sein. Eigentlich ist es aber wahr, klar und gewiß, wenn [wenngleich] alle Teufel, alle Pforten der Hölle dawider schrien, daß das Wort von der Vergebung der Sünden niemand fassen kann denn allein durch den Glauben. Röm. 3: „Welchen Gott hat vorgestellt zu einem Gnadenstuhl durch den Glauben" usw. Item Röm. 5: „Durch welchen wir auch einen Zutritt haben im Glauben zu dieser Gnade" usw. Denn ein erschrocken Gewissen, das seine Sünde fühlt, merkt bald, daß Gottes Zorn mit unsern elenden Werken nicht zu versöhnen ist, sondern also kommt ein Gewissen recht zum Frieden, wenn es sich hält an den Mittler Christum und glaubt den göttlichen Zusagungen. Denn diejenigen verstehen nicht, was Vergebung der Sünden sei, oder wie man dieselbe erlangt, die da wähnen, die Herzen und Gewissen

promise of Christ, but in the *opus operatum* of contrition, confession, and satisfactions, etc. This faith follows terrors in such a manner as to overcome them, and render the conscience pacified. To this faith we ascribe justification and regeneration, inasmuch as it frees from terrors, and brings forth in the heart not only peace and joy, but also a new life. We maintain [with the help of God we shall defend to eternity and against all the gates of hell] that this faith is truly necessary for the remission of sins, and accordingly place it among the parts of repentance. Nor does the Church of Christ believe otherwise, although our adversaries [like mad dogs] contradict us.

Moreover, to begin with, we ask the adversaries whether to receive absolution is a part of repentance, or not. But if they separate it from confession, as they are subtile in making the distinction, we do not see of what benefit confession is without absolution. If, however, they do not separate the receiving of absolution from confession, it is necessary for them to hold that faith is a part of repentance, because absolution is not received except by faith. That absolution, however, is not received except by faith can be proved from Paul, who teaches, Rom. 4, 16, that the promise cannot be received *except by faith.* But absolution is the promise of the remission of sins [nothing else than the Gospel, the divine promise of God's grace and favor]. Therefore, it necessarily requires faith. Neither do we see how he who does not assent to it may be said to receive absolution. And what else is the refusal to assent to absolution but charging God with falsehood? If the heart doubts, it regards those things which God promises as uncertain and of no account. Accordingly, in 1 John 5, 10 it is written: *He that believeth not God hath made Him a liar, because he believeth not the record that God gave of His Son.*

Secondly, we think that the adversaries acknowledge that the remission of sins is either a part, or the end, or, to speak in their manner, the *terminus ad quem* of repentance. [For what does repentance help if the forgiveness of sins be not obtained?] Therefore that by which the remission of sins is received is correctly added to the parts [must certainly be the most prominent part] of repentance. It is very certain, however, that even though all the gates of hell contradict us, yet the remission of sins cannot be received except by faith alone, which believes that sins are remitted for Christ's sake, according to Rom. 3, 25: *Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood.* Likewise Rom. 5, 2: *By whom also we have access by faith unto grace,* etc. For a terrified conscience cannot set against God's wrath our works or our love, but it is at length pacified when it apprehends Christ as Mediator, and believes the promises given for His sake. For those who dream that without faith in Christ hearts become pacified, do not understand what the remission of sins is, or how it came to us. Peter, 1 Ep.

missionem peccatorum propter sua opera, non propter Christum. Et Petrus ait in Actis, cap. 10, 43: *Huic omnes prophetae testimonium perhibent, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius omnes, qui credunt in eum.* Non potuit dici magis dilucide, quam quod ait: *per nomen eius*, et addit: *omnes, qui credunt in eum.* Tantum igitur ita accipimus remissionem peccatorum per nomen Christi, hoc est, propter Christum, non propter ulla nostra merita atque opera. Et hoc ita fit, quum credimus nobis remitti peccata propter Christum.

könnten gestillt werden ohne den Glauben an Christum. Petrus der Apostel führt ein den Spruch Jes. 49: „Wer an ihn glaubt, der wird nicht zuschanden werden." Derhalben müssen die Heuchler vor Gott zuschanden werden, die da meinen, sie wollen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch ihre Werke, nicht um Christus' willen. Und Petrus in den Geschichten der Apostel am 10. sagt: „Dem JEsu geben Zeugnis alle Propheten, daß diejenigen Vergebung der Sünden durch seinen Namen erlangen, so an ihn glauben." Er hätte nicht klarer reden können, denn daß er sagt „durch seinen Namen", und setzt dazu: „alle, die an ihn glauben". Darum erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden durch den Namen Christi, das ist, um Christus' willen, nicht um unsers Verdienstes oder Werke willen, und das geschieht also, wenn wir glauben, daß uns Sünden vergeben werden um Christus' willen.

66] Adversarii nostri vociferantur se esse ecclesiam, se consensum ecclesiae sequi. At Petrus hic in nostra causa etiam allegat consensum ecclesiae: *Huic*, inquit, *omnes prophetae perhibent testimonium, remissionem peccatorum accipere per nomen eius* etc. Profecto consensus prophetarum iudicandus est universalis ecclesiae consensus esse. [R. 174 Nec papae nec ecclesiae concedimus potestatem decernendi contra hunc consensum pro-
67] phetarum. At bulla Leonis aperte damnat hunc articulum de remissione peccatorum, damnant et adversarii in confutatione. Qua ex re apparet, qualis sit ecclesia iudicanda istorum, qui non solum decretis improbant hanc sententiam, quod remissionem peccatorum consequamur fide, non propter opera nostra, sed propter Christum, sed etiam iubent eam vi ac ferro abolere, iubent omni genere crudelitatis perdere viros bonos, qui sic sentiunt.

Die Widersacher schreien wohl, sie seien die christliche Kirche, und sie hielten, was die catholica, gemeine Kirche hält. Petrus aber, der Apostel, hier in unserer Sache und unserm höchsten Artikel rühmt auch eine catholica, gemeine Kirche, da er sagt: „Dem JEsu geben Zeugnis alle Propheten, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch seinen Namen." Ich meine je, wenn alle heiligen Propheten einträchtig zusammenstimmen (nachdem Gott auch einen einigen Propheten für einen Weltschatz achtet), solle je auch ein Dekret, eine Stimme und einträchtiger starker Beschluß sein der gemeinen, katholischen, christlichen, heiligen Kirche und billig dafürgehalten werden. Wir werden weder Papst, Bischof noch Kirche die Gewalt einräumen, wider aller Propheten einträchtige Stimme etwas zu halten oder zu [be]schließen. Noch [dennoch] hat Papst Leo X. diesen Artikel als irrig dürfen verdammen. Und die Widersacher verdammen dieses auch. Darum ist genug am Tag, was das für eine feine christliche Kirche sei, die nicht allein durch öffentliche, geschriebene Dekrete und Mandate diesen Artikel, nämlich daß wir Vergebung der Sünden ohne Werke, durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen, verdammen darf, sondern auch über dem Bekenntnis dieses Artikels unschuldig Blut verdammen und erwürgen. Sie dürfen Gebote ausgehen lassen, daß man fromme, redliche Leute, die also lehren, solle verjagen, und trachten ihnen durch allerlei Tyrannei, als die Bluthunde, nach Leib und Leben.

68] Sed habent magni nominis auctores, Scotum, Gabrielem et similes, dicta patrum, quae in decretis truncata citantur. Certe, si numeranda sunt testimonia, vincunt. Est enim maxima turba nugacissimorum scriptorum *in sententias*, qui tamquam coniurati defendunt illa figmenta de merito attritionis et operum et cetera, quae supra recitavimus.
69] Sed ne quis multitudine moveatur, non magna auctoritas est in testimoniis posteriorum, qui non genuerunt sua scripta, sed tantum compilatis superioribus transfuderunt illas opiniones ex aliis libris in alios. Nihil iudicii adhibuerunt, sed ut pedanei senatores [Du Cange, Glossarium, Tom. 6, p. 242: „Pedaneus iudex, inferior, qui minora iudicia exercet. . . . Pedarii dicti senatores, qui nondum maioribus honoribus functi, pedibus itabant in curiam."] taciti comprobaverunt superiorum errores non intellectos. Nos igitur hanc Petri vocem non dubitemus opponere
70] quamlibet multis legionibus Sententiariorum, quae allegat consensum prophetarum.
71] Et accedit testimonium Spiritus Sancti ad hanc concionem Petri. Sic enim ait textus,

Aber sie werden vielleicht sagen, sie haben [hätten] auch Lehrer für sich, Scotum, Gabrielem und dergleichen, die auch großen Namen haben, dazu auch die Sprüche der Väter, welche im Dekret verstümpelt [verstümmelt] angezogen. Ja, es ist wahr, sie heißen alle Lehrer und Skribenten, aber am Gesange kann man merken, welche Vögel es sind. Dieselben Skribenten haben nichts anderes denn Philosophie gelehrt und von Christo und Gottes Werk nichts gewußt; das beweisen ihre Bücher klar. Derhalben lassen wir uns nicht irren, sondern wissen fürwahr, daß wir das Wort des heiligen Apostels Petri, als eines großen Doktors, fröhlich mögen halten gegen alle Sententiarios über einen Haufen, und wenn ihrer viel tausend wären. Denn Petrus sagt klar, es sei eine einträchtige Stimme aller Propheten, und dieselbe herrliche Predigt des hohen, großen Apostels hat Gott kräftig dasmal bestätigt durch Austeilung des Heiligen Geistes. Denn also sagt der Text: „Als Petrus noch redete, fiel der Heilige Geist auf alle, die dem Wort zuhörten." Derhalben sollen die christlichen Gewissen das wohl merken, daß dieses Gottes Wort und Gebot ist, daß uns ohne Verdienst Sünden vergeben werden durch

2, 6, cites from Is. 49, 23, and 28, 16: *He that believeth on Him shall not be confounded.* It is necessary, therefore, that hypocrites be confounded, who are confident that they receive the remission of sins because of their own works, and not because of Christ. Peter also says in Acts 10, 43: *To Him give all the prophets witness that through His name, whosoever believeth in Him, shall receive remission of sins.* What he says, *through His name,* could not be expressed more clearly, and he adds: *Whosoever believeth in Him.* Thus, therefore, we receive the remission of sins only through the name of Christ, *i. e.,* for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of any merits and works of our own. And this occurs when we believe that sins are remitted to us for Christ's sake.

Our adversaries cry out that they are the Church, that they are following the consensus of the Church [what the Church catholic, universal, holds]. But Peter also here cites in our issue the consensus of the Church: *To Him give all the prophets witness, that through His name, whosoever believeth in Him, shall receive remission of sins,* etc. The consensus of the prophets is assuredly to be judged as the consensus of the Church universal. [I verily think that if all the holy prophets are unanimously agreed in a declaration (since God regards even a single prophet as an inestimable treasure), it would also be a decree, a declaration, and a unanimous strong conclusion of the universal, catholic, Christian, holy Church, and would be justly regarded as such.] We concede neither to the Pope nor to the Church the power to make decrees against this consensus of the prophets. But the bull of Leo openly condemns this article, *Of the Remission of Sins,* and the adversaries condemn it in the Confutation. From which it is apparent what sort of a Church we must judge that of these men to be, who not only by their decrees censure the doctrine that we obtain the remission of sins by faith, not on account of our works, but on account of Christ, but who also give the command by force and the sword to abolish it, and by every kind of cruelty [like bloodhounds] to put to death good men who thus believe.

But they have authors of a great name, Scotus, Gabriel, and the like, and passages of the Fathers which are cited in a mutilated form in the decrees. Certainly, if the testimonies are to be counted, they win. For there is a very great crowd of most trifling writers upon the *Sententiae,* who, as though they had conspired, defend these figments concerning the merit of attrition and of works, and other things which we have above recounted. [Aye, it is true, they are all called teachers and authors, but by their singing you can tell what sort of birds they are. These authors have taught nothing but philosophy, and have known nothing of Christ and the work of God; their books show this plainly.] But lest any one be moved by the multitude of citations, there is no great weight in the testimonies of the later writers, who did not originate their own writings, but only, by compiling from the writers before them, transferred these opinions from some books into others. They have exercised no judgment, but just like petty judges silently have approved the errors of their superiors, which they have not understood. Let us not, therefore, hesitate to oppose this utterance of Peter, which cites the consensus of the prophets, to ever so many legions of the Sententiaries. And to this utterance of Peter the testimony of the Holy Ghost is added. For the text speaks thus, Acts 10, 44: *While Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Ghost fell on all them which heard the Word.* Therefore, let pious consciences know that the command of God is this, that they believe that they are freely forgiven for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our works. And by this command of God let them sustain themselves against despair, and against the terrors of sin and of death. And let them

Act. 10, 44: *Adhuc loquente Petro verba haec cecidit Spiritus Sanctus super omnes, qui* 72] *audiebant verbum.* Sciant igitur piae conscientiae hoc esse mandatum Dei, ut credant sibi gratis ignosci propter Christum, non propter opera nostra. Et hoc mandato Dei sustentent se adversus desperationem et 73] adversus terrores peccati et mortis. Et hanc sententiam sciant a principio mundi in ecclesia exstitisse apud sanctos. Petrus [R. 175 enim clare allegat consensum prophetarum, et apostolorum scripta testantur eos idem sentire. Nec desunt patrum testimonia. Nam Bernardus idem dicit verbis minime obscuris: *Necesse est enim primo omnium credere, quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis nisi per indulgentiam Dei, sed adde adhuc, ut credas et hoc, quod per ipsum peccata tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet Spiritus Sanctus in corde tuo dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic enim arbitratur apostolus gratis iustificari hominem per fidem.* 74] Haec Bernardi verba mirifice illustrant causam nostram, quia non solum requirit, ut in genere credamus peccata remitti per misericordiam, sed iubet addere specialem fidem, qua credamus, et nobis ipsis remitti peccata, et docet, quomodo certi reddamur de remissione peccatorum, videlicet quum fide corda eriguntur et fiunt tranquilla per Spiritum Sanctum. Quid requirunt amplius adversarii? Num adhuc audent negare fide nos consequi remissionem peccatorum, aut fidem partem esse poenitentiae?

Christum, nicht um unserer Werke willen, und solch Gotteswort und -gebot ist ein rechter, starker, gewisser, unvergänglicher Trost wider alles Schrecken der Sünde, des Todes, wider alle Anfechtung und Verzweiflung, Qual und Angst des Gewissens. Da wissen die müßigen Sophisten wenig von, und die selige Predigt, das Evangelium, welche Vergebung der Sünden predigt durch den gebenedeiten Samen, das ist, Christum, ist von Anbeginn der Welt aller Patriarchen, aller frommen Könige, aller Propheten, aller Gläubigen größter Schatz und Trost gewesen; denn sie haben an denselben Christum geglaubt, da wir an glauben. Denn von Anfang der Welt ist kein Heiliger anders denn durch den Glauben desselben Evangelii selig geworden. Darum sagt auch Petrus, es sei eine einträchtige Stimme aller Propheten (und die Apostel predigen auch einträchtig gleich dasselbe), und zeigt an, daß die Propheten gleich als durch e i n e n Mund geredet haben. Darüber sind die Zeugnisse der heiligen Väter. Denn Bernhardus sagt mit klaren Worten also: „Darum ist vor allen Dingen not zu wissen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden nicht anders haben können denn durch Gottes Gnade; doch sollst du dieses dazusetzen, daß du das glaubst, daß auch dir, nicht allein andern, durch Christum Sünden vergeben werden. Das ist das Zeugnis des Heiligen Geistes inwendig in deinem Herzen, wenn er dir selbst sagt in deinem Herzen, dir selbst sind deine Sünden vergeben. Denn also nennt's der Apostel, daß der Mensch ohne Verdienst gerecht wird, durch den Glauben." Diese Worte St. Bernhards streichen erst diese unsere Lehre recht heraus und setzen sie recht an das Licht. Denn er sagt, daß wir nicht allein insgemein glauben sollen, daß uns Sünden vergeben werden, sondern sagt, dieses muß dazugesetzt werden, daß ich für mich glaube, daß mir Sünden vergeben seien. Und lehrt darüber noch eigentlicher und klarer, wie wir inwendig im Herzen der Gnade, der Vergebung unserer Sünden gewiß werden, nämlich wenn die Herzen getröstet werden und gestillt inwendig durch diesen Trost. Wie aber nun, ihr Widersacher? Ist St. Bernhard auch ein Ketzer? Was wollt ihr doch mehr haben? Wollt ihr noch leugnen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch den Glauben?

75] Tertio adversarii dicunt peccatum ita remitti, quia attritus seu contritus elicit actum dilectionis Dei, per hunc actum meretur accipere remissionem peccatorum. Hoc nihil est nisi legem docere, deleto evangelio et abolita promissione de Christo. Tantum enim requirunt legem et nostra opera, quia lex exigit dilectionem. Praeterea docent confidere, quod remissionem peccatorum consequamur propter contritionem et dilectionem. Hoc quid est aliud nisi collocare fiduciam in nostra opera, non in Verbum et promissionem Dei de Christo? Quodsi lex satis est ad consequendam remissionem peccatorum, quid opus est evangelio, quid opus est Christo, si propter nostrum opus consequimur remissio- 76] nem peccatorum? Nos contra a lege ad evangelium revocamus conscientias, et [R. 176 a fiducia propriorum operum ad fiduciam promissionis et Christi, quia evangelium exhibet nobis Christum et promittit gratis remissionem peccatorum propter Christum. Hac promissione iubet nos confidere, quod propter Christum reconciliemur Patri, non propter nostram contritionem aut dilectionem. Non enim alius est mediator aut propitiator nisi Christus. Nec legem facere possumus, nisi prius per Christum reconciliati simus. Et si

Für das dritte sagen die Widersacher, daß die Sünde also vergeben werde, quia attritus vel contritus elicit actum dilectionis Dei; wenn wir uns aus der Vernunft vornehmen, Gott zu lieben, durch das Werk, sagen sie, erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden. Das ist nichts anderes, denn das Evangelium und die göttlichen Verheißungen abtun und eitel Gesetz lehren; denn sie reden von eitel Gesetz und unsern Werken; denn das Gesetz fordert Liebe. Darum lehren sie vertrauen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch solche Reue und unser Lieben. Was ist das anders, denn vertrauen auf unsere Werke, nicht auf die Zusage oder Verheißung von Christo? So nun das Gesetz genug ist, Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen, was ist Christi, was ist des Evangelii vonnöten? Wir aber weisen die Gewissen ab von dem Gesetz, von ihren Werken auf das Evangelium und die Verheißung der Gnade. Denn das Evangelium, das bietet Christum an und eitel Gnade und heißt uns auf die Zusage vertrauen, daß wir um Christus' willen versöhnt werden dem Vater, nicht um unserer Reue oder Liebe willen; denn es ist kein anderer Mittler oder Versöhner denn Christus. So können wir das Gesetz nicht erfüllen, wenn wir nicht erst durch Christum versöhnt sind; und ob wir schon etwas Gutes tun, so müssen wir es doch dafürhalten,

know that this belief has existed among saints from the beginning of the world. [Of this the idle sophists know little; and the blessed proclamation, the Gospel, which proclaims the forgiveness of sins through the blessed Seed, that is, Christ, has from the beginning of the world been the greatest consolation and treasure to all pious kings, all prophets, all believers. For they have believed in the same Christ in whom we believe; for from the beginning of the world no saint has been saved in any other way than through the faith of the same Gospel.] For Peter clearly cites the consensus of the prophets, and the writings of the apostles testify that they believe the same thing. Nor are testimonies of the Fathers wanting. For Bernard says the same thing in words that are in no way obscure: *For it is necessary first of all to believe that you cannot have remission of sins except by the indulgence of God, but add yet that you believe also this, namely, that through Him sins are forgiven thee. This is the testimony which the Holy Ghost asserts in your heart, saying: "Thy sins are forgiven thee." For thus the apostle judges that man is justified freely through faith.* These words of Bernard shed a wonderful light upon our cause, because he not only requires that we in a general way believe that sins are remitted through mercy, but he bids us add special faith, by which we believe that sins are remitted even to us; and he teaches how we may be rendered certain concerning the remission of sins, namely, when our hearts are encouraged by faith, and become tranquil through the Holy Ghost. What more do the adversaries require? [But how now, ye adversaries? Is St. Bernard also a heretic?] Do they still dare deny that by faith we obtain the remission of sins, or that faith is a part of repentance?

Thirdly, the adversaries say that sin is remitted, because an attrite or contrite person elicits an act of love to God [if we undertake from reason to love God], and by this act merits to receive the remission of sins. This is nothing but to teach the Law, the Gospel being blotted out, and the promise concerning Christ being abolished. For they require only the Law and our works, because the Law demands love. Besides, they teach us to be confident that we obtain remission of sins because of contrition and love. What else is this than to put confidence in our works, not in the Word and promise of God concerning Christ? But if the Law be sufficient for obtaining the remission of sins, what need is there of the Gospel? What need is there of Christ if we obtain remission of sins because of our own work? We, on the other hand, call consciences away from the Law to the Gospel, and from confidence in their own works to confidence in the promise and Christ, because the Gospel presents to us Christ, and promises freely the remission of sins for Christ's sake. In this promise it bids us trust, namely, that for Christ's sake we are reconciled to the Father, and not for the sake of our own contrition or love. For there is no other Mediator or Propitiator than Christ. Neither can we do the works of the Law unless we have first been reconciled through Christ. And if we would do anything, yet we must believe that not for the sake of these

quid faceremus, tamen sentiendum est, quod non propter illa opera, sed propter Christum mediatorem et propitiatorem consequimur remissionem peccatorum.

77] Imo contumelia Christi et evangelii abrogatio est sentire, quod remissionem peccatorum propter legem aut aliter consequamur quam fide in Christum. Et hanc rationem supra tractavimus de iustificatione, quum diximus, quare profiteamur homines fide iusti-
78] ficari, non dilectione. Itaque doctrina adversariorum, quum docent homines contritione et dilectione sua consequi remissionem peccatorum et confidere hac contritione et dilectione, tantum est doctrina legis, et quidem non intellectae, sicut Iudaei in velatam Mosis faciem intuebantur. Fingamus enim adesse dilectionem, fingamus adesse opera, tamen neque dilectio neque opera possunt esse propitiatio pro peccato. Ac ne possunt quidem opponi irae et iudicio Dei, iuxta illud Ps. 143, 2: *Non intrabis in iudicium cum servo tuo, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.* Nec debet honos Christi transferri in nostra opera.

79] Propter has causas contendit Paulus, quod non iustificemur ex lege, et opponit legi promissionem remissionis peccatorum, quae propter Christum donatur, ac docet nos gratis propter Christum fide accipere remissionem peccatorum. Ad hanc promissionem revocat nos Paulus a lege. In hanc promissionem iubet intueri, quae certe irrita erit, [R. 177 si prius lege iustificamur, quam per promis-
80] sionem, aut si propter nostram iustitiam con-
sequimur remissionem peccatorum. At constat, quod ideo nobis data est promissio, ideo exhibitus est Christus, quia legem non possumus facere. Quare necesse est prius nos promissione reconciliari, quam legem facimus. Promissio autem tantum fide accipitur. Igitur necesse est contritos apprehendere fide promissionem remissionis peccatorum donatae propter Christum, ac statuere, quod gratis propter Christum habeant placatum Patrem.
81] Haec est sententia Pauli ad Rom. 4, 16, ubi inquit: *Ideo ex fide, ut secundum gratiam firma sit promissio.* Et ad Gal. 3, 22: *Conclusit Scriptura omnia sub peccatum, ut promissio ex fide Iesu Christi detur credentibus,* id est, omnes sunt sub peccato, nec possunt aliter liberari, nisi fide apprehendant pro-
82] missionem remissionis peccatorum. Prius igitur oportet nos fide accipere remissionem peccatorum, quam legem facimus, etsi, ut supra dictum est, fidem dilectio sequitur, quia renati Spiritum Sanctum accipiunt; ideo legem facere incipiunt.

83] Citaremus plura testimonia, nisi obvia essent cuilibet pio lectori in Scripturis. Et nos non nimis prolixi esse cupimus, ut facilius
84] haec causa perspici possit. Neque vero dubium est, quin haec sit sententia Pauli,

daß wir nicht um der Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen.

Derhalben heißt das Christum geschmäht und das Evangelium abgetan, wenn jemand wollte halten, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden durch das Gesetz oder auf andere Weise denn durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen. Und dieses haben wir auch oben gehandelt De iustificatione, da wir gesagt haben, warum wir lehren, daß wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden und nicht durch die Liebe Gottes oder durch unsere Liebe gegen Gott. Derhalben, wenn die Widersacher lehren, daß wir durch Reue und Liebe Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und darauf vertrauen, ist nichts anderes, denn das Gesetz lehren, welches sie dennoch nicht verstehen, was es für eine Liebe gegen Gott fordere, sondern sehen wie die Juden allein in das verdeckte Angesicht Mosis. Denn ich will gleich setzen, daß die Werke und die Liebe da seien; dennoch können weder Werke noch Liebe Gott versöhnen, oder als viel als Christus gelten, wie der Psalm sagt: „Du wolleſt nicht mit deinem Knechte in das Gericht gehen" usw. Darum sollen wir die Ehre Christi nicht unsern Werken geben.

Aus dieser Ursache streitet Paulus, daß wir nicht durch das Gesetz gerecht werden, und hält gegen das Gesetz die Zusage Gottes, die Verheißung der Gnade, welche um Christus' willen uns gegeben wird. Da rückt uns Paulus herum und weist uns vom Gesetz auf die göttliche Verheißung; da will er, daß wir sollen auf Gott und seine Zusage sehen und den HErrn Christum für unsern Schatz halten; denn dieselbe Zusage wird vergeblich sein, so wir durch des Gesetzes Werke gerecht vor Gott werden, so wir durch unsere Gerechtigkeit Vergebung der Sünden verdienen. Nun ist es gewiß, daß Gott darum die Zusage tut, darum Christus auch gekommen ist, daß wir das Gesetz nicht halten noch erfüllen können. Darum müssen wir erst durch die Verheißung versöhnt werden, ehe wir das Gesetz erfüllen; die Verheißung aber kann man nicht fassen denn allein durch den Glauben. Darum alle diejenigen, so rechte Reue haben, ergreifen die Verheißung der Gnade durch den Glauben und glauben gewiß, daß wir dem Vater versöhnt werden durch Christum. Das ist auch die Meinung Pauli zu den Römern am 4.: „Darum erlangen wir Gnade durch den Glauben, daß die Verheißung fest stehe." Und zu den Galatern am 3.: „Die Schrift hat alles unter die Sünde beschlossen, daß die Verheißung JEsu Christi durch den Glauben werde gegeben den Gläubigen", das ist, alle Menschen sind unter der Sünde und können nicht erlöst werden, sie ergreifen denn Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben. Darum müssen wir erst Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben erlangen, ehe wir das Gesetz erfüllen. Wiewohl, wie wir oben gesagt, aus dem Glauben die Liebe gewiß folgt, denn diejenigen, so glauben, empfangen den Heiligen Geist. Darum fangen sie an, dem Gesetz hold zu werden und demselben zu gehorchen.

Wir wollten hier mehr Sprüche einführen, aber die Schrift ist deren allenthalben voll. Ich wollte es auch gern nicht zu lang machen, damit diese Sache desto klarer sei. Denn es hat gar keinen Zweifel, daß dieses Pauli Meinung sei, daß wir

works, but for the sake of Christ, as Mediator and Propitiator, we obtain the remission of sins.

Yea, it is a reproach to Christ and a repeal of the Gospel to believe that we obtain the remission of sins on account of the Law, or otherwise than by faith in Christ. This method also we have discussed above in the chapter Of Justification, where we declared why we confess that men are justified by faith, not by love. Therefore the doctrine of the adversaries, when they teach that by their own contrition and love men obtain the remission of sins, and trust in this contrition and love, is merely the doctrine of the Law, and of that, too, as not understood [which they do not understand with respect to the kind of love towards God which it demands], just as the Jews looked upon the veiled face of Moses. For let us imagine that love is present, let us imagine that works are present, yet neither love nor works can be a propitiation for sin [or be of as much value as Christ]. And they cannot even be opposed to the wrath and judgment of God, according to Ps. 143, 2: *Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.* Neither ought the honor of Christ to be transferred to our works.

For these reasons Paul contends that we are not justified by the Law, and he opposes to the Law the promise of the remission of sins, which is granted for Christ's sake, and teaches that we freely receive the remission of sins for Christ's sake. Paul calls us away from the Law to this promise. Upon this promise he bids us look [and regard the Lord Christ our treasure], which certainly will be void if we are justified by the Law before we are justified through the promise, or if we obtain the remission of sins on account of our own righteousness. But it is evident that the promise was given us and Christ was tendered to us for the very reason that we cannot do the works of the Law. Therefore it is necessary that we are reconciled by the promise before we do the works of the Law. The promise, however, is received only by faith. Therefore it is necessary for contrite persons to apprehend by faith the promise of the remission of sins granted for Christ's sake, and to be confident that freely for Christ's sake they have a reconciled Father. This is the meaning of Paul, Rom. 4, 16, where he says: *Therefore it is of faith that it might be by grace, to the end the promise might be sure.* And Gal. 3, 22: *The Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given them that believe, i. e.,* all are under sin, neither can they be freed otherwise than by apprehending by faith the promise of the remission of sins. Therefore we must by faith accept the remission of sins before we do the works of the Law; although, as has been said above, love follows faith, because the regenerate receive the Holy Ghost, and accordingly begin [to become friendly to the Law and] to do the works of the Law.

We would cite more testimonies if they were not obvious to every godly reader in the Scriptures. And we do not wish to be too prolix, in order that this case may be the more readily seen through. Neither, indeed,

quam defendimus, quod fide accipiamus remissionem peccatorum propter Christum, quod fide mediatorem Christum opponere debeamus irae Dei, non opera nostra. Nec perturbentur piae mentes, etiamsi Pauli sententias calumnientur adversarii. Nihil tam simpliciter dicitur, quod non queat depravari cavillando. Nos scimus hanc, quam diximus, veram et germanam sententiam Pauli esse, scimus hanc nostram sententiam piis conscientiis firmam consolationem afferre, sine qua nemo consistere in iudicio Dei queat.

Vergebung der Sünden erlangen um Christus' willen durch den Glauben, daß wir auch den Mittler setzen müssen gegen Gottes Zorn, nicht unsere Werke. Es sollen sich auch fromme, christliche Gewissen daran nichts irren, ob die Widersacher die klaren Sprüche Pauli fälschlich auslegen und unrecht deuten. Denn so einfältig, so gewiß und rein, so klar kann man nichts reden oder schreiben, man kann ihm mit Worten eine andere Nase machen. Wir sind aber des gewiß und wissen's fürwahr, daß die Meinung, die wir gesetzt, die rechte Meinung Pauli ist. So hat das auch keinen Zweifel, daß diese Lehre allein ein recht gewisser Trost ist, die Herzen und Gewissen in rechtem Kampf und in agone des Todes und Anfechtung zu stillen, zu trösten, wie es die Erfahrung gibt.

85] Itaque repudientur illae pharisaicae opiniones adversariorum, quod non accipiamus fide remissionem peccatorum, sed [R. 178 quod oporteat mereri dilectione nostra et operibus, quod dilectionem nostram et opera nostra irae Dei opponere debeamus. Haec doctrina legis est, non evangelii, quae fingit prius hominem lege iustificari, quam per Christum reconciliatus sit Deo, quum Christus dicat Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere;* item: *Ego sum vitis vera, vos palmites.* **86**] Verum adversarii fingunt nos esse palmites non Christi, sed Mosis. Prius enim volunt lege iustificari, dilectionem nostram et opera offerre Deo, quam reconcilientur Deo per Christum, quam sint palmites Christi. Paulus contra contendit legem non posse fieri sine Christo. Ideo promissio prius accipienda est, ut fide reconciliemur Deo propter Chri- **87**] stum, quam legem facimus. Haec satis perspicua esse piis conscientiis existimamus. Et hinc intelligent, cur supra professi simus, iustificari homines fide, non dilectione, quia oportet nos opponere irae Dei non nostram dilectionem aut opera, aut confidere nostra dilectione ac operibus, sed Christum mediatorem. Et prius oportet apprehendere promissionem remissionis peccatorum, quam legem facimus.

Derhalben nur weit, weit von uns mit den pharisäischen Lehren der Widersacher, da sie sagen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden nicht durch den Glauben erlangen, sondern daß wir sie verdienen müssen mit unsern Werken und mit unserer Liebe gegen Gott; item, daß wir mit unsern Werken und Liebe sollen Gottes Zorn versöhnen! Denn es ist eine recht pharisäische Lehre, eine Lehre des Gesetzes, nicht des Evangelii, da sie lehren, daß der Mensch erst durch das Gesetz gerecht werde, ehe er durch Christum Gott versöhnt werde, so doch Christus sagt: „Ohne mich könnt ihr nichts tun"; item: „Ich bin der Weinstock, ihr seid die Reben." Die Widersacher aber, die reden davon, als seien wir nicht Christi Reben, sondern Mosis. Denn sie wollen erst durchs Gesetz fromm und gerecht vor Gott werden und erst unsere Werke und Dilektion Gott opfern, ehe sie Reben am Weinstock Christi sind. Paulus aber, welcher freilich ein viel höherer Doktor ist denn die Widersacher, redet klar und streitet wiederum dies allein, daß niemand das Gesetz tun könne ohne Christum. Darum diejenigen, so die Sünde und Angst des Gewissens recht fühlen oder erfahren haben, die müssen sich an die Zusage der Gnade halten, daß sie durch den Glauben erst Gott versöhnt werden um Christus' willen, ehe sie das Gesetz erfüllen. Dieses alles ist öffentlich und klar genug bei gottesfürchtigen Gewissen. Und hieraus werden Christen wohl verstehen, warum wir hieroben gesagt haben, daß wir allein durch den Glauben vor Gott gerecht werden, nicht durch unsere Werke oder Dilektion usw. Denn all unser Vermögen, alles Tun und Werk sind zu schwach, Gottes Zorn wegzunehmen und zu stillen; darum müssen wir Christum, den Mittler, darstellen.

88] Postremo, quando erit pacata conscientia, si ideo accipimus remissionem peccatorum, quia nos diligimus aut legem facimus? Semper enim accusabit nos lex, quia nunquam legi Dei satisfacimus. Sicut inquit Paulus Rom. 4, 15: *Lex iram operatur.* Chrysostomus quaerit de poenitentia, unde certi reddamur peccata nobis remissa esse. Quaerunt et in sententiis eadem de re adversarii. Hoc non potest explicari, non possunt conscientiae reddi tranquillae, nisi sciant mandatum Dei esse et ipsum evangelium, ut certo statuant propter Christum gratis remitti peccata, nec dubitent sibi remitti. Si quis dubitat, is, ut Iohannes ait 1 ep. 5, 10, accusat promissionem divinam mendacii. Hanc certitudinem fidei nos docemus requiri in evangelio. Adversarii relinquunt conscientias incertas et ambigentes.

Endlich aber sollten die Widersacher bedenken: wann will doch ein arm Gewissen zu Frieden kommen und stille werden, so wir Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden darum erlangen, daß wir Gott liebhaben, oder daß wir das Gesetz erfüllen? Das Gesetz wird uns allezeit anklagen; denn kein Mensch erfüllt das Gesetz, wie Paulus sagt: „Das Gesetz richtet Zorn an." Es fragt Chrysostomus, so fragen auch die Sententiarii, wie einer gewiß wird, daß ihm die Sünden vergeben seien. Es ist wahrlich wohl Fragens wert. Wohl dem, der da recht Antwort gibt! Auf diese allernötigste Frage ist nicht möglich zu antworten, es ist auch nicht möglich, das Gewissen in Anfechtung recht zu trösten oder zu stillen, man antworte denn auf diese Meinung. Es ist Gottes Beschluß, Gottes Befehl von Anbeginn der Welt her, daß uns durch den Glauben an den gebenedeiten Samen, das ist,

is there any doubt that the meaning of Paul is what we are defending, namely, that by faith we receive the remission of sins for Christ's sake, that by faith we ought to oppose to God's wrath Christ as Mediator, and not our works. Neither let godly minds be disturbed, even though the adversaries find fault with the judgments of Paul. Nothing is said so simply that it cannot be distorted by caviling. We know that what we have mentioned is the true and genuine meaning of Paul; we know that this our belief brings to godly consciences [in agony of death and temptation] sure comfort, without which no one can stand in God's judgment.

Therefore let these pharisaic opinions of the adversaries be rejected, namely, that we do not receive by faith the remission of sins, but that it ought to be merited by our love and works; that we ought to oppose our love and our works to the wrath of God. Not of the Gospel, but of the Law is this doctrine, which feigns that man is justified by the Law before he has been reconciled through Christ to God, since Christ says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing;* likewise: *I am the true Vine; ye are the branches.* But the adversaries feign that we are branches, not of Christ, but of Moses. For they wish to be justified by the Law, and to offer their love and works to God before they are reconciled to God through Christ, before they are branches of Christ. Paul, on the other hand [who is certainly a much greater teacher than the adversaries], contends that the Law cannot be observed without Christ. Accordingly, in order that we [those who truly feel and have experienced sin and anguish of conscience must cling to the promise of grace, in order that they] may be reconciled to God for Christ's sake, the promise must be received before we do the works of the Law. We think that these things are sufficiently clear to godly consciences. And hence they will understand why we have declared above that men are justified by faith, not by love, because we must oppose to God's wrath not our love or works (or trust in our love and works), but Christ as Mediator [for all our ability, all our deeds and works, are far too weak to remove and appease God's wrath]. And we must apprehend the promise of the remission of sins before we do the works of the Law.

Lastly, when will conscience be pacified if we receive remission of sins on the ground that we love, or that we do the works of the Law? For the Law will always accuse us, because we never satisfy God's Law. Just as Paul says, Rom. 4, 15: *The Law worketh wrath.* Chrysostom asks concerning repentance, Whence are we made sure that our sins are remitted us? The adversaries also, in their "Sentences," ask concerning the same subject. [The question, verily, is worth asking; blessed the man that returns the right answer.] This cannot be explained, consciences cannot be made tranquil, unless they know that it is God's command and the very Gospel that they should be firmly confident that for Christ's sake sins are remitted freely, and that they should not doubt that these are remitted to them. If any one doubts, he charges, as John says, 1 Ep. 5, 10, the divine promise with falsehood. We teach that this certainty of faith is required in the Gospel. The adversaries leave consciences uncertain and wavering. Consciences, however, do nothing from faith when they perpetually doubt whether they have remission. [For it is not possible that there should be rest, or a quiet and peaceful conscience, if they doubt whether God be gracious. For if they doubt whether they have a gracious God, whether they are doing right, whether they have forgiveness of sins, how can, etc.] How can they in this doubt call upon God, how can they be confident that they are heard? Thus the entire

89] Nihil autem agunt conscientiae ex [R. 179 fide, quum perpetuo dubitant, utrum habeant remissionem. Quomodo possunt in hac dubitatione invocare Deum, quomodo possunt statuere, quod exaudiantur? Ita tota vita est sine Deo et sine vero cultu Dei. Hoc est, quod Paulus inquit Rom. 14, 23: *peccatum esse, quidquid non fit ex fide.* Et quia in hac dubitatione perpetuo versantur, nunquam experiuntur, quid sit fides. Ita fit, ut ad extremum ruant in desperationem. Talis est doctrina adversariorum, doctrina legis, abrogatio evangelii, doctrina desperationis. Nunc 90] libenter omnibus bonis viris permittimus iudicium de hoc loco poenitentiae, nihil enim habet obscuri, ut pronuntient, utri magis pia et salubria conscientiis docuerint, nos an adversarii. Profecto non delectant nos hae dissensiones in ecclesia, quare nisi magnas et necessarias causas haberemus dissentiendi ab adversariis, summa voluntate taceremus. Nunc quum ipsi manifestam veritatem damnent, non est integrum nobis deserere causam, non nostram, sed Christi et ecclesiae.

durch den Glauben, um Christus' willen, ohne Verdienst sollen Sünden vergeben werden. So jemand aber daran wankt oder zweifelt, der lügenstraft Gott in seiner Verheißung, wie Johannes sagt. Da sagen wir nun, daß ein Christ solches für gewiß als Gottes Befehl halten soll, und hält er's also, so ist er gewiß und fühlt Frieden und Trost. Die Widersacher, wenn sie lange predigen und lehren außer dieser Lehre, lassen sie die armen Gewissen im Zweifel stecken. Da ist nicht möglich, daß da sollte Ruhe sein, ein still oder friedlich Gewissen, wenn sie zweifeln, ob Gott gnädig sei. Denn so sie zweifeln, ob sie einen gnädigen Gott haben, ob sie recht tun, ob sie Vergebung der Sünden haben, wie können sie denn in dem Zweifel Gott anrufen, wie können sie gewiß sein, daß Gott ihr Gebet achte und erhöre? Also ist all ihr Leben ohne Glauben, und können Gott nicht recht dienen. Das ist's, das Paulus zu den Römern sagt: „Was nicht aus dem Glauben ist, das ist Sünde." Und dieweil sie in dem Zweifel allzeit und ewig stecken bleiben, so erfahren sie nimmer, was Gott, was Christus, was Glaube sei. Darüber geht's zuletzt also, daß sie in Verzweiflung, ohne Gott, ohne alle Gotteserkenntnis sterben. Eine solch schädliche Lehre führen die Widersacher, nämlich eine solche Lehre, dadurch das ganze Evangelium wird weggetan, Christus unterdrückt, die Leute in Herzeleid und Qual der Gewissen, endlich, wenn Anfechtungen kommen, in Verzweiflung geführt. Dieses wolle nun Kaiserliche Majestät gnädiglich betrachten und wohl ansehen; es belangt [betrifft] nicht Gold oder Silber, sondern Seelen und Gewissen. Auch wollen alle Ehrbaren, Verständigen hier wohl aufmerken, was diese Sache sei oder nicht sei. Hier mögen wir leiden, daß alle ehrbaren Leute urteilen, welcher Teil für die christlichen Gewissen das Nützlichste gelehrt habe, wir oder die Widersacher. Denn wahrlich soll man es dafürhalten, daß uns mit Zank und Zwiespalt nicht wohl ist. Und wenn es nicht die größten, allerwichtigsten Ursachen hätte, nämlich unser aller Gewissen, Heil und Seele belangend, warum wir dieses müssen mit den Widersachern so heftig streiten, so wollten wir wohl schweigen. Aber nachdem sie das heilige Evangelium, alle klare Schrift der Apostel, die göttliche Wahrheit, verdammen, so können wir mit Gott und Gewissen diese selige Lehre und göttliche Wahrheit, daran wir endlich, wenn dies arme zeitliche Leben aufhört und aller Kreaturen Hilfe aus ist, den einigen, ewigen, höchsten Trost [er]warten, nicht verleugnen, auch von dieser Sache in keinem Wege weichen, welche nicht unser allein ist, sondern der ganzen Christenheit, und belangt den höchsten Schatz, JEsum Christum.

91] Diximus, quas ob causas posuerimus has duas partes poenitentiae, *contritionem* et *fidem.* Idque hoc fecimus libentius, quia circumferuntur multa dicta de poenitentia, quae truncata citantur ex patribus, quae ad obscurandam fidem detorserunt adversarii. Talia sunt: *Poenitentia est mala praeterita plangere, et plangenda iterum non committere.* Item: *Poenitentia est quaedam dolentis vindicta, puniens in se, quod dolet se commisisse.* In his dictis nulla fit mentio fidei. Ac ne in scholis quidem, quum interpretantur, aliquid 92] de fide additur. Quare nos eam, ut magis conspici doctrina fidei posset, inter partes poenitentiae numeravimus. Nam illa dicta, quae contritionem aut bona opera requirunt et nullam fidei iustificantis mentionem faciunt, 93] periculosa esse res ipsa ostendit. Et merito desiderari prudentia in istis potest, [R. 180 qui centones illos sententiarum et decretorum congesserunt. Nam quum patres alias de alia parte poenitentiae loquantur, non tantum de una parte, sed de utraque, hoc est, de contritione et fide, excerpere et coniungere sententias profuisset.

Wir haben nun angezeigt, aus was Ursachen wir die zwei Stücke der Buße gesetzt haben, nämlich die **Reue** und den **Glauben.** Und das haben wir darum auch getan, denn man findet allerlei Sprüche hin und wieder in Büchern der Widersacher von der Buße, welche sie aus Augustino und den andern alten Vätern stückweise, verstümmelt einführen, welche sie denn allenthalben dahin gedeutet und gestreckt haben, die Lehre vom Glauben ganz unterzudrücken [zu unterdrücken]. Als diesen Spruch haben sie gesetzt: „Die Buße ist ein Schmerz, dadurch die Sünde gestraft wird." Item: „Die Buße ist, daß ich beweine die vorigen Sünden und die beklagten Sünden nicht wieder tue." In den Sprüchen wird des Glaubens gar nicht gedacht, und auch in ihren Schulen, da sie gleich solche Sprüche nach der Länge [weitläufig] handeln, gedenken sie des Glaubens gar nicht. Darum, damit die Lehre vom Glauben desto bekannter würde, haben wir den Glauben für ein Stück der Buße gesetzt. Denn die Sprüche, die unsere Reue und unsere guten Werke lehren und des Glaubens gar nicht gedenken, die sind gar fährlich [ganz gefährlich], wie die Erfahrung gibt. Darum, wenn sie die große Fahr der Seelen und Gewissen bedacht hätten, sollten die Sententiarii und Kanonisten über ihr Dekret billig weislicher geschrieben haben. Denn so die Väter von dem andern Teil der Buße auch reden, nicht allein von einem Teil, sondern von beiden, von der Reue und vom Glauben, so sollten sie beides beieinander gesetzt haben.

life is without God [faith] and without the true worship of God. This is what Paul says, Rom. 14, 23: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* And because they are constantly occupied with this doubt, they never experience what faith [God or Christ] is. Thus it comes to pass that they rush at last into despair [die in doubt, without God, without all knowledge of God]. Such is the doctrine of the adversaries, the doctrine of the Law, the annulling of the Gospel, the doctrine of despair. [Whereby Christ is suppressed, men are led into overwhelming sorrow and torture of conscience, and finally, when temptation comes, into despair. Let His Imperial Majesty graciously consider and well examine this matter; it does not concern gold or silver, but souls and consciences.] Now we are glad to refer to all good men the judgment concerning this topic of repentance (for it has no obscurity), in order that they may decide whether we or the adversaries have taught those things which are more godly and healthful to consciences. Indeed, these dissensions in the Church do not delight us; wherefore, if we did not have great and necessary reasons for dissenting from the adversaries, we would with the greatest pleasure be silent. But now, since they condemn the manifest truth, it is not right for us to desert a cause which is not our own, but is that of Christ and the Church. [We cannot with fidelity to God and conscience deny this blessed doctrine and divine truth, from which we expect at last, when this poor temporal life ceases and all help of creatures fails, the only eternal, highest consolation: nor will we in anything recede from this cause, which is not only ours, but that of all Christendom, and concerns the highest treasure, Jesus Christ.]

We have declared for what reasons we assigned to repentance these two parts, *contrition and faith.* And we have done this the more readily because many expressions concerning repentance are published which are cited in a mutilated form from the Fathers [Augustine and the other ancient Fathers], and which the adversaries have distorted in order to put faith out of sight. Such are: *Repentance is to lament past evils, and not to commit again deeds that ought to be lamented.* Again: *Repentance is a kind of vengeance of him who grieves, thus punishing in himself what he is sorry for having committed.* In these passages no mention is made of faith. And not even in the schools, when they interpret, is anything added concerning faith. Therefore, in order that the doctrine of faith might be the more conspicuous, we have enumerated it among the parts of repentance. For the actual fact shows that those passages which require contrition or good works, and make no mention of justifying faith, are dangerous [as experience proves]. And prudence can justly be desired in those who have collected these centos of the "Sentences" and decrees. For since the Fathers speak in some places concerning one part, and in other places concerning another part of repentance, it would have been well to select and combine their judgments not only concerning one part, but concerning both, *i. e.*, concerning contrition and faith.

94] Nam Tertullianus egregie de fide loquitur, amplificans iusiurandum illud apud prophetam, Ezech. 33, 11: *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.* Quia enim iurat Deus nolle se mortem peccatoris, ostendit requiri fidem, ut iuranti credamus, et certo statuamus eum nobis ignoscere. Magna debet esse auctoritas apud nos promissionum divinarum per sese. At haec promissio etiam iureiurando confirmata est. Quare si quis non statuit sibi ignosci, is negat Deum verum iurasse, qua blasphemia atrocior nulla excogitari potest. Sic enim ait Tertullianus: *Invitat praemio ad salutem, iurans etiam. „Vivo" dicens cupit sibi credi. O beatos, quorum causa iurat Deus! O miserrimos, si nec iuranti Domino* 95] *credimus!* Atque hic sciendum est, quod haec fides debeat sentire, quod gratis nobis ignoscat Deus propter Christum, propter suam promissionem, non propter nostra opera, contritionem, confessionem aut satisfactiones. Nam si fides nitatur his operibus, statim fit incerta, quia conscientia pavida videt haec 96] opera indigna esse. Ideo praeclare ait Ambrosius de poenitentia: *Ergo et agendam poenitentiam et tribuendam veniam credere nos convenit, ut veniam tamen tamquam ex fide speremus, tamquam ex syngrapha fides impetrat.* Item: *Fides est, quae peccata* 97] *nostra cooperit.* Exstant itaque sententiae apud patres non solum de contritione et operibus, sed etiam de fide. Verum adversarii, quum neque naturam poenitentiae intelligant, neque sermonem patrum, excerpunt dicta de parte poenitentiae, videlicet de operibus; alibi dicta de fide, quum non intelligant, praetereunt.

Denn Tertullianus auch redet gar tröstlich vom Glauben, und sonderlich preist er den göttlichen Eid, davon der Prophet redet: „Als wahr ich lebe, sagt der HErr, will ich nicht den Tod des Sünders, sondern daß er sich bekehre und lebe." Dieweil Gott schwört, sagt er, er wolle nicht den Tod des Sünders, so erfordert er gewiß den Glauben, daß wir seinem Eid und Schwören glauben sollen, daß er uns [die] Sünden vergeben wolle. Gottes Zusagen sollen ohnedas bei uns aufs höchste angesehen und geachtet sein. Nun ist die Zusage mit einem Eid bestätigt. Darum so jemand hält, daß ihm [die] Sünden nicht vergeben werden, der lügenstraft Gott, welches die größte Gotteslästerung ist. Denn also sagt Tertullianus: Invitat praemio ad salutem, iurans etiam etc.; das ist: „Gott lockt uns zu unserm eigenen Heil mit seinem eigenen Eide, daß man ihm glaube. O wohl denen, um derentwillen Gott schwört! O wehe uns elenden Leuten, wenn wir auch dem göttlichen Eide nicht glauben!" Und hier müssen wir wissen, daß der Glaube gewiß dafürhalten soll, daß uns Gott aus Gnaden Sünde vergibt um Christus' willen, nicht um unserer Werke willen, um Beichte oder Genugtuns willen. Denn alsbald wir uns auf Werke gründen, werden wir ungewiß. Denn ein erschrocken Gewissen merkt bald, daß seine besten Werke nichts wert seien gegen Gott. Darum sagt Ambrosius ein fein Wort von der Buße: „Wir müssen Buße tun und auch glauben, daß uns Gnade widerfahre, doch also, daß wir der Gnade hoffen aus dem Glauben; denn der Glaube wartet und erlangt, wie aus einer Handschrift, Gnade." Item: „Der Glaube ist eben das, dadurch die Sünden bedeckt werden." Darum sind klare Sprüche in den Büchern der Väter nicht allein von Werken, sondern auch vom Glauben. Aber die Widersacher, so sie nicht verstehen die rechte Art der Buße, verstehen auch der Väter Sprüche nicht, klauben sie heraus etliche verstümmelt von einem Teil der Buße, nämlich von der Reue und von den Werken; und was vom Glauben geredet ist, da laufen sie überhin.

(Art. VI.) [R. 181

De Confessione et Satisfactione.

1] Boni viri facile iudicare possunt plurimum referre, ut de superioribus partibus, videlicet contritione et fide, conservetur vera doctrina. Itaque in his locis illustrandis semper plus versati sumus, *de confessione et satisfactionibus* non admodum rixati sumus. 2] Nam et nos confessionem retinemus praecipue propter absolutionem, quae est verbum Dei, quod de singulis auctoritate divina pro- 3] nuntiat potestas clavium. Quare impium esset ex ecclesia privatam absolutionem tol- 4] lere. Neque quid sit remissio peccatorum aut potestas clavium, intelligunt, si qui pri- 5] vatam absolutionem aspernantur. Ceterum *de enumeratione delictorum in confessione* supra diximus, quod sentiamus eam non 6] esse iure divino necessariam. Nam quod obiiciunt quidam iudicem prius debere cognoscere causam, priusquam pronuntiat, hoc nihil ad hanc rem pertinet, quia ministerium absolutionis beneficium est seu gratia, non est 7] iudicium seu lex. Itaque ministri in ecclesia habent mandatum remittendi peccata, non habent mandatum cognoscendi occulta

(Artikel VI.)

Von der Beichte und Genugtuung.

Gottesfürchtige, ehrbare, fromme, christliche Leute können hier wohl merken, daß viel daran gelegen ist, daß man de poenitentia, von der **Reue** und dem **Glauben,** eine rechte, gewisse Lehre in der Kirche habe und erhalte. Denn der große Betrug vom Ablaß usw., item, die ungeschickte Lehre der Sophisten hat uns genug gewitzigt, was großen Unrats und Fährlichkeit daraus entsteht, wenn man hier fehlschlägt. Wie hat manch fromm Gewissen unter dem Papsttum hier so mit großer Arbeit den rechten Weg gesucht und unter solcher Finsternis nicht gefunden! Darum haben wir allezeit großen Fleiß gehabt, von diesem Stück klar, gewiß, richtig zu lehren. **Von der Beichte und Genugtuung** haben wir nicht sonders [besonders] gezankt. Denn die Beichte behalten wir auch um der Absolution willen, welche ist Gottes Wort, dadurch uns die Gewalt der Schlüssel losspricht von Sünden. Darum wäre es wider Gott, die Absolution aus der Kirche also abtun usw. Diejenigen, so die Absolution verachten, die wissen nicht, was Vergebung der Sünden ist, oder was die Gewalt der Schlüssel ist. Von dem **Erzählen** aber **der Sünden** haben wir oben in unserm Be-

For Tertullian speaks excellently concerning faith, dwelling upon the oath in the prophet, Ezek. 33, 11: *As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.* For as God swears that He does not wish the death of a sinner, He shows that faith is required, in order that we may believe the one swearing, and be firmly confident that He forgives us. The authority of the divine promises ought by itself to be great in our estimation. But this promise has also been confirmed by an oath. Therefore, if any one be not confident that he is forgiven, he denies that God has sworn what is true, than which a more horrible blasphemy cannot be imagined. For Tertullian speaks thus: *He invites by reward to salvation, even swearing. Saying, "I live," He desires that He be believed. Oh, blessed we, for whose sake God swears! Oh, most miserable if we believe not the Lord even when He swears!* But here we must know that this faith ought to be confident that God freely forgives us for the sake of Christ, for the sake of His own promise, not for the sake of our works, contrition, confession, or satisfactions. For if faith relies upon these works, it immediately becomes uncertain, because the terrified conscience sees that these works are unworthy. Accordingly, Ambrose speaks admirably concerning repentance: *Therefore it is proper for us to believe both that we are to repent, and that we are to be pardoned, but so as to expect pardon as from faith, which obtains it as from a handwriting.* Again: *It is faith which covers our sins.* Therefore, there are sentences extant in the Fathers, not only concerning contrition and works, but also concerning faith. But the adversaries, since they understand neither the nature of repentance nor the language of the Fathers, select passages concerning a part of repentance, namely, concerning works; they pass over the declarations made elsewhere concerning faith, since they do not understand them.

Article VI:

Of Confession and Satisfaction.

Good men can easily judge that it is of the greatest importance that the true doctrine concerning the above-mentioned parts, namely, contrition and faith, be preserved. [For the great fraud of indulgences, etc., and the preposterous doctrines of the sophists have sufficiently taught us what great vexation and danger arise therefrom if a foul stroke is here made. How many a godly conscience under the Papacy sought with great labor the true way, and in the midst of such darkness did not find it!] Therefore, we have always been occupied more with the elucidation of these topics, and have disputed nothing as yet concerning *confession* and *satisfaction.* For we also retain confession, especially on account of the absolution, as being the word of God which, by divine authority, the power of the keys pronounces upon individuals. Therefore it would be wicked to remove private absolution from the Church. Neither do they understand what the remission of sins or the power of the keys is, if there are any who despise private absolution. But in reference to the enumeration of offenses in confession, we have said above that we hold that it is not necessary by divine right. For the objection, made by some, that a judge ought to investigate a case before he pronounces upon it, pertains in no way to this subject; because the ministry of absolution is favor or grace, it is not a legal process, or law. [For God is the Judge, who has committed to the apostles, not the office

8] peccata. Et quidem absolvunt ab his, quae non meminimus, quare absolutio, quae est vox evangelii remittens peccata et consolans conscientias, non requirit cognitionem.

kenntnis gesagt, daß wir halten, es sei von Gott nicht geboten. Denn daß sie sagen, ein jeglicher Richter muß erst die Sachen und Gebrechen hören, ehe er das Urteil spreche, also müssen erst die Sünden erzählt werden usw.: das tut nichts zur Sache. Denn die Absolution ist schlecht der Befehl loszusprechen, und ist nicht ein neu Gericht, Sünde zu erforschen. Denn Gott ist der Richter, der hat den Aposteln nicht das Richteramt, sondern die Gnadenexekution befohlen, diejenigen loszusprechen, so es begehren; und sie entbinden auch und absolvieren von Sünden, die uns nicht einfallen. Darum ist die Absolution eine Stimme des Evangelii, dadurch wir Trost empfangen, und ist nicht ein Urteil oder Gesetz.

9] Et ridiculum est huc transferre dictum Salomonis, Prov. 27, 23: *Diligenter cognosce vultum pecoris tui.* Nihil enim dicit Salomon de confessione, sed tradit oeconomicum praeceptum patrifamilias, ut utatur suo et abstineat ab alieno, et iubet eum res suas diligenter curare; ita tamen, ne studio augendarum facultatum occupatus animus abiiciat timorem Dei aut fidem aut curam Verbi Dei. Sed adversarii nostri mirifica metamorphosi transformant dicta Scripturae in quaslibet sententias. Hic *cognoscere* significat [R. 182 eis audire confessiones, *vultus* non externam conversationem, sed arcana conscientiae. *Pecudes* significant homines. Sane bella est interpretatio et digna istis contemptoribus studiorum eloquentiae. Quodsi velit aliquis per similitudinem transferre praeceptum a patrefamilias ad pastorem ecclesiae, certe vultum debebit interpretari de externa conversatione. Haec similitudo magis quadrabit.

Und es ist närrisch und kindisch genug bei Verständigen, den Spruch Salomonis, da er am 27. sagt: Diligenter cognosce vultum pecoris tui, das ist: „Habe acht auf deine Schafe" usw., an dem Ort von der Beichte oder Absolution einzuführen. Denn Salomo redet da gar nicht von der Beichte, sondern gibt ein Gebot den Hausvätern, daß sie sollen mit dem Ihren zufrieden sein und sich fremdes Guts enthalten, und befiehlt mit dem Wort, ein jeder solle seines Viehes und Güter fleißig wahrnehmen; doch soll er aus Geiz Gottesfurcht, Gottes Gebot und Wort nicht vergessen. Aber die Widersacher machen aus der Schrift Schwarz und Weiß, wann und wie sie wollen, wider alle natürliche Art der klaren Worte an dem Ort: Cognosce vultum pecoris etc. Da muß *cognoscere* Beichtehören heißen. „Vieh" oder „Schafe" muß da Menschen heißen. *Stabulum*, achten wir, heißt auch eine Schule, da solche Doctores und Oratores innen sind. Aber ihnen geschieht recht, die also die Heilige Schrift, alle guten Künste verachten, daß sie so grob in der Grammatika fehlen. Wenn jemand an dem Ort je Lust hätte, einen Hausvater, davon Salomo redet, mit einem Seelenhirten zu vergleichen, so müßte *vultus* da nicht arcana conscientiae, sondern den äußerlichen Wandel bedeuten.

10] Sed omittamus ista. Aliquoties fit in Psalmis mentio confessionis, ut Ps. 32, 5: *Dixi, confitebor adversum me iniustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti iniquitatem peccati mei.* Talis confessio peccati, quae Deo fit, est ipsa contritio. Nam quum Deo fit confessio, corde fieri necesse est, non solum voce, sicut fit in scenis ab histrionibus. Est igitur talis confessio contritio, in qua sentientes iram Dei confitemur Deum iuste irasci, nec placari posse nostris operibus, et tamen quaerimus misericordiam pro-
11] pter promissionem Dei. Talis est haec confessio, Ps. 51, 6: *Tibi soli peccavi, ut tu iustificeris et vincas, quum iudicaris.* Id est: Fateor me peccatorem esse et meritum aeternam iram, nec possum opponere meas iustitias, mea merita tuae irae. Ideo pronuntio te iustum esse, quum condemnas et punis nos. Pronuntio te vincere, quando hypocritae iudicant te, quod sis iniustus, qui ipsos punias aut condemnes bene meritos. Imo nostra merita non possunt opponi tuo iudicio, sed ita iustificabimur, si tu iustifices, si tu reputes nos iustos per misericordiam tuam.
12] Fortassis et Iacobum citabit aliquis, 5, 16: *Confitemini vicissim delicta.* Sed hic non loquitur de confessione sacerdotibus facienda, sed in genere de reconciliatione fratrum inter se. Iubet enim mutuam esse confessionem.

Aber ich lasse das fahren. Es wird an etlichen Orten in Psalmen gedacht des Worts confessio, als im 32. Psalm: „Ich will dem HErrn meine Übertretung bekennen wider mich." Dasselbe Beichten und Bekennen, das Gott geschieht, ist die Reue selbst. Denn wenn wir Gott beichten, so müssen wir im Herzen uns für Sünder erkennen, nicht allein mit dem Munde, wie die Heuchler die Worte allein nachreden. So ist diese Beichte, die Gott geschieht, eine solche Reue im Herzen, da ich Gottes Ernst und Zorn fühle, Gott recht gebe, daß er billig zürnt, daß er auch mit unserm Verdienst nicht könne versöhnt werden, und da wir doch Barmherzigkeit suchen, nachdem Gott hat Gnade in Christo zugesagt. Also ist das eine Beichte im 51. Psalm: „An dir allein hab' ich gesündigt, daß du recht erfunden werdest, wenn du gerichtet wirst." Das ist: Ich bekenne mich einen Sünder, und daß ich verdient habe ewigen Zorn, und kann mit meinen Werken noch mit meinem Verdienst deinen Zorn nicht stillen. Darum sage ich, daß du gerecht bist und billig uns strafst. Ich gebe dir recht, obwohl die Heuchler dich richten, du seiest unrecht, daß du ihr Verdienst und gute Werke nicht ansiehst. Ja, ich weiß, daß meine Werke vor deinem Urteil nicht bestehen, sondern also werden wir gerecht, so du uns für gerecht schätzest durch deine Barmherzigkeit. Es möchte etwa auch einer den Spruch Jakobi anziehen: „Bekennet einander eure Sünden." Er redet aber da nicht von der Beichte, die dem Priester geschieht usw., sondern redet von einem Versöhnen und Bekennen, wenn ich sonst mich mit meinem Nächsten versöhne.

of judges, but the administration of grace, namely, to acquit those who desire, etc.] Therefore ministers in the Church have the command to remit sin; they have not the command to investigate secret sins. And indeed, they absolve from those that we do not remember; for which reason absolution, which is the voice of the Gospel remitting sins and consoling consciences, does not require judicial examination.

And it is ridiculous to transfer hither the saying of Solomon, Prov. 27, 23: *Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks.* For Solomon says nothing of confession, but gives to the father of a family a domestic precept, that he should use what is his own, and abstain from what is another's; and he commands him to take care of his own property diligently, yet in such a way that, with his mind occupied with the increase of his resources, he should not cast away the fear of God, or faith or care in God's Word. But our adversaries, by a wonderful metamorphosis, transform passages of Scripture to whatever meaning they please. [They produce from the Scriptures black and white, as they please, contrary to the natural meaning of the clear words.] Here *to know* signifies with them to hear confessions, *the state*, not the outward life, but the secrets of conscience; and *the flocks* signify men. [*Stable*, we think, means a school within which there are such doctors and orators. But it has happened aright to those who thus despise the Holy Scriptures and all fine arts that they make gross mistakes in grammar.] The interpretation is assuredly neat, and is worthy of these despisers of the pursuits of eloquence. But if any one desires by a similitude to transfer a precept from a father of a family to a pastor of a Church, he ought certainly to interpret "state" [V. *vultus, countenance*] as applying to the outward life. This similitude will be more consistent.

But let us omit such matters as these. At different times in the Psalms mention is made of confession, as, Ps. 32, 5: *I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and Thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.* Such confession of sin which is made to God is contrition itself. For when confession is made to God, it must be made with the heart, not alone with the voice, as is made on the stage by actors. Therefore, such confession is contrition, in which, feeling God's wrath, we confess that God is justly angry, and that He cannot be appeased by our works, and, nevertheless, we seek for mercy because of God's promise. Such is the following confession, Ps. 51, 4: *Against Thee only have I sinned, that Thou mightest be justified, and be clear when Thou judgest, i. e.*, "I confess that I am a sinner, and have merited eternal wrath, nor can I set my righteousnesses, my merits, against Thy wrath; accordingly, I declare that Thou art just when Thou condemnest and punishest us; I declare that Thou art clear when hypocrites judge Thee to be unjust in punishing them or in condemning the well-deserving. Yea, our merits cannot be opposed to Thy judgment; but we shall thus be justified, namely, if Thou justifiest us, if through Thy mercy Thou accountest us righteous." Perhaps some one may also cite Jas. 5, 16: *Confess your faults one to another.* But here the reference is not to confession that is to be made to the priests, but, in general, concerning the reconciliation of brethren to each other. For it commands that the confession be mutual.

13] Porro adversarii nostri multos doctores receptissimos damnabunt, si contendent enumerationem delictorum in confessione necessariam esse iure divino. Quamquam [R. 183 enim confessionem probamus et quandam examinationem prodesse iudicamus, ut institui homines melius possint: tamen ita moderanda res est, ne conscientiis iniiciantur laquei, quae nunquam erunt tranquillae, si existimabunt se non posse consequi remissionem peccatorum, nisi facta illa scrupulosa enumeratione. 14] Hoc certe falsissimum est, quod adversarii posuerunt in Confutatione, quod confessio integra sit necessaria ad salutem. Est enim impossibilis. Et quales laqueos hic iniiciunt conscientiae, quum requirunt integram confessionem! Quando enim statuet consci- 15] tia integram esse confessionem? Apud scriptores ecclesiasticos fit mentio confessionis, sed hi non loquuntur de hac enumeratione occultorum delictorum, sed de ritu publicae poenitentiae. Quia enim lapsi aut famosi non recipiebantur sine certis satisfactionibus, ideo confessionem faciebant isti apud presbyteros, ut pro modo delictorum praescriberentur eis satisfactiones. Haec tota res nihil simile habuit huic enumerationi, de qua nos disputamus. Confessio illa fiebat, non quod sine ea non posset fieri remissio peccatorum coram Deo, sed quod non poterant satisfactiones praescribi, nisi prius cognito genere delicti. Nam alia delicta habebant alios canones.

16] Et ex illo ritu publicae poenitentiae reliquum habemus etiam nomen *satisfactionis*. Nolebant enim sancti patres recipere lapsos aut famosos, nisi prius cognita et spectata poenitentia eorum, quantum fieri poterat. Et huius rei multae videntur fuisse causae. Nam ad exemplum pertinebat castigare lapsos, sicut et *Glossa in Decretis* admonet, et indecorum erat homines famosos statim admittere ad communionem. [Glossa Decreti: „Si crimina aliquorum nolentium confiteri fuerint manifesta vel probata: praelati eorum debent eos prius admonere et increpare, ut emendentur; quodsi non fecerint, ferro excommunicationis sunt ab aliis separandi."] Hi mores diu iam antiquati sunt. Nec necesse est eos restituere, quia non sunt necessarii ad remissio- 17] nem peccatorum coram Deo. Neque hoc senserunt patres, mereri homines remissionem peccatorum per tales mores aut talia opera. Quamquam haec spectacula imperitos solent fallere, ut putent se per haec opera mereri remissionem peccatorum coram Deo. Verum si quis sic sensit, iudaice et gentiliter [R. 184 sensit. Nam et ethnici habuerunt quasdam expiationes delictorum, per quas fingebant se 18] reconciliari Deo. Nunc autem more antiquato manet nomen *satisfactionis* et vestigium moris, quod in confessione praescribuntur certae satisfactiones, quas definiunt esse opera non debita. Nos vocamus *satisfactiones* 19] *canonicas*. De his sic sentimus, sicut de enumeratione, quod satisfactiones canonicae

Es müssen auch die Widersacher gar viel ihre eigenen Lehrer verdammen, so sie wollen sagen, daß Erzählung der Sünden müsse geschehen und von Gott geboten sei. Denn wiewohl wir die Beichte auch behalten und sagen, es sei nicht unnütz, daß man die Jugend und unerfahrene Leute auch frage, damit sie desto besser mögen unterrichtet werden: doch ist das alles also zu mäßigen, damit die Gewissen nicht gefangen werden, welche nimmer können zufrieden sein, solange sie in dem Wahn sind, daß man vor Gott schuldig sei, die Sünden zu erzählen. Derhalben ist das Wort der Widersacher, da sie sagen, daß zur Seligkeit not sei eine ganz reine Beichte, da keine Sünde verschwiegen [wird] usw., ganz falsch. Denn solche Beichte ist unmöglich. O HErr Gott, wie jämmerlich haben sie manch fromm Gewissen geplagt und gequält damit, da sie gelehrt, die Beichte müsse ganz rein sein und keine Sünde ungebeichtet bleiben! Denn wie kann ein Mensch immer gewiß werden, wann er ganz rein gebeichtet habe? Die Väter gedenken auch der Beichte, aber sie reden nicht von Erzählung der heimlichen Sünden, sondern von einer Zeremonie einer öffentlichen Buße. Denn vorzeiten hat man diejenigen, so in öffentlichen Lastern gewesen, nicht wieder angenommen in der Kirche ohne eine öffentliche Zeremonie und Strafe; derhalben so mußten sie den Priestern ihre Sünden namhaftig beichten, daß nach der Größe der Übertretung die satisfactiones konnten aufgelegt werden. Das ganze Ding aber ist nicht gleich gewesen dem Sündeerzählen, davon wir reden. Denn dieselbe Beichte und Bekenntnis geschah nicht darum, daß ohne dieselbe Beichte Vergebung der Sünden vor Gott nicht geschehen kann, sondern daß man ihnen keine äußerliche Strafe könnte auflegen, man wüßte denn die Sünde.

Und von der äußerlichen Zeremonie der öffentlichen Buße ist auch das Wort **satisfactio** oder **Genugtuung** hergekommen. Denn die Väter wollten diejenigen, so in öffentlichen Lastern erfunden, nicht wieder annehmen ohne eine Strafe. Und dieses hatte viele Ursachen. Denn es diente zu einem Exempel, daß öffentliche Laster gestraft würden; wie auch die Glosse im Dekret sagt. So war es auch ungeschickt, daß man diejenigen, so in offene Laster gefallen waren, sollte bald unversucht zu dem Sakrament zulassen. Dieselben Zeremonien alle sind nun vorlängst abgekommen, und ist nicht not, daß man sie wieder aufrichte, denn sie tun gar nichts zu der Versöhnung vor Gott. Auch ist es der Väter Meinung in keinem Wege gewesen, daß die Menschen dadurch sollten Vergebung der Sünden erlangen; wiewohl solche äußerliche Zeremonien leichtlich die Unerfahrenen dahin bringen, daß sie meinen, sie hülfen etwas zur Seligkeit. Wer nun das lehrt oder hält, der lehrt und hält ganz jüdisch und heidnisch. Denn die Heiden haben auch gehabt etliche Reinigungen, da sie haben wollen wähnen, sie würden dadurch gegen [mit] Gott versöhnt. Nun aber, so dieselbe Weise der öffentlichen Buße abgekommen ist, ist geblieben der Name satisfactio, und ist noch geblieben der Schatten des alten Brauchs, daß sie in der Beichte Genugtuung auflegen und nennen's opera non debita. Wir nennen's *satisfactiones canonicas*. Davon lehren wir, wie von Erzählung der Sünden, nämlich, daß dieselben öffentlichen Zeremonien von Gott nicht geboten sind, auch nicht not sind und nicht helfen zur Ver-

Again, our adversaries will condemn many most generally received teachers if they will contend that in confession an enumeration of offenses is necessary according to divine Law. For although we approve of confession, and judge that some examination is of advantage, in order that men may be the better instructed [young and inexperienced persons be questioned], yet the matter must be so controlled that snares are not cast upon consciences, which never will be tranquil if they think that they cannot obtain the remission of sins, unless this precise enumeration be made. That which the adversaries have expressed in the Confutation is certainly most false, namely, that a full confession is necessary for salvation. For this is impossible. And what snares they here cast upon the conscience when they require a full confession! For when will conscience be sure that the confession is complete? In the Church-writers mention is made of confession, but they do not speak of this enumeration of secret offenses, but of the rite of public repentance. For as the fallen or notorious [those guilty of public crimes] were not received without fixed satisfactions [without a public ceremony or reproof], they made confession on this account to the presbyters, in order that satisfactions might be prescribed to them according to the measure of their offenses. This entire matter contained nothing similar to the enumeration concerning which we are disputing. This confession was made, not because the remission of sins before God could not occur without it, but because satisfactions could not be prescribed unless the kind of offense were first known. For different offenses had different canons.

And from this rite of public repentance there has been left the word "satisfaction." For the holy Fathers were unwilling to receive the fallen or the notorious, unless, as far as it was possible, their repentance had been first examined into and exhibited publicly. And there seem to have been many causes for this. For to chastise those who had fallen served as an example, just as also the *gloss upon the decrees* admonishes, and it was improper immediately to admit notorious men to the communion [without their being tested]. These customs have long since grown obsolete. Neither is it necessary to restore them, because they are not necessary for the remission of sins before God. Neither did the Fathers hold this, namely, that men merit the remission of sins through such customs or such works, although these spectacles [such outward ceremonies] usually lead astray the ignorant to think that by these works they merit the remission of sins before God. But if any one thus holds, he holds to the faith of a Jew and heathen. For also the heathen had certain expiations for offenses through which they imagined to be reconciled to God. Now, however, although the custom has become obsolete, the name *satisfaction* still remains, and a trace of the custom also remains of prescribing in confession certain satisfactions, which they define as works that are not due. We call them *canonical satisfactions.* Of these we hold, just as of the enumeration, that canonical satisfactions [these public ceremonies] are not necessary by divine Law for the remission of sins; just as those ancient exhibitions of satisfactions in public

non sint necessariae iure divino ad remissionem peccatorum, sicut neque illa spectacula vetera satisfactionum in poenitentia publica iure divino necessaria fuerunt ad remissionem peccatorum. Retinenda est enim sententia de fide, quod fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum propter Christum, non propter nostra opera praecedentia aut sequentia. Et nos ob hanc causam praecipue de satisfactionibus disputavimus, ne susciperentur ad obscurandam iustitiam fidei, neve existimarent homines se propter illa opera consequi remissionem pec-
20] catorum. Et adiuvant errorem multa dicta, quae in scholis iactantur, quale est, quod in definitione satisfactionis ponunt: fieri eam ad placandam divinam offensam.

21] Sed tamen fatentur adversarii, quod satisfactiones non prosint ad remissionem culpae. Verum fingunt satisfactiones prodesse ad redimendas poenas seu purgatorii seu alias. Sic enim docent in remissione peccati Deum remittere culpam, et tamen, quia convenit iustitiae divinae punire peccatum, mutare poenam aeternam in poenam temporalem. Addunt amplius partem illius temporalis poenae remitti potestate clavium, reliquum autem redimi per satisfactiones. Nec potest intelligi, quarum poenarum pars remittatur potestate clavium, nisi dicant partem [R. 185 poenarum purgatorii remitti; qua ex re sequeretur satisfactiones tantum esse poenas redimentes purgatorium. Et has satisfactiones dicunt valere, etiamsi fiant ab his, qui relapsi sunt in peccatum mortale, quasi vero divina offensa placari queat ab his, qui sunt in pec-
22] cato mortali. Haec tota res est commentitia, recens conficta sine auctoritate Scripturae et veterum scriptorum ecclesiasticorum. Ac ne Longobardus quidem de satisfactionibus 23] hoc modo loquitur. Scholastici viderunt in ecclesia esse satisfactiones. Nec animadverterunt illa spectacula instituta esse tum exempli causa, tum ad probandos hos, qui petebant recipi ab ecclesia. In summa, non viderunt esse disciplinam et rem prorsus politicam. Ideo superstitiose finxerunt eas non ad disciplinam coram ecclesia, sed ad placandum Deum valere. Et sicut alias saepe incommode commiscuerunt spiritualia et *politica*, idem accidit et in satisfactionibus. At-
24] qui glossa in canonibus aliquoties testatur has observationes institutas esse propter disciplinam ecclesiae.

gebung der Sünden. Denn diese Lehre muß vor allen Dingen erhalten werden und stehenbleiben, daß wir durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, nicht durch unsere Werke, die vor oder nach geschehen, wenn wir bekehrt oder neugeboren sind in Christo. Und wir haben vornehmlich aus dieser Ursache von den satisfactionibus geredet, damit niemand die Genugtuung also verstünde, daß dadurch die Lehre vom Glauben würde untergedrückt [unterdrückt], als könnten wir durch unsere Werke Vergebung der Sünden verdienen. Denn der gefährliche Irrtum von satisfactionibus ist also eingerissen und bestätigt durch etliche ungeschickte Lehren, so die Widersacher schreiben, die Genugtuung sei ein solch Werk, dadurch der göttliche Zorn und Ungnade versöhnt werde.

Jedoch bekennen die Widersacher selbst, daß die satisfactiones nicht losmachen die Schuld vor Gott, sondern sie erdichten, daß sie allein quitt- und losmachen die Pein oder Strafe. Denn so lehren sie, daß, wenn die Sünde vergeben wird, so wird die Schuld oder culpa ohne Mittel, allein durch Gott, vergeben; und doch, dieweil er ein gerechter Gott ist, läßt er Sünde nicht ohne Strafe und verwandelt die ewige Strafe in eine zeitliche Strafe. Darüber lehren sie, daß ein Teil der zeitlichen Strafe erlassen werde durch die Gewalt der Schlüssel. Ein Teil aber soll durch die satisfactiones oder Genugtuungen bezahlt werden. Und man kann nicht verstehen, welches Teil der Strafe oder Pein erlassen werde durch die Gewalt der Schlüssel, sie wollten denn sagen, daß ein Teil der Pein des Fegfeuers erlassen werde, daraus folgen wollte, daß die satisfactiones allein dienten, zu erlösen die Pein des Fegfeuers. Und weiter sagen sie, die satisfactiones taugen vor Gott, wenn sie gleich von denjenigen geschehen, die in Todsünden gefallen sind; gleich als lasse sich Gott von denen versöhnen, die in Todsünden liegen und seine Feinde sind. Dieses alles sind eitel erträumte, erdichtete Lehren und Worte, ohne allen Grund der Schrift und wider alle Schriften der alten Väter. Auch redet Longobardus selbst nicht auf die Weise von den satisfactionibus. Die Scholastici haben wohl von Hörensagen gehabt, daß etwann [vorzeiten] satisfactiones in der Kirche gewesen wären, und haben nicht bedacht, daß es eine äußerliche Zeremonie gewesen, da die publice poenitentes oder die Büßer sich gegen die Kirche erzeigen mußten mit einer Zeremonie, welche dazu war eingesetzt, erstlich zu einem Schrecken und Exempel, daran sich andere möchten stoßen, zum andern zu einer Probe, ob dieselben Sünder oder Büßer, so wieder Gnade begehrten, auch herzlich sich bekehrt hätten. In Summa, sie haben nicht gesehen, daß solche satisfactio eine äußerliche Zucht, Strafe und disciplina ist gewesen und ein solch Ding, wie eine andere weltliche Zucht, zu einer Scheu oder Furcht aufgerichtet. Darüber haben sie gelehrt, daß sie nicht allein zu einer Zucht, sondern auch Gott zu versöhnen dienten und not wären zur Seligkeit. Wie sie aber in vielen andern Stücken das Reich Christi, welches geistlich ist, und der Welt Reich und äußerliche Zucht ineinandergekocht haben, also haben sie auch getan mit den satisfactionibus. Aber die Glossen in canonibus zeigen an etlichen vielen Orten an, daß dieselben satisfactiones allein zu einem Exempel vor der Kirche dienen sollen.

25] Videte autem, quomodo in Confutatione, quam ausi sunt obtrudere Caesareae Maiestati, probent haec sua figmenta. Multa dicta ex Scripturis citant, ut fucum imperitis faciant, quasi haec res habeat auctoritatem ex Scripturis, quae adhuc Longobardi tempore ignota erat. Allegant has sententias: *Facite*

Hier laßt uns aber sehen, wie die Widersacher solche ihre Träume gründen und beweisen in der Konfutation, welche sie Kaiserlicher Majestät zuletzt aufgehängt. Sie ziehen viele Sprüche der Schrift an, daß sie den Unerfahrenen einen Schein machen, als sei ihre Lehre von satisfactionibus in der Schrift gegründet, welche doch noch zu Lon-

repentance were not necessary by divine Law for the remission of sins. For the belief concerning faith must be retained, that by faith we obtain remission of sins for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of our works that precede or follow [when we are converted or born anew in Christ]. And for this reason we have discussed especially the question of satisfactions, that by submitting to them the righteousness of faith be not obscured, or men think that for the sake of these works they obtain remission of sins. And many sayings that are current in the schools aid the error, such as that which they give in the definition of satisfaction, namely, that it is wrought for the purpose of appeasing the divine displeasure.

But, nevertheless, the adversaries acknowledge that satisfactions are of no profit for the remission of guilt. Yet they imagine that satisfactions are of profit in redeeming from the punishments, whether of purgatory or other punishments. For thus they teach that in the remission of sins, God [without means, alone] remits the guilt, and yet, because it belongs to divine justice to punish sin, that He commutes eternal into temporal punishment. They add further that a part of this temporal punishment is remitted by the power of the keys, but that the rest is redeemed by means of satisfactions. Neither can it be understood of what punishments a part is remitted by the power of the keys, unless they say that a part of the punishments of purgatory is remitted, from which it would follow that satisfactions are only punishments redeeming from purgatory. And these satisfactions, they say, avail even though they are rendered by those who have relapsed into mortal sin, as though indeed the divine displeasure could be appeased by those who are in mortal sin. This entire matter is fictitious, and recently fabricated without the authority of Scripture and the old writers of the Church. And not even Longobardus speaks in this way of satisfactions. The scholastics saw that there were satisfactions in the Church; and they did not notice that these exhibitions had been instituted both for the purpose of example, and for testing those who desired to be received by the Church. In a word, they did not see that it was a discipline, and entirely a secular matter. Accordingly, they superstitiously imagined that these avail not for discipline before the Church, but for appeasing God. And just as in other places they frequently, with great inaptness, have confounded spiritual and civil matters [the kingdom of Christ, which is spiritual, and the kingdom of the world, and external discipline], the same happens also with regard to satisfactions. But the gloss on the canons at various places testifies that these observances were instituted for the sake of church discipline [should serve alone for an example before the Church].

Let us see, moreover, how in the Confutation which they had the presumption to obtrude upon His Imperial Majesty, they prove these figments of theirs. They cite many passages from the Scriptures, in order to impose upon the inexperienced, as though this subject which was unknown even in the time of Longobard, had authority from the Scrip-

fructus dignos poenitentiae, Matth. 3, 8; Marc. 1, 15. Item: *Exhibete membra vestra servire iustitiae,* Rom. 6, 19. Item, Christus praedicat poenitentiam, Matth. 4, 17: *Agite poenitentiam!* Item, Christus, Luc. 24, 47, iubet apostolos *poenitentiam praedicare,* et Petrus praedicat poenitentiam, Act. 2, 38. Postea citant quaedam dicta patrum et canones et concludunt: satisfactiones in ecclesia contra expressum evangelium et conciliorum et patrum decreta abolendae non sunt, quin imo absoluti a sacerdote iniunctam poenitentiam perficere debent, illud Pauli, Tit. 2, 14, sequentes: *Dedit semetipsum pro nobis, ut* [R. 186 *redimeret nos ab omni iniquitate et mundaret sibi populum acceptabilem, sectatorem bonorum operum.*

gobardus' Zeiten unbekannt war. Sie bringen diese Sprüche hervor: „Tut Buße, bringt Früchte der Buße!" Item: „Begebet eure Gliedmaßen, zu dienen der Gerechtigkeit!" Item, Christus hat gesagt: „Tut Buße!" Item, Christus befiehlt den Aposteln, Buße zu predigen. Item, Petrus predigt Buße in Geschichten der Apostel am 2. Danach zeigen sie an etliche Sprüche der Väter und die Kanones und beschließen, es sollen die Genugtuungen in der Kirche wider das Evangelium, wider der Väter und Konzilien Dekrete, wider den Beschluß der heiligen Kirche nicht abgetan werden, sondern diejenigen, so Absolution erlangen, sollen ihre Buße und Satisfaktion, Genugtuung, so ihnen vom Priester aufgelegt, vollbringen.

26] Deus perdat istos impios sophistas, tam sceleste detorquentes Verbum Dei ad sua somnia vanissima! Quis bonus vir non commoveatur indignitate tanta? Christus inquit: *Agite poenitentiam,* apostoli praedicant poenitentiam: igitur poenae aeternae compensantur poenis purgatorii, igitur claves habent mandatum remittendi partem poenarum purgatorii, igitur satisfactiones redimunt poenas purgatorii. Quis docuit istos asinos hanc dialecticam? Sed haec neque dialectica neque sophistica est, sed est sycophantica. Ideo allegant hanc vocem: *Agite poenitentiam,* ut, quum tale dictum contra nos citatum imperiti audiunt, concipiant opinionem nos totam poenitentiam tollere. His artibus alienare animos et inflammare odia conantur, ut conclament contra nos imperiti, tollendos esse e medio tam pestilentes haereticos, qui improbent poenitentiam.

Gott wolle schänden und strafen solche verzweifelte Sophisten, die so verräterisch und böslich das heilige Evangelium auf ihre Träume deuten! Welchem frommen, ehrbaren Mann sollte nicht solch großer, öffentlicher Mißbrauch göttlichen Wortes im Herzen wehe tun? Christus spricht: „Tut Buße!" Die Apostel predigen auch: „Tut Buße!" Darum ist durch die Sprüche bewiesen, daß Gott Sünden nicht vergebe ohne um der erdichteten Satisfaktion willen? Wer hat die groben, unverschämten Esel solche Dialektika gelehrt? Es ist aber nicht Dialektik noch Sophistik, sondern es sind Bubenstücke, mit Gottes Wort also zu spielen und so verdrießlichen Mutwillen [zu] treiben. Darum ziehen sie den Spruch als dunkel und verdeckt an aus dem Evangelio: „Tut Buße" usw., daß, wenn die Unerfahrenen hören, daß dies Wort aus dem Evangelio wird wider uns angezogen, [sie] denken sollen, wir seien solche Leute, die gar nichts von der Buße halten. Mit solchen Bösewichtstücken gehen sie mit uns um. Wiewohl sie wissen, daß wir recht von der Buße lehren, so wollen sie doch die Leute abschrecken und gern viele Leute wider uns erbittern, daß die Unerfahrenen schreien sollen: Kreuzige, kreuzige solche schädliche Ketzer, welche von der Buße nichts halten! und werden also öffentlich als die Lügner hier überwunden.

27] Sed speramus apud bonos viros has calumnias parum profecturas esse. Et Deus tantam impudentiam ac malitiam non diu feret. Nec utiliter consulit suae dignitati Romanus pontifex, quod tales patronos adhibet, quod rem maximam iudicio horum sophistarum permittit. Nam quum nos in confessione fere summam doctrinae Christianae universae complexi simus, adhibendi fuerant iudices de tantis, tam multis et tam variis negotiis pronuntiaturi, quorum doctrina et fides probatior esset quam horum sophistarum, qui hanc Confutationem scripserunt. Id-
28] que te, Campegi, pro tua sapientia providere decebat, ne quid in tantis rebus isti scriberent, quod aut hoc tempore aut ad posteros videatur posse minuere Romanae sedis existimationem. Si Romana sedes censet aequum esse, ut omnes gentes agnoscant eam pro magistra fidei, debet operam dare, ut docti et integri viri de religionibus cognoscant. Quid enim iudicabit mundus, si quando [R. 187 proferetur in lucem scriptum adversariorum, quid iudicabit posteritas de his calumniosis
29] iudiciis? Vides, Campegi, haec esse postrema tempora, in quibus Christus praedixit plurimum periculi fore religioni. Vos igitur,

Aber wir trösten uns des und wissen's fürwahr, daß bei gottesfürchtigen, ja bei ehrbaren, frommen, redlichen Leuten solche unverschämte Lügen und Fälscherei der Heiligen Schrift doch nichts schaffen. So wird auch Gott der HErr, als wahr er ein lebendiger Gott ist, solche unverschämte Gotteslästerung und ungehörte Bosheit nicht lange leiden, sie werden sich gewiß am ersten und andern [zweiten] Gebot Gottes verbrennen. Und nachdem wir in unserer Konfession fast alle höchsten Artikel der ganzen christlichen Lehre begriffen haben, also daß über diese Sache keine größere, hochwichtigere Sache kann unter der Sonne sein, sollte man zu diesen hohen, allerwichtigsten Händeln, die ganze heilige, christliche Religion, Wohlfahrt und Einigkeit der ganzen christlichen Kirche und in aller Welt so viel unzählige Seelen und Gewissen jetzund dieser Zeit und bei unsern Nachkommen belangend, billig mit allem treuen, höchsten Fleiß Leute gesucht und auserlesen haben, die gottesfürchtiger, verständiger, erfahrener, tauglicher und redlicher wären, auch mehr treuen, guten Herzens und Sinnes zu gemeinem Nutzen, zur Einigkeit der Kirche, zur Wohlfahrt des Reichs trügen und erzeigten denn die losen, leichtfertigen Sophisten, so die Konfutation geschrieben haben. Und Ihr, Herr Kardi-

tures. They bring forward such passages as these: *Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance,* Matt. 3, 8; Mark 1, 15. Again: *Yield your members servants to righteousness,* Rom. 6, 19. Again, Christ preaches repentance, Matt. 4, 17: *Repent.* Again, Christ Luke 24, 47, commands the apostles *to preach repentance,* and Peter preaches repentance, Acts 2, 38. Afterward they cite certain passages of the Fathers and the canons, and conclude that satisfactions in the Church are not to be abolished contrary to the plain Gospel and the decrees of the Councils and Fathers [against the decision of the Holy Church]; nay, even that those who have been absolved by the priest ought to bring to perfection the repentance that has been enjoined, following the declaration of Paul, Titus 2, 14: *Who gave Himself for us that He might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.*

May God put to confusion these godless sophists who so wickedly distort God's Word to their own most vain dreams! What good man is there who is not moved by such indignity? "Christ says, *Repent,* the apostles preach repentance; therefore eternal punishments are compensated by the punishments of purgatory; therefore the keys have the power to remit part of the punishments of purgatory; therefore satisfactions redeem the punishments of purgatory"! Who has taught these asses such logic? Yet this is neither logic nor sophistry, but cunning trickery. Accordingly, they appeal to the expression *repent* in such a way that, when the inexperienced hear such a passage cited against us, they may derive the opinion that we deny the entire repentance. By these arts they endeavor to alienate minds and to enkindle hatred, so that the inexperienced may cry out against us [Crucify! crucify!], that such pestilent heretics as disapprove of repentance should be removed from their midst. [Thus they are publicly convicted of being liars in this matter.]

But we hope that among good men these calumnies [and misrepresentations of Holy Scripture] may make little headway. And God will not long endure such impudence and wickedness. [They will certainly be consumed by the First and Second Commandments.] Neither has the Pope of Rome consulted well for his own dignity in employing such patrons, because he has entrusted a matter of the greatest importance to the judgment of these sophists. For since we include in the Confession almost the sum of the entire Christian doctrine, judges should have been appointed to make a declaration concerning matters so important and so many and various, whose learning and faith would have been more approved than that of these sophists who have written this Confutation. It was particularly becoming for you, O Campegius, in accordance with your wisdom, to have taken care that in regard to matters of such importance they should write nothing which either at this time or with posterity might seem to be able to diminish regard for the Roman See. If the Roman See judges it right that all nations should acknowledge her as mistress of the faith, she ought to take pains that learned and uncorrupt men make investigation concerning matters of religion. For what will the world judge if at any time the writing of the adversaries be brought to light? What will posterity judge concerning these reproachful judicial investigations? You see, O Campegius, that these are the last times, in which Christ predicted that there would be the greatest danger to religion. You, therefore, who ought, as it were, to sit on the watch-tower and control religious matters, should in these times employ unusual wisdom and diligence. There are many signs which, unless you heed them, threaten a change to the Roman state. And you make a mistake if you think that Churches should be retained only by force and arms. Men ask to be taught concerning religion. How many do you suppose there are, not only in Germany, but also in England, in Spain, in France, in Italy, and finally even in the city of Rome, who, since they see that con-

qui tamquam in specula sedere et gubernare religiones debetis, his temporibus oportuit singularem adhibere tum prudentiam, tum diligentiam. Multa sunt signa, quae, nisi provideritis, minantur mutationem Romano statui. **30**] Et erras, si tantum vi et armis existimas ecclesias retinendas esse. Doceri de religione postulant homines. Quam multos esse existimas non tantum in Germania, sed etiam in Anglia, in Hispania, in Galliis, in Italia, denique in ipsa urbe Roma, qui, quoniam vident exortas esse de maximis rebus controversias, dubitare alicubi incipiunt et taciti indignantur, quod has tantas res rite cognoscere et iudicare recusatis, quod non explicatis ambigentes conscientias, quod tantum iubetis nos armis opprimi ac deleri. Multi **31**] sunt boni viri, quibus haec dubitatio morte acerbior est. Non satis expendis, quanta res sit religio, si bonos viros leviter existimas angi, sicubi incipiunt ambigere de aliquo dogmate. Et haec dubitatio non potest non parere summam odii acerbitatem adversus illos, qui, quum mederi conscientiis debebant, obsistunt, quominus explicari res **32**] possit. Non hic dicimus Dei iudicium vobis pertimescendum esse. Nam hoc leviter curare pontifices putant, qui, quum ipsi teneant claves, scilicet patefacere sibi coelum, quum volunt, possunt. De hominum iudiciis deque tacitis voluntatibus omnium gentium loquimur, quae profecto hoc tempore requirunt, ut haec negotia ita cognoscantur atque constituantur, ut sanentur bonae mentes et a dubitatione liberentur. Quid enim futurum sit, si quando eruperint odia illa adversus vos, pro tua sapientia facile iudicare potes. Verum hoc beneficio devincire omnes [R. 188 gentes vobis poteritis, quod omnes sani homines summum et maximum iudicant, si dubitantes **33**] conscientias sanaveritis. Haec non eo diximus, quod nos de nostra confessione dubitemus. Scimus enim eam veram, piam et piis conscientiis utilem esse. Sed credibile est passim multos esse, qui non de levibus rebus ambigunt, nec tamen audiunt idoneos doctores, qui mederi conscientiis ipsorum possint.

nal Campegi, als der Verständige, dem diese Sache zu Rom vertraut, des Weisheit man rühmen will, wenn Ihr auch nichts denn des Papsts und Stuhls zu Rom Ehre wolltet achten oder ansehen, hättet hier besser sollen haushalten und diesem mit höchstem Fleiß vorkommen, daß in solcher so gar großen, trefflichen Sache durch die oder dergleichen Sophisten nicht eine solch ungeschickte confutatio wäre geschrieben, welche beide zu dieser Zeit und künftig bei den Nachkommen Euch nicht anders denn zu eitelm Spott, zur Verkleinerung eures Gerüchts und Namens, zu ewigem, unverwindlichem Schimpf und Schaden gereichen wird. Ihr Romanisten seht, daß diese die letzten Zeiten sind vor dem Jüngsten Tag, von welchen Christus warnt, daß viele Fährlichkeiten sollen vorfallen in der Kirche. Ihr nun, die ihr wollt Wächter, die Hirten und Häupter der Kirche genannt sein, sollt in dieser Zeit mit sonderm, treuem, höchstem Fleiß Aufsehen haben. Es sind viele Zeichen vor Augen schon, daß, wo ihr euch nicht ganz wohl in die Zeit und Sachen schickt und richtet, daß es mit dem ganzen römischen Stuhl und Wesen eine große, starke Veränderung gewinnen will. Und dürft euch in Sinn nicht nehmen, ja dürft nicht gedenken, daß ihr die Gemeinden und Kirchen allein mit dem Schwert und Gewalt wollt bei euch und dem römischen Stuhl erhalten. Denn gute Gewissen schreien nach der Wahrheit und rechtem Unterricht aus Gottes Wort, und denselben ist der Tod nicht so bitter, als bitter ihnen ist, wo sie etwa in einem Stücke zweifeln; darum müssen sie suchen, wo sie Unterricht finden. Wollt ihr die Kirche bei euch erhalten, so müßt ihr danach trachten, daß ihr recht lehren und predigen laßt; damit könnt ihr einen guten Willen und beständigen Gehorsam anrichten.

34] Sed redeamus ad propositum. Scripturae citatae ab adversariis prorsus nihil loquuntur de canonicis satisfactionibus et de opinionibus scholasticorum, quum constet eas nuper natas esse. Quare mera calumnia est, quod detorquent Scripturas ad illas suas opiniones. Nos dicimus, quod poenitentiam, hoc est, conversionem seu regenerationem, boni fructus, bona opera, in omni vita sequi debeant. Nec potest esse vera conversio aut vera contritio, ubi non sequuntur mortificationes carnis et boni fructus. Veri terrores, veri dolores animi non patiuntur corpus indulgere voluptatibus, et vera fides non est ingrata Deo, nec contemnit mandata Dei. Denique nulla est interior poenitentia, nisi foris pariat etiam castigationes carnis. Et **35**] hanc dicimus esse sententiam Iohannis, quum ait Matth. 3, 8: *Facite fructus dignos poenitentiae,* item Pauli, quum ait Rom. 6, 19: *Exhibete membra vestra servire iustitiae;* sicut et alibi, Rom. 12, 1, inquit: *Exhibete corpora vestra hostiam vivam, sanctam* etc. Et quum Christus inquit Matth. 4, 17: *Agite poenitentiam,* certe loquitur de tota poenitentia, de tota novitate vitae et fructibus;

Wir wollen hier wieder zur Sache kommen. Die Sprüche aus der Schrift, so angezogen von Widersachern, reden nicht von den Genugtuungen und Satisfaktionen, davon die Widersacher streiten. Darum ist es lauter Fälscherei der Schrift, daß sie Gottes Wort auf ihre Meinung deuten. Wir sagen, wo rechte Buße, Verneuerung des Heiligen Geistes, ist im Herzen, da folgen gewiß gute Früchte, gute Werke, und ist nicht möglich, daß ein Mensch sollte sich zu Gott bekehren, rechte Buße tun, herzliche Reue haben, und sollten nicht folgen gute Werke, gute Früchte. Denn ein Herz und Gewissen, das recht seinen Jammer und Sünde gefühlt hat, recht erschreckt ist, das wird nicht viele Wollüste der Welt achten oder suchen. Und wo der Glaube ist, da ist er Gott dankbar, achtet und liebt herzlich seine Gebote. Auch ist inwendig im Herzen gewißlich keine rechte Buße, wenn wir nicht äußerlich gute Werke, christliche Geduld erzeigen. Und also meinet's auch Johannes der Täufer, da er sagt: „Erzeiget rechte Früchte der Buße." Item Paulus, da er sagt zu den Römern am 6.: „Begebet eure Glieder zu Waffen der Gerechtigkeit" usw. Und Christus, da er spricht: „Tut Buße!" redet wahrlich von der ganzen Buße und von dem ganzen neuen Leben

troversies have arisen concerning subjects of the greatest importance, are beginning here and there to doubt, and to be silently indignant that you refuse to investigate and judge aright subjects of such weight as these; that you do not deliver wavering consciences; that you only bid us be overthrown and annihilated by arms? There are many good men to whom this doubt is more bitter than death. You do not consider sufficiently how great a subject religion is, if you think that good men are in anguish for a slight cause whenever they begin to doubt concerning any dogma. And this doubt can have no other effect than to produce the greatest bitterness of hatred against those who, when they ought to heal consciences, plant themselves in the way of the explanation of the subject. We do not here say that you ought to fear God's judgment. For the hierarchs think that they can easily provide against this, for since they hold the keys, of course they can open heaven for themselves whenever they wish. We are speaking of the judgments of men and the silent desires of all nations, which, indeed, at this time require that these matters be investigated and decided in such a manner that good minds may be healed and freed from doubt. For, in accordance with your wisdom, you can easily decide what will take place if at any time this hatred against you should break forth. But by this favor you will be able to bind to yourself all nations, as all sane men regard it as the highest and most important matter, if you heal doubting consciences. We have said these things not because we doubt concerning our Confession. For we know that it is true, godly, and useful to godly consciences. But it is likely that there are many in many places who waver concerning matters of no light importance, and yet do not hear such teachers as are able to heal their consciences.

But let us return to the main point. The Scriptures cited by the adversaries speak in no way of canonical satisfactions, and of the opinions of the scholastics, since it is evident that the latter were only recently born. Therefore it is pure slander when they distort Scripture to their own opinions. We say that good fruits, good works in every kind of life, ought to follow repentance, *i. e.*, conversion or regeneration [the renewal of the Holy Ghost in the heart]. Neither can there be true conversion or true contrition where mortifications of the flesh and good fruits do not follow [if we do not externally render good works and Christian patience]. True terrors, true griefs of mind, do not allow the body to indulge in sensual pleasures, and true faith is not ungrateful to God, neither does it despise God's commandments. In a word, there is no inner repentance unless it also produces outwardly mortifications of the flesh. We say also that this is the meaning of John when he says, Matt. 3, 8: *Bring forth, therefore, fruits meet for repentance.* Likewise of Paul when he says, Rom. 6, 19: *Yield your members servants to righteousness;* just as he likewise says elsewhere, Rom. 12, 1: *Present your bodies a living sacrifice,* etc. And when Christ says, Matt. 4, 17: *Repent,* He certainly speaks of the entire repentance, of the entire newness of life and its fruits; He does not speak of

non loquitur de illis hypocriticis satisfactionibus, quas fingunt scholastici tum quoque valere ad compensationem poenae purgatorii aut aliarum poenarum, quum fiunt ab his, qui sunt in peccato mortali.

36] Ac multa colligi argumenta possunt, quod haec dicta Scripturae nullo modo pertineant ad scholasticas satisfactiones. [R. 189 Isti fingunt satisfactiones esse opera indebita; Scriptura autem in his sententiis requirit opera debita. Nam haec vox Christi est vox **37**] praecepti: *Agite poenitentiam.* Item, adversarii scribunt confitentem, si recuset suscipere satisfactiones, non peccare, sed persoluturum esse has poenas in purgatorio. Iam hae sententiae sine controversia praecepta sunt ad hanc vitam pertinentia: *Agite poenitentiam; facite fructus dignos poenitentiae; exhibete membra vestra servire iustitiae.* Quare non possunt detorqueri ad satisfactiones, quas recusare licet. Non enim licet recusare prae**38**] cepta Dei. Tertio, indulgentiae remittunt illas satisfactiones, ut docet cap. *Quum ex eo,* de poenitentiis et remissione. [Decret. Grat., lib. V, tit. 38, c. 14: „Decernimus, ut, cum dedicatur basilica, non extendatur indulgentia ultra annum . . .; ac deinde in anniversario dedicationis tempore 40 dies de iniunctis poenitentiis indulta remissio non excedat."] At indulgentiae non solvunt nos illis praeceptis: *Agite poenitentiam; facite fructus dignos poenitentiae.* Itaque manifestum est male detorqueri illa dicta Scripturae ad canonicas satisfactiones. Videte **39**] porro, quid sequatur. Si poenae purgatorii sunt satisfactiones seu satispassiones, aut satisfactiones sunt redemptio poenarum purgatorii: num etiam hae sententiae praecipiunt, ut animae castigentur in purgatorio? Id quum sequi necesse sit ex adversariorum opinionibus, hae sententiae novo modo interpretandae erunt: *Facite fructus dignos poenitentiae; agite poenitentiam,* hoc est, patiamini poenas purgatorii post hanc vitam. Sed **40**] piget has ineptias adversariorum pluribus refellere. Constat enim Scripturam loqui de operibus debitis, de tota novitate vitae, non de his observationibus operum non debitorum, de quibus loquuntur adversarii. Et tamen his figmentis defendunt ordines, venditionem missarum et infinitas observationes, quod scilicet sint opera, si non pro culpa, tamen pro poena satisfacientia.

und seinen Früchten. Er redet nicht von den heuchlerischen Satisfaktionen, davon die Scholastici träumen und dürfen sagen, daß sie dann auch gelten vor Gott für die Strafe, wenn sie in Todsünden geschehen. Das sollte freilich ein köstlicher Gottesdienst sein!

Auch so sind sonst viele Argumente und Gründe, daß die obangezeigten Sprüche der Schrift sich nichts reimen auf die Genugtuungen, davon die Scholastici reden. Sie erdichten und sagen, die satisfactiones seien Werke, die wir nicht schuldig seien. Die Heilige Schrift aber in den Sprüchen, so eingeführt, fordert solche Werke, die wir schuldig sind. Denn dieses Wort Christi, da er sagt: „Tut Buße!" ist ein Wort des göttlichen Gebots. Item, die Widersacher schreiben, daß diejenigen, so da beichten, ob sie schon die aufgelegten satisfactiones nicht wollen annehmen, daß sie doch darum nicht sündigen, sondern werden im Fegfeuer müssen Strafe tragen und genugtun. Nun hat's je keinen Zweifel, daß diese Sprüche: „Tut Buße!" usw., item Pauli: „Gebet eure Gliedmaßen, zu dienen der Gerechtigkeit" und dergleichen Sprüche, seien Christi und der Apostel, die das Fegfeuer gar nichts, sondern allein dieses Leben angehen. Derhalben können sie nicht gestreckt werden zu den aufgelegten satisfactionibus, die ich mag annehmen oder nicht annehmen; denn Gottes Gebote sind uns nicht also frei heimgestellt usw. Zum dritten, so lehrt des Papsts Recht und Kanon, daß durch den Ablaß solche satisfactiones werden erlassen, cap. *Quum ex eo,* de poenitentiis. Aber der Ablaß macht niemand los von diesen Geboten: „Tut Buße, erzeiget rechte Früchte der Buße!" usw. Darum ist es hell am Tage, daß man ganz ungeschickt die Sprüche der Schrift einführt von den satisfactionibus. Denn so die Pönen [Strafen] des Fegfeuers sind satisfactiones oder satispassiones, oder so die satisfactiones sind Quittierung der Pein des Fegfeuers, so müssen die obangezeigten Sprüche Christi und Pauli auch beweisen und probieren [dartun], daß die Seelen ins Fegfeuer fahren und daselbst Pein leiden. So nun das von Not folgt aus der Widersacher Opinion, so müssen die Sprüche alle neue Röcke anziehen und also ausgelegt werden: *Facite fructus* etc., „erzeiget rechte Früchte der Buße", das ist: Leidet im Fegfeuer nach diesem Leben. Aber es ist verdrießlich, so von öffentlichem Irrtum der Widersacher mehr Worte zu machen. Denn man weiß fürwahr, daß die Schrift an den Orten redet von Werken, die wir schuldig sind, und von dem ganzen neuen Leben eines Christen usw., nicht von den erdichteten Werken, die wir nicht schuldig sind, davon die Widersacher reden. Und doch mit diesen Lügen verteidigen sie die Möncherei, das Kaufen und Verkaufen der Messen und unzählige andere Traditionen, nämlich, daß es Werke seien, genugzutun für die Pön und Strafe, ob sie gleich für die Schuld gegen Gott nicht genugtun.

41] Quum igitur Scripturae citatae non dicant, quod operibus non debitis poenae aeternae compensandae sint, temere affirmant adversarii, quod per satisfactiones canonicas poenae illae compensentur. Nec habent [R. 190 claves mandatum poenas aliquas commutandi, item partem poenarum remittendi. Ubi enim leguntur haec in Scripturis? Christus de remissione peccati loquitur, quum ait Matth. 18, 18: *Quidquid solveritis* etc., quo remisso sublata est mors aeterna, et reddita vita

So nun die Sprüche, aus der Schrift angezogen, gar nicht melden, daß durch die Werke, so wir nicht schuldig [sind], die ewige Pein oder Fegfeuer bezahlt werden, so sagen die Widersacher ohne allen Grund, daß durch solche satisfactiones die Peinen des Fegfeuers abgelöst werden. So haben auch die Schlüssel nicht Befehl, Pein aufzulegen oder die Pein zum Teil, halb oder ganz, zu quittieren. Man liest solche Träume und Lügen nirgend in der Schrift. Christus redet von Vergebung der Sünden, da er sagt: „Was

those hypocritical satisfactions which, the scholastics imagine, avail for compensating the punishment of purgatory or other punishments when they are made by those who are in mortal sin.

Many arguments, likewise, can be collected to show that these passages of Scripture pertain in no way to scholastic satisfactions. These men imagine that satisfactions are works that are not due [which we are not obliged to do]; but Scripture, in these passages, requires works that are due [which we are obliged to do]. For this word of Christ, *Repent*, is the word of a commandment. Likewise the adversaries write that if any one who goes to confession should refuse to undertake satisfactions, he does not sin, but will pay these penalties in purgatory. Now the following passages are, without controversy, precepts pertaining to this life: *Repent; Bring forth fruits meet for repentance; Yield your members servants to righteousness.* Therefore they cannot be distorted to the satisfactions which it is permitted to refuse. For to refuse God's commandments is not permitted. [For God's commands are not thus left to our discretion.] Thirdly, indulgences remit these satisfactions, as is taught by the Chapter, *De Poenitentiis et Remissione*, beginning *Quum ex eo*, etc. But indulgences do not free us from the commandments: *Repent; Bring forth fruits meet for repentance.* Therefore it is manifest that these passages of Scripture have been wickedly distorted to apply to canonical satisfactions. See further what follows. If the punishments of purgatory are satisfactions, or satispassions [sufferings sufficient], or if satisfactions are a redemption of the punishments of purgatory, do these passages also give commandment that souls be punished in purgatory? [The above-cited passages of Christ and Paul must also show and prove that souls enter purgatory and there suffer pain.] Since this must follow from the opinions of the adversaries, these passages should be interpreted in a new way [these passages should put on new coats]: *Bring forth fruits meet for repentance; Repent, i. e.*, suffer the punishments of purgatory after this life. But we do not care about refuting in more words these absurdities of the adversaries. For it is evident that Scripture speaks of works that are due, of the entire newness of life, and not of these observances of works that are not due, of which the adversaries speak. And yet, by these figments they defend orders [of monks], the sale of Masses and infinite observances, namely, as works which, if they do not make satisfaction for guilt, yet make satisfaction for punishment.

Since, therefore, the passages of Scripture cited do not say that eternal punishments are to be compensated by works that are not due, the adversaries are rash in affirming that these satisfactions are compensated by canonical satisfactions. Nor do the keys have the command to commute some punishments, and likewise to remit a part of the punishments. For where are such things [dreams and lies] read in the Scriptures? Christ speaks of the remission of sins when He says, Matt. 18, 18: *Whatsoever ye shall loose*, etc. [*i. e.*], sin being forgiven, death eternal is taken away, and life eternal bestowed. Nor does *Whatsoever ye shall bind* speak of the

aeterna. Neque hic loquitur de imponendis poenis: *Quidquid ligaveris*, sed de retinendis peccatis illorum, qui non convertuntur. Sed 42] dictum Longobardi de parte poenarum remittenda sumptum est a canonicis poenis; harum partem remittebant pastores. Quamquam igitur sentimus, quod poenitentia debeat bonos fructus parere propter gloriam et mandatum Dei; et boni fructus habent mandata Dei, vera ieiunia, verae orationes, verae eleemosynae etc.: tamen hoc nusquam reperimus in Scripturis sanctis, quod poenae aeternae non remittantur nisi propter poenam purgatorii aut satisfactiones canonicas, hoc est, propter certa quaedam opera non debita, aut quod potestas clavium habeat mandatum commutandi poenas aut partem remittendi. Haec probanda erant adversariis.

43] Praeterea mors Christi non est solum satisfactio pro culpa, sed etiam pro aeterna morte, iuxta illud Hos. 13, 14: *Ero mors tua, o mors.* Quid est igitur monstri, dicere, quod Christi satisfactio redimat culpam, nostrae poenae redimant mortem aeternam, ut iam illa vox: *Ero mors tua*, intelligi debeat non de Christo, sed de nostris operibus, et quidem non de operibus a Deo praeceptis, sed de frigidis quibusdam observationibus excogitatis ab hominibus! Et dicuntur mortem abolere, 44] etiam quum fiunt in peccato mortali. Incredibile est, quanto cum dolore has ineptias adversariorum recitemus, quas qui expendit, non potest non succensere istis doctrinis daemoniorum, quas sparsit in ecclesia diabolus, ut opprimeret cognitionem legis et evangelii, poenitentiae et vivificationis et beneficiorum 45] Christi. Nam de lege sic dicunt: Deus condescendens nostrae infirmitati constituit homini mensuram eorum, ad quae de [R. 191 necessitate tenetur, quae est observatio praeceptorum, ut de reliquo, id est, de operibus supererogationis, possit satisfacere de commissis. Hic fingunt homines legem Dei ita facere posse, ut plus etiam, quam lex exigit, facere possimus. Atqui Scriptura ubique clamat, quod multum absimus ab illa perfectione, quam lex requirit. Sed isti fingunt legem Dei contentam esse externa et civili iustitia, non vident eam requirere veram dilectionem Dei ex toto corde etc., damnare totam concupiscentiam in natura. Itaque nemo tantum facit, quantum lex requirit. Ridiculum igitur est, quod fingunt nos amplius facere posse. Quamquam enim externa opera facere possumus non mandata lege Dei, tamen illa est vana et impia fiducia, quod legi Dei sit satis- 46] factum. Et verae orationes, verae eleemosynae, vera ieiunia habent praecepta Dei; et ubi habent praeceptum Dei, non possunt sine peccato omitti. Verum illa opera, quatenus non sunt praecepta lege Dei, sed habent certam formam ex humano praescripto, sunt opera traditionum humanarum, de quibus Christus dicit Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum*, ut certa ieiunia instituta non ad carnem coercendam, sed ut per id opus reddatur honos Deo, ut ait Scotus, et compensetur mors aeterna. Item certus nu-

ihr auflöset" usw. Wenn die Sünde vergeben ist, so ist auch der Tod weggenommen und das ewige Leben gegeben. Auch so redet der Text: „Was ihr auflöset" usw., nicht von Strafe auflegen, sondern daß auf denjenigen die Sünden bleiben, die sich nicht bekehren. Wiewohl wir nun halten, daß nach der rechten Buße gute Früchte und Werke folgen sollen, Gott zu Lob und Dank, und von denselben guten Werken und Früchten haben wir Gottes Gebote, als von Fasten, Beten, Almosen usw.: so findet man doch nirgend in der Schrift, daß Gottes Zorn oder die ewigen Peinen sollten mögen abgelöst werden durch die Pein des Fegfeuers oder durch satisfactiones oder Genugtun, das ist, durch etliche Werke, die wir ohnedas nicht schuldig wären, oder daß die Gewalt der Schlüssel Befehl haben, Pein aufzulegen oder einen Teil der Pein zu erlassen. Dasselbe sollten nun die Widersacher aus der Schrift beweisen; das werden sie wohl lassen.

Darüber so ist es gewiß, daß Christus' Tod eine Genugtuung ist nicht allein für die Schuld gegen Gott, sondern auch für den ewigen Tod, wie klar der Spruch Hoseas lautet: „Tod, ich will dein Tod sein." Was ist es denn für ein Greuel, zu sagen, daß Christi Tod genugtue für die Schuld gegen Gott, aber die Pein, so wir leiden, die erlöse uns vom ewigen Tode, also daß dies Wort des Propheten: „Tod, ich will dein Tod sein" nicht von Christo, sondern von unsern Werken, und dazu von elenden menschlichen Satzungen, die Gott nicht geboten hat, sollen verstanden werden! Und noch darüber dürfen sie sagen, daß dieselben Werke für den ewigen Tod genugtun, wenn sie gleich in Todsünden geschehen. Es muß billig einem frommen Herzen weh tun die ganz ungeschickte Rede der Widersacher. Denn wer es liest und bedenkt, dem müssen je herzlich weh tun solche öffentliche Teufelslehren, die der leidige Satan in die Welt gestreut hat, die rechte Lehre des Evangelii unterzudrücken [zu unterdrücken], damit niemand oder wenige möchten unterrichtet werden, was Gesetz oder Evangelium, was Buße oder Glaube oder was die Wohltaten Christi seien. Denn vom Gesetz sagen sie also: Gott hat unsere Schwachheit angesehen und hat dem Menschen ein Ziel und Maß gesetzt der Werke, welche er zu tun schuldig ist; das sind die Werke der zehn Gebote usw., daß er von dem übrigen, von den operibus supererogationis, das ist, von den Werken, die er nicht schuldig ist, möchte genugtun für seine Fehle und Sünden. Da erdichten sie ihnen selbst einen Traum, als vermöge oder könne ein Mensch also Gottes Gesetz erfüllen, daß er etwas mehr und übriges tue, denn das Gesetz erfordert, so doch die ganze Heilige Schrift zeugt, alle Propheten auch zeugen, daß Gottes Gesetz viel Höheres fordere, denn wir immer [je] zu tun vermögen. Aber sie wollen wähnen, das Gesetz Gottes und Gott sei zufrieden mit äußerlichen Werken, und sehen nicht, wie das Gesetz fordert, daß wir Gott lieben sollen von ganzem Herzen usw. und aller bösen Lüste los sein. Darum ist kein Mensch auf Erden, der so viel tut, als das Gesetz erfordert. Darum ist's bei Verständigen ganz närrisch und kindisch anzusehen, daß sie erdichten, wir können noch etwas mehr tun, denn das göttliche Gesetz erfordert. Denn wiewohl wir die armen, äußerlichen Werke tun können, die nicht Gott, sondern Menschen geboten

imposing of punishments, but of retaining the sins of those who are not converted. Moreover, the declaration of Longobard concerning remitting a part of the punishments has been taken from the canonical punishments; a part of these the pastors remitted. Although, therefore, we hold that repentance ought to bring forth good fruits for the sake of God's glory and command, and good fruits, true fastings, true prayers, true alms, etc., have the commands of God, yet in the Holy Scriptures we nowhere find this, namely, that eternal punishments are not remitted except on account of the punishment of purgatory or canonical satisfactions, *i. e.*, on account of certain works not due, or that the power of the keys has the command to commute their punishments or to remit a portion. These things the adversaries were to prove. [This they will not attempt.]

Besides, the death of Christ is a satisfaction not only for guilt, but also for eternal death, according to Hos. 13, 14: *O death, I will be thy death.* How monstrous, therefore, it is to say that the satisfaction of Christ redeemed from the guilt, and our punishments redeem from eternal death; as the expression, *I will be thy death,* ought then to be understood, not concerning Christ, but concerning our works, and, indeed, not concerning the works commanded by God, but concerning some frigid observances devised by men! And these are said to abolish death, even when they are wrought in mortal sin. It is incredible with what grief we recite these absurdities of the adversaries, which cannot but cause one who considers them to be enraged against such doctrines of demons, which the devil has spread in the Church in order to suppress the knowledge of the Law and Gospel, of repentance and quickening, and the benefits of Christ. For of the Law they speak thus: "God, condescending to our weakness, has given to man a measure of those things to which of necessity he is bound; and this is the observance of precepts, so that from what is left, *i. e.*, from works of supererogation, he can render satisfaction with reference to offenses that have been committed." Here men imagine that they can observe the Law of God in such a manner as to be able to do even more than the Law exacts. But Scripture everywhere exclaims that we are far distant from the perfection which the Law requires. Yet these men imagine that the Law of God has been comprised in outward and civil righteousness; they do not see that it requires true love to God "with the whole heart," etc., and condemns the entire concupiscence in the nature. Therefore no one does as much as the Law requires. Hence their imagination that we can do more is ridiculous. For although we can perform outward works not commanded by God's Law [which Paul calls beggarly ordinances], yet the confidence that satisfaction is rendered God's Law [yea, that more is done than God demands] is vain and wicked. And true prayers, true alms, true fastings, have God's command; and where

merus precum, certus modus eleemosynarum, quum ita fiunt, ut ille modus sit cultus ex opere operato, reddens honorem Deo et compensans mortem aeternam. Tribuunt enim his ex opere operato satisfactionem, quia docent, quod valeant etiam in his, qui sunt
47] in peccato mortali. Iam illa longius recedunt a praeceptis Dei, peregrinationes, et harum magna est varietas, alius facit iter cataphractus, alius facit iter nudis pedibus. Haec vocat Christus inutiles cultus, quare non prosunt ad placandam offensam Dei, ut adversarii loquuntur. Et tamen haec opera magnificis titulis ornantur, vocantur opera supererogationis, tribuitur eis honos, [R. 192 quod sint pretium pro morte aeterna. Ita
48] praeferuntur operibus praeceptorum Dei. In hunc modum lex Dei bifariam obscuratur, et quia putatur legi Dei satisfactum esse per externa et civilia opera, et quia adduntur traditiones humanae, quarum opera praeferuntur operibus legis divinae.

haben, welche Paulus bettelische Satzungen nennt, so ist doch das ein närrisch, vergeblich Vertrauen, daß ich vertrauen wollte, ich hätte damit Gottes Gesetz erfüllt, ja mehr getan, denn Gott erfordert. Item, rechte Gebete und rechte Almosen, rechte Fasten, die sind von Gott geboten, und im Fall, da sie von Gott geboten sind, da kann man sie ohne Sünde nicht nachlassen. Dagegen diese Werke, sofern sie nicht geboten sind in Gottes Gesetz, sondern haben eine Form nach menschlicher Wahl, so sind sie nichts denn Menschensatzungen, von welchen Christus sagt: „Sie dienen mir vergeblich mit Menschengeboten.“ Wie denn sind etliche gewisse Fasten, nicht dazu erfunden, das Fleisch zu zähmen, sondern damit Gott zu ehren und, wie Scotus sagt, des ewigen Todes los zu werden. Item, wie denn sind etliche Gebete, etliche gewisse Almosen, welche sollen ein Gottesdienst sein, welcher ex opere operato Gott versöhne und von ewiger Verdammnis erlöse. Denn sie sagen und lehren, daß solche Werke ex opere operato, das ist, durchs getane Werk, für die Sünde genugtun, und lehren, daß solche Satisfaktion gelte, obgleich einer in Todsünden liegt. Darüber sind noch Werke, die noch weniger göttlichen Befehl oder Gebot haben, als da sind Rosenkränze, Wallfahrten, welche denn mancherlei sind. Denn etliche gehen in vollem Harnisch zu St. Jakob, etliche mit bloßen Füßen und dergleichen. Das nennt Christus vergebliche, unnütze Gottesdienste. Darum sind sie nicht nütze, Gott zu versöhnen, wie doch die Widersacher sagen, und dieselben Werke, als Wallfahrten, rühmen sie doch und achten's für große, köstliche Werke, nennen es opera supererogationis, und, das schändlicher ist, das noch gotteslästerlicher ist, man gibt ihnen die Ehre, die Christi Tod und Blut allein gebührt, daß sie sollen das pretium, das ist, der Schatz, sein, damit wir von dem ewigen Tod erlöst sind. Pfui des leidigen Teufels, der Christus' heiligen und teuren Tod so schmähen und lästern darf! Also werden dieselben Wallfahrten vorgezogen den rechten Werken, so in den zehn Geboten sind ausgedrückt, und wird also [auf] zweierlei Weise Gottes Gesetz verdunkelt: erstlich, daß sie wähnen, sie haben dem Gesetz genuggetan, so sie die äußerlichen Werke getan haben; zum andern, daß sie die elenden Menschensatzungen höher achten denn die Werke, so Gott geboten hat.

49] Deinde obscuratur poenitentia et gratia. Nam mors aeterna non redimitur illa compensatione operum, quia est otiosa, nec degustat in praesentia mortem. Alia res opponenda est morti, quum tentat nos. Sicut enim ira Dei fide in Christum vincitur, ita vincitur mors fide in Christum. Sicut Paulus ait 1 Cor. 15, 57: *Deo gratia, qui dat nobis victoriam per Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum;* non inquit: Qui dat nobis victoriam, si adversus mortem opponamus satisfactiones
50] nostras. Adversarii otiosas speculationes tractant de remissione culpae, nec vident, quomodo in remissione culpae liberetur cor ab ira Dei et a morte aeterna per fidem in Christum. Quum igitur mors Christi sit satisfactio pro morte aeterna, et quum ipsi adversarii fateantur illa opera satisfactionum esse opera non debita, sed opera traditionum humanarum, de quibus Christus inquit Matth. 15, 9, quod sint *inutiles cultus:* tuto possumus affirmare, quod satisfactiones canonicae non sint neccessariae iure divino ad remissionem culpae aut poenae aeternae aut poenae purgatorii.

Darüber wird auch unterdrückt die Lehre von der Buße und Gnade. Denn der ewige Tod und die Ängste der Hölle lassen sich nicht also quittieren, wie sie wähnen wollen. Man muß gar viel einen andern und größeren Schatz haben, dadurch wir vom Tode, ewigen Ängsten und Schmerzen erkauft werden, denn unsere Werke sind. Denn solche Werkheiligkeit ist ein müßig Ding, und die Werkheiligen schmecken nicht einmal, was der Tod ist, sondern wie Gottes Zorn nicht anders mag noch kann überwunden werden denn durch den Glauben an Christum, also wird auch der Tod überwunden allein durch Christum, wie Paulus sagt: „Gott sei Lob, der uns Sieg gibt durch JEsum Christum, unsern HErrn.“ Er sagt nicht: der uns Sieg gibt durch unsere Genugtuung. Die Widersacher reden fast [sehr] kalt und schläfrig von der Vergebung der Sünden gegen Gott und sehen nicht, daß Vergebung solcher Schuld und Erlösung von Gottes Zorn und ewigem Tode ein solch groß Ding ist, daß solches allein durch den einigen Mittler Christum und durch den Glauben an ihn erlangt wird. So nun der Tod und das Blut Christi die rechte Bezahlung ist für den ewigen Tod, und die Widersacher selbst bekennen, daß solche Werke der Satisfaktion Werke seien, die wir nicht schuldig sind, sondern Menschensatzungen, von welchen Christus Matth. am 15. sagt, daß es vergebliche Gottesdienste seien, so mögen wir frei auch aus ihren eigenen Worten schließen, daß solche satisfactiones nicht von Gott geboten sind, auch ewige Pein und Schuld oder Pein des Fegfeuers nicht ablösen.

51] Sed obiiciunt adversarii vindictam seu poenam necessariam esse ad poenitentiam, quia Augustinus ait: *Poenitentiam esse vin-*

Es werden die Widersacher vielleicht uns hier vorwerfen, daß die Pein und Strafe eigentlich zur Buße gehöre. Denn Augustinus sagt, „die

they have God's command, they cannot without sin be omitted. But these works, in so far as they have not been commanded by God's Law, but have a fixed form derived from human rule, are works of human traditions of which Christ says, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain they do worship Me with the commandments of men,* such as certain fasts appointed not for restraining the flesh, but that, by this work, honor may be given to God, as Scotus says, and eternal death be made up for; likewise, a fixed number of prayers, a fixed measure of alms when they are rendered in such a way that this measure is a worship *ex opere operato,* giving honor to God, and making up for eternal death. For they ascribe satisfaction to these *ex opere operato,* because they teach that they avail even in those who are in mortal sin. There are works which depart still farther from God's commands, as [rosaries and] pilgrimages; and of these there is a great variety: one makes a journey [to St. Jacob] clad in mail, and another with bare feet. Christ calls these "vain acts of worship," and hence they do not serve to appease God's displeasure, as the adversaries say. And yet they adorn these works with magnificent titles; they call them works of supererogation; to them the honor is ascribed of being a price paid instead of eternal death. Thus they are preferred to the works of God's commandments [the true works expressly mentioned in the Ten Commandments]. In this way the Law of God is obscured in two ways, one, because satisfaction is thought to be rendered God's Law by means of outward and civil works, the other, because human traditions are added, whose works are preferred to the works of the divine Law.

In the second place, repentance and grace are obscured. For eternal death is not atoned for by this compensation of works, because it is idle, and does not in the present life taste of death. Something else must be opposed to death when it tries us. For just as the wrath of God is overcome by faith in Christ, so death is overcome by faith in Christ. Just as Paul says, 1 Cor. 15, 57: *But thanks be to God which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.* He does not say: "Who giveth us the victory if we oppose our satisfactions against death." The adversaries treat of idle speculations concerning the remission of guilt, and do not see how, in the remission of guilt, the heart is freed by faith in Christ from God's anger and eternal death. Since, therefore, the death of Christ is a satisfaction for eternal death, and since the adversaries themselves confess that these works of satisfactions are works that are not due, but are works of human traditions, of which Christ says, Matt. 15, 9, that they are *vain acts of worship,* we can safely affirm that canonical satisfactions are not necessary by divine Law for the remission of guilt, or eternal punishment, or the punishment of purgatory.

But the adversaries object that vengeance or punishment is necessary for repentance,

dictam punientem etc. [Augustinus, *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia:* „Ille poenam tenet, qui semper vindicat, quod commisisse dolet. Poenitentia itaque est vindicta, puniens in se, quod dolet commisisse.“] Concedimus vindictam seu poenam in poenitentia necessariam esse non tamquam meritum seu pretium, sicut adversarii fingunt satisfactiones, sed vindicta formaliter est in poenitentia, hoc est, quia ipsa regeneratio fit perpetua mortificatione vetustatis. Sit sane belle dictum a Scoto, poenitentiam appellari quasi *poenae tenentiam.* Sed de qua poena, de qua vindicta loquitur Augustinus? Certe de vera [R. 193 poena, de vera vindicta, scilicet de contritione, de veris terroribus. Neque hic excludimus mortificationes externas corporis, quae **52**] sequuntur veros animi dolores. Longe errant adversarii, si verius poenam esse iudicant satisfactiones canonicas quam veros terrores in corde. Stultissimum est nomen poenae detorquere ad illas frigidas satisfactiones, non referre ad illos horribiles terrores conscientiae, de quibus ait David Ps. 18, 5; 2 Sam. 22, 5: *Circumdederunt me dolores mortis* etc. Quis non malit loricatus et cataphractus quaerere templum Iacobi, Basilicam Petri etc., quam sustinere illam ineffabilem vim doloris, quae est etiam in mediocribus, si sit vera poenitentia.

Buße sei eine Rache, Angst und Strafe über die Sünde“. Antwort: Unsere Widersacher sind grobe Esel, daß sie die Worte Augustini, der da redet von der Reue und ganzen Buße, deuten auf die Zeremonie der Satisfaktion und weiter noch daran hängen, daß solche satisfactio soll verdienen Vergebung des ewigen Todes. Wir lehren auch, daß in der Buße Strafe der Sünden sei; denn die großen Schrecken, dadurch die Sünde in uns gerichtet wird, ist eine Strafe, viel größer und höher denn Wallfahrten und dergleichen Gaukelspiel. Aber solch Schrecken geht die satisfactiones nicht an, so verdient es auch nicht Vergebung der Sünden oder des ewigen Todes, sondern wo wir nicht durch [den] Glauben getröstet würden, wäre solch Schrecken und Strafe eitel Sünde und Tod. Also lehrt Augustinus von der Strafe. Aber unsere Widersacher, die groben Esel, wissen gar nicht, was Buße oder Reue sei, sondern gehen mit ihrem Gaukelspiel um, mit Rosenkränzen, Wallfahrten und dergleichen.

53] At, inquiunt, convenit iustitiae Dei punire peccatum. Certe punit in contritione, quum in illis terroribus iram suam ostendit. Sicut significat David, quum orat Ps. 6, 1: *Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me.* Et Ieremias, cap. 10, 24: *Corripe me, Domine; verumtamen in iudicio, non in furore, ne ad nihilum redigas me.* Hic sane de acerbissimis poenis loquitur. Et fatentur adversarii contritionem posse tantam esse, ut non requiratur satisfactio. Verius igitur contritio **54**] poena est quam satisfactio. Praeterea subiecti sunt sancti morti et omnibus communibus afflictionibus, sicut ait Petrus 1 ep. 4, 17: *Quia tempus est incipere iudicium a domo Dei; si autem primum a nobis, qualis erit finis istorum, qui non credunt evangelio?* Et ut hae afflictiones plerumque sint poenae peccatorum, tamen in piis habent alium finem potiorem, scilicet ut exerceant eos, ut inter tentationes discant quaerere auxilium Dei, agnoscant diffidentiam cordium suorum etc., sicut Paulus de se inquit 2 Cor. 1, 8: *Sed ipsi in nobis sententiam mortis habuimus, ne confideremus nobis ipsis, sed Deo excitanti mortuos.* Et Esaias ait, 26, 16: *Angustia, in qua clamant, disciplina* [R. 194 *tua est ipsis,* hoc est, afflictiones sunt disci**55**] plina, qua Deus exercet sanctos. Item, afflictiones propter praesens peccatum infliguntur, quia in sanctis mortificant et exstinguunt concupiscentiam, ut renovari Spiritu possint, sicut ait Paulus Rom. 8, 10: *Corpus mortuum est propter peccatum,* id est, mortificatur propter praesens peccatum, quod ad**56**] huc in carne reliquum est. Et mors ipsa servit ad hoc, ut aboleat hanc carnem peccati, ut prorsus novi resurgamus. Neque iam in morte credentis, postquam fide terrores mortis vicit, ille aculeus est et sensus irae, de quo dicit Paulus 1 Cor. 15, 56: *Aculeus mortis peccatum est, potentia vero peccati lex.* Illa potentia peccati, ille sensus irae vere est

Aber da sprechen sie: Gott, als [da] er ein gerechter Richter ist, muß die Sünde ohne Strafe nicht lassen. Ja, wahrlich straft er die Sünde, wenn er in solchem Schrecken die Gewissen so stark mit seinem Zorn drängt und ängstet, wie David im 6. Psalm sagt: „HErr, strafe mich nicht in deinem Grimm!“ Und Jeremias am 10. Kapitel: „Strafe mich, HErr, doch mit Gnaden, nicht in deinem Grimme, daß ich nicht vergehe.“ Da redet er wahrlich von großer, unsäglicher Angst, und die Widersacher selbst bekennen, die Reue könne so bitter und geschwind [heftig] sein, daß die Satisfaktion nicht not sei. Darum ist die contritio oder Reue gewisser eine Pein denn die satisfactio. Darüber müssen die Heiligen den Tod, allerlei Kreuz und Trübsal tragen wie die andern; wie Petrus sagt 1 Petr. 4: „Es ist Zeit, daß Gericht anzufangen an dem Hause Gottes.“ Und wiewohl dieselben Trübsale oft Pön und Strafe sind über die Sünde, so haben sie doch in den Christen eine andere Ursache, nämlich daß sie sollen die Christen treiben und üben, daß sie in Anfechtung merken ihren schwachen Glauben und lernen Gottes Hilfe und Trost suchen, wie Paulus von ihm selbst sagt 2 Kor. 1: „Da wir über die Maßen beschweret waren und über Macht, also daß wir bei uns beschlossen hatten, wir müßten sterben, damit wir lerneten nicht auf uns vertrauen.“ Und Jesaias sagt: „Die Not und Angst, darin sie stecken und dich anrufen, ist ihnen eine Zucht“, das ist, die Trübsal ist die Kinderzucht, dadurch Gott übt die Heiligen. Item, die Trübsale auch schickt uns Gott zu, die Sünde in uns, so noch übrig ist, zu töten und zu dämpfen, daß wir im Geist verneuert werden; wie Paulus Röm. 8 sagt: „Der Leib ist tot um der Sünde willen“, das ist, er wird täglich mehr und mehr getötet um der Sünde willen, die noch im Fleisch übrig ist, und der Tod selbst dient dazu, daß er des sündlichen Fleisches ein Ende mache, und daß wir gar heilig und verneuert aufstehen von [den] Toten. Von diesen Trübsalen und Pönen werden wir nicht los durch die satisfactiones; der-

because Augustine says that *repentance is vengeance punishing*, etc. We grant that vengeance or punishment is necessary in repentance, yet not as merit or price, as the adversaries imagine that satisfactions are. But vengeance is in repentance formally, *i. e.*, because regeneration itself occurs by a perpetual mortification of the oldness of life. The saying of Scotus may indeed be very beautiful, that *poenitentia* is so called because it is, as it were, *poenae tenentia*, holding to punishment. But of what punishment, of what vengeance, does Augustine speak? Certainly of true punishment, of true vengeance, namely, of contrition, of true terrors. Nor do we here exclude the outward mortifications of the body, which follow true grief of mind. The adversaries make a great mistake if they imagine that canonical satisfactions [their juggler's tricks, rosaries, pilgrimages, and such like] are more truly punishments than are true terrors in the heart. It is most foolish to distort the name of punishment to these frigid satisfactions, and not to refer them to those horrible terrors of conscience of which David says, Ps. 18, 4; 2 Sam. 22, 5: *The sorrows of death compassed me.* Who would not rather, clad in mail and equipped, seek the church of James, the basilica of Peter, etc., than bear that ineffable violence of grief which exists even in persons of ordinary lives, if there be true repentance?

But they say that it belongs to God's justice to punish sin. He certainly punishes it in contrition, when in these terrors He shows His wrath. Just as David indicates when he prays, Ps. 6, 1: *O Lord, rebuke me not in Thine anger.* And Jeremiah, 10, 24: *O Lord, correct me, but with judgment; not in Thine anger, lest Thou bring me to nothing.* Here indeed the most bitter punishments are spoken of. And the adversaries acknowledge that contrition can be so great that satisfaction is not required. Contrition is therefore more truly a punishment than is satisfaction. Besides, saints are subject to death, and all general afflictions, as Peter says, 1 Ep. 4, 17: *For the time is come that judgment must begin at the house of God; and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the Gospel of God?* And although these afflictions are for the most part the punishments of sin, yet in the godly they have a better end, namely, to exercise them, that they may learn amidst trials to seek God's aid, to acknowledge the distrust of their own hearts, etc., as Paul says of himself, 2 Cor. 1, 9: *But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God which raiseth the dead.* And Isaiah says, 26, 16: *They poured out prayer when Thy chastening was upon them, i. e.*, afflictions are a discipline by which God exercises the saints. Likewise afflictions are inflicted because of present sin, since in the saints they mortify and extinguish concupiscence, so that they may be renewed by the Spirit, as Paul says, Rom. 8, 10: *The body is dead because of sin, i. e.*, it is mortified [more and more every day] because of present sin which is still left in the flesh. And death itself serves this purpose, namely, to abolish this flesh of sin, that we may rise absolutely new. Neither is there now in the death of the believer, since by faith he has overcome the terrors of death, that sting and sense of wrath of which Paul speaks 1 Cor. 15, 56: *The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the Law.* This strength of sin, this sense of wrath, is truly a punishment as long as it is present; without this sense of wrath, death is not properly a punishment. Moreover, canonical satisfactions do not belong to these punishments; as the adversaries say that by

poena, donec adest; mors sine illo sensu irae
57] proprie non est poena. Porro satisfactiones canonicae non pertinent ad has poenas, quia adversarii dicunt potestate clavium remitti aliquam partem poenarum. Item, claves iuxta ipsos condonant satisfactiones et poenas, quarum causa fiunt satisfactiones. At constat illas afflictiones communes non tolli potestate clavium. Et si de his poenis volunt intelligi, quare addunt, quod in purgatorio oporteat satisfacere?

58] Obiiciunt de Adamo, de Davide, qui propter adulterium punitus est. Ex his exemplis faciunt universalem regulam, quod singulis peccatis respondeant propriae poenae tempo-
59] rales in remissionem peccatorum. Prius dictum est sanctos sustinere poenas, quae sunt opera Dei, sustinent contritionem seu terrores, sustinent et alias communes afflictiones. Ita sustinent aliqui proprias poenas a Deo impositas, exempli causa. Et hae poenae nihil pertinent ad claves, quia claves neque imponere neque remittere eas possunt, sed Deus sine ministerio clavium imponit et remittit.

Nec sequitur universalis regula: Davidi propria poena imposita est; igitur praeter communes afflictiones alia quaedam purgatorii poenae est, in qua singulis peccatis sin-
60] guli gradus respondent. Ubi docet [R. 195 hoc Scriptura, non posse nos a morte aeterna liberari, nisi per illam compensationem certarum poenarum praeter communes afflictiones? At contra saepissime docet remissionem peccatorum gratis contingere propter Christum, Christum esse victorem peccati et mortis. Quare non est assuendum meritum satisfactionis. Et quamvis afflictiones reliquae sint, tamen has interpretatur praesentis peccati mortificationes esse, non compensationes aeternae mortis seu pretia pro aeterna morte.

61] Iob excusatur, quod non sit afflictus propter praeterita mala facta. Itaque afflictiones non semper sunt poenae aut signa irae. Imo pavidae conscientiae docendae sunt, alios fines afflictionum potiores esse, ne sentiant se a Deo reiici, si in afflictionibus nihil nisi poenam et iram Dei videant. Alii fines potiores sunt considerandi, quod *Deus alienum opus faciat, ut suum opus facere possit* etc., sicut longa concione docet Esaias
62] cap. 28, 21. Et quum discipuli interrogarent de caeco, quis peccasset, Ioh. 9, 2. 3, respondet Christus causam caecitatis esse non peccatum, sed *ut opera Dei in eo manifestentur*. Et apud Ieremiam, 49, 12, dicitur: *Quibus non erat iudicium, bibentes bibent* etc. Sicut prophetae interfecti sunt, Iohannes Ba-
63] ptista et alii sancti. Quare afflictiones non semper sunt poenae pro certis factis praeteritis, sed sunt opera Dei destinata ad nostram utilitatem, et ut potentia Dei fiat conspectior in infirmitate nostra.

halben kann man nicht sprechen, daß die satisfactiones gelten für solch Kreuz und Trübsal und zeitliche Strafen der Sünden wegnehmen. Denn dies ist gewiß, daß die Gewalt der Schlüssel niemand frei, los absolvieren kann vom Kreuz oder von andern gemeinen Trübsalen. Und so sie wollen, daß das Wort poenae, dadurch genuggetan wird, solle von gemeinen Trübsalen verstanden werden, wie lehren sie denn, man müsse im Fegfeuer genugtun?

Sie werfen uns Exempel vor von Adam und David, welcher um seines Ehebruchs willen gestraft ist. Aus den Exempeln machen sie eine Regel, daß jegliche Sünde müsse ihre gewisse zeitliche Strafe haben, ehe die Sünden vergeben werden. Ich habe vor[hin] gesagt, daß die Christen Trübsal leiden, dadurch sie gezüchtigt werden, so leiden sie Schrecken im Gewissen, manchen Kampf und Anfechtung. Also legt unser HErrgott auch etlichen Sündern eigene Pön und Strafe auf zu einem Exempel. Und mit den Pönen hat die Gewalt der Schlüssel nichts zu tun, sondern allein Gott hat sie aufzulegen und zu lösen, wie er will.

Es folgt auch gar nicht, ob [weil] David eine eigene Strafe aufgelegt ist, daß darum über das gemeine Kreuz und Trübsal aller Christen noch eine Pein des Fegfeuers sei, da eine jegliche Sünde ihren Grad und Maß der Pein hat. Denn es ist nirgend in der Schrift zu finden, daß wir von ewiger Pein und Tod nicht sollten können erlöst werden denn durch solche Quittierung unsers Leidens und Genugtuns. Aber allenthalben zeugt die Schrift, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden ohne Verdienst erlangen durch Christum, und daß Christus allein die Sünde und den Tod überwunden hat. Darum sollen wir unser Verdienst nicht daran pletzen [annähen] und flicken. Und wiewohl Christen allerlei Pön, Strafe und Trübsal leiden müssen, so zeigt doch die Schrift an, daß solche uns aufgelegt werden, den alten Adam zu töten und zu demütigen, nicht damit uns von dem ewigen Tod zu lösen.

Hiob wird entschuldigt in der Schrift, daß er nicht geplagt sei um einiger bösen Taten willen. Darum sind die Trübsale und Anfechtungen nicht allezeit göttlichen Zornes Zeichen, sondern man muß die Gewissen fleißig unterrichten, daß sie die Trübsale lernen gar viel anders ansehen, nämlich als Gnadenzeichen, daß sie nicht denken, Gott habe sie von sich gestoßen, wenn sie in Trübsalen sind. Man soll die andern rechten Früchte des Kreuzes ansehen, nämlich daß Gott uns angreift und darum ein fremd Werk tut, wie Jesaias sagt, damit er sein eigen Werk in uns haben möge; wie er denn davon eine lange, tröstliche Predigt macht im 28. Kapitel. Und da die Jünger fragten von dem Blinden, Joh. 9, sagt Christus, daß weder des Blinden Eltern noch er gesündigt habe, sondern Gottes Ehre und Werke müßten offenbart werden. Und also sagt auch Jeremias der Prophet: „Diejenigen, so nicht schuld dran haben, sollen auch den Kelch trinken" usw. Also sind die Propheten erwürgt, also ist Johannes Baptista getötet und andere Heilige. Darum sind die Trübsale nicht allzeit Strafen oder Pönen für die vorigen Sünden, sondern sind Gottes Werke, zu unserm Nutz gerichtet, daß Gottes Stärke und Kraft in unserer Schwachheit desto klarer erkannt werde, wie er mitten im Tode helfen kann usw.

the power of the keys a part of the punishments is remitted. Likewise, according to these very men, the keys remit the satisfactions, and the punishments on account of which the satisfactions are made. But it is evident that the common afflictions are not removed by the power of the keys. And if they wish to be understood concerning these punishments, why do they add that satisfaction is to be rendered in purgatory?

They oppose the example of Adam, and also of David, who was punished for his adultery. From these examples they derive the universal rule that peculiar temporal punishments in the remission of sins correspond to individual sins. It has been said before that saints suffer punishments, which are works of God; they suffer contrition or terrors, they also suffer other common afflictions. Thus, for example, some suffer punishments of their own that have been imposed by God. And these punishments pertain in no way to the keys, because the keys neither can impose nor remit them, but God, without the ministry of the keys, imposes and remits them [as He will].

Neither does the universal rule follow: Upon David a peculiar punishment was imposed, therefore, in addition to common afflictions, there is another punishment of purgatory, in which each degree corresponds to each sin. Where does Scripture teach that we cannot be freed from eternal death except by the compensation of certain punishments in addition to common afflictions? But, on the other hand, it most frequently teaches that the remission of sins occurs freely for Christ's sake, that Christ is the Victor of sin and death. Therefore the merit of satisfaction is not to be patched upon this. And although afflictions still remain, yet Scripture interprets these as the mortifications of present sin [to kill and humble the old Adam], and not as the compensations of eternal death or as prices for eternal death.

Job is excused that he was not afflicted on account of past evil deeds; therefore afflictions are not always punishments or signs of wrath. Yea, terrified consciences are to be taught that other ends of afflictions are more important [that they should learn to regard troubles far differently, namely, as signs of grace], lest they think that they are rejected by God when in afflictions they see nothing but God's punishment and anger. The other more important ends are to be considered, namely, *that God is doing His strange work so that He may be able to do His own work,* etc., as Isaiah teaches in a long discourse, chap. 28. And when the disciples asked concerning the blind man who sinned, John 9, 2. 3, Christ replies that the cause of his blindness is not sin, but *that the works of God should be made manifest in him.* And in Jeremiah, 49, 12, it is said: *They whose judgment was not to drink of the cup have assuredly drunken.* Thus the prophets and John the Baptist and other saints were killed. Therefore afflictions are not always punishments for certain past deeds, but they are the works of God, intended for our profit, and that the power of God might be made more manifest in our weakness [how He can help in the midst of death].

Sic Paulus ait 2 Cor. 12, 5. 9: *Potentia Dei perficitur in infirmitate mea.* Itaque corpora nostra debent esse hostiae, propter voluntatem Dei, ad obedientiam nostram declarandam, non ad compensandam mortem aeternam, pro qua aliud pretium habet Deus, scilicet 64] mortem Filii sui. Et in hanc sententiam interpretatur Gregorius ipsam etiam poenam Davidis, quum ait: *Si Deus propter peccatum illud fuerat comminatus, ut sic humiliaretur a filio, cur dimisso peccato, quod erat ei comminatus, implevit? Respondetur, remissionem illam peccati factam esse, ne* [R. 196 *homo ad percipiendam vitam impediretur aeternam. Subsecutum vero illud comminationis exemplum, ut pietas hominis etiam in illa humilitate exerceretur atque probaretur. Sic et mortem corporis propter peccatum Deus homini inflixit et post peccatorum remissionem propter exercendam iustitiam non ademit, videlicet ut exerceatur et probetur iustitia istorum, qui sanctificantur.*

65] Neque vero tolluntur communes calamitates proprie per illa opera satisfactionum canonicarum, hoc est, per illa opera traditionum humanarum, quae ipsi sic valere dicunt ex opere operato, ut, etiamsi fiant in peccato 66] mortali, tamen redimant poenas. Et quum obiicitur illud Pauli, 1 Cor. 11, 31: *Si nos iudicaremus ipsi, non iudicaremur a Domino,* verbum *iudicare* intelligi debet de tota poenitentia et fructibus debitis, non de operibus non debitis. Adversarii nostri dant poenas contemptae grammatices, quum intelligunt *iudicare* idem esse, quod cataphractum peregre ire ad sanctum Iacobum aut similia opera. *Iudicare* significat totam poenitentiam, significat damnare peccata. Haec 67] damnatio vere fit in contritione et mutatione vitae. Tota poenitentia, contritio, fides, boni fructus impetrant, ut mitigentur poenae et calamitates publicae et privatae, sicut Esaias capite primo, v. 17—19 docet: *Desinite male facere, et discite benefacere* etc. *Si fuerint peccata vestra ut coccinum, quasi nix dealbabuntur. Si volueritis et audieritis me,* 68] *bona terrae comedetis.* Nec est ad satisfactiones et opera traditionum humanarum transferenda gravissima et saluberrima sententia a tota poenitentia et operibus debitis seu a Deo praeceptis. Et hoc prodest docere, quod mitigentur communia mala per nostram poenitentiam et per veros fructus poenitentiae, per bona opera facta ex fide, non, ut isti fingunt, facta in peccato mortali. [R. 197 69] Et huc pertinet exemplum Ninivitarum, Ionae 3, 10, qui sua poenitentia (de tota loquimur), reconciliati sunt Deo et impetraverunt, ne deleretur civitas.

70] Quod autem patres mentionem faciunt satisfactionis, quod concilia fecerunt canones, diximus supra disciplinam ecclesiasticam fuisse exempli causa constitutam. Nec sentiebant hanc disciplinam necessariam esse vel ad culpae vel ad poenae remissionem. Nam si qui in his mentionem purgatorii fecerunt, interpretantur esse non compensationem

Also sagt Paulus: „Gottes Kraft und Stärke läßt sich in Schwachheit erfahren und sehen.“ Darum sollen wir unsere Leiber opfern in Gottes Willen, unsern Gehorsam und Geduld zu erzeigen, nicht von dem ewigen Tode oder ewiger Pein uns zu erlösen. Denn da hat Gott einen andern Schatz verordnet, nämlich den Tod seines Sohnes, unsers HErrn Christi. Und also legt St. Gregorius das Exempel Davids aus, da er sagt: „So Gott um derselben Sünde willen ihm gedräut hat, daß er also von seinem eigenen Sohn sollte gedemütigt werden, warum hat er denn solches ergehen lassen, da die Sünde schon vergeben war? Ist zu antworten, daß die Vergebung geschehen ist, daß der Mensch nicht verhindert würde, das ewige Leben zu empfangen. Die gedräute Strafe ist nichtsdestoweniger gefolgt, daß er ihn prüfte und in Demut behielte. Also hat auch Gott dem Menschen den natürlichen Tod aufgelegt und denselben auch, als die Sünde vergeben, nicht weggenommen, damit bewährt werden und geprüft diejenigen, welchen Sünde vergeben und sie geheiligt werden.“

Nun ist öffentlich, daß die Schlüssel diese gemeine Strafe, als Krieg, Teurung und dergleichen Plagen, nicht wegnehmen; item, daß auch canonicae satisfactiones uns nicht losmachen von solchen Plagen, also daß unsere satisfactiones dafür helfen oder gelten sollten, wenn wir schon in Todsünden liegen. Auch bekennen die Widersacher selbst, daß sie die satisfactiones auflegen nicht für solche gemeine Plagen, sondern für das Fegfeuer. Darum sind ihre satisfactiones eitel erdichtete Träume. Aber hier ziehen etliche den Spruch Pauli an 1 Kor. 11: „So wir uns selbst richteten, so würden wir nicht gerichtet.“ Daraus schließen sie: so wir uns selbst Strafe auflegten, würde Gott gnädiger strafen. Antwort: Paulus redet von Besserung des ganzen Lebens, nicht von äußerlicher Strafe und Zeremonie, darum tut dieser Spruch nichts zur Satisfaktion. Denn was fragt Gott nach der Strafe ohne Besserung? Ja, es ist eine greuliche Gotteslästerung, daß man lehrt, unsere Satisfaktion lindert Gottes Strafe, wenn sie schon in Todsünden geschieht. Paulus redet von Reue und Glauben und von der ganzen Besserung, redet nicht von der äußerlichen Strafe allein. Darum kann man hieraus nicht mehr erzwingen denn: so wir uns bessern, so wende Gott seine Strafe ab. Das ist wahr und ist nützlich, tröstlich und not zu predigen, daß Gott die Strafe lindert, wenn wir uns bessern, wie er mit Ninive tat. Und also lehrt Jesaias im 1. Kapitel: „Wennschon eure Sünden blutrot sind, sollen sie dennoch ab und schneeweiß sein, wenn ihr euch bessert.“ Und diese Besserung steht nicht in der canonica satisfactione, sondern in andern Stücken der Buße, in Reue, im Glauben, in guten Werken, so folgen nach dem Glauben. Aber unsere Widersacher deuten diese tröstlichen Sprüche auf ihre Lügen und Gaukelspiel von der Satisfaktion.

Daß aber die alten Lehrer und Väter der Satisfaktion gedenken, daß die Concilia von den satisfactionibus Canones gemacht, habe ich droben gesagt, es sei eine äußerliche Zeremonie gewesen, und ist der Väter Meinung nicht gewesen, daß dieselbe Zeremonie der Buße sollte ein Auslöschen sein der Schuld gegen Gott oder der Pein. Denn so etliche Väter gleich sind, die des Feg-

Thus Paul says, 2 Cor. 12, 5. 9: *The strength of God is made perfect in my weakness.* Therefore, because of God's will, our bodies ought to be sacrifices, to declare our obedience [and patience], and not to compensate for eternal death, for which God has another price, namely, the death of His own Son. And in this sense Gregory interprets even the punishment of David when he says: *If God on account of that sin had threatened that he would thus be humbled by his son, why, when the sin was forgiven, did He fulfil that which He had threatened against him? The reply is that this remission was made that man might not be hindered from receiving eternal life, but that the example of the threatening followed, in order that the piety of the man might be exercised and tested even in this humility. Thus also God inflicted upon man death of body on account of sin, and after the remission of sins He did not remove it, for the sake of exercising justice, namely, in order that the righteousness of those who are sanctified might be exercised and tested.*

Nor, indeed, are common calamities [as war, famine, and similar calamities], properly speaking, removed by these works of canonical satisfactions, *i. e.*, by these works of human traditions, which, they say, avail *ex opere operato*, in such a way that, even though they are wrought in mortal sin, yet they redeem from the punishments. [And the adversaries themselves confess that they impose satisfactions, not on account of such common calamities, but on account of purgatory; hence, their satisfactions are pure imaginations and dreams.] And when the passage of Paul, 1 Cor. 11, 31, is cited against us: *If we would judge ourselves, we should not be judged by the Lord* [they conclude therefrom that, if we impose punishment upon ourselves, God will judge us the more graciously], the word *to judge* ought to be understood of the entire repentance and due fruits, not of works which are not due. Our adversaries pay the penalty for despising grammar when they understand *to judge* to be the same as to make a pilgrimage clad in mail to the church of St. James, or similar works. *To judge* signifies the entire repentance; it signifies to condemn sins. This condemnation truly occurs in contrition and the change of life. The entire repentance, contrition, faith, the good fruits, obtain the mitigation of public and private punishments and calamities, as Isaiah teaches chap. 1, 17—19: *Cease to do evil; learn to do well,* etc. *Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow. If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land.* Neither should a most important and salutary meaning be transferred from the entire repentance, and from works due or commanded by God, to the satisfactions and works of human traditions. And this it is profitable to teach, that common evils are mitigated by our repentance and by the true fruits of repentance, by good works wrought from faith, not, as these men imagine, wrought in mortal sin. And here belongs the example of the Ninevites, Jonah 3, 10, who by their repentance (we speak of the entire repentance) were reconciled to God, and obtained the favor that their city was not destroyed.

Moreover, the making mention, by the Fathers, of satisfaction, and the framing of canons by the councils, we have said above, was a matter of church-discipline instituted on account of the example. Nor did they hold that this discipline is necessary for the re-

aeternae poenae, non satisfactionem, sed purgationem imperfectarum animarum. Sicut Augustinus ait *venialia concremari*, hoc est, mortificari diffidentiam erga Deum et alios
71] affectus similes. Interdum scriptores transferunt satisfactionis vocabulum ab ipso ritu seu spectaculo ad significandam veram mortificationem. Sic Augustinus ait: *Vera satisfactio est peccatorum causas excidere, hoc est, mortificare carnem, item coercere carnem, non ut compensentur aeternae poenae, sed ne caro pertrahat ad peccandum.* [Gennadius Massiliensis, De fide sive dogmatibus ecclesiasticis liber ad Gelasium papam: „Satisfactio poenitentiae est, causas peccatorum excidere, nec earum suggestionibus aditum indulgere."]

feuers gedenken, so legen sie es doch selbst aus: ob es auch wäre, so sei es doch nicht Erlösung von ewigem Tod und Pein, welches Christus allein tut, sondern daß es ein Reinigen und Fegen sei (wie sie reden) der unvollkommenen Seelen. Also sagt Augustinus: „Die täglichen Sünden werden verbrannt und ausgelöscht, als schwacher Glaube gegen Gott und dergleichen" usw. Man findet auch an etlichen Orten, daß die Väter das Wort satisfactio oder Genugtuung, welches ursprünglich von der Zeremonie der öffentlichen Pönitenz herkommt, wie ich gesagt, brauchen für rechte Reue und Tötung des alten Adams. Also sagt Augustinus [Gennadius von Massilia]: „Die rechte satisfactio oder Genugtuung ist, Ursachen der Sünden abschneiden, das ist, das Fleisch töten" usw.; item, „das Fleisch zähmen und kasteien; nicht daß ewiger Tod oder Pein damit quittiert werde, sondern daß uns das Fleisch nicht zu Sünden ziehen möge".

72] Ita Gregorius de restitutione loquitur falsam esse poenitentiam, *si non satisfiat illis, quorum res occupatas tenemus.* Non enim vere dolet se furatum esse aut rapuisse is, qui adhuc furatur. Tantisper enim fur aut praedo est, dum est iniustus possessor alienae rei. Civilis illa satisfactio necessaria est, quia scriptum est Eph. 4, 28: *Qui furatus est,*
73] *deinceps non furetur.* Item Chrysostomus inquit: *In corde contritio, in ore confessio, in opere tota humilitas.* Hoc nihil contra nos facit. Debent sequi bona opera poenitentiam, debet poenitentia esse, non simulatio, sed totius vitae mutatio in melius.

Also sagt Gregorius von Wiedergeben fremder Güter, daß es eine falsche Buße sei, wenn denjenigen nicht genug geschieht, deren Güter wir mit Unrecht innehaben. Denn den gereuet's nicht, daß er gestohlen hat, der noch immer stiehlt. Denn solange er fremd Gut innehat, so lange ist er ein Dieb oder Räuber. Dieselbe satisfactio gegen die, so einer schuldig ist, soll gegen dieselben geschehen, und von derselben civili satisfactione ist nicht not, hier zu disputieren.

74] Item, patres scribunt satis esse, si semel in vita fiat illa publica seu solennis poenitentia, de qua sunt facti canones satisfactionum. Qua ex re intelligi potest, quod sentiebant illos canones non esse necessarios ad remissionem peccatorum. Nam [R. 198 praeter illam solennem poenitentiam saepe alias volunt poenitentiam agi, ubi non requirebantur canones satisfactionum.

Item, die Väter schreiben, daß es genug sei, daß einmal im ganzen Leben geschehe die publica Pönitenz oder die öffentliche Buße, davon die canones satisfactionum gemacht sind. Daraus kann man merken, daß ihre Meinung nicht gewesen, daß dieselben Canones nötig sein sollten zur Vergebung der Sünden. Denn ohne dieselben Zeremonien der öffentlichen Buße lehren sie sonst viel von der christlichen Buße, da sie der canones satisfactionum nicht gedenken.

75] Architecti Confutationis scribunt, non esse tolerandum, ut satisfactiones contra expressum evangelium aboleantur. Nos igitur hactenus ostendimus canonicas illas satisfactiones, hoc est, opera non debita, facienda propter compensationem poenae, non habere
76] mandatum evangelii. Res ipsa hoc ostendit. Si opera satisfactionum sunt opera non debita, quare allegant expressum evangelium? Nam si evangelium iuberet compensari poenas per talia opera, iam essent debita opera. Sed sic loquuntur, ut fucum faciant imperitis, et allegant testimonia, quae de debitis operibus loquuntur, quum ipsi in suis satisfactionibus praescribant opera non debita. Imo ipsi concedunt in scholis, sine peccato recusari posse satisfactiones. Falso igitur hic scribunt, quod expresso evangelio cogamur satisfactiones illas canonicas suscipere.

Die Esel, so die Konfutation gestellt haben, sagen, es sei nicht zu leiden, daß man die satisfactiones wider das öffentliche Evangelium wolle abtun. Wir haben aber bisanher klar genug angezeigt, daß dieselben canonicae satisfactiones, das ist, solche Werke (wie sie davon reden), so wir nicht schuldig sind, in der Schrift oder Evangelio nicht gegründet sind. So zeigt das die Sache an ihr selbst an. Denn wenn die satisfactiones Werke sind, die man nicht schuldig ist, warum sagen sie, wir lehren wider das klare Evangelium? Denn so im Evangelio stünde, daß die ewige Pein und Tod weggenommen würden durch solche Werke, so wären es Werke, die man vor Gott zu tun schuldig wäre. Aber sie reden also, daß sie den Unerfahrenen einen Schein vor der Nase machen, und ziehen Sprüche der Heiligen Schrift an, welche von rechten christlichen Werken, die wir schuldig sind, reden, so sie doch ihr Genugtun gründen auf Werke, die wir nicht schuldig sind, und welche sie opera non debita nennen. Sie lehren und geben selbst nach in ihren Schulen, daß man ohne Todsünde solche Satisfaktionen könne nachlassen. Darum ist das falsch, daß sie sagen, das klare Evangelium vermöge [verfüge, gebiete], man müsse die satisfactiones halten.

77] Ceterum nos saepe iam testati sumus, quod poenitentia debeat bonos fructus parere,

Weiter haben wir nun oft gesagt, daß rechtschaffene Buße ohne gute Werke und Früchte nicht

mission either of the guilt or of the punishment. For if some of them made mention of purgatory, they interpret it not as compensation for eternal punishment [which only Christ makes], not as satisfaction, but as purification of imperfect souls. Just as Augustine says that *venial* [daily] *offenses are consumed, i. e.,* distrust towards God and other similar dispositions are mortified. Now and then the writers transfer the term satisfaction from the rite itself or spectacle, to signify true mortification. Thus Augustine says: *True satisfaction is to cut off the causes of sin, i. e., to mortify the flesh, likewise to restrain the flesh, not in order that eternal punishments may be compensated for, but so that the flesh may not allure to sin.*

Thus concerning restitution, Gregory says that repentanec is false *if it does not satisfy those whose property we have taken.* For he who still steals does not truly grieve that he has stolen or robbed. For he is a thief or robber, so long as he is the unjust possessor of the property of another. This civil satisfaction is necessary, because it is written Eph. 4, 28: *Let him that stole, steal no more.* Likewise Chrysostom says: *In the heart, contrition; in the mouth, confession; in the work, entire humility.* This amounts to nothing against us. Good works ought to follow repentance; it ought to be repentance, not simulation, but a change of the entire life for the better.

Likewise, the Fathers wrote that it is sufficient if once in life this public or ceremonial penitence occur, about which the canons concerning satisfactions have been made. Therefore it can be understood that they held that these canons are not necessary for the remission of sins. For in addition to this ceremonial penitence, they frequently wish that penitence be rendered otherwise, where canons of satisfactions were not required.

The composers of the Confutation write that the abolition of satisfactions contrary to the plain Gospel is not to be endured. We, therefore, have thus far shown that these canonical satisfactions, *i. e.,* works not due, and that are to be performed in order to compensate for punishment, have not the command of the Gospel. The subject itself shows this. If works of satisfaction are works which are not due, why do they cite the plain Gospel? For if the Gospel would command that punishments be compensated for by such works, the works would already be due. But thus they speak in order to impose upon the inexperienced, and they cite testimonies which speak of works that are due, although they themselves in their own satisfactions prescribe works that are not due. Yea, in their schools they themselves concede that satisfactions can be refused without [mortal] sin. Therefore they here write falsely that we are compelled by the plain Gospel to undertake these canonical satisfactions.

But we have already frequently testified that repentance ought to produce good fruits;

et qui sint boni fructus, docent mandata, videlicet invocatio, gratiarum actio, confessio evangelii, docere evangelium, obedire parentibus et magistratibus, servire vocationi, non occidere, non retinere odia, sed esse placabilem, dare egentibus, quantum pro facultatibus possumus, non scortari, non moechari, sed coercere et refrenare, castigare carnem, non propter compensationem poenae aeternae, sed ne obtemperet diabolo, ne offendat Spiritum Sanctum, item vera dicere. Hi fructus habent praecepta Dei, et propter gloriam et mandatum Dei fieri debent, habent et praemia. Sed quod non remittantur poenae aeternae nisi propter compensationem certarum traditionum aut purgatorii, hoc non docet Scri-
78] ptura. Indulgentiae olim erant condonationes publicarum illarum observationum, ne nimium gravarentur homines. Quodsi [R. 199 humana auctoritate remitti satisfactiones et poenae queunt, non igitur iure divino necessaria est illa compensatio; nam ius divinum non tollitur humana auctoritate. Porro quum nunc per se antiquatus sit mos, et quidem dissimulantibus episcopis, nihil opus est remissionibus illis. Et tamen mansit nomen indulgentiarum. Et sicut satisfactiones non intellectae sunt de politica disciplina, sed de compensatione poenae: ita indulgentiae male intellectae sunt, quod liberent ani-
79] mas ex purgatorio. At clavis non habet potestatem nisi super terram ligandi et solvendi, iuxta illud Matth. 16, 19: *Quidquid ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum in coelo; quidquid solveris super terram, erit solutum in coelo.* Quamquam, ut supra diximus, clavis potestatem habet non imponendi poenas aut cultus instituendi, sed tantum habet mandatum remittendi peccata his, qui convertuntur, et arguendi et excommunicandi istos, qui nolunt converti. Sicut enim *solvere* significat remittere peccata, ita *ligare* significat non remittere peccata. Loquitur enim Christus de regno spirituali. Et mandatum Dei est, ut ministri evangelii absolvant hos, qui convertuntur, iuxta illud 2 Cor. 10, 8: *Potestas nobis data est ad aedificationem.* Quare
80] reservatio casuum politica res est. Est enim reservatio poenae canonicae, non est reservatio culpae coram Deo in his, qui vere convertuntur. Proinde recte iudicant adversarii, quum fatentur, quod in articulo mortis illa reservatio casuum non debeat impedire absolutionem.

sein könne, und was rechte gute Werke seien, lehren die zehn Gebote, nämlich Gott den HErrn wahrlich und von Herzen am höchsten groß achten, fürchten und lieben, ihn in Nöten fröhlich anrufen, ihm allezeit danken, sein Wort bekennen, dasselbe Wort hören, auch andere dadurch trösten, lehren, Eltern und Obrigkeit gehorsam sein, seines Amts und Berufs treulich warten, nicht bitter, nicht [ge]häßig sein, nicht töten, sondern tröstlich, freundlich sein dem Nächsten, den Armen nach Vermögen helfen, nicht huren, nicht ehebrechen, sondern das Fleisch allenthalben im Zaum halten. Und das alles, nicht für den ewigen Tod oder ewige Pein genugzutun, welches Christo allein gebührt, sondern also zu tun, damit dem Teufel nicht Raum gegeben werde und Gott erzürnt und der Heilige Geist betrübt und geunehrt werde. Diese Früchte und guten Werke hat Gott geboten, haben auch ihre Belohnung, und um Gottes Ehre und göttlichen Gebots willen sollen sie auch geschehen. Daß aber die ewigen Peinen nicht anders erlassen werden denn allein durch Genugtun im Fegfeuer oder etliche gute Werke menschlicher Traditionen, da sagt die Heilige Schrift nirgend von. Durch den Ablaß werden etwa solche aufgelegte Buße und Satisfaktion quittiert den publice poenitentibus oder Büßern, daß die Leute nicht zu sehr beschwert werden. Haben nun Menschen Macht, die satisfactiones und aufgelegten Strafen oder Pönen zu erlassen, so ist solche satisfactio von Gott nicht geboten. Denn göttlichen Befehl und Gebot kann ein Mensch nicht abtun. Nachdem aber die alte Weise der öffentlichen Buße und Genugtuung ist vorlängst abgetan, welches die Bischöfe von einer Zeit auf die andere haben geschehen lassen, ist des Ablasses nicht vonnöten, und ist doch der Name indulgentia oder Ablaß in der Kirche geblieben. Gleichwie nun das Wort satisfactio ist anders verstanden denn für eine Kirchenordnung und Zeremonie, also hat man dies Wort Indulgenz oder Ablaß auch unrecht gedeutet und ausgelegt für solche Gnade und Ablaß, durch welchen die Seelen aus dem Fegfeuer erlöst werden, so doch die ganze Gewalt der Schlüssel in der Kirche nicht weiter sich erstreckt denn allein hier auf Erden, wie der Text lautet: „Was du binden wirst auf Erden, das soll gebunden sein im Himmel; was du auflösen wirst auf Erden, das soll aufgelöst sein im Himmel." So ist die Gewalt der Schlüssel nicht eine solche Gewalt, sonderliche eigene Strafen oder Gottesdienst aufzurichten, sondern allein Sünden zu vergeben denjenigen, so sich bekehren, und zu verbannen [bannen] diejenigen, so sich nicht bekehren. Denn auflösen an dem Ort heißt Sünden vergeben, binden heißt Sünden nicht vergeben. Denn Christus redet von einem geistlichen Reich, und Gott hat befohlen, diejenigen, so sich bekehren, von Sünden zu entbinden, wie Paulus sagt: „Die Gewalt ist uns gegeben zu erbauen und nicht zu brechen." Darum ist auch die reservatio casuum, das ist, darin der Papst und die Bischöfe etliche Fälle vorbehalten, ein äußerlich, weltlich Ding. Denn sie behalten ihnen vor die Absolution a poena canonica, nicht von der Schuld gegen Gott. Darum lehren die Widersacher recht, da sie selbst bekennen und sagen, daß an [in] der Todesstunde eine solche reservatio oder Vorbehaltung nicht solle hindern die rechte christliche Absolution.

81] Exposuimus summam nostrae doctrinae de poenitentia, quam certo scimus piam et salubrem bonis mentibus esse. Et boni viri, si contulerint nostram doctrinam cum confusissimis disputationibus adversariorum, perspicient adversarios omisisse doctrinam de fide iustificante et consolante pia corda. Videbunt

Hiermit haben wir die Summa unserer Lehre von der Buße angezeigt und wissen fürwahr, daß dieselbe christlich und frommen Herzen ganz nützlich ist und hoch vonnöten. Und so gottesfürchtige, fromme, ehrbare Leute diesen allerwichtigsten Handel nach Notdurft bedenken werden und diese unsere, ja Christi und der Apostel Lehre halten

and what the good fruits are the [Ten] Commandments teach, namely, [truly and from the heart most highly to esteem, fear, and love God, joyfully to call upon Him in need], prayer, thanksgiving, the confession of the Gospel [hearing this Word], to teach the Gospel, to obey parents and magistrates, to be faithful to one's calling, not to kill, not to retain hatred, but to be forgiving [to be agreeable and kind to one's neighbor], to give to the needy, so far as we can according to our means, not to commit fornication or adultery, but to restrain and bridle and chastise the flesh, not for a compensation of eternal punishment, but so as not to obey the devil, or offend the Holy Ghost; likewise, to speak the truth. These fruits have God's injunction, and ought to be brought forth for the sake of God's glory and command; and they have their rewards also. But that eternal punishments are not remitted except on account of the compensation rendered by certain traditions or by purgatory, Scripture does not teach. Indulgences were formerly remission of these public observances, so that men should not be excessively burdened. But if, by human authority, satisfactions and punishments can be remitted, this compensation, therefore, is not necessary by divine Law; for a divine Law is not annulled by human authority. Furthermore, since the custom has now of itself become obsolete and the bishops have passed it by in silence, there is no necessity for these remissions. And yet the name *indulgences* remained. And just as satisfactions were understood not with reference to external discipline, but with reference to the compensation of punishment, so indulgences were incorrectly understood to free souls from purgatory. But the keys have not the power of binding and loosing except upon earth, according to Matt. 16, 19: *Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.* Although, as we have said above, the keys have not the power to impose penalties, or to institute rites of worship, but only the command to remit sins to those who are converted, and to convict and excommunicate those who are unwilling to be converted. For just as *to loose* signifies to remit sins, so *to bind* signifies not to remit sins. For Christ speaks of a spiritual kingdom. And the command of God is that the ministers of the Gospel should absolve those who are converted, according to 2 Cor. 10, 8: *The authority which the Lord hath given us for edification.* Therefore the reservation of cases is a secular affair. For it is a reservation of canonical punishment; it is not a reservation of guilt before God in those who are truly converted. Therefore the adversaries judge aright when they confess that in the article of death the reservation of cases ought not to hinder absolution.

We have set forth the sum of our doctrine concerning repentance, which we certainly know is godly and salutary to good minds [and highly necessary]. And if good men will compare our [yea, Christ's and His apostles'] doctrine with the very confused discussions of our adversaries, they will perceive that the adversaries have omitted the doctrine [without which no one can teach or learn anything that is substantial and Chris-

etiam multa fingere adversarios de merito attritionis, de illa infinita enumeratione delictorum, de satisfactionibus, *οὔτε γῆς φασὶν οὔτε οὐρανοῦ ἁπτόμενα*, quae ne ipsi quidem adversarii satis explicare possunt. [R. 200

gegen so viele ungeschickte, verworrene, kindische Disputationen und Bücher der Widersacher, so werden sie befinden, daß sie das allerhöchste, nötigste Stück, nämlich vom Glauben an Christum, ohne welches niemand etwas Rechtschaffenes, Christliches lehren oder lernen mag, gar haben ausgelassen, dadurch allein die Gewissen mögen rechten Trost haben. Sie werden auch sehen, daß die Widersacher viel aus eigenem Hirn erdichten von Verdienst der Attrition, von der Erzählung der Sünden, von Genugtuung, welches alles in der Schrift ungegründet und weder oben noch unten anreicht, welches die Widersacher selbst nicht verstehen.

Art. XIII. (VII.)
De Numero et Usu Sacramentorum.

1] In XIII. articulo probant adversarii, quod dicimus *sacramenta* non esse tantum notas professionis inter homines, ut quidam fingunt, sed magis esse signa et testimonia voluntatis Dei erga nos, per quae movet Deus 2] corda ad credendum. Sed hic iubent nos etiam septem sacramenta numerare. Nos sentimus praestandum esse, ne negligantur res et ceremoniae in Scripturis institutae, quotcunque sunt. Nec multum referre putamus, etiamsi docendi causa alii numerant aliter, si tamen recte conservent res in Scriptura traditas. Nec veteres eodem modo numeraverunt.

3] Si *sacramenta* vocamus *ritus, qui habent mandatum Dei, et quibus addita est promissio gratiae,* facile est iudicare, quae sint proprie sacramenta. Nam ritus ab hominibus instituti non erunt hoc modo proprie dicta sacramenta. Non est enim auctoritatis humanae promittere gratiam. Quare signa sine mandato Dei instituta non sunt certa signa gratiae, etiamsi fortasse rudes docent aut admo-
4] nent aliquid. Vere igitur sunt sacramenta *baptismus, coena Domini, absolutio,* quae est sacramentum poenitentiae. Nam hi ritus habent mandatum Dei et promissionem gratiae, quae est propria novi testamenti. Certo enim debent statuere corda, quum baptizamur, quum vescimur corpore Domini, quum absolvimur, quod vere ignoscat nobis Deus
5] propter Christum. Et corda simul per Verbum et ritum movet Deus, ut credant et concipiant fidem, sicut ait Paulus Rom. 10, 17: *Fides ex auditu est.* Sicut autem Verbum incurrit in aures, ut feriat corda, ita ritus ipse incurrit in oculos, ut moveat corda. [R. 201 Idem effectus est Verbi et ritus, sicut praeclare dictum est ab Augustino sacramentum esse *Verbum visibile,* quia ritus oculis accipitur et est quasi pictura Verbi, idem significans, quod Verbum. Quare idem est utriusque effectus. [Augustinus, Tract. 80 in Iohannem: „Accedit Verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile Verbum."]

6] *Confirmatio* et *extrema unctio* sunt ritus accepti a patribus, quos ne ecclesia quidem tamquam necessarios ad salutem requirit, quia

Artikel XIII. (VII.) Von den Sakramenten und ihrem rechten Gebrauch.

Im dreizehnten Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher gefallen, daß wir sagen, **die Sakramente** sind nicht schlechte Zeichen, dabei die Leute untereinander sich kennen, wie Losung im Krieg und Hoffarbe usw., sondern sind kräftige Zeichen und gewisse Zeugnisse göttlicher Gnade und Willens gegen uns, dadurch Gott unsere Herzen erinnert und stärkt, desto gewisser und fröhlicher zu glauben. Aber hier wollen sie haben, wir sollen auch bekennen, daß an der Zahl sieben Sakramente seien, nicht mehr noch weniger. Darauf sprechen wir, daß not sei, diese Zeremonien und Sakramente, die Gott eingesetzt hat durch sein Wort, wie viele und in was Zahl die sind, zu erhalten. Aber von dieser Zahl der sieben Sakramente befindet man, daß die Väter selbst nicht gleich gezählt haben; so sind auch diese sieben Zeremonien nicht alle gleich nötig.

So wir Sakramente nennen **die äußerlichen Zeichen und Zeremonien, die da haben Gottes Befehl und haben eine angeheftete göttliche Zusage der Gnade,** so kann man bald schließen, was Sakramente seien. Denn Zeremonien und andere äußerliche Dinge, von Menschen eingesetzt, sind auf die Weise nicht Sakramente. Denn Menschen ohne Befehl haben nicht Gottes Gnade zu verheißen. Darum Zeichen, so ohne Gottes Befehl sind eingesetzt, die sind nicht Zeichen der Gnade, wiewohl sie den Kindern und groben Leuten sonst mögen eine Erinnerung bringen, als ein gemalt Kreuz. So sind nun rechte Sakramente die **Taufe** und das **Nachtmahl des HErrn,** die **Absolution.** Denn diese haben Gottes Befehl, haben auch Verheißung der Gnade, welche denn eigentlich gehört zum Neuen Testament und ist das Neue Testament. Denn dazu sind die äußerlichen Zeichen eingesetzt, daß dadurch bewegt werden die Herzen, nämlich durchs Wort und äußerliche Zeichen zugleich, daß sie glauben, wenn wir getauft werden, wenn wir des HErrn Leib empfangen, daß Gott uns wahrlich gnädig sein will durch Christum; wie Paulus sagt: „Der Glaube ist aus dem Gehör." Wie aber das Wort in die Ohren geht, also ist das äußerliche Zeichen vor die Augen gestellt, als [um] inwendig das Herz zu reizen und zu bewegen zum Glauben. Denn das Wort und äußerliche Zeichen wirken einerlei im Herzen, wie Augustinus ein fein Wort geredet hat. „Das Sakrament", sagt er, „ist ein sichtlich Wort." Denn das äußerliche Zeichen ist wie ein Gemälde, dadurch dasselbe bedeutet wird, das durchs Wort gepredigt wird; darum richtet beides einerlei aus.

Aber die *confirmatio* und **die letzte Ölung** sind Zeremonien, welche von den alten Vätern hergekommen, welche auch die Kirche nie als für nötig

tian] concerning faith justifying and consoling godly hearts. They will also see that the adversaries invent many things concerning the merits of attrition, concerning the endless enumeration of offenses, concerning satisfactions; they say things [that touch neither earth nor heaven] agreeing neither with human nor divine law, and which not even the adversaries themselves can satisfactorily explain.

Article XIII (VII): Of the Number and Use of the Sacraments.

In the Thirteenth Article the adversaries approve our statement that the Sacraments are not only marks of profession among men, as some imagine, but that they are rather signs and testimonies of God's will toward us, through which God moves hearts to believe [are not mere signs whereby men may recognize each other, as the watchword in war, livery, etc., but are efficacious signs and sure testimonies, etc.]. But here they bid us also count seven sacraments. We hold that it should be maintained that the matters and ceremonies instituted in the Scriptures, whatever the number, be not neglected. Neither do we believe it to be of any consequence, though, for the purpose of teaching, different people reckon differently, provided they still preserve aright the matters handed down in Scripture. Neither have the ancients reckoned in the same manner. [But concerning this number of seven sacraments, the fact is that the Fathers have not been uniform in their enumeration; thus also these seven ceremonies are not equally necessary.]

If we call Sacraments *rites which have the command of God, and to which the promise of grace has been added*, it is easy to decide what are properly Sacraments. For rites instituted by men will not in this way be Sacraments properly so called. For it does not belong to human authority to promise grace. Therefore signs instituted without God's command are not sure signs of grace, even though they perhaps instruct the rude [children or the uncultivated], or admonish as to something [as a painted cross]. Therefore *Baptism*, the *Lord's Supper*, and *Absolution*, which is the Sacrament of Repentance, are truly Sacraments. For these rites have God's command and the promise of grace, which is peculiar to the New Testament. For when we are baptized, when we eat the Lord's body, when we are absolved, our hearts must be firmly assured that God truly forgives us for Christ's sake. And God, at the same time, by the Word and by the rite, moves hearts to believe and conceive faith, just as Paul says, Rom. 10, 17: *Faith cometh by hearing.* But just as the Word enters the ear in order to strike our heart, so the rite itself strikes the eye, in order to move the heart. The effect of the Word and of the rite is the same, as it has been well said by Augustine that a Sacrament is *a visible word*, because the rite is received by the eyes, and is, as it were, a picture of the Word, signifying the same thing as the Word. Therefore the effect of both is the same.

Confirmation and *Extreme Unction* are rites received from the Fathers which not even the Church requires as necessary to sal-

non habent mandatum Dei. Propterea non est inutile hos ritus discernere a superioribus, qui habent expressum mandatum Dei et claram promissionem gratiae.

7] *Sacerdotium* intelligunt adversarii non de ministerio Verbi et sacramentorum aliis porrigendorum, sed intelligunt de sacrificio, quasi oporteat esse in novo testamento sacerdotium simile Levitico, quod pro populo sacrificet et mereatur aliis remissionem peccato-
8] rum. Nos docemus, sacrificium Christi morientis in cruce satis fuisse pro peccatis totius mundi, nec indigere praeterea aliis sacrificiis, quasi illud non satis fuerit pro peccatis nostris. Ideo iustificantur homines non propter ulla reliqua sacrificia, sed propter illud unum Christi sacrificium, si cre-
9] dant illo sacrificio se redemptos esse. Ideo sacerdotes vocantur non ad ulla sacrificia velut in lege pro populo facienda, ut per ea mereantur populo remissionem peccatorum, sed vocantur ad docendum evangelium et sa-
10] cramenta porrigenda populo. Nec habemus nos aliud sacerdotium, simile Levitico,
11] sicut satis docet epistola ad Ebraeos. Si autem ordo de ministerio Verbi intelligatur, non gravatim vocaverimus ordinem sacramentum. Nam ministerium Verbi habet mandatum Dei et habet magnificas promissiones, Rom. 1, 16: *Evangelium est potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti.* Item Es. 55, 11: *Verbum meum, quod egredietur de ore meo, non revertetur ad me vacuum, sed faciet,* [R. 202
12] *quaecunque volui* etc. Si ordo hoc modo intelligatur, neque impositionem manuum vocare sacramentum gravemur. Habet enim ecclesia mandatum de constituendis ministris, quod gratissimum esse nobis debet, quod scimus Deum approbare ministerium illud et ad-
13] esse in ministerio. Ac prodest, quantum fieri potest, ornare ministerium Verbi omni genere laudis adversus fanaticos homines, qui somniant Spiritum Sanctum dari non per Verbum, sed propter suas quasdam praeparationes, si sedeant otiosi, taciti, in locis obscuris, exspectantes illuminationem, quemadmodum olim ἐνθουσιασταί docebant et nunc docent Anabaptistae.

14] *Matrimonium* non est primum institutum in novo testamento, sed statim initio creato genere humano. Habet autem mandatum Dei, habet et promissiones, non quidem proprie ad novum testamentum pertinentes sed magis pertinentes ad vitam corporalem. Quare si quis volet sacramentum vocare, discernere tamen a prioribus illis debet, quae proprie sunt signa novi testamenti et sunt testimonia gratiae et remissionis peccatorum.
15] Quodsi matrimonium propterea habebit appellationem sacramenti, quia habet mandatum Dei, etiam alii status seu officia, quae habent mandatum Dei, poterunt vocari sacramenta, sicut magistratus.

16] Postremo, si omnes res annumerari sacramentis debent, quae habent mandatum Dei et quibus sunt additae promissiones, cur non addimus orationem, quae verissime potest dici sacramentum? Habet enim et mandatum Dei et promissiones plurimas, et collocata

zur Seligkeit geachtet hat. Denn sie haben nicht Gottes Befehl noch Gebot. Darum ist's wohl gut, dieselben zu unterscheiden von den obangezeigten, welche durch Gottes Wort eingesetzt und befohlen sind und eine angeheftete Zusage Gottes haben.

Durch das Sakrament **des Ordens** oder **Priesterschaft** verstehen die Widersacher nicht das Predigtamt und das Amt, die Sakramente zu reichen und auszuteilen, sondern verstehen [es] von Priestern, die zu opfern geordnet seien. Gleich als müsse im Neuen Testament ein Priestertum sein, wie das levitische Priestertum gewesen, da die Priester für das Volk opfern und den andern Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Wir aber lehren, daß das einige Opfer Christi am Kreuze genuggetan hat für aller Welt Sünden, und daß wir nicht eines andern Opfers für die Sünden bedürfen. Denn wir haben im Neuen Testament nicht ein solch Priestertum, wie das levitische Priestertum war, wie die Epistel zu den Hebräern lehrt. Wo man aber das Sakrament des Ordens wollte nennen ein Sakrament von dem Predigtamt und Evangelio, so hätte es keine Beschwerung, die Ordination ein Sakrament zu nennen. Denn das Predigtamt hat Gott eingesetzt und geboten und hat herrliche Zusage Gottes, Röm. 1: „Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes allen denjenigen, so daran glauben" usw. Jes. 55: „Das Wort, das aus meinem Munde gehet, soll nicht wieder leer zu mir kommen, sondern tun, was mir gefällt." Wenn man das Sakrament des Ordens also verstehen wollte, so möchte man auch das Auflegen der Hände ein Sakrament nennen. Denn die Kirche hat Gottes Befehl, daß sie soll Prediger und Diakonos bestellen. Dieweil nun solches sehr tröstlich ist, so wir wissen, daß Gott durch Menschen und diejenigen, so von Menschen gewählt sind, predigen und wirken will, so ist's gut, daß man solche Wahl hoch rühme und ehre, sonderlich wider die teuflischen Anabaptisten, welche solche Wahl samt dem Predigtamt und leiblichen Wort verachten und lästern.

Aber der **eheliche Stand** ist nicht erst eingesetzt im Neuen Testament, sondern bald als das menschliche Geschlecht erst geschaffen ist. Und er ist auch durch Gott befohlen und geboten. Er hat auch göttliche Zusagungen, welche wohl nicht eigentlich zum Neuen Testament gehören, sondern mehr das leibliche Leben angehen. Darum so es jemand will ein Sakrament nennen, fechten wir [dies] nicht hoch an. Es soll aber gleichwohl abgesondert werden von den vorigen zwei, welche eigentlich Zeichen und Siegel sind des Neuen Testaments. Denn so der Ehestand allein darum sollte ein Sakrament heißen, daß Gott denselben eingesetzt und befohlen hat, so müßten die andern Ämter und Stände auch Sakramente genannt werden, die auch in Gottes Wort und Befehl gehen, als Obrigkeit oder Magistrat usw.

Und endlich, so man alle Dinge wollte mit so herrlichem Titel Sakramente nennen, darum daß sie Gottes Wort und Befehl haben, so sollte man billig vor allen andern das Gebet ein Sakrament nennen. Denn da ist ein starker Gottesbefehl und viel herrliche göttliche Zusage. Es hätte auch

vation, because they do not have God's command. Therefore it is not useless to distinguish these rites from the former, which have God's express command and a clear promise of grace.

The adversaries understand *priesthood* not of the ministry of the Word, and administering the Sacraments to others, but they understand it as referring to sacrifice; as though in the New Testament there ought to be a priesthood like the Levitical, to sacrifice for the people, and merit the remission of sins for others. We teach that the sacrifice of Christ dying on the cross has been sufficient for the sins of the whole world, and that there is no need, besides, of other sacrifices, as though this were not sufficient for our sins. Men, accordingly, are justified not because of any other sacrifices, but because of this one sacrifice of Christ, if they believe that they have been redeemed by this sacrifice. They are accordingly called priests, not in order to make any sacrifices for the people as in the Law, so that by these they may merit remission of sins for the people; but they are called to teach the Gospel and administer the Sacraments to the people. Nor do we have another priesthood like the Levitical, as the Epistle to the Hebrews sufficiently teaches. But if ordination be understood as applying to the ministry of the Word, we are not unwilling to call ordination a sacrament. For the ministry of the Word has God's command and glorious promises, Rom. 1, 16: *The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Likewise, Is. 55, 11: *So shall My Word be that goeth forth out of My mouth; it shall not return unto Me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please.* If ordination be understood in this way, neither will we refuse to call the imposition of hands a sacrament. For the Church has the command to appoint ministers, which should be most pleasing to us, because we know that God approves this ministry, and is present in the ministry [that God will preach and work through men and those who have been chosen by men]. And it is of advantage, so far as can be done, to adorn the ministry of the Word with every kind of praise against fanatical men, who dream that the Holy Ghost is given not through the Word, but because of certain preparations of their own, if they sit unoccupied and silent in obscure places, waiting for illumination, as the Enthusiasts formerly taught, and the Anabaptists now teach.

Matrimony was not first instituted in the New Testament, but in the beginning, immediately on the creation of the human race. It has, moreover, God's command; it has also promises, not indeed properly pertaining to the New Testament, but pertaining rather to the bodily life. Wherefore, if any one should wish to call it a sacrament, he ought still to distinguish it from those preceding ones [the two former ones], which are properly signs of the New Testament, and testimonies of grace and the remission of sins. But if marriage will have the name of sacrament for the reason that it has God's command, other states or offices also, which have God's command, may be called sacraments, as, for example, the magistracy.

Lastly, if among the Sacraments all things ought to be numbered which have God's command, and to which promises have been added, why do we not add prayer, which most truly can be called a sacrament? For it has both God's command and very many promises; and if placed among the Sacraments, as though in a more eminent place, it would

inter sacramenta quasi in illustriore loco, in-
17] vitat homines ad orandum. Possent hic numerari etiam eleemosynae, item afflictiones, quae et ipsae sunt signa, quibus addidit Deus promissiones. Sed omittamus ista. Nemo enim vir prudens de numero aut vocabulo magnopere rixabitur, si tamen illae res retineantur, quae habent mandatum Dei et promissiones.

18] Illud magis est necessarium intelligere, *quomodo sit utendum sacramentis.* [R. 203 Hic damnamus totum populum scholasticorum doctorum, qui docent, quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. Haec simpliciter Iudaica opinio est sentire, quod per ceremoniam iustificemur, sine bono motu cordis, hoc est, sine fide. Et tamen haec impia et perniciosa opinio magna auctoritate
19] docetur in toto regno pontificio. Paulus reclamat et negat, Rom. 4, 9 sqq., Abraham iustificatum esse circumcisione, sed circumcisionem esse signum propositum ad exercendam fidem. Ita nos docemus, quod in usu sacramentorum *fides* debeat accedere, quae credat illis promissionibus et accipiat res promissas, quae ibi in sacramento offeruntur.
20] Et est ratio plana et firmissima. Promissio est inutilis, nisi fide accipiatur. At sacramenta sunt signa promissionum. Igitur in usu debet accedere fides, ut, si quis utetur coena Domini, sic utatur. Quia id est sacramentum novi testamenti, ut Christus clare dicit Luc. 22, 20, ideo statuat sibi offerri res promissas in novo testamento, scilicet gratuitam remissionem peccatorum. Et hanc rem fide accipiat, erigat pavidam conscientiam et sentiat haec testimonia non esse fallacia, sed tam certa, quam si Deus novo miraculo de coelo promitteret se velle ignoscere. Quid autem prodessent illa miracula et promissio-
21] nes non credenti? Et loquimur hic de fide speciali, quae praesenti promissioni credit, non tantum quae in genere credit Deum esse, sed quae credit offerri remissionem pec-
22] catorum. Hic usus sacramenti consolatur pias et pavidas mentes.

wohl Ursache. Denn wenn man dem Gebet so großen Titel gäbe, würden die Leute zum Gebet gereizt. Auch könnte man die Almosen unter die Sakramente rechnen; item das Kreuz und die Trübsale der Christen, denn die haben auch Gottes Zusage. Doch wird kein verständiger Mann großen Zank darüber machen, ob sieben oder mehr Sakramente gezählt werden, doch so fern, daß Gottes Wort und Befehl nicht abgebrochen werde.

Das ist aber mehr vonnöten zu disputieren und zu wissen, **was der rechte Gebrauch der Sakramente sei.** Da müssen wir frei verdammen den ganzen Haufen der scholasticorum und ihren Irrtum strafen, da sie lehren, daß diejenigen, so die Sakramente schlecht[hin] gebrauchen, wenn sie nicht obicem setzen, ex opere operato Gottes Gnade erlangen, wennschon das Herz alsdann keinen guten Gedanken hat. Das ist aber stracks ein jüdischer Irrtum, so sie halten, daß wir sollten durch ein Werk und äußerliche Zeremonie gerecht und heilig werden ohne Glauben, und wenn das Herz schon nicht dabei ist; und diese schädliche Lehre wird doch gepredigt und gelehrt weit und breit, durchaus und überall im ganzen Papstreich und [in des] Papsts Kirchen. Paulus schreit dawider und sagt, daß Abraham sei vor Gott gerecht geworden nicht durch die Beschneidung, sondern die Beschneidung sei ein Zeichen gewesen, den Glauben zu üben und zu stärken. Darum sagen wir auch, daß zum rechten Gebrauch der Sakramente **der Glaube** gehöre, der da glaube der göttlichen Zusage und zugesagte Gnade empfange, welche durch Sakramente und Wort wird angeboten. Und dies ist ein gewisser, rechter Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente, da sich ein Herz und ein Gewissen auf wagen und [ver]lassen mag. Denn die göttliche Zusage kann niemand fassen denn allein durch den Glauben. Und die Sakramente sind äußerliche Zeichen und Siegel der Verheißung. Darum zum rechten Gebrauch derselben gehört Glaube. Als wenn ich das Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi empfange, sagt Christus klar: „Das ist das Neue Testament." Da soll ich gewiß glauben, daß mir Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden, welche im Neuen Testament verheißen ist, widerfahre. Und solches soll ich empfangen im Glauben und damit trösten mein erschrocken, blöd Gewissen und stehen darauf gewiß, daß Gottes Wort und Zusagen nicht fehlen, sondern so gewiß und noch gewisser seien, als ob Gott mir eine neue Stimme oder neu Wunderzeichen vom Himmel ließe geben, dadurch mir würde Gnade zugesagt. Was hülfen aber Wunderzeichen, wenn nicht Glaube da wäre? Und wir reden hier vom Glauben, da ich selbst gewiß für mich glaube, daß mir die Sünden vergeben sind; nicht allein vom fide generali, da ich glaube, daß ein Gott sei. Derselbe rechte Gebrauch der Sakramente tröstet recht und erquickt die Gewissen.

23] Quantum autem in ecclesia abusuum pepererit illa fanatica opinio de opere operato sine bono motu utentis, nemo verbis consequi potest. Hinc est illa infinita profanatio missarum; sed de hac infra dicemus. Neque ulla littera ex veteribus scriptoribus proferri potest, quae patrocinetur hac in re [R. 204 scholasticis. Imo contrarium ait Augustinus, quod fides sacramenti, non sacramentum iustificet. [Augustinus, Tract. 80. in Iohannem: „Unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente Verbo, non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur?"] Et est nota Pauli sententia, Rom. 10, 10: *Corde creditur ad iustitiam.*

Was aber die häßliche, schändliche, ungöttliche Lehre vom opere operato, da sie gelehrt, daß, wenn ich der Sakramente gebrauche, so macht das getane Werk mich vor Gott fromm und erlangt mir Gnade, obgleich das Herz keinen guten Gedanken dazu hat, für Mißbrauch und Irrtum eingeführt, kann niemand genug nachdenken, schreiben noch sagen. Denn daher ist auch der unsägliche, unzählige, greuliche Mißbrauch der Messe gekommen. Und sie können keinen Tüttel noch Buchstaben aus den alten Vätern anzeigen, dadurch der Scholaster Opinion bewiesen werde. Ja, Augustinus sagt stracks dawider, daß der Glaube im Gebrauch des Sakraments, nicht das Sakrament vor Gott uns fromm mache.

invite men to pray. Alms could also be reckoned here, and likewise afflictions, which are even themselves signs, to which God has added promises. But let us omit these things. For no prudent man will strive greatly concerning the number or the term, if only those objects still be retained which have God's command and promises.

It is still more needful to understand *how the Sacraments are to be used.* Here we condemn the whole crowd of scholastic doctors, who teach that the Sacraments confer grace *ex opere operato,* without a good disposition on the part of the one using them, provided he do not place a hindrance in the way. This is absolutely a Jewish opinion, to hold that we are justified by a ceremony, without a good disposition of the heart, *i. e.,* without faith. And yet this impious and pernicious opinion is taught with great authority throughout the entire realm of the Pope. Paul contradicts this, and denies, Rom. 4, 9, that Abraham was justified by circumcision, but asserts that circumcision was a sign presented for exercising faith. Thus we teach that in the use of the Sacraments *faith* ought to be added, which should believe these promises, and receive the promised things, there offered in the Sacrament. And the reason is plain and thoroughly grounded. [This is a certain and true use of the holy Sacrament, on which Christian hearts and consciences may risk to rely.] The promise is useless unless it is received by faith. But the Sacraments are the signs [and seals] of the promises. Therefore, in the use of the Sacraments faith ought to be added, so that, if any one use the Lord's Supper, he use it thus. Because this is a Sacrament of the New Testament, as Christ clearly says, he ought for this very reason to be confident that what is promised in the New Testament, namely, the free remission of sins, is offered him. And let him receive this by faith, let him comfort his alarmed conscience, and know that these testimonies are not fallacious, but as sure as though [and still surer than if] God by a new miracle would declare from heaven that it was His will to grant forgiveness. But of what advantage would these miracles and promises be to an unbeliever? And here we speak of *special faith* which believes the present promise, not only that which in general believes that God exists, but which believes that the remission of sins is offered. This use of the Sacrament consoles godly and alarmed minds.

Moreover, no one can express in words what abuses in the Church this fanatical opinion concerning the *opus operatum,* without a good disposition on the part of the one using the Sacraments, has produced. Hence the infinite profanation of the Masses; but of this we shall speak below. Neither can a single letter be produced from the old writers which in this matter favors the scholastics. Yea, Augustine says the contrary, that the faith of the Sacrament, and not the Sacrament, justifies. And the declaration of Paul is well known, Rom. 10, 10: *With the heart man believeth unto righteousness.*

Art. XIV. De Ordine Ecclesiastico.

24] Articulum XIV., in quo dicimus *nemini nisi rite vocato* concedendam esse administrationem sacramentorum et Verbi in ecclesia, ita recipiunt, si tamen utamur ordinatione canonica. Hac de re in hoc conventu saepe testati sumus, nos summa voluntate cupere conservare politiam ecclesiasticam et gradus in ecclesia, factos etiam humana auctoritate. Scimus enim bono et utili consilio a patribus ecclesiasticam disciplinam hoc modo, ut veteres canones describunt, constitutam esse. Sed 25] episcopi sacerdotes nostros aut cogunt hoc doctrinae genus, quod confessi sumus, abiicere ac damnare, aut nova et inaudita crudelitate miseros et innocentes occidunt. Hae causae impediunt, quominus agnoscant hos episcopos nostri sacerdotes. Ita saevitia episcoporum in causa est, quare alicubi dissolvitur illa canonica politia, quam nos magnopere cupiebamus conservare. Ipsi viderint, quomodo rationem Deo reddituri sint, quod dissipant 26] ecclesiam. Nostrae conscientiae hac in re nihil habent periculi, quia, quum sciamus Confessionem nostram veram, piam et catholicam esse, non debemus approbare saevitiam istorum, qui hanc doctrinam persequuntur. 27] Et ecclesiam esse scimus apud hos, qui Verbum Dei recte docent et recte administrant sacramenta, non apud illos, qui Verbum Dei non solum edictis delere conantur, sed etiam recta et vera docentes trucidant, 28] erga quos, etiamsi quid contra canones faciunt, tamen ipsi canones mitiores sunt. Porro hic iterum volumus testatum, nos libenter conservaturos esse ecclesiasticam et canonicam politiam, si modo episcopi desinant in nostras ecclesias saevire. Haec nostra voluntas et coram Deo et apud omnes gentes ad omnem posteritatem excusabit nos, ne nobis [R. 205 imputari possit, quod episcoporum auctoritas labefactatur, ubi legerint atque audierint homines, nos iniustam saevitiam episcoporum deprecantes nihil aequi impetrare potuisse.

Artikel XIV. Vom Kirchenregiment.

Im vierzehnten Artikel, da wir sagen, daß man niemand gestatte zu predigen oder die Sakramente zu reichen in der Kirche **denn allein denjenigen, so recht gebührlich berufen sind,** das nehmen sie an, wenn wir den Beruf also verstehen von Priestern, welche nach Inhalt der Canones ordiniert oder geweiht sind. Von der Sache haben wir uns etlichemal auf diesem Reichstage hören lassen, daß wir zum höchsten geneigt sind, alte Kirchenordnungen und der Bischöfe Regiment, das man nennt canonicam politiam, helfen zu erhalten, so die Bischöfe unsere Lehre dulden und unsere Priester annehmen wollten. Nun haben die Bischöfe bisanher die Unsern verfolgt und wider ihre eigenen Rechte ermordet. So können wir auch noch nicht erlangen, daß sie von solcher Tyrannei ablassen. Derhalben ist die Schuld unsers Gegenteils, daß den Bischöfen der Gehorsam entzogen wird, und sind wir vor Gott und allen frommen Leuten entschuldigt. Denn dieweil die Bischöfe die Unsern nicht dulden wollen, sie verlassen denn diese Lehre, so wir bekannt haben, und doch wir vor Gott schuldig sind, diese Lehre zu bekennen und zu erhalten, müssen wir die Bischöfe fahren lassen und Gott mehr gehorsam sein und wissen, daß die christliche Kirche da ist, da Gottes Wort recht gelehrt wird. Die Bischöfe mögen zusehen, wie sie es verantworten wollen, daß sie durch solche Tyrannei die Kirche zerreißen und wüste machen.

Art. XV. (VIII.)

De Traditionibus Humanis in Ecclesia.

1] In articulo XV. recipiunt primam partem, in qua dicimus observandos esse *ritus ecclesiasticos*, qui sine peccato observari possunt et ad tranquillitatem et bonum ordinem in ecclesia prosunt. Alteram partem omnino damnant, in qua dicimus traditiones humanas institutas ad placandum Deum, ad promerendam gratiam et satisfaciendum pro pec- 2] catis adversari evangelio. Quamquam in ipsa Confessione de discrimine ciborum satis multa diximus de traditionibus, tamen hic quaedam breviter repetenda sunt.

3] Etiamsi arbitrabamur adversarios ex aliis causis defensuros esse traditiones humanas, tamen hoc non putavimus futurum, ut hunc articulum damnarent: non mereri nos remissionem peccatorum aut gratiam observatione traditionum humanarum. Postquam igitur hic articulus damnatus est, facilem et 4] planam causam habemus. Nunc aperte iudaizant adversarii, aperte obruunt evangelium doctrinis daemoniorum. Tunc enim Scriptura, 1 Tim. 4, 1—3, vocat traditiones *doctrinas daemoniorum*, quando docetur, quod sint cultus utiles ad promerendam remissionem peccatorum et gratiam. Tunc enim obscurant evangelium, beneficium Christi et

Artikel XV. (VIII.)

Von den menschlichen Satzungen in der Kirche.

Im fünfzehnten Artikel lassen sie ihnen gefallen, da wir sagen, die Zeremonien und Satzungen soll man halten in der Kirche, die man mit gutem Gewissen ohne Sünde halten kann und die zu guter Ordnung und Frieden dienen. Das andere Stück verdammen sie, da wir sagen, daß die Satzungen, welche aufgerichtet sind, Gott zu versöhnen und Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen, stracks wider das Evangelium sind. Wiewohl wir in der Konfession vom Unterschied der Speisen und von Satzungen viel gesagt haben, so müssen wir es doch kurz hier wiederholen.

Wiewohl wir gedacht, daß die Widersacher andere Ursachen suchen würden, die menschlichen Satzungen zu schützen, so hätten wir doch nicht gemeint, daß sie diesen Artikel, nämlich: durch Menschentraditionen verdient niemand Vergebung der Sünden, verdammen sollten. Dieweil aber derselbe ganze Artikel unverschämt verdammt ist, so haben wir eine leichte, schlechte Sache. Denn das ist öffentlich jüdisch, das heißt öffentlich mit des Teufels Lehren das Evangelium unterdrücken. Denn die Heilige Schrift und Paulus nennen solche Satzungen dann erst rechte Teufelslehre, wenn man sie dafür rühmt, daß sie sollen dienen, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen. Denn da sind sie stracks wider Christum, wider

Article XIV: Of Ecclesiastical Order.

The Fourteenth Article, in which we say that in the Church the administration of the Sacraments and Word ought to be allowed *no one unless he be rightly called*, they receive, but with the proviso that we employ canonical ordination. Concerning this subject we have frequently testified in this assembly that it is our greatest wish to maintain church-polity and the grades in the Church [old church-regulations and the government of bishops], even though they have been made by human authority [provided the bishops allow our doctrine and receive our priests]. For we know that church-discipline was instituted by the Fathers, in the manner laid down in the ancient canons, with a good and useful intention. But the bishops either compel our priests to reject and condemn this kind of doctrine which we have confessed, or, by a new and unheard-of cruelty, they put to death the poor innocent men. These causes hinder our priests from acknowledging such bishops. Thus the cruelty of the bishops is the reason why the canonical government, which we greatly desired to maintain, is in some places dissolved. Let them see to it how they will give an account to God for dispersing the Church. In this matter our consciences are not in danger, because since we know that our Confession is true, godly, and catholic, we ought not to approve the cruelty of those who persecute this doctrine. And we know that the Church is among those who teach the Word of God aright, and administer the Sacraments aright, and not with those who not only by their edicts endeavor to efface God's Word, but also put to death those who teach what is right and true; towards whom, even though they do something contrary to the canons, yet the very canons are milder. Furthermore, we wish here again to testify that we will gladly maintain ecclesiastical and canonical government, provided the bishops only cease to rage against our Churches. This our desire will clear us both before God and among all nations to all posterity from the imputation against us that the authority of the bishops is being undermined, when men read and hear that, although protesting against the unrighteous cruelty of the bishops, we could not obtain justice.

Article XV (VIII):
Of Human Traditions in the Church.

In the Fifteenth Article they receive the first part, in which we say that such *ecclesiastical rites* are to be observed as can be observed without sin, and are of profit in the Church for tranquillity and good order. They altogether condemn the second part, in which we say that human traditions instituted to appease God, to merit grace, and make satisfactions for sins are contrary to the Gospel. Although in the Confession itself, when treating of the distinction of meats, we have spoken at sufficient length concerning traditions, yet certain things should be briefly recounted here.

Although we supposed that the adversaries would defend human traditions on other grounds, yet we did not think that this would come to pass, namely, that they would condemn this article: that we do not merit the remission of sins or grace by the observance of human traditions. Since, therefore, this article has been condemned, we have an easy and plain case. The adversaries are now openly Judaizing, are openly suppressing the Gospel by the doctrines of demons. For Scripture calls traditions *doctrines of demons*, when it is taught that religious rites are serviceable to merit the remission of sins and grace. For they are then obscuring the Gospel, the benefit of Christ, and the righteousness of faith. [For they are just as directly contrary to Christ and to the Gospel as are

5] iustitiam fidei. Evangelium docet nos fide propter Christum gratis accipere remissionem peccatorum et reconciliari Deo. Adversarii contra alium mediatorem constituunt, scilicet has traditiones. Propter has volunt consequi remissionem peccatorum, per has volunt placare iram Dei. At Christus aperte [R. 206 dicit Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.*

6] Supra copiose disputavimus homines iustificari fide, quum credunt se habere Deum placatum non propter nostra opera, sed gratis, propter Christum. Hanc certum est evangelii doctrinam esse, quia Paulus clare dicit ad Ephesios, 2, 8. 9: *Gratis salvati estis per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis; Dei donum est,* 7] *non ex hominibus.* Nunc isti dicunt, promereri homines remissionem peccatorum per has observationes humanas. Quid hoc est aliud, quam praeter Christum alium iustificatorem, alium mediatorem constituere? Pau- 8] lus inquit ad Galatas, 5, 4: *Evacuati estis a Christo, qui lege iustificamini;* id est, si sentitis vos mereri observatione legis, ut iusti coram Deo reputemini, nihil proderit vobis Christus, quia quorsum opus est Christo istis, qui sentiunt se iustos esse sua observatione 9] legis? Deus proposuit Christum, quod propter hunc mediatorem, non propter nostras iustitias velit nobis esse propitius. At isti sentiunt Deum esse placatum, propitium propter traditiones et non propter Christum. Adimunt igitur Christo honorem mediatoris. 10] Nec interest inter nostras traditiones et Mosaicas ceremonias, quod ad hanc rem attinet. Paulus ideo damnat Mosaicas ceremonias, sicut traditiones damnat, quia existimabantur esse opera, quae mererentur iustitiam coram Deo. Ita obscurabatur officium Christi et iustitia fidei. Quare remota lege, remotis traditionibus contendit, quod non propter ista opera, sed propter Christum gratis promissa sit remissio peccatorum, modo ut fide accipiamus eam. Nam promissio non accipitur 11] nisi fide. Quum igitur fide accipiamus remissionem peccatorum, quum fide habeamus propitium Deum propter Christum, error et impietas est constituere, quod per has observationes mereamur remissionem peccatorum. 12] Si quis hic dicat non mereri nos [R. 207 remissionem peccatorum, sed iam iustificatos per has traditiones mereri gratiam: hic iterum reclamat Paulus, Gal. 2, 17, *Christum peccati ministrum fore,* si post iustificationem sentiendum sit, quod deinde non propter Christum iusti reputemur, sed primum mereri debeamus per alias observationes, ut iusti reputemur. Item Gal. 3, 15: *Hominis testamento nihil addi debet.* Ergo nec Dei testamento, qui promittit, quod propter Christum propitius nobis esse velit, addi debet, quod primum per has observationes debeamus mereri, ut accepti et iusti reputemur.

das Evangelium, wie Feuer und Waſſer widereinander ſind. Das Evangelium lehrt, daß wir durch den Glauben an Chriſtum ohne Verdienſt Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und Gott verſöhnt werden. Die Widerſacher aber ſetzen einen andern Mittler, nämlich Menſchengeſetze, durch die wollen ſie Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, durch die wollen ſie den Zorn Gottes verſöhnen. Aber Chriſtus ſagt klar: „Sie dienen mir vergeblich durch Menſchengebote.“

Droben haben wir reichlich angezeigt, daß wir durch den Glauben vor Gott gerecht werden, wenn wir glauben, daß wir einen gnädigen Gott haben, nicht durch unſere Werke, ſondern durch Chriſtum. Nun iſt's gar gewiß, daß ſolches das reine Evangelium ſei. Denn Paulus ſagt klar zu den Epheſern am 2. Kapitel: „Ohne Verdienſt ſeid ihr ſelig worden, und das nicht aus euch, denn Gottes Gabe iſt es; nicht aus den Werken.“ Nun ſagen die Widerſacher, die Leute verdienen Vergebung der Sünden durch ſolche menſchliche Satzungen und Werke. Was iſt das anders, denn über Chriſtum einen andern Mittler, einen andern Verſöhner ſtellen und ſetzen? Paulus ſagt zu den Galatern: „Ihr ſeid von Chriſto abgefallen, ſo ihr durchs Geſetz wollt gerecht werden“, das iſt, ſo ihr haltet, daß ihr durchs Geſetz vor Gott gerecht werdet, ſo iſt euch Chriſtus nichts nütze. Denn was bedürfen diejenigen des Mittlers Chriſti, die durch die Werke des Geſetzes vertrauen, Gott zu verſöhnen? Gott hat Chriſtum dargeſtellt, daß er um desſelben Mittlers willen, nicht um unſerer Gerechtigkeit willen, uns will gnädig ſein. Aber ſie halten, daß Gott um ihrer Werke willen und um ſolcher Traditionen willen uns gnädig ſei. So nehmen ſie nun und rauben Chriſto ſeine Ehre, und iſt kein Unterſchied zwiſchen den Zeremonien des Geſetzes Moſis und ſolchen Satzungen, ſoviel es dieſe Sache belangt. Paulus verwirft Moſis Zeremonien eben darum, darum er auch Menſchengebote verwirft, nämlich daß es die Juden für ſolche Werke hielten, dadurch man Vergebung der Sünden verdiente. Denn dadurch ward Chriſtus untergedrückt. Darum verwirft er die Werke des Geſetzes und Menſchengebote zugleich und ſtreitet dieſes [dringt darauf], daß nicht um unſerer Werke, ſondern um Chriſtus' willen, ohne Verdienſt, verheißen ſei Vergebung der Sünden, doch alſo, daß wir ſie durch den Glauben faſſen. Denn die Verheißung kann man nicht anders denn durch den Glauben faſſen. So wir nun durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, ſo wir durch den Glauben einen gnädigen Gott haben um Chriſtus' willen, ſo iſt es ein großer Irrtum und Gottesläſterung, daß wir durch ſolche Satzungen ſollten Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Wenn ſie hier nun ſagen wollten, daß wir nicht durch ſolche Werke Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, ſondern wenn wir durch den Glauben jetzund Vergebung haben, ſo ſollen wir danach durch ſolche Werke verdienen, daß uns Gott gnädig ſei: da ſtreitet aber Paulus wider zu den Galatern am 2. Kapitel, da er ſagt: „Sollten wir aber, die da ſuchen durch Chriſtum gerecht zu werden, auch noch ſelber Sünder erfunden werden, ſo wäre Chriſtus ein Sündendiener“; item: „Zu eines Menſchen Teſtament ſoll niemand einen Zuſatz machen.“ Darum ſoll man auch zu dem Teſtament Gottes, da er uns verheißt, er will uns gnädig ſein um Chriſtus' willen, nichts zutun oder dieſes anflicken, als verdienten wir erſt, daß uns Gott um ſolcher Werke willen gnädig ſein müſſe.

fire and water to one another.] The Gospel teaches that by faith we receive freely, for Christ's sake, the remission of sins and are reconciled to God. The adversaries, on the other hand, appoint another mediator, namely, these traditions. On account of these they wish to acquire remission of sins; on account of these they wish to appease God's wrath. But Christ clearly says, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*

We have above discussed at length that men are justified by faith when they believe that they have a reconciled God, not because of our works, but gratuitously, for Christ's sake. It is certain that this is the doctrine of the Gospel, because Paul clearly teaches, Eph. 2, 8. 9: *By grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God; not of works.* Now these men say that men merit the remission of sins by these human observances. What else is this than to appoint another justifier, a mediator other than Christ? Paul says to the Galatians, 5, 4: *Christ has become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the Law; i. e.,* if you hold that by the observance of the Law you merit to be accounted righteous before God, Christ will profit you nothing; for what need of Christ have those who hold that they are righteous by their own observance of the Law? God has set forth Christ with the promise that on account of this Mediator, and not on account of our righteousness, He wishes to be propitious to us. But these men hold that God is reconciled and propitious because of the traditions, and not because of Christ. Therefore they take away from Christ the honor of Mediator. Neither, so far as this matter is concerned, is there any difference between our traditions and the ceremonies of Moses. Paul condemns the ceremonies of Moses, just as he condemns traditions, for the reason that they were regarded as works which merit righteousness before God. Thus the office of Christ and the righteousness of faith were obscured. Therefore, the Law being removed, and traditions being removed, he contends that the remission of sins has been promised not because of our works, but freely, because of Christ, if only by faith we receive it. For the promise is not received except by faith. Since, therefore, by faith we receive the remission of sins, since by faith we have a propitious God for Christ's sake, it is an error and impiety to declare that because of these observances we merit the remission of sins. If any one should say here that we do not merit the remission of sins, but that those who have already been justified by these traditions merit grace, Paul again replies, Gal. 2, 17, that *Christ would be the minister of sin* if after justification we must hold that henceforth we are not accounted righteous for Christ's sake, but we ought first, by other observances, to merit that we be accounted righteous. Likewise Gal. 3, 15: *Though it be but a man's covenant, no man addeth thereto.* Therefore, neither to God's covenant, who promises that for Christ's sake He will be propitious to us, ought we to add that we must first through these observances attain such merit as to be regarded as accepted and righteous.

13] Quamquam quid opus est longa disputatione? Nulla traditio a sanctis patribus hoc consilio instituta est, ut mereatur remissionem peccatorum aut iustitiam, sed sunt institutae propter bonum ordinem in ecclesia 14] et propter tranquillitatem. Et ut velit aliquis instituere certa opera ad promerendam remissionem peccatorum aut iustitiam, quomodo sciet illa opera Deo placere, quum non habeat testimonium Verbi Dei? Quomodo de voluntate Dei certos reddet homines sine mandato et Verbo Dei? Nonne ubique in prophetis prohibet instituere peculiares cultus sine suo mandato? Ezech. 20, 18. 19 scriptum est: *In praeceptis patrum vestrorum nolite incedere, nec iudicia eorum custodiatis, nec in idolis eorum polluamini. Ego Dominus Deus vester. In praeceptis meis ambulate, et iudicia mea custodite et facite ea.* 15] Si licet hominibus instituere cultus, et per hos cultus merentur gratiam, iam omnium gentium cultus erunt approbandi, cultus instituti a Ieroboam, 1 Reg. 12, 26 sqq., et aliis extra legem erunt approbandi. Quid enim interest, si nobis licuit instituere cultus utiles ad promerendam gratiam aut iustitiam, cur non licuit idem gentibus et Israelitis? Ideo 16] gentium et Israelitarum cultus improbati sunt, quod sentiebant sese per illos mereri remissionem peccatorum et iustitiam, et [R. 208 17] iustitiam fidei non norant. Postremo, unde reddimur certi, quod cultus ab hominibus instituti sine mandato Dei iustificent, siquidem de voluntate Dei nihil affirmari potest sine Verbo Dei? Quid si hos cultus non approbat Deus? Quomodo igitur affirmant adversarii, quod iustificent? Sine Verbo ac testimonio Dei hoc non potest affirmari. Et Paulus ait Rom. 14, 23, *omne, quod non est ex fide, peccatum esse.* Quum autem hi cultus nullum habeant testimonium Verbi Dei, dubitare conscientiam necesse est, utrum placeant Deo.

18] Et quid in re manifesta verbis opus est? Si hos humanos cultus defendunt adversarii nostri, tamquam promerentes iustificationem, gratiam, remissionem peccatorum, simpliciter constituunt regnum antichristi. Nam regnum antichristi est novus cultus Dei, excogitatus humana auctoritate, reiiciens Christum, sicut regnum Mahometi habet cultus, habet opera, per quae vult iustificari coram Deo, nec sentit homines coram Deo gratis iustificari fide propter Christum. Ita et papatus erit pars regni antichristi, si sic defendit humanos cultus, quod iustificent. Detrahitur enim honos Christo, quum docent, quod non propter Christum gratis iustificemur per fidem, sed per tales cultus, maximeque quum docent tales cultus non solum utiles esse ad iustificationem, sed necessarios etiam, sicut supra in articulo octavo [Art. VII.] sentiunt, ubi damnant nos, quod diximus, quod non sit necessarium ad veram unitatem ecclesiae ubique similes esse ritus ab hominibus institutos. 19] Daniel capite undecimo, v. 38, significat novos cultus humanos ipsam formam et πολιτείαν regni antichristi fore. Sic enim inquit: *Deum Maosim in loco suo colet, et deum, quem*

Und wenngleich noch jemand wollte solche Werke aufrichten oder erwählen, damit Gott zu versöhnen, Vergebung der Sünden zu verdienen, wie wollte der gewiß werden, daß die Werke Gott gefielen, so er keinen Gottesbefehl noch -wort davon hat? Wie wollte er die Gewissen und Herzen versichern, wie sie mit Gott stehen; item, daß die Werke Gott gefallen, wenn kein Gotteswort noch -befehl da ist? Es verbieten die Propheten allenthalben, eigenerwählte, sonderliche Gottesdienste anzurichten ohne Gottes Wort und Befehl, Hesek. am 20.: „Wandelt nicht in Geboten eurer Väter und haltet ihre Sitten nicht und werdet nicht unrein von ihren Götzen. Ich bin der HErr, euer Gott. In meinen Geboten wandelt und haltet meine Rechte und Sitten und tut dieselbigen." So die Menschen Macht haben, Gottesdienste anzurichten, daß wir dadurch Sünden bezahlen und fromm werden vor Gott, so müssen aller Heiden Gottesdienste, alle Abgötterei aller gottlosen Könige in Israel, Jerobeams und anderer, auch gut sein; denn es ist kein Unterschied. Steht bei Menschen die Macht, Gottesdienste aufzurichten, dadurch man möge Seligkeit verdienen, warum sollten der Heiden und Israeliten selbsterwählte Gottesdienste unrecht sein? Denn darum sind der Heiden und Israeliten Dienste verworfen, daß sie wähnen wollten, solche Dienste gefielen Gott, und wußten nichts vom höchsten Gottesdienst, der da heißt Glaube. Item, woher sind wir gewiß, daß solche Gottesdienste und Werke ohne Gottes Wort vor Gott gerecht machen, so kein Mensch Gottes Willen anders erfahren oder wissen kann denn allein durch sein Wort? Wie, wenn solche Gottesdienste Gott der HErr nicht allein verachtet, sondern auch für einen Greuel hält? Wie dürfen denn die Widersacher sagen, daß sie vor Gott gerecht machen? Ohne Gottes Wort kann je niemand das sagen. Paulus sagt zu den Römern: „Alles, was nicht aus dem Glauben geschieht, das ist Sünde." So nun dieselben Gottesdienste keinen göttlichen Befehl haben, so müssen die Herzen im Zweifel stehen, ob sie Gott gefallen.

Und was bedarf diese öffentliche Sache vieler Worte? Wenn die Widersacher diese Gottesdienste also verteidigen, als seien es Werke, dadurch man Vergebung der Sünden und Seligkeit verdient, so richten sie öffentliche antichristische Lehre und Reich an. Denn das Reich Antichristi ist eigentlich ein solch neuer Gottesdienst, durch Menschen erdichtet, dadurch Christus verworfen wird, wie Mahomets Reich selbsterwählte Gottesdienste hat, eigene Werke, dadurch sie vor Gott vermeinen heilig und fromm zu werden, und halten nicht, daß man allein durch den Glauben an Christum gerecht werde. Also wird das Papsttum auch ein Stück vom Reich Antichristi, so es lehrt, durch Menschengebote Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen und Gott [zu] versöhnen. Denn da wird Christo seine Ehre genommen, wenn sie lehren, daß wir nicht durch Christum, ohne Verdienst gerecht werden, durch den Glauben, sondern durch solche Gottesdienste, sonderlich wenn sie lehren, daß solch selbsterwählter Gottesdienst nicht allein nütze sei, sondern auch nötig. Wie sie denn oben im achten Artikel halten, da sie das verdammen, daß wir gesagt, zu rechter Einigkeit der Kirche sei nicht not, daß allenthalben gleichförmige Menschensatzungen seien. Daniel, im 11. Kapitel, malt das

However, what need is there of a long discussion? No tradition was instituted by the holy Fathers with the design that it should merit the remission of sins, or righteousness, but they have been instituted for the sake of good order in the Church and for the sake of tranquillity. And when any one wishes to institute certain works to merit the remission of sins, or righteousness, how will he know that these works please God since he has not the testimony of God's Word? How, without God's command and Word, will he render men certain of God's will? Does He not everywhere in the prophets prohibit men from instituting, without His commandment, peculiar rites of worship? In Ezek. 20, 18. 19 it is written: *Walk ye not in the statutes of your fathers, neither observe their judgments, nor defile yourselves with their idols: I am the Lord, your God. Walk in My statutes, and keep My judgments, and do them.* If men are allowed to institute religious rites, and through these rites merit grace, the religious rites of all the heathen will have to be approved, and the rites instituted by Jeroboam, 1 Kings 12, 26 f., and by others, outside of the Law, will have to be approved. For what difference does it make? If we have been allowed to institute religious rites that are profitable for meriting grace, or righteousness, why was the same not allowed the heathen and the Israelites? But the religious rites of the heathen and the Israelites were rejected for the very reason that they held that by these they merited remission of sins and righteousness, and yet did not know [the highest service of God] the righteousness of faith. Lastly, whence are we rendered certain that rites instituted by men without God's command justify, inasmuch as nothing can be affirmed of God's will without God's Word? What if God does not approve these services? How, therefore, do the adversaries affirm that they justify? Without God's Word and testimony this cannot be affirmed. And Paul says, Rom. 14, 23: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* But as these services have no testimony of God's Word, conscience must doubt as to whether they please God.

And what need is there of words on a subject so manifest? If the adversaries defend these human services as meriting justification, grace, and the remission of sins, they simply establish the kingdom of Antichrist. For the kingdom of Antichrist is a new service of God, devised by human authority rejecting Christ, just as the kingdom of Mahomet has services and works through which it wishes to be justified before God; nor does it hold that men are gratuitously justified before God by faith, for Christ's sake. Thus the Papacy also will be a part of the kingdom of Antichrist if it thus defends human services as justifying. For the honor is taken away from Christ when they teach that we are not justified gratuitously by faith, for Christ's sake, but by such services; especially when they teach that such services are not only useful for justification, but are also necessary, as they hold above in Art. VII, where they condemn us for saying that unto true unity of the Church it is not necessary that rites instituted by men should everywhere be alike. Daniel, 11, 38, indicates that new human services will be the very form and constitution of the kingdom of Antichrist. For he says thus: *But in his estate shall he honor the god of forces; and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honor with gold and silver and precious stones.* Here he describes new services, because he says that

non noverunt patres eius, colet auro et argento et lapidibus pretiosis. Hic describit novos cultus, quia inquit talem deum coli, qualem **20**] patres ignoraverint. Nam sancti [R. 209 patres, etsi habuerunt et ipsi ritus et traditiones, tamen non sentiebant has res utiles aut necessarias esse ad iustificationem, non obscurabant gloriam et officium Christi, sed docebant nos iustificari fide propter Christum, non propter illos humanos cultus. Ceterum ritus humanos observabant propter utilitatem corporalem, ut sciret populus, quo tempore conveniendum esset, ut ordine et graviter in templis exempli causa fierent omnia, denique ut vulgus etiam haberet quandam paedagogiam. Nam discrimina temporum et varietas rituum valet ad admonendum vulgus. Has **21**] causas habebant patres rituum servandorum, et propter has causas nos quoque recte servari traditiones posse iudicamus. Et valde miramur adversarios alium finem traditionum defendere, quod videlicet mereantur remissionem peccatorum, gratiam aut iustificationem. Quid hoc aliud est, quam colere Deum auro et argento et rebus pretiosis, id est, sentire, quod Deus fiat placatus varietate vestitus, ornamentorum et similibus ritibus, quales sunt infiniti in traditionibus humanis?

Reich Antichristi also ab, daß er anzeigt, daß solche neue Gottesdienste, von Menschen erfunden, werden die Politia und das rechte Wesen des antichristischen Reichs sein. Denn also sagt er: „Den Gott Maosim wird er ehren, und dem Gott, den seine Väter nicht erkannt haben, wird er mit Gold, Silber und Edelgestein dienen.“ Da beschreibt er solche neue Gottesdienste. Denn er sagt von einem solchen Gott, davon die Väter nichts gewußt haben. Denn die heiligen Väter, wiewohl sie auch Zeremonien und Satzungen gehabt, so haben sie doch nicht dafürgehalten, daß solche Zeremonien nütz und nötig wären zur Seligkeit, so haben sie doch damit Christum nicht unterdrückt, sondern haben gelehrt, daß uns Gott um Christus' willen gnädig sei, nicht um solcher Gottesdienste willen. Aber dieselben Satzungen haben sie gehalten von wegen leiblicher Übung, als die Feste, daß das Volk wüßte, wann es sollte zusammenkommen, daß in den Kirchen alles ordentlich und züchtiglich um guter Exempel willen zuginge, daß auch das gemeine, grobe Volk in einer feinen Kinderzucht gehalten würde. Denn solche Unterschiede der Zeit und solche mancherlei Gottesdienste dienen, das Volk in Zucht zu behalten und zu erinnern der Historien. Diese Ursachen haben die Väter gehabt, menschliche Ordnung zu erhalten. Und auf die Weise fechten wir's auch nicht an, daß man gute Gewohnheit halte. Und wir können uns nicht genugsam wundern, daß die Widersacher wider alle Schrift der Apostel, wider das Alte und Neue Testament lehren dürfen, daß wir durch solche Gottesdienste sollen ewiges Heil und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Denn was ist das anders, denn, wie Daniel sagt, „Gott ehren mit Gold, Silber und Edelgestein“, das ist, halten, daß Gott uns gnädig werde durch mancherlei Kirchenschmuck, durch Fahnen, Kerzen, wie denn unzählig sind bei solchen Menschensatzungen.

22] Paulus ad Colossenses, 2, 23, scribit traditiones habere speciem sapientiae. Et habent profecto. Nam *εὐταξία* illa valde decet in ecclesia, eamque ob causam necessaria est. Sed humana ratio, quia non intelligit iustitiam fidei, naturaliter affingit, quod talia opera iustificent homines, quod **23**] reconcilient Deum etc. Sic sentiebat vulgus inter Israelitas, et hac opinione augebant tales ceremonias, sicut apud nos in monaste**24**] riis creverunt. Sic iudicat humana ratio etiam de exercitiis corporis, de ieiuniis, quorum finis quum sit coercere carnem, ratio affingit finem, quod sint cultus, qui iustificent. Sicut Thomas scribit, *ieiunium valere ad deletionem et prohibitionem culpae.* Haec sunt verba Thomae. Ita sapientiae ac iustitiae species in talibus operibus decipit homines. Et accedunt exempla sanctorum, [R. 210 quos dum student imitari homines, imitantur plerumque externa exercitia, non imitantur fidem eorum.

Paulus zu den Kolossern schreibt, daß solche Satzungen haben einen Schein der Weisheit. Und [es] hat auch einen großen Schein, als sei es fast heilig; denn Unordnung steht übel, und solche ordentliche Kinderzucht ist nützlich in der Kirche usw. Dieweil aber menschliche Vernunft nicht versteht, was Glaube ist, so fallen diejenigen, so nach der Vernunft richten, von Stund' an darauf und machen ein solch Werk daraus, das uns gen Himmel helfen solle und Gott versöhnen. Also haben [sind] die Irrtümer und schädliche Abgötterei eingerissen bei den Israeliten. Darum machten sie auch einen Gottesdienst über den andern, wie bei unserer Zeit ein Altar über den andern, eine Kirche über die andere gestiftet ist. Also richtet auch die menschliche Vernunft von andern leiblichen Übungen, als von Fasten usw. Denn Fasten dient dazu, den alten Adam zu zähmen; da fällt bald die Vernunft drauf und macht ein Werk daraus, das Gott versöhne; wie Thomas schreibt, „Fasten sei ein Werk, das da tauge, Schuld gegen Gott auszulöschen und ferner zu verhüten“. Das sind die klaren Worte Thomä. Also dieselben Gottesdienste, welche sehr gleißen, haben einen großen Schein und ein groß Ansehen der Heiligkeit vor den Leuten. Und dazu helfen nun die Exempel der Heiligen, da sie sprechen, St. Franziskus hat eine Kappe getragen und dergleichen. Hier sehen sie allein die äußerliche Übung an, nicht das Herz und Glauben.

25] Postquam fefellit homines haec species sapientiae ac iustitiae, deinde sequuntur infinita incommoda, obscuratur evangelium de iustitia fidei in Christum, et succedit vana fiducia talium operum. Deinde obscurantur praecepta Dei, haec opera arrogant sibi titulum perfectae et spiritualis vitae et longe praeferuntur operibus praeceptorum Dei, ut

Und wenn nun die Leute also durch so großen und prächtigen Schein der Heiligkeit betrogen werden, so folgt dann unzählige Fahr [Gefahr] und Unrat daraus, nämlich daß Christi Erkenntnis und das Evangelium vergessen wird, und daß man alles Vertrauen auf solche Werke setzt. Darüber so werden durch solche heuchlerische Werke die rechten guten Werke, die Gott in [den] zehn Ge-

such a god shall be worshiped as the fathers were ignorant of. For although the holy Fathers themselves had both rites and traditions, yet they did not hold that these matters are useful or necessary for justification; they did not obscure the glory and office of Christ, but taught that we are justified by faith for Christ's sake, and not for the sake of these human services. But they observed human rites for the sake of bodily advantage, that the people might know at what time they should assemble; that, for the sake of example, all things in the churches might be done in order and becomingly; lastly, that the common people might receive a sort of training. For the distinctions of times and the variety of rites are of service in admonishing the common people. The Fathers had these reasons for maintaining the rites, and for these reasons we also judge it to be right that traditions [good customs] be maintained. And we are greatly surprised that the adversaries [contrary to the entire Scriptures of the Apostles, contrary to the Old and New Testaments] contend for another design of traditions, namely, that they may merit the remission of sins, grace, or justification. What else is this than to honor God *with gold and silver and precious stones* [as Daniel says], *i. e.*, to hold that God becomes reconciled by a variety in clothing, ornaments, and by similar rites [many kinds of church decorations, banners, tapers], as are infinite in human traditions?

Paul writes to the Colossians, 2, 23, that traditions have *a show of wisdom.* And they indeed have. For this good order is very becoming in the Church, and for this reason is necessary. But human reason, because it does not understand the righteousness of faith, naturally imagines that such works justify men because they reconcile God, etc. Thus the common people among the Israelites thought, and by this opinion increased such ceremonies, just as among us they have grown in the monasteries [as in our time one altar after another and one church after another is founded]. Thus human reason judges also of bodily exercises, of fasts; although the end of these is to restrain the flesh, reason falsely adds that they are services which justify. As Thomas writes: *Fasting avails for the extinguishing and the prevention of guilt.* These are the words of Thomas. Thus the semblance of wisdom and righteousness in such works deceives men. And the examples of the saints are added [when they say: St. Francis wore a cap, etc.]; and when men desire to imitate these, they imitate, for the most part, the outward exercises; their faith they do not imitate.

After this semblance of wisdom and righteousness has deceived men, then infinite evils follow; the Gospel concerning the righteousness of faith in Christ is obscured, and vain confidence in such works succeeds. Then the commandments of God are obscured; these works arrogate to themselves the title of a perfect and spiritual life, and are far pre-

operibus suae cuiusque vocationis, administrationi reipublicae, administrationi oeconomiae, vitae coniugali, educationi liberorum. **26**] Haec prae illis ceremoniis iudicantur esse profana, ita ut cum quadam dubitatione conscientiae a multis exerceantur. Constat enim multos deserta administratione reipublicae, deserto coniugio illas observationes amplexos esse tamquam meliores et sanctiores.

boten fordert, ganz unterdrückt (welches schrecklich ist zu hören). Denn die Werke müssen allein geistlich, heilig, vollkommen Leben heißen und werden dann weit vorgezogen den rechten, heiligen guten Werken, da ein jeder nach Gottes Gebot in seinem Beruf zu wandeln, die Obrigkeit fleißig, treulich zu regieren, die Hausväter, die ehelichen Leute, Weib und Kind, Gesinde in christlicher Zucht zu halten schuldig sind; item, da eine Magd, ein Knecht seinem Herrn treulich zu dienen pflichtig ist. Dieselben Werke hält man nicht für göttlich, sondern für weltlich Wesen, also daß viele Leute darüber ihnen [sich] ein schwer Gewissen gemacht. Denn man weiß je, daß etliche ihren Fürstenstand verlassen, etliche den Ehestand, und sind in Klöster gegangen, heilig und geistlich zu werden.

27] Neque hoc satis est. Ubi occupavit animos persuasio, quod tales observationes ad iustificationem necessariae sint, misere vexantur conscientiae, quia non possunt omnes observationes exacte praestare. Nam quotusquisque numerare omnes potuit? Exstant immensi libri, imo bibliothecae totae, nullam syllabam de Christo, de fide in Christum, de bonis operibus suae cuiusque vocationis continentes, sed tantum colligentes traditiones et harum interpretationes, quibus interdum **28**] exacerbantur, interdum relaxantur. Quomodo torquetur vir optimus Gerson, dum quaerit gradus et latitudines praeceptorum. Nec tamen potest constituere *ἐπιείκειαν* in gradu certo; interim graviter deplorat pericula piarum conscientiarum, quae parit haec acerba interpretatio traditionum.

Und ist über den [außer dem] Irrtum noch der Jammer dabei, daß, wenn die Leute in dem Wahn sind, daß solche Satzungen nötig seien zur Seligkeit, die Gewissen ohne Unterlaß in Unruhe und Qual sind, daß sie ihren Orden, ihre Möncherei, ihre aufgelegten Werke nicht so gestrenge gehalten haben. Denn wer könnte die Satzungen alle erzählen? Es sind unzählig viel Bücher, in welchen nicht ein Tüttel, nicht eine Silbe von Christo, vom Glauben geschrieben oder von den rechten guten Werken, die Gott gebietet, welche jeder nach seinem Beruf zu tun schuldig ist; sondern allein von solchen Satzungen schreiben sie, als von den vierzig Tagen zu fasten, von Messehören, von vier Gezeiten beten usw.; da ist des Deutens und Dispensierens kein Ende. Wie jämmerlich martert sich, wie ringt und windet sich über den Dingen der gute, fromme Mann Gerson, da er gern den Gewissen mit dem rechten Trost helfen wollte, da er gradus und latitudines sucht praeceptorum, wiefern dieselben Gebote binden, und kann doch nicht finden einen gewissen Grad, da er darf dem Herzen Sicherheit und Frieden gewiß zusagen. Darum klagt er auch ganz heftig, wie in großer Gefahr die Gewissen und Konszienzen dadurch stehen, daß man solche Satzungen also bei einer Todsünde fordert und will gehalten haben.

29] Nos igitur contra illam speciem sapientiae et iustitiae in humanis ritibus, quae fallit homines, muniamus nos Verbo Dei, et primum sciamus eas neque remissionem peccatorum, neque iustificationem mereri coram Deo, neque ad iustificationem necessarias esse. **30**] Testimonia quaedam supra citavimus. Et plenus est Paulus. Ad Colossenses 2, 16. 17 clare dicit: *Nemo vos iudicet in cibo,* [R. 211 *potu aut stato festo aut novilunio aut sabbatis, quae sunt umbrae futurorum; corpus autem Christi.* Atque hic simul et legem Mosis et traditiones humanas complectitur, ne adversarii eludant haec testimonia, ut solent, quod Paulus tantum de lege Mosis loquatur. Ille vero hic clare testatur se loqui de traditionibus humanis. Quamquam, quid dicant, adversarii non vident; si evangelium negat ceremonias Mosis, quae erant divinitus institutae, iustificare, quanto minus iustificant traditiones humanae?

Wir aber sollen uns wider solch heuchlerische, gleißende Satzungen, dadurch viele verführt und jämmerlich die Gewissen ohne Ursache geplagt werden, rüsten und stärken mit Gottes Wort und sollen erstlich das [für] gewiß halten, daß Vergebung der Sünden nicht durch solche Satzungen verdient wird. Wir haben den Apostel droben angezogen zu den Kolossern: „Laßt euch niemand Gewissen machen über Speise, Trank, Neumonden, Sabbater." Und der Apostel will das ganze Gesetz Mosis und solche Traditionen zugleich begriffen haben, damit die Widersacher hier nicht entschliefen [entschlüpften], wie sie pflegen, als rede Paulus allein vom Gesetz Mosis. Er zeigt aber klar genug an, daß er von menschlichen Satzungen auch rede, wiewohl die Widersacher selbst nicht wissen, was sie sagen. Denn so das Evangelium und Paulus klar melden, daß auch die Zeremonien und Werke des Gesetzes Mosis vor Gott nicht helfen, so werden's viel weniger menschliche Satzungen tun.

31] Nec habent episcopi potestatem instituendi cultus tamquam iustificantes aut necessarios ad iustificationem. Imo apostoli Act. 15, 10 dicunt: *Quid tentatis Deum, imponentes iugum?* etc., ubi velut magnum peccatum accusat Petrus hoc consilium onerandae ecclesiae. Et ad Galatas 5, 1 vetat Paulus **32**] *iterum servituti subiici.* Volunt igitur apostoli in ecclesia manere hanc libertatem, ne iudicentur ulli cultus legis aut traditionum necessarii esse, sicut in lege fuerunt ne-

Derhalben haben die Bischöfe nicht Macht noch Gewalt, eigenerwählte Gottesdienste aufzurichten, welche sollen die Leute vor Gott heilig und fromm machen. Denn es sagen auch die Apostel Act. 15: „Was versucht ihr Gott und legt eine Bürde auf die Jünger?" usw. Da schilt es Petrus als eine große Sünde, damit man Gott verlästere und versuche. Darum ist es der Apostel Meinung, daß diese Freiheit in der Kirche bleiben soll, daß keine Zeremonien, weder das Gesetz Mosis noch andere Satzungen, sollen als nötige Gottesdienste geschätzt

ferred to the works of God's commandments [the true, holy, good works], as, the works of one's own calling, the administration of the state, the management of a family, married life, the bringing up of children. Compared with those ceremonies, the latter are judged to be profane, so that they are exercised by many with some doubt of conscience. For it is known that many have abandoned the administration of the state and married life, in order to embrace these observances as better and holier [have gone into cloisters in order to become holy and spiritual].

Nor is this enough. When the persuasion has taken possession of minds that such observances are necessary to justification, consciences are in miserable anxiety because they cannot exactly fulfil all observances. For how many are there who could enumerate all these observances? There are immense books, yea, whole libraries, containing not a syllable concerning Christ, concerning faith in Christ, concerning the good works of one's own calling, but which only collect the traditions and interpretations by which they are sometimes rendered quite rigorous and sometimes relaxed. [They write of such precepts as of fasting for forty days, the four canonical hours for prayer, etc.] How that most excellent man, Gerson, is tortured while he searches for the grades and extent of the precepts! Nevertheless, he is not able to fix ἐπιείκειαν [mitigation] in a definite grade [and yet cannot find any sure grade where he could confidently promise the heart assurance and peace]. Meanwhile, he deeply deplores the dangers to godly consciences which this rigid interpretation of the traditions produces.

Against this semblance of wisdom and righteousness in human rites, which deceives men, let us therefore fortify ourselves by the Word of God, and let us know, first of all, that these neither merit before God the remission of sins or justification, nor are necessary for justification. We have above cited some testimonies. And Paul is full of them. To the Colossians, 2, 16. 17, he clearly says: *Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days, which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of Christ.* Here now he embraces at the same time both the Law of Moses and human traditions, in order that the adversaries may not elude these testimonies, according to their custom, upon the ground that Paul is speaking only of the Law of Moses. But he clearly testifies here that he is speaking of human traditions. However, the adversaries do not see what they are saying; if the Gospel says that the ceremonies of Moses, which were divinely instituted, do not justify, how much less do human traditions justify!

Neither have the bishops the power to institute services, as though they justified, or were necessary for justification. Yea, the apostles, Acts 15, 10, say: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke,* etc., where Peter declares this purpose to burden the Church a great sin. And Paul forbids the Galatians, 5, 1, to *be entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* Therefore, it is the will of the apostles that this liberty remain in the Church, that no services of the Law or of traditions be judged as necessary (just as in the Law ceremonies

cessariae ceremoniae ad tempus, ne obscuretur iustitia fidei, si iudicent homines cultus illos mereri iustificationem, aut ad iustificationem
33] necessarios esse. Multi varias *ἐπιεικείας* quaerunt in traditionibus, ut conscientiis medeantur, neque tamen certos gradus reperiunt, per quos explicent conscientias ex his vinculis.
34] Verum sicut Alexander solvit Gordium nodum, quem, quum explicare non posset, gladio semel dissecuit, ita apostoli semel liberant conscientias traditionibus, praesertim si tradantur ad promerendam iustificationem. Huic doctrinae cogunt nos apostoli adversari docendo et exemplis. Cogunt nos docere, quod traditiones non iustificent, quod non sint necessariae ad iustificationem, quod nemo debeat
35] condere aut recipere traditiones hac opinione, quod mereantur iustificationem. [R. 212 Tunc etiamsi quis observat, observet sine superstitione tamquam politicos mores, sicut sine superstitione aliter vestiuntur milites,
36] aliter scholastici. Apostoli violant traditiones et excusantur a Christo. Erat enim exemplum ostendendum Pharisaeis, quod illi
37] cultus essent inutiles. Et si quas traditiones parum commodas omittunt nostri, satis nunc excusati sunt, quum requiruntur, tamquam promereantur iustificationem. Talis enim opinio in traditionibus est impia.

werden; wie etliche Zeremonien im Gesetz Mosis als nötig mußten im Alten Testament eine Zeitlang gehalten werden. Darum müssen wir auch wehren, daß die Predigt von der Gnade und von Christo, von Vergebung der Sünden aus lauter Gnade nicht unterdrückt werde, und der schädliche Irrtum [nicht] einreiße, als sind [seien] die Satzungen nötig, fromm vor Gott zu sein. Es haben Gerson und viel andere treue, fromme Leute, welche über die großen Fährlichkeiten der Gewissen Mitleid getragen, *ἐπιείκειαν* und Linderung gesucht, wie man doch darin den Gewissen helfen möchte [könnte], daß sie durch die Traditionen nicht in so mannigfaltige Wege gemartert würden, und haben nichts Gewisses finden können, den Gewissen aus den Banden zu helfen. Die Heilige Schrift und die Apostel aber sind kurz hindurchgegangen und [haben] schlecht mit einem Striche alles quittiert und klar dürr herausgesagt, daß wir in Christo frei, ledig seien von allen Traditionen, sonderlich wenn man dadurch Seligkeit und Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen sucht. Darum lehren auch die Apostel, daß man der schädlichen pharisäischen Lehre soll widerstreben mit Lehren und mit dem Gegenexempel. Darum lehren wir, daß solche Satzungen nicht gerecht machen vor Gott, daß sie auch nicht not seien zur Seligkeit, daß auch niemand solche Satzungen machen oder annehmen soll der Meinung, daß er wolle vor Gott dadurch gerecht werden. Wer sie aber halten will, der halte sie, wie ich einen andern Stadtgebrauch möchte halten, da ich wohne, ohne alles Vertrauen, dadurch gerecht zu werden vor Gott. Als, daß ich bei den Deutschen deutsche Kleidung trage, bei den Walen welsche, halte ich als einen Landbrauch, nicht dadurch selig zu werden. Die Apostel, wie das Evangelium anzeigt, brechen frisch solche Satzungen und werden von Christo derhalben gelobt. Denn man muß es nicht allein mit Lehren, Predigen, sondern auch mit der Tat den Pharisäern anzeigen und beweisen, daß solche Gottesdienste nichts nütze sind zur Seligkeit. Und darum, ob die Unsern gleich etliche Traditionen und Zeremonien nachlassen, so sind sie doch genugsam entschuldigt. Denn die Bischöfe fordern solches als nötig zur Seligkeit; das ist ein Irrtum, der nicht zu leiden ist.

38] Ceterum traditiones veteres factas in ecclesia utilitatis et tranquillitatis causa libenter servamus easque interpretamur *πρὸς τὸ εὐφημότερον*, exclusa opinione, quae sentit,
39] quod iustificent. Ac falso nos accusant inimici nostri, quod bonas ordinationes, quod disciplinam ecclesiae aboleamus. Vere enim praedicare possumus publicam formam ecclesiarum apud nos honestiorem esse quam apud adversarios. Et si quis recte expendere velit, verius servamus canones quam adversarii.
40] Apud adversarios missas faciunt sacrificuli inviti et mercede conducti et plerumque tantum mercedis causa. Canunt Psalmos, non ut discant aut orent, sed cultus causa, quasi illud opus sit cultus, aut certe mercedis causa. Apud nos utuntur coena Domini multi singulis Dominicis, sed prius instituti, explorati et absoluti. Pueri canunt Psalmos, ut discant; canit et populus, ut vel discat vel oret. Apud
41] adversarios nulla prorsus est *κατήχησις* puerorum, de qua quidem praecipiunt canones. Apud nos coguntur pastores et ministri ecclesiarum publice instituere et audire pueritiam; et haec ceremonia optimos fructus
42] parit. Apud adversarios in multis regionibus toto anno nullae habentur conciones, praeterquam in Quadragesima. Atqui praecipuus cultus Dei est docere evangelium. Et quum concionantur adversarii, dicunt de traditionibus humanis, de cultu sanctorum et

Weiter, die ältesten Satzungen aber in der Kirche, als die drei hohen Feste usw., die Sonntagsfeier und dergleichen, welche um guter Ordnung, Einigkeit und Friedens willen erfunden usw., die halten wir gerne. Auch so predigen die Unsern aufs glimpflichste gegen [vor] dem Volk davon; allein, daneben sagen sie, daß sie vor Gott nicht gerecht machen. Darum reden die Widersacher ihre Gewalt und tun uns ganz vor Gott unrecht, wenn sie uns schuld geben, daß wir alle guten Zeremonien, alle Ordnungen in der Kirche abbringen und niederlegen. Denn wir mögen es mit der Wahrheit sagen, daß es christlicher, ehrlicher in unsern Kirchen mit rechten Gottesdiensten gehalten wird denn bei den Widersachern. Und wo gottesfürchtige, ehrbare, verständige, unparteiische Leute sind, die diese Sache recht genau wollen bedenken und ansehen, so halten wir die alten Canones und mentem legis mehr, reiner und fleißiger denn die Widersacher. Denn die Widersacher treten unverschämt die allerehrlichsten Canones mit Füßen, wie sie denn Christo und dem Evangelio auch tun. Die Pfaffen und Mönche in Stiften mißbrauchen der Messe aufs schrecklichste und greulichste, halten Messen täglich in großer Anzahl allein um der Zinse [Abgaben] willen, um des Geldes, um des schändlichen Bauchs willen. So singen sie die Psalmen in Stiften, nicht daß sie studieren oder ernstlich beten (denn das mehrere Teil versteht nicht einen Vers in [den] Psalmen), sondern halten ihre Metten und

were for a time necessary), lest the righteousness of faith be obscured, if men judge that these services merit justification, or are necessary for justification. Many seek in traditions various ἐπιεικείας [mitigations] in order to heal consciences; and yet they do not find any sure grades by which to free consciences from these chains. But just as Alexander once for all solved the Gordian knot by cutting it with his sword when he could not disentangle it, so the apostles once for all free consciences from traditions, especially if they are taught to merit justification. The apostles compel us to oppose this doctrine by teaching and examples. They compel us to teach that traditions do not justify; that they are not necessary for justification; that no one ought to frame or receive traditions with the opinion that they merit justification. Then, even though any one should observe them, let him observe them without superstition as civil customs, just as without superstition soldiers are clothed in one way and scholars in another [as I regard my wearing of a German costume among the Germans and a French costume among the French as an observance of the usage of the land, and not for the purpose of being saved thereby]. The apostles violate traditions and are excused by Christ; for the example was to be shown the Pharisees that these services are unprofitable. And if our people neglect some traditions that are of little advantage, they are now sufficiently excused, when these are required as though they merit justification. For such an opinion with regard to traditions is impious [an error not to be endured].

But we cheerfully maintain the old traditions [as, the three high festivals, the observance of Sunday, and the like] made in the Church for the sake of usefulness and tranquillity; and we interpret them in a more moderate way, to the exclusion of the opinion which holds that they justify. And our enemies falsely accuse us of abolishing good ordinances and church-discipline. For we can truly declare that the public form of the churches is more becoming with us than with the adversaries [that the true worship of God is observed in our churches in a more Christian, honorable way]. And if any one will consider it aright, we conform to the canons more truly than do the adversaries. [For the adversaries, without shame, tread under foot the most honorable canons, just as they do Christ and the Gospel.] With the adversaries, unwilling celebrants, and those hired for pay, and very frequently only for pay, celebrate the Masses. They sing psalms, not that they may learn or pray [for the greater part do not understand a verse in the psalms], but for the sake of the service, as though this work were a service, or, at least, for the sake of reward. [All this they cannot deny. Some who are upright among them are even ashamed of this traffic, and declare that the clergy is in need of reformation.] With us many use the Lord's Supper [willingly and without constraint] every Lord's Day, but after having been first instructed, examined [whether they know and understand anything of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments], and absolved. The children sing psalms in order that they may learn [become familiar with passages of Scripture]; the people also sing [Latin and German psalms], in order that they may either learn or pray. With the adversaries there is no catechization of the children whatever, concerning which even the canons give commands. With us the pastors and ministers of the churches are compelled publicly [and privately] to instruct and hear the youth; and this ceremony produces the best fruits. [And the Catechism is not a mere childish thing, as is the bearing of banners and tapers, but a very profitable instruction.] Among the adversaries, in many regions [as in Italy and Spain], during the entire year no sermons are delivered, except in Lent. [Here they ought to cry out and justly make

similibus nugis, quas iure fastidit populus; itaque deseruntur statim initio, post- [R. 213 quam recitatus est evangelii textus. Pauci quidam meliores nunc de bonis operibus dicere incipiunt; de iustitia fidei, de fide in Christum, de consolatione conscientiarum nihil dicunt; imo hanc saluberrimam evangelii 43] partem lacerant conviciis. Econtra in nostris ecclesiis omnes conciones in his locis consumuntur: de poenitentia, de timore Dei; de fide in Christum, de iustitia fidei, de consolatione conscientiarum per fidem, de exercitiis fidei; de oratione, qualis esse debeat, et quod certo statuendum sit, quod sit efficax, quod exaudiatur; de cruce; de dignitate magistratuum et omnium civilium ordinationum; de discrimine regni Christi seu regni spiritualis et politicarum rerum; de coniugio; de educatione et institutione puerorum; de castitate; de omnibus officiis cari- 44] tatis. Ex hoc statu ecclesiarum iudicari potest nos disciplinam ecclesiasticam et pias ceremonias et bonos mores ecclesiasticos diligenter conservare.

Vesper als einen gedingten Gottesdienst, der ihnen ihre Rente und Zinse trägt. Dieses alles können sie nicht leugnen. Es schämen sich auch selbst etliche Redliche unter ihnen desselben Jahrmarkts und sagen, clerus bedürfe einer Reformation. Bei uns aber braucht das Volk des heiligen Sakraments willig, ungedrungen, alle Sonntage, welche man erst verhört, ob sie in christlicher Lehre unterrichtet sind, im Vaterunser, im Glauben, in [den] zehn Geboten etwas wissen oder verstehen. Item, die Jugend und das Volk singt ordentlich lateinische und deutsche Psalmen, daß sie der Sprüche der Schrift gewohnen und beten lernen. Bei den Widersachern ist kein Katechismus, da doch die Canones von reden. Bei uns werden die Canones gehalten, daß die Pfarrer und Kirchendiener öffentlich und daheim die Kinder und Jugend in Gottes Wort unterweisen. Und der Katechismus ist nicht ein Kinderwerk, wie Fahnen-, Kerzentragen, sondern eine fast [sehr] nützliche Unterrichtung. Bei den Widersachern wird in vielen Ländern, als in Italien und Hispanien usw., das ganze Jahr durch nicht gepredigt denn allein in der Fasten. Da sollten sie schreien und billig hoch klagen; denn das heißt auf einmal alle Gottesdienste recht umgestoßen. Denn der allergrößte, heiligste, nötigste, höchste Gottesdienst, welchen Gott im ersten und andern Gebot als das Größte hat gefordert, ist Gottes Wort predigen: denn das Predigtamt ist das höchste Amt in der Kirche. Wo nun der Gottesdienst ausgelassen wird, wie kann da Erkenntnis Gottes, die Lehre Christi oder das Evangelium sein? Darum, wenn sie gleich in der Fasten oder sonst zur andern Zeit predigen, lehren sie nichts denn von solchen Menschensatzungen, vom Anrufen der Heiligen, von Weihwasser und von solchen Narrenwerken, und ist der Gebrauch, daß ihr Volk bald, wenn der Text des Evangelii gesagt ist, aus der Kirche laufe, welches sich vielleicht davon angefangen, daß sie nicht haben mögen die andern Lügen hören. Etliche wenige unter ihnen heben nun auch an, von guten Werken zu predigen. Von der Erkenntnis Christi aber, vom Glauben, vom Trost der Gewissen können sie nichts predigen, sondern dieselbe selige Lehre, das liebe, heilige Evangelium, nennen sie Lutherisch. In unserer Kirche aber werden von Predigern diese folgenden nötigen Stücke mit höchstem Fleiß gelehrt: von rechter Buße, von der Furcht Gottes, von dem Glauben, was der sei, von der Erkenntnis Christi, von der Gerechtigkeit, die aus dem Glauben kommt; item, wie die Gewissen in Ängsten und Anfechtungen sollen Trost suchen, wie der Glaube durch allerlei Anfechtungen muß geübt werden, was ein recht Gebet sei, wie man beten soll; item, daß ein Christ gewiß sich trösten soll, daß sein Rufen und Bitten Gott werde erhören im Himmel; von dem heiligen Kreuz, vom Gehorsam gegen die Obrigkeit; item, wie ein jeder in seinem Stande christlich leben und fahren mag; vom Gehorsam der Herrengebote, aller weltlichen Ordnungen und Gesetze; item, wie zu unterscheiden seien das geistliche Reich Christi und die Regimente und Reiche in der Welt; von dem Ehestande, und wie der christlich zu führen sei; von christlicher Zucht der Kinder, von der Keuschheit, von allerlei Werken der Liebe gegen den Nächsten. Also ist unsere Kirche mit Lehre und Wandel bestellt, daraus unparteiische Leute wohl merken und abnehmen können, daß wir christliche, rechte Zeremonien nicht abtun, sondern mit Fleiß aufs treulichste erhalten.

45] Ac de mortificatione carnis et disciplina corporis ita docemus, sicut narrat Confessio, quod vera et non simulata mortificatio fiat per crucem et afflictiones, quibus Deus exercet nos. In his obediendum est voluntati Dei, sicut ait Paulus Rom. 12, 1: *Exhibete corpora vestra hostiam* etc. Et haec sunt spiritualia exercitia timoris et fidei. Verum 46] praeter hanc mortificationem, quae fit per crucem, est et voluntarium quoddam exercitii genus necessarium, de quo Christus ait Luc. 21, 34: *Cavete, ne corda vestra graventur crapula.* Et Paulus 1 Cor. 9, 27: *Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo* etc. 47] Et haec exercitia suscipienda sunt, non quod sint cultus iustificantes, sed ut coerceant carnem, ne saturitas obruat nos et reddat securos et otiosos, qua ex re fit, ut affectibus carnis indulgeant et obtemperent homines. Haec diligentia debet esse perpetua, [R. 214 48] quia habet perpetuum mandatum Dei. Et

Und die Kasteiung des Fleisches oder alten Adams lehren wir also, wie unsere Konfession meldet, daß die rechte Kasteiung dann geschieht, wenn uns Gott den Willen bricht, Kreuz und Trübsal zuschickt, daß wir lernen seinem Willen gehorsam sein, wie Paulus zu den Römern am 12. sagt: „Begebet eure eigenen Leiber zu einem heiligen Opfer." Und das sind rechte heilige Kasteiungen, also in Anfechtungen lernen Gott kennen, ihn fürchten, lieben usw. Über dieselben Trübsale, welche nicht in unserm Willen stehen, sind auch noch die leiblichen Übungen, da Christus von sagt: „Hütet euch, daß eure Leiber nicht beschweret werden mit Fressen und Saufen!" Und Paulus zu den Korinthern: „Ich zähme meinen Leib" usw. Die Übungen sollen darum geschehen, nicht daß es nötige Gottesdienste seien, dadurch man vor Gott fromm werde, sondern daß wir unser Fleisch im Zaum halten, damit wir durch Völlerei und Beschwerung des Leibes nicht sicher und müßig werden, des Teufels Reizungen und

grievous complaint; for this means at one blow to overthrow completely all worship. For of all acts of worship that is the greatest, most holy, most necessary, and highest, which God has required as the highest in the First and the Second Commandment, namely, to preach the Word of God. For the ministry is the highest office in the Church. Now, if this worship is omitted, how can there be knowledge of God, the doctrine of Christ, or the Gospel?] But the chief service of God is to teach the Gospel. And when the adversaries do preach, they speak of human traditions, of the worship of saints [of consecrated water], and similar trifles, which the people justly loathe; therefore they are deserted immediately in the beginning, after the text of the Gospel has been recited. [This practise may have started because the people did not wish to hear the other lies.] A few better ones begin now to speak of good works; but of the righteousness of faith, of faith in Christ, of the consolation of consciences, they say nothing; yea, this most wholesome part of the Gospel they rail at with their reproaches. [This blessed doctrine, the precious holy Gospel, they call Lutheran.] On the contrary, in our churches all the sermons are occupied with such topics as these: of repentance; of the fear of God; of faith in Christ, of the righteousness of faith, of the consolation of consciences by faith, of the exercises of faith; of prayer, what its nature should be, and that we should be fully confident that it is efficacious, that it is heard; of the cross; of the authority of magistrates and all civil ordinances [likewise, how each one in his station should live in a Christian manner, and, out of obedience to the command of the Lord God, should conduct himself in reference to every worldly ordinance and law]; of the distinction between the kingdom of Christ, or the spiritual kingdom, and political affairs; of marriage; of the education and instruction of children; of chastity; of all the offices of love. From this condition of the churches it may be judged that we diligently maintain church-discipline and godly ceremonies and good church-customs.

And of the mortification of the flesh and discipline of the body we thus teach, just as the Confession states, that a true and not a feigned mortification occurs through the cross and afflictions by which God exercises us [when God breaks our will, inflicts the cross and trouble]. In these we must obey God's will, as Paul says, Rom. 12, 1: *Present your bodies a living sacrifice.* And these are the spiritual exercises of fear and faith. But in addition to this mortification which occurs through the cross [which does not depend upon our will] there is also a voluntary kind of exercise necessary, of which Christ says, Luke 21, 34: *Take heed to yourselves lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting.* And Paul, 1 Cor. 9, 27: *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection,* etc. And these exercises are to be undertaken not because they are services that justify, but in order to curb the flesh, lest satiety may overpower us, and render us secure and indifferent, the result of which is that men indulge and obey the dispositions of the flesh. This diligence ought to be perpetual, because it has the perpetual command of God. And this prescribed form of certain

illa praescripta forma certorum ciborum ac temporum nihil facit ad coercendam carnem. Est enim delicatior et sumptuosior quam reliqua convivia; et ne adversarii quidem observant formam in canonibus traditam.

49] Multas et difficiles disputationes habet hic locus de traditionibus, ac nos re ipsa experti sumus traditiones vere esse laqueos conscientiarum. Quum exiguntur tamquam necessariae, miris modis cruciant conscientias praetermittentes aliquam observationem. Rursus abrogatio sua habet incommoda, suas 50] quaestiones. Sed nos facilem et planam causam habemus, quia adversarii damnant nos, quod docemus traditiones humanas non mereri remissionem peccatorum. Item requirunt universales traditiones, quas sic vocant, tamquam necessarias ad iustificationem. Hic habemus patronum constantem Paulum, qui ubique contendit has observationes neque iustificare, neque necessarias esse supra iusti- 51] tiam fidei. Et tamen usum libertatis in his rebus ita moderandum esse docemus, ne imperiti offendantur et propter abusum libertatis fiant iniquiores verae doctrinae evangelii, neve sine probabili causa mutetur aliquid in usitatis ritibus, sed ut propter alendam concordiam serventur veteres mores, qui sine peccato aut sine magno incommodo ser- 52] vari possunt. Et in hoc ipso conventu satis ostendimus nos propter caritatem ἀδιάφορα non gravatim observaturos esse cum aliis, etiamsi quid incommodi haberent, sed publicam concordiam, quae quidem sine offensione conscientiarum fieri posset, iudicavimus omnibus aliis commodis anteferendam esse. Sed de hac tota re paulo post etiam dicemus, quum de votis et de potestate ecclesiastica disputabimus.

des Fleisches Lüsten folgen. Dasselbe Fasten und Kasteien sollte nicht allein auf gewisse Zeit, sondern allezeit geschehen. Denn Gott will, daß wir allezeit mäßig und nüchtern leben, und wie die Erfahrung gibt, so helfen dazu nicht viel bestimmte Fastentage. Denn man hat mit Fischen und allerlei Fastenspeise mehr Unkost und Quasserei [Schwelgerei] getrieben denn außer der Fasten; und die Widersacher selbst haben die Fasten nie gehalten dergestalt, wie sie in canonibus angezeigt ist.

Dieser Artikel von den menschlichen Traditionen oder Satzungen hat ganz viel schwere Disputationen und Fragen hinter sich, und die Erfahrung hat's allzustark gegeben, daß solche Satzungen rechte schwere Ketten und Stricke sind, die Gewissen jämmerlich zu quälen. Denn wenn dieser Wahn da ist, daß sie nötig seien zur Seligkeit, so plagen sie über alle Maßen ein arm Gewissen. Wie denn fromme Herzen wohl erfahren, wenn sie in horis canonicis eine Complete ausgelassen usw. oder dergleichen dawider getan. Wiederum schlechthin die Freiheit lehren, hat auch seine Bedenken und seine Fragen, nachdem das gemeine Volk äußerlicher Zucht und Anleitung bedarf. Aber die Widersacher machen diese Sache selbst gewiß und schlecht. Denn sie verdammen uns darum, daß wir lehren, daß wir durch menschliche Satzungen nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden vor Gott. Item, sie wollen ihre Satzungen durch die ganze Kirche universaliter durchaus gehalten haben, schlechts als nötig, und setzen sie an Christus' Statt. Da haben wir einen starken Patron für uns, den Apostel Paulum, welcher an allen Orten das streitet, daß solche Satzungen vor Gott nicht gerecht machen und nicht nötig seien zur Seligkeit. Auch lehren die Unsern deutlich und klar, daß man der christlichen Freiheit in den Dingen also gebrauchen soll, daß man vor den Schwachen, so solches nicht unterrichtet sind, nicht Ärgernis anrichte, und daß nicht etwa diejenigen, so der Freiheit mißbrauchen, die Schwachen von der Lehre des Evangelii abschrecken. Darum lehren auch unsere Prediger, daß ohne [be]sondere und ohne bewegende Ursachen an den Kirchenbräuchen nichts geändert soll werden, sondern um Friedens und Einigkeit willen soll man diejenigen Gewohnheiten halten, so man ohne Sünde und ohne Beschwerung der Gewissen halten kann. Und auf diesem Augsburger Reichstag haben wir uns gleich genug finden und vernehmen lassen, daß wir um Liebe willen unbeschwert sein wollten, etliche adiaphora mit den andern zu halten. Denn wir haben auch bei uns wohl bedacht, daß gemeine Einigkeit und Friede, soviel derselben ohne Beschwerung der Gewissen zu erhalten wäre, billig allen andern, geringen Sachen würde vorgezogen. Aber von dem allem wollen wir hernach weiter reden, wenn wir von Klostergelübden und von der potestate ecclesiastica handeln werden.

Art. XVI. De Ordine Politico.

53] Articulum XVI. recipiunt adversarii sine ulla exceptione, in quo confessi sumus, quod liceat Christiano gerere magistratus, exercere iudicia ex imperatoriis legibus seu aliis praesentibus legibus, supplicia [R. 215 iure constituere, iure bella gerere, militare, iure contrahere, tenere proprium, iusiurandum postulantibus magistratibus dare, contrahere matrimonium, denique quod legitimae ordinationes civiles sint bonae creaturae Dei et ordinationes divinae, quibus tuto Christia- 54] nus uti potest. Hic totus locus *de discrimine regni Christi et regni civilis* literis no-

Artikel XVI. Vom weltlichen Regiment.

Den XVI. Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher gefallen ohne alle weiteren Fragen, da wir in der Konfession sagen und lehren, daß ein Christ mit Gott und Gewissen in der Obrigkeit sein mag, Land und Leute regieren, Urteil und Recht sprechen aus kaiserlichen und andern landläuftigen Rechten, die Übeltäter mit dem Schwert und sonst nach der Schärfe strafen, Kriege führen, kaufen und verkaufen, Haus, Hof und sonst Eigenes haben und behalten, aufgelegte Eide in Gerichten schwören; in Summa, da wir lehren, daß Obrigkeit und Regiment, item ihr Recht und Strafe und alles, was dazu gehört, seien gute Kreaturen

meats and times does nothing [as experience shows] towards curbing the flesh. For it is more luxurious and sumptuous than other feasts [for they were at greater expense, and practised greater gluttony with fish and various Lenten meats than when the fasts were not observed], and not even the adversaries observe the form given in the canons.

This topic concerning traditions contains many and difficult questions of controversy, and we have actually experienced that traditions are truly snares of consciences. When they are exacted as necessary, they torture in wonderful ways the conscience omitting any observance [as godly hearts, indeed, experience when in the canonical hours they have omitted a compline, or offended against them in a similar way]. Again their abrogation has its own evils and its own questions. [On the other hand, to teach absolute freedom has also its doubts and questions, because the common people need outward discipline and instruction.] But we have an easy and plain case, because the adversaries condemn us for teaching that human traditions do not merit the remission of sins. Likewise they require universal traditions, as they call them, as necessary for justification [and place them in Christ's stead]. Here we have Paul as a constant champion, who everywhere contends that these observances neither justify nor are necessary in addition to the righteousness of faith. And nevertheless we teach that in these matters the use of liberty is to be so controlled that the inexperienced may not be offended, and, on account of the abuse of liberty, may not become more hostile to the true doctrine of the Gospel, or that without a reasonable cause nothing in customary rites be changed, but that, in order to cherish harmony, such old customs be observed as can be observed without sin or without great inconvenience. And in this very assembly we have shown sufficiently that for love's sake we do not refuse to observe adiaphora with others, even though they should have some disadvantage; but we have judged that such public harmony as could indeed be produced without offense to consciences ought to be preferred to all other advantages [all other less important matters]. But concerning this entire subject we shall speak after a while, when we shall treat of vows and ecclesiastical power.

Article XVI: Of Political Order.

The Sixteenth Article the adversaries receive without any exception, in which we have confessed that it is lawful for the Christian to bear civil office, sit in judgment, determine matters by the imperial laws, and other laws in present force, appoint just punishments, engage in just wars, act as a soldier, make legal contracts, hold property, take an oath when magistrates require it, contract marriage; finally, that legitimate civil ordinances are good creatures of God and divine ordinances, which a Christian can use with safety. This entire topic *concerning the distinction between the kingdom of Christ and a political*

strorum utiliter illustratus est, quod regnum Christi sit spirituale, hoc est, in corde notitiam Dei, timorem Dei et fidem, iustitiam aeternam et vitam aeternam inchoans, interim foris sinat nos uti politicis ordinationibus legitimis quarumcunque gentium, inter quas vivimus, sicut sinit nos uti medicina aut
55] architectonica aut cibo, potu, aëre. Nec fert evangelium novas leges de statu civili, sed praecipit, ut praesentibus legibus obtemperemus, sive ab ethnicis, sive ab aliis conditae sint, et hac obedientia caritatem iubet exercere. Insaniebat enim Carolostadius, qui nobis imponebat leges iudiciales Mosis. De
56] his rebus ideo copiosius scripserunt nostri, quia monachi multas perniciosas opiniones sparserunt in ecclesiam. Vocaverunt politiam evangelicam communionem rerum, dixerunt esse consilia, non tenere proprium, non ulcisci. Hae opiniones valde obscurant evangelium et regnum spirituale, et sunt pericu-
57] losae rebus publicis. Nam evangelium non dissipat politiam aut oeconomiam, sed multo magis approbat, et non solum propter poenam, sed etiam propter conscientiam iubet illis parere tamquam divinae ordinationi.

Gottes und Gottes Ordnungen, deren ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen brauchen mag [darf]. Dieser Artikel gefällt ihnen wohl. Dieser ganz wichtige, nötige Artikel **vom Unterschied des geistlichen Reiches Christi und weltlichen Reiches,** welcher fast [sehr] nötig ist zu wissen, ist durch die Unsern ganz eigentlich, richtig und klar gegeben, vielen Gewissen zu merklichem, großem Trost. Denn wir haben klar gelehrt, daß Christi Reich geistlich ist, da er regiert durch das Wort und die Predigt, wirkt durch den Heiligen Geist und mehrt in uns den Glauben, Gottesfurcht, Liebe, Geduld inwendig im Herzen und fängt hier auf Erden in uns Gottes Reich und das ewige Leben an. Solange aber dies Leben währt, läßt er uns nichtsdestoweniger brauchen der Gesetze, der Ordnungen und Stände, so in der Welt gehen, danach eines jeden Beruf ist, gleichwie er uns läßt brauchen der Arznei, item Bauens und Pflanzens, der Luft, des Wassers. Und das Evangelium bringt nicht neue Gesetze im Weltregiment, sondern gebietet und will haben, daß wir den Gesetzen sollen gehorsam sein und der Obrigkeit, darunter wir wohnen, es seien Heiden oder Christen, und daß wir in solchem Gehorsam unsere Liebe erzeigen sollen. Denn Carlstadt war in diesem Fall gar toll und töricht, daß er lehrte, man sollte nach dem Gesetz Mosis die Stadt- und Landregimente bestellen. Von diesem Stücke haben die Unsern darum desto fleißiger geschrieben, denn die Mönche hatten viel und ganz schädliche Irrtümer gelehrt in der Kirche. Denn sie haben dieses ein evangelisch Leben genannt, daß man nichts Eigenes hätte, daß man nicht Strafe und Rache übte, daß man nicht Weib und Kind hätte. Solche Lehren haben die reine evangelische Lehre ganz unterdrückt, daß man gar nicht verstanden hat, was christlich oder das geistliche Reich Christi sei, und haben weltlich und geistlich Reich ineinandergekocht, daraus viel Unrat und aufrührerische, schädliche Lehre erfolgt usw. Denn das Evangelium zerreißt nicht weltlich Regiment, Haushaltung, Kaufen, Verkaufen und andere weltliche Polizei, sondern bestätigt Obrigkeit und Regiment und befiehlt, denselben gehorsam zu sein als Gottes Ordnung, nicht allein um der Strafe willen, sondern auch um des Gewissens willen.

58] Iulianus Apostata, Celsus et plerique alii obiecerunt Christianis, quod evangelium dissiparet respublicas, quia prohiberet vindictam, et alia quaedam traderet parum apta civili societati. Et hae quaestiones mire exercuerunt Origenem, Nazianzenum et alios, quum quidem facillime explicari possint, si sciamus evangelium non ferre leges de [R. 216 statu civili, sed esse remissionem peccatorum et inchoationem vitae aeternae in cordibus credentium; ceterum non solum externas politias approbare, sed nos etiam subiicere illis, Rom. 13, 1, sicut necessario subditi sumus legi-
bus temporum, vicibus hiemis et aestatis tam-
59] quam divinis ordinationibus. Evangelium prohibet vindictam privatam, idque hoc consilio Christus toties inculcat, ne apostoli putarent se imperia debere istis eripere, qui alioqui tenebant, sicut Iudaei de regno Messiae somniabant, sed ut scirent se de regno spirituali docere oportere, non mutare civilem statum. Itaque privata vindicta non consilio, sed praecepto prohibetur Matth. 5, 39 et Rom. 12, 19. Publica, quae fit ex officio magistratus, non dissuadetur, sed praecipitur et est opus Dei iuxta Paulum, Rom. 13, 1 sqq. Iam publicae vindictae species sunt iudicia,
60] supplicia, bella, militia. De his rebus quam male iudicaverint multi scriptores, constat, quia in hoc errore fuerunt evangelium externam quandam, novam et monasticam politiam esse, nec viderunt evangelium cor-

Julianus Apostata, Celsus und etliche andere, die haben den Christen vorgeworfen, daß ihr Evangelium die Weltregimente und Polizeien zerrisse und zerrüttete, dieweil es verbiete, man solle sich nicht rächen und dergleichen. Und dieselben Fragen haben Origeni und Nazianzeno und etlichen andern viel zu tun gemacht, so man doch leichtlich darauf antworten kann, wenn wir allein wissen, daß die evangelische Lehre nicht neue Gesetze macht von Weltregimenten, sondern predigt Vergebung der Sünden, und daß das geistliche Reich und ewige Leben in [den] Herzen der Gläubigen anfängt. Das Evangelium aber läßt nicht allein bleiben dieselben äußerlichen Polizeien, Weltregimente und Ordnungen, sondern will auch, daß wir solchen sollen gehorsam sein, gleichwie wir in diesem zeitlichen Leben gehorsam und unterworfen sein sollen und müssen gemeinem Lauf der Natur als Gottes Ordnung (wir lassen es Winter und Sommer werden usw.); das hindert nichts am geistlichen Reich. Das Evangelium verbietet allein privatam vindictam, daß niemand der Obrigkeit in ihr Amt greife. Und das zeigt Christus darum so oft an, daß die Apostel nicht dächten, sie sollten Weltherren werden und die Königreiche und Obrigkeit denjenigen nehmen, die die [zu der] Zeit in Herrschaften waren, wie denn die Juden vom Reich des Messias gedachten, sondern daß sie wüßten, daß ihr Amt wäre, zu predigen vom geistlichen Reich, nicht einiges Weltregiment zu verändern. Derhalben ist das Gebot, da Christus verbietet, sich

kingdom has been explained to advantage [to the remarkably great consolation of many consciences] in the literature of our writers, [namely] that the kingdom of Christ is spiritual [inasmuch as Christ governs by the Word and by preaching], to wit, beginning in the heart the knowledge of God, the fear of God and faith, eternal righteousness, and eternal life; meanwhile it permits us outwardly to use legitimate political ordinances of every nation in which we live, just as it permits us to use medicine or the art of building, or food, drink, air. Neither does the Gospel bring new laws concerning the civil state, but commands that we obey present laws, whether they have been framed by heathen or by others, and that in this obedience we should exercise love. For Carlstadt was insane in imposing upon us the judicial laws of Moses. Concerning these subjects, our theologians have written more fully, because the monks diffused many pernicious opinions in the Church. They called a community of property the polity of the Gospel; they said that not to hold property, not to vindicate one's self at law [not to have wife and child], were evangelical counsels. These opinions greatly obscure the Gospel and the spiritual kingdom [so that it was not understood at all what the Christian or spiritual kingdom of Christ is; they concocted the secular kingdom with the spiritual, whence much trouble and seditions, harmful teaching resulted], and are dangerous to the commonwealth. For the Gospel does not destroy the State or the family [buying, selling, and other civil regulations], but much rather approves them, and bids us obey them as a divine ordinance, not only on account of punishment, but also on account of conscience.

Julian the Apostate, Celsus, and very many others made the objection to Christians that the Gospel would rend asunder states, because it prohibited legal redress, and taught certain other things not at all suited to political association. And these questions wonderfully exercised Origen, Nazianzen, and others, although, indeed, they can be most readily explained, if we keep in mind the fact that the Gospel does not introduce laws concerning the civil state, but is the remission of sins and the beginning of a new life in the hearts of believers; besides, it not only approves outward governments, but subjects us to them, Rom. 13, 1, just as we have been necessarily placed under the laws of seasons, the changes of winter and summer, as divine ordinances. [This is no obstacle to the spiritual kingdom.] The Gospel forbids private redress [in order that no one should interfere with the office of the magistrate], and Christ inculcates this so frequently with the design that the apostles should not think that they ought to seize the governments from those who held otherwise, just as the Jews dreamed concerning the kingdom of the Messiah, but that they might know they ought to teach concerning the spiritual kingdom that it does not change the civil state. Therefore private redress is prohibited not by advice, but by a command, Matt. 5, 39; Rom. 12, 19. Public redress, which is made through the office of the magistrate, is not advised against, but is commanded, and is a work of God, according to Paul, Rom. 13, 1 sqq. Now the different kinds of public redress are legal decisions, capital punishment, wars, military service. It is manifest how incorrectly many writers have judged concerning these matters [some teachers have taught such pernicious errors that

dibus afferre iustitiam aeternam, foris autem probare statum civilem.

selbst zu rächen, nicht allein ein Rat, sondern ein ernst Gebot, Matth. 5 und Röm. 12. Die Rache aber und Strafe des Argen, so von der Obrigkeit geschieht, ist damit nicht verboten, sondern vielmehr geboten. Denn es ist „Gottes Werk", wie Paulus Röm. 13 sagt. Dieselbe Rache geschieht, wenn man übeltäter straft, Krieg führt um gemeinen Friedens willen, des Schwerts, der Pferde und Harnische gebraucht usw. Von den Dingen haben etliche Lehrer solche schädliche Irrtümer gelehrt, daß gar nahe [schier] alle Fürsten, Herren, Ritter, Knechte ihren rechten Stand für weltlich, ungöttlich und verdammt gehalten usw. Und ist nicht wohl mit Worten auszureden, was [für] unsägliche Gefahr und Schaden der Seelen und Gewissen daraus geursacht. Denn man hat gelehrt, als sei das Evangelium und die christliche Lehre eitel Mönchsleben, und haben nicht gesehen, daß das Evangelium lehrt, wie man vor Gott und im Gewissen von der Sünde, Hölle, dem Teufel erlöst wird und läßt auswendig der Welt ihr Regiment in äußerlichen Dingen.

61] Vanissimum et hoc est, quod sit perfectio Christiana non tenere proprium. Nam perfectio Christiana est sita non in contemptu civilium ordinationum, sed in motibus cordis, in magno timore Dei, in magna fide, sicut Abraham, David, Daniel etiam in magnis opibus atque in imperiis non minus **62**] perfecti erant quam ulli eremitae. Sed monachi illam externam hypocrisin obtuderunt oculis hominum, ne videri posset, in quibus rebus sit vera perfectio. Quibus laudibus vexerunt communionem rerum quasi **63**] evangelicam! At hae laudes plurimum habent periculi, praesertim quum longe dissentiant a Scripturis. Scriptura enim non praecipit, ut res sint communes, sed lex Decalogi, cum inquit Exod. 20, 15: *Non furtum facies*, dominia distinguit, et suum quemque tenere iubet. Plane furebat Vuiglefus, [R. 217 qui negabat licere sacerdotibus tenere pro-**64**] prium. Sunt infinitae disputationes de contractibus, de quibus nunquam satisfieri bonis conscientiis potest, nisi sciant hanc regulam, quod Christiano liceat uti civilibus ordinationibus ac legibus. Haec regula tuetur conscientias, quum docet eatenus licitos esse contractus coram Deo, quatenus eos magistratus seu leges approbant.

So ist das auch eine lautere Lüge und Betrug gewesen, daß sie gelehrt haben unverschämt, daß die christliche Vollkommenheit [be]stehe darin, daß man nichts Eigenes habe. Denn christliche Vollkommenheit [be]steht nicht darin, daß ich mich äußerlich fromm stelle und von dem Weltwesen mich absondere, sondern der Glaube und rechte Gottesfurcht im Herzen ist die Vollkommenheit. Denn Abraham, David, Daniel sind in königlichem Stande, in großen Fürstenräten und Ämtern gewesen, haben auch große Reichtümer gehabt und sind doch heiliger, vollkommener gewesen, denn je ein Mönch oder Kartäuser ist auf Erden gekommen. Aber die Mönche, sonderlich Barfüßer, haben den Leuten einen Schein vor den Augen gemacht; darüber hat niemand gewußt, worin die rechte Heiligkeit [be]stünde. Denn wie hoch evangelisch, wie für große Heiligkeit haben die Mönche allein dieses gerühmt, daß man nicht Eigenes haben sollte, daß man sollte willig arm sein! Aber dasselbe sind gar schädliche Lehren, nachdem die Schrift nichts davon meldet, sondern stracks dawider lehrt. Die zehn Gebote Gottes sagen klar: „Du sollst nicht stehlen." Da läßt ja Gott nach, daß ein jeder das Seine habe. In diesem Stücke hat Wiklefus gar gewütet, da er hat darauf gedrungen, kein Bischof noch Pfaff sollte Eigenes haben. So sind unzählige verworrene Disputationen von Kontrakten, da christliche Gewissen nimmermehr können gestillt werden, sie sind denn dieses nötigen Stückes unterrichtet, daß ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen sich halten mag nach Landrecht und Gebrauch. Denn dieser Unterricht errettet viele Gewissen, da wir lehren, daß die Kontrakte sofern vor Gott ohne Gefahr seien, sofern sie in gemeinen Rechten und Landgebräuchen (welche den Rechten gleich gelten) angenommen sind.

65] Hic totus locus rerum politicarum a nostris ita patefactus est, ut plurimi boni viri, qui versantur in republica et in negotiis, praedicaverint se magnopere adiutos esse, qui antea monachorum opinionibus vexati dubitabant, utrum illa civilia officia et negotia evangelium permitteret. Haec ideo recitavimus, ut etiam exteri intelligant hoc doctrinae genere, quod nos sequimur, non labefactari, sed multo magis muniri auctoritatem magistratuum et dignitatem omnium ordinationum civilium, quarum rerum magnitudo fatuis illis opinionibus monasticis mirifice antea fuit obscurata, quae longe praeferebant hypocrisin paupertatis et humilitatis politiae et oeconomiae, quum hae mandatum Dei habeant, illa communio Platonica non habeat mandatum Dei.

Dieser hohe, nötige Artikel, nämlich von Obrigkeit, von Weltgesetzen, ist von den Unsern ganz klar und richtig gegeben, also daß viel große, hohe, ehrbare Leute, die nach ihrem Stand mit Regimenten müssen umgehen und in großen Händeln sein, bekennen, daß ihre Gewissen merklichen Trost empfangen haben, welche zuvor durch solche Irrtümer der Mönche unsägliche Qual erlitten und in Zweifel standen, ob ihre Stände auch christlich wären, und ob das Evangelium solches nachließe. Dieses haben wir darum erzählt, daß auch die Fremden, Feind und Freund, verstehen mögen, daß durch diese Lehre die Obrigkeit, Landregiment, kaiserlich Recht und andere nicht niedergestoßen, sondern vielmehr hoch gehoben und geschützt werden, daß auch diese Lehre erst recht Unterricht gibt, wie ein herrlich, groß Amt, voll christlicher, guter Werke, das Amt der Regimente ist usw.; welches alles zuvor durch die heuchlerische Mönchslehre für sündliche, weltliche Stände, Leben und Wesen zu unsäglicher Fährlichkeit [Gefahr] des Gewissens gehalten ist worden. Denn die Mönche haben solche Heuchelei erdichtet, ihre Demut und Armut viel höher gerühmt und gehalten denn Fürsten- und Herren-, Vater-, Mutter-, Hausvaterstand; so doch diese Stände Gottes Wort und Befehl haben, die Möncherei aber keinen Befehl Gottes hat.

nearly all princes, lords, knights, servants regarded their proper estate as secular, ungodly, and damnable, etc. Nor can it be fully expressed in words what an unspeakable peril and damage has resulted from this to souls and consciences], because they were in the error that the Gospel is an external, new, and monastic form of government, and did not see that the Gospel brings eternal righteousness to hearts [teaches how a person is redeemed, before God and in his conscience, from sin, hell, and the devil], while it outwardly approves the civil state.

It is also a most vain delusion that it is Christian perfection not to hold property. For Christian perfection consists not in the contempt of civil ordinances, but in dispositions of the heart, in great fear of God, in great faith, just as Abraham, David, Daniel, even in great wealth and while exercising civil power, were no less perfect than any hermits. But the monks [especially the Barefoot monks] have spread this outward hypocrisy before the eyes of men, so that it could not be seen in what things true perfection exists. With what praises have they brought forward this communion of property, as though it were evangelical! But these praises have the greatest danger, especially since they differ much from the Scriptures. For Scripture does not command that property be common, but the Law of the Decalog, when it says, Ex. 20, 15: *Thou shalt not steal*, distinguishes rights of ownership, and commands each one to hold what is his own. Wyclif manifestly was raging when he said that priests were not allowed to hold property. There are infinite discussions concerning contracts, in reference to which good consciences can never be satisfied unless they know the rule that it is lawful for a Christian to make use of civil ordinances and laws. This rule protects consciences when it teaches that contracts are lawful before God just to the extent that the magistrates or laws approve them.

This entire topic concerning civil affairs has been so clearly set forth by our theologians that very many good men occupied in the state and in business have declared that they have been greatly benefited, who before, troubled by the opinion of the monks, were in doubt as to whether the Gospel allowed these civil offices and business. Accordingly, we have recounted these things in order that those without also may understand that by the kind of doctrine which we follow, the authority of magistrates and the dignity of all civil ordinances are not undermined, but are all the more strengthened [and that it is only this doctrine which gives true instruction as to how eminently glorious an office, full of good Christian works, the office of rulers is]. The importance of these matters was greatly obscured previously by those silly monastic opinions, which far preferred the hypocrisy of poverty and humility to the state and the family, although these have God's command, while this Platonic communion [monasticism] has not God's command.

Art. XVII.
De Christi Reditu ad Iudicium.

66] Articulum XVII. recipiunt adversarii sine exceptione, in quo confitemur *Christum* in consummatione mundi appariturum esse, ac mortuos omnes resuscitaturum, et piis aeternam vitam et aeterna gaudia daturum, impios vero condemnaturum esse, ut cum diabolo sine fine crucientur.

Art. XVIII. De Libero Arbitrio.

67] Articulum XVIII. recipiunt adversarii *de libero arbitrio*, etsi quaedam addunt testimonia parum apta ad eam causam. Addunt et declamationem, quod non sit nimium tribuendum libero arbitrio cum Pelagianis, neque omnem ei libertatem adimendam esse cum 68] Manichaeis. Praeclare sane; sed quid interest inter Pelagianos et adversarios [R. 218 nostros, quum utrique sentiant homines sine Spiritu Sancto posse Deum diligere et praecepta Dei facere quoad substantiam actuum, mereri gratiam ac iustificationem operibus, quae ratio per se efficit sine Spiritu Sancto? 69] Quam multa absurda sequuntur ex his Pelagianis opinionibus, quae in scholis magna auctoritate docentur! Has Augustinus sequens Paulum magna contentione refutat, cuius sententiam supra in articulo De Iustificatione [vid. p 118 et 152] recitavimus. Ne- 70] que vero adimimus humanae voluntati libertatem. Habet humana voluntas libertatem in operibus et rebus deligendis, quas ratio per se comprehendit. Potest aliquo modo efficere iustitiam civilem seu iustitiam operum, potest loqui de Deo, exhibere Deo certum cultum externo opere, obedire magistratibus, parentibus, in opere externo eligendo potest continere manus a caede, ab adulterio, a furto. Quum reliqua sit in natura hominis ratio et iudicium de rebus sensui subiectis, reliquus est etiam delectus earum rerum et libertas et facultas efficiendae iustitiae civilis. Id enim vocat Scriptura iustitiam carnis, quam natura carnalis, hoc est, ratio per se, 71] efficit sine Spiritu Sancto. Quamquam tanta est vis concupiscentiae, ut malis affectibus saepius obtemperent homines quam recto iudicio. Et diabolus, qui est efficax in impiis, ut ait Paulus Eph. 2, 2, non desinit incitare hanc imbecillem naturam ad varia delicta. Hae causae sunt, quare et civilis iustitia rara sit inter homines, sicut videmus ne ipsos quidem philosophos eam consecutos 72] esse, qui videntur eam expetivisse. Illud autem falsum est, non peccare hominem, qui facit opera praeceptorum extra gratiam. Et addunt amplius talia opera etiam de congruo mereri remissionem peccatorum ac iustificationem. Nam humana corda sine Spiritu Sancto sunt sine timore Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum, non credunt se exaudiri, sibi ignosci, se iuvari et servari a Deo. Igitur sunt impia. Porro *arbor mala non potest ferre* [R. 219 *bonos fructus*, Matth. 7, 18. *Et sine fide impossibile est Deo placere*, Ebr. 11, 6.

Artikel XVII.
Von der Wiederkunft Christi zum Gericht.

Den XVII. Artikel nehmen die Widersacher an, da wir bekennen, daß **Christus** am Jüngsten Tage kommen werde, die Toten auferwecken, den Frommen das ewige Leben und Freude geben, die Gottlosen zu ewiger Pein mit dem Teufel verdammen.

Artikel XVIII. Vom freien Willen.

Den XVIII. Artikel nehmen die Widersacher an **vom freien Willen,** wiewohl sie etliche Sprüche der Schrift anziehen, die sich zu der Sache nicht reimen. Auch machen sie ein groß Geschrei davon, daß, [wie] man den freien Willen nicht solle zu hoch heben wie die Pelagianer, so soll man ihm nicht zu viel nehmen mit den Manichäern. Ja alles wohl geredet. Was ist aber für Unterschied zwischen den Pelagianern und unsern Widersachern, so sie beide lehren, daß die Menschen ohne den Heiligen Geist können Gott lieben, Gottes Gebote halten quoad substantiam actuum, das ist, die Werke können sie tun durch natürliche Vernunft, ohne den Heiligen Geist, dadurch sie die Gnade Gottes verdienen? Wie viele, unzählige Irrtümer erfolgen aus dieser pelagianischen Lehre, die sie gleichwohl in ihren Schulen gar stark treiben und predigen! Dieselben Irrtümer widerficht Augustinus aus Paulo aufs heftigste, welches [dessen] Meinung wir oben De Iustificatione gesetzt. Und wir sagen auch, daß die Vernunft etlichermaßen einen freien Willen hat. Denn in den Dingen, welche mit der Vernunft zu fassen, zu begreifen sind, haben wir einen freien Willen. Es ist etlichermaßen in uns ein Vermögen, äußerlich ehrbar zu leben, von Gott zu reden, einen äußerlichen Gottesdienst oder heilige Gebärde zu erzeigen, Obrigkeit und Eltern zu gehorchen, nicht [zu] stehlen, nicht [zu] töten. Denn dieweil nach Adams Fall gleichwohl bleibt die natürliche Vernunft, daß ich Böses und Gutes kenne in den Dingen, die mit Sinnen und Vernunft zu begreifen sind, so ist auch etlichermaßen unsers freien Willens Vermögen, ehrbar oder unehrbar zu leben. Das nennt die Heilige Schrift die Gerechtigkeit des Gesetzes oder Fleisches, welche die Vernunft etlichermaßen vermag ohne den Heiligen Geist, wiewohl die angeborne böse Lust so gewaltig ist, daß die Menschen öfter derselben folgen denn der Vernunft, und der Teufel, welcher, wie Paulus sagt, kräftiglich wirkt in den Gottlosen, reizt ohne Unterlaß die arme, schwache Natur zu allen Sünden. Und das ist die Ursache, warum auch wenig der natürlichen Vernunft nach ein ehrbar Leben führen, wie wir sehen, daß auch wenig Philosophi, welche doch danach heftig sich bemüht, ein ehrbar äußerlich Leben recht geführt haben. Das ist aber falsch und erdichtet, daß diejenigen sollten ohne Sünde sein, die solche Werke tun außerhalb der Gnade, oder daß solche gute Werke de congruo Vergebung der Sünden und Gnade verdienen sollten. Denn solche Herzen, die ohne den Heiligen Geist sind, die sind ohne Gottesfurcht, ohne Glauben, Vertrauen, glauben nicht, daß Gott sie erhöre, daß er ihre Sünden vergebe, daß er ihnen in Nöten helfe. Darum sind sie gottlos. Nun kann „ein böser Baum nicht gute Frucht tragen", und „ohne Glauben kann niemand Gott gefallen".

Article XVII:

Of Christ's Return to Judgment.

The Seventeenth Article the adversaries receive without exception, in which we confess that at the consummation of the world *Christ* shall appear, and shall raise up all the dead, and shall give to the godly eternal life and eternal joys, but shall condemn the ungodly to be punished with the devil without end.

Article XVIII: Of Free Will.

The Eighteenth Article, *Of Free Will,* the adversaries receive, although they add some testimonies not at all adapted to this case. They add also a declamation that neither, with the Pelagians, is too much to be granted to the free will, nor, with the Manicheans, is all freedom to be denied it. Very well; but what difference is there between the Pelagians and our adversaries, since both hold that without the Holy Ghost men can love God and perform God's commandments with respect to the substance of the acts, and can merit grace and justification by works which reason performs by itself, without the Holy Ghost? How many absurdities follow from these Pelagian opinions, which are taught with great authority in the schools! These Augustine, following Paul, refutes with great emphasis, whose judgment we have recounted above in the article *Of Justification.* (See p. 119 and 153.) Nor, indeed, do we deny liberty to the human will. The human will has liberty in the choice of works and things which reason comprehends by itself. It can to a certain extent render civil righteousness or the righteousness of works; it can speak of God, offer to God a certain service by an outward work, obey magistrates, parents; in the choice of an outward work it can restrain the hands from murder, from adultery, from theft. Since there is left in human nature reason and judgment concerning objects subjected to the senses, choice between these things, and the liberty and power to render civil righteousness, are also left. For Scripture calls this the righteousness of the flesh which the carnal nature, *i. e.*, reason, renders by itself, without the Holy Ghost. Although the power of concupiscence is such that men more frequently obey evil dispositions than sound judgment. And the devil, who is efficacious in the godless, as Paul says, Eph. 2, 2, does not cease to incite this feeble nature to various offenses. These are the reasons why even civil righteousness is rare among men, as we see that not even the philosophers themselves, who seem to have aspired after this righteousness, attained it. But it is false to say that he who performs the works of the commandments without grace does not sin. And they add further that such works also merit *de congruo* the remission of sins and justification. For human hearts without the Holy Ghost are without the fear of God; without trust toward God, they do not believe that they are heard, forgiven, helped, and preserved by God. Therefore they are godless. For *neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit,* Matt. 7, 18. And *without faith it is impossible to please God,* Heb. 11, 6.

73] Igitur etiamsi concedimus libero arbitrio libertatem et facultatem externa opera legis efficiendi, tamen illa spiritualia non tribuimus libero arbitrio, scilicet vere timere Deum, vere credere Deo, vere statuere ac sentire, quod Deus nos respiciat, exaudiat, ignoscat nobis etc. Haec sunt vera opera primae tabulae, quae non potest humanum cor efficere sine Spiritu Sancto, sicut ait Paulus 1 Cor. 2, 14: *Animalis homo,* hoc est, homo tantum naturalibus viribus utens, *non percipit ea,* 74] *quae Dei sunt.* Et hoc iudicari potest, si considerent homines, quomodo corda de voluntate Dei sentiant, utrum vere statuant se respici et exaudiri a Deo. Hanc fidem difficile est et sanctis retinere; tantum abest, ut sit in impiis. Concipitur autem, ut supra diximus, quum corda perterrefacta evangelium audiunt et consolationem concipiunt.

Darum, ob wir gleich nachgeben, daß in unserm Vermögen sei, solch äußerlich Werk zu tun, so sagen wir doch, daß der freie Wille und Vernunft in geistlichen Sachen nichts vermag, nämlich Gott wahrlich [wahrhaft] glauben, gewiß sich zu verlassen, daß Gott bei uns sei, uns erhöre, unsere Sünden vergebe usw. Denn das sind die rechten, hohen, edelsten guten Werke der ersten Tafel in [den] zehn Geboten; die vermag kein Menschenherz ohne des Heiligen Geistes Licht und Gnade [zu tun], wie Paulus sagt zu den Korinthern: „Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geist Gottes." Das ist, ein Mensch, der nicht erleuchtet ist durch Gottes Geist, vernimmt gar nichts aus natürlicher Vernunft von Gottes Willen oder göttlichen Sachen. Und das empfinden die Menschen, wenn sie ihr Herz fragen, wie sie gegen Gottes Willen gesinnt seien, ob sie auch gewiß dafürhalten, daß Gott ihrer wahrnehme und sie erhöre. Denn solches gewiß zu glauben und also auf einen unsichtbaren Gott sich ganz [zu] wagen und [zu] verlassen und, wie Petrus sagt, 1. Ep. 1, 8, den Christum, den wir nicht sehen, [zu] lieben und groß[zu]achten, das kommt auch die Heiligen schwer an; wie sollte es denn in [den] Gottlosen leicht sein? Dann heben wir an recht zu glauben, wenn unsere Herzen erst erschreckt werden und durch Christum wieder aufgerichtet, da wir durch den Heiligen Geist neugeboren werden, wie oben gesagt.

75] Prodest igitur ista distributio, in qua tribuitur libero arbitrio iustitia civilis, et iustitia spiritualis gubernationi Spiritus Sancti in renatis. Ita enim retinetur paedagogia, quia omnes homines pariter debent scire, et quod Deus illam civilem iustitiam requirat, et quod aliquo modo praestare eam possimus. Et tamen ostenditur discrimen inter iustitiam humanam et spiritualem, inter philosophicam et doctrinam Spiritus Sancti, et intelligi potest, ad quid opus sit Spiritu Sancto. 76] Neque haec distributio a nobis inventa est, sed Scriptura clarissime tradit eam. Tractat eam et Augustinus, et est recens egregie tractata a Guilielmo Parisiensi, sed sceleste obruta est ab istis, qui somniaverunt homines legi Dei obedire posse sine Spiritu Sancto, dari autem Spiritum Sanctum, ut accedat respectus meritorii.

Darum ist's gut, daß man dieses klar unterscheidet, nämlich, daß die Vernunft und freier Wille vermag, etlichermaßen äußerlich ehrbar zu leben; aber neugeboren werden, inwendig ander Herz, Sinn und Mut kriegen, das wirkt allein der Heilige Geist. Also bleibt weltliche, äußerliche Zucht; denn Gott will ungeschicktes, wildes, freches Wesen und Leben nicht haben, und wird doch ein rechter Unterschied gemacht unter äußerlichem Weltleben und Frömmigkeit und der Frömmigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, die nicht philosophisch äußerlich ist, sondern inwendig im Herzen. Und diesen Unterschied haben wir nicht erdichtet, sondern die Heilige Schrift setzt solches klar. So handelt's auch Augustinus, und ist neulich von Guilielmo Parisiensi auch fleißig geschrieben und gehandelt. Aber diejenigen, die ihnen [sich] selbst erdichten und erträumen, als vermöchten die Menschen Gottes Gesetz zu halten ohne den Heiligen Geist, und als werde der Heilige Geist uns Gnade geben in Ansehung unsers Verdienstes, haben diese nötige Lehre schändlich unterdrückt.

Art. XIX. De Causa Peccati.

77] Articulum XIX. recipiunt adversarii, in quo confitemur, quod, etsi unus ac solus Deus condiderit universam naturam et [R. 220 conservet omnia, quae existunt, tamen *causa peccati* sit voluntas in diabolo et hominibus avertens se a Deo, iuxta dictum Christi de diabolo, Ioh. 8, 44: *Quum loquitur mendacium, ex propriis loquitur.*

Artikel XIX. Von der Ursache der Sünde.

Den XIX. Artikel lassen ihnen die Widersacher gefallen, da wir lehren, daß, wiewohl der einige Gott die ganze Welt und ganze Natur geschaffen hat und alle Stunde alle Kreaturen erhält, so ist er doch **nicht eine Ursache der Sünde,** sondern der böse Wille in Teufeln und Menschen, der sich von Gott abkehrt, der ist eine Ursache der Sünde, wie Christus sagt von dem Teufel: „Wenn er Lügen redet, so redet er aus seinem Eigenen."

Art. XX. De Bonis Operibus.

78] In articulo XX. diserte ponunt haec verba, quod reiiciant et improbent hoc, quod dicimus, quod *non mereantur homines remissionem peccatorum bonis operibus.* Hunc articulum clare praedicant se reiicere et improbare. Quid in re tam manifesta dicendum 79] est? Hic aperte ostendunt architecti Con-

Artikel XX. Von guten Werken.

Im XX. Artikel setzen sie klar diese Worte, daß sie unsere Lehre verwerfen und verdammen, da wir sagen, daß die Leute **durch gute Werke nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden.** Das merke jedermann wohl: eben den Artikel verdammen und verwerfen sie mit klaren Worten. Was ist nun not, in dieser öffentlichen Sache viel Worte

Therefore, although we concede to free will the liberty and power to perform the outward works of the Law, yet we do not ascribe to free will these spiritual matters, namely, truly to fear God, truly to believe God, truly to be confident and hold that God regards us, hears us, forgives us, etc. These are the true works of the First Table, which the heart cannot render without the Holy Ghost, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 2, 14: *The natural man, i. e.*, man using only natural strength, *receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.* [That is, a person who is not enlightened by the Spirit of God does not, by his natural reason, receive anything of God's will and divine matters.] And this can be decided if men consider what their hearts believe concerning God's will, whether they are truly confident that they are regarded and heard by God. Even for saints to retain this faith [and, as Peter says (1. Ep. 1, 8), to risk and commit himself entirely to God, whom he does not see, to love Christ, and esteem Him highly, whom he does not see] is difficult, so far is it from existing in the godless. But it is conceived, as we have said above, when terrified hearts hear the Gospel and receive consolation [when we are born anew of the Holy Ghost].

Therefore such a distribution is of advantage in which civil righteousness is ascribed to the free will and spiritual righteousness to the governing of the Holy Ghost in the regenerate. For thus the outward discipline is retained, because all men ought to know equally, both that God requires this civil righteousness [God will not tolerate indecent, wild, reckless conduct], and that, in a measure, we can afford it. And yet a distinction is shown between human and spiritual righteousness, between philosophical doctrine and the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, and it can be understood for what there is need of the Holy Ghost. Nor has this distribution been invented by us, but Scripture most clearly teaches it. Augustine also treats of it, and recently it has been well treated of by William of Paris, but it has been wickedly suppressed by those who have dreamt that men can obey God's Law without the Holy Ghost, but that the Holy Ghost is given in order that, in addition, it may be considered meritorious.

Article XIX: Of the Cause of Sin.

The Nineteenth Article the adversaries receive, in which we confess that, although God only and alone has framed all nature, and preserves all things which exist, yet [He is not the cause of sin, but] the *cause of sin* is the will in the devil and men turning itself away from God, according to the saying of Christ concerning the devil, John 8, 44: *When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own.*

Article XX: Of Good Works.

In the Twentieth Article they distinctly lay down these words, namely, that they reject and condemn our statement that men do not merit the remission of sins by good works. [Mark this well!] They clearly declare that they reject and condemn this article. What is to be said on a subject so manifest? Here the framers of the Confu-

futationis, quo spiritu agantur. Quid est enim certius in ecclesia, quam quod remissio peccatorum contingat gratis propter Christum, quod Christus sit propitiatio pro peccatis, non nostra opera, sicut Petrus inquit Act. 10, 43: *Huic omnes prophetae perhibent testimonium, in nomine ipsius accipere remissionem peccatorum omnes, qui credunt in eum.* Huic ecclesiae prophetarum assentiamur potius quam istis perditis scriptoribus Confutationis, qui tam impudenter blasphe-
80] mant Christum. Nam etiamsi qui fuerunt scriptores, qui senserunt post remissionem peccatorum homines iustos esse coram Deo, non fide, sed ipsis operibus, tamen hoc non senserunt, quod ipsa remissio peccatorum contingat propter opera nostra, non gratis propter Christum.

zu machen? Die großen Doctores und Meister der Konfutation geben da öffentlich an Tag, was für ein Geist aus ihnen redet. Denn in der christlichen Kirche ist das kein geringer Artikel, sondern der allerhöchste und Hauptartikel, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen ohne unser Verdienst, durch Christum, und daß nicht unsere Werke, sondern Christus sei die Versöhnung für unsere Sünden, wie Petrus sagt: „Dem JEsu geben Zeugnis alle Propheten, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, alle, die an ihn glauben." Solch stark Zeugnis aller heiligen Propheten mag billig ein Beschluß heißen der katholischen christlichen Kirche. Denn auch ein einiger Prophet gar groß bei Gott geachtet und ein Weltschatz ist. Derselben heiligen Kirche und dem einträchtigen Munde aller Propheten sollen wir billiger glauben denn den heillosen, gottlosen Sophisten, so die Konfutation gemacht haben und Christum so unverschämt lästern. Denn wiewohl etliche Lehrer also auch davon geschrieben, daß wir hernach, wenn uns die Sünde vergeben ist, nicht durch den Glauben, sondern durch unsere eigenen Werke Gnade erlangen, so haben sie doch das nicht gehalten, daß die Vergebung der Sünden an ihr [sich] selbst um unserer Werke willen uns widerfahre, und nicht um Christus' willen.

81] Non ferenda est igitur blasphemia tribuere honorem Christi nostris operibus. Nihil pudet iam istos theologos, si talem sententiam in ecclesia audent ferre. Neque dubitamus, quin optimus Imperator ac plerique Principum hunc locum nullo modo fuerint in Confutatione relicturi, si essent admoniti. 82] Infinita hoc loco testimonia ex Scriptura, ex patribus citare possemus. Verum et supra satis multa de hac re diximus. Et nihil opus est pluribus testimoniis illi, qui scit, quare Christus nobis donatus sit, qui scit Christum esse propitiationem pro peccatis nostris. Esaias inquit 53, 6: *Posuit Dominus in eo* [R. 221 *iniquitates omnium nostrum.* Adversarii contra docent Deum ponere iniquitates nostras non in Christo, sed in nostris operibus. Neque hic dicere libet, qualia opera doceant. 83] Videmus horribile decretum contra nos compositum esse, quod magis terreret nos, si de ambiguis aut levibus rebus contenderemus. Nunc quum conscientiae nostrae intelligant damnari ab adversariis manifestam veritatem, cuius propugnatio ecclesiae necessaria est et amplificat gloriam Christi, facile terrores mundi contemnimus, et ingenti animo, si quid erit patiendum, propter gloriam Christi, pro-
84] pter utilitatem ecclesiae feremus. Quis non gaudeat mori in confessione horum articulorum, quod remissionem peccatorum fide consequamur gratis propter Christum, quod operibus nostris non mereamur remissionem
85] peccatorum? Nullam habebunt satis firmam consolationem conscientiae piorum adversus terrores peccati et mortis et adversus diabolum sollicitantem ad desperationem, si non sciant, se debere statuere, quod gratis propter Christum habeant remissionem peccatorum. Haec fides sustentat et vivificat corda in illo asperrimo certamine desperationis.

Darum ist es eine greuliche Gotteslästerung, die Ehre Christi also unsern Menschenwerken zu geben. Und wir vertrösten und versehen uns zu Kaiserlicher Majestät und auch andern Fürsten dieser kaiserlichen, fürstlichen Tugend, daß sie so öffentliche Unwahrheit und Ungrund, dadurch vor aller Welt Gott und das Evangelium gelästert wird, in keinem Wege würden in der Konfutation, wenn sie verwarnt wären, gelassen haben. Denn daß dieser Artikel gewißlich göttlich und wahr ist, und daß dies die heilige göttliche Wahrheit sei, [dafür] könnten wir hier gar nahe unzählige Sprüche der Schrift vorbringen, auch aus den Vätern. Und ist gar nahe keine Silbe, kein Blatt in der Bibel, in den vornehmsten Büchern der Heiligen Schrift, da das nicht klar gemeldet wäre. Wir haben oben auch viel von diesen Stücken gesagt, und gottesfürchtige, fromme Herzen, die da wohl wissen, warum Christus gegeben ist, die da nicht für aller Welt Güter und Königreiche entbehren wollten, daß Christus nicht unser einiger Schatz, unser einiger Mittler und Versöhner wäre, die müssen sich hier entsetzen und erschrecken, daß Gottes heiliges Wort und Wahrheit so öffentlich von armen Menschen verachtet und verdammt wird. Jesaias der Prophet sagt: „Der HErr hat auf ihn gelegt unser aller Sünde." Die Widersacher aber lügenstrafen Jesaiam und die ganze Bibel und Schrift und sagen, er habe unsere Sünde auf uns und unsere Werke und bettelische Genugtuung gelegt. Ich will dennoch hier schweigen der kindischen Werke, Rosenkränze, Wallfahrten und dergleichen. Wir sehen gar wohl das ernstliche Mandat und das kaiserliche Edikt, wider uns und unsere Lehre ausgegangen [den Abschied des Augsburger Reichstags vom 19. November 1530]; des sollten wir billig erschrecken, wenn wir von leichten, geringen Sachen oder von Sachen, die in Zweifel stünden, zu handeln hätten. Nachdem wir aber, Gott Lob! durch Gottes Wort in unsern Herzen und Gewissen des ganz ohne allen Zweifel vor Gott gewiß sind, daß die Widersacher verdammen die öffentliche göttliche Wahrheit und die rechte, christliche, selige, heilige Lehre, ohne welche keine christliche Kirche irgend sein kann, welche ein jeder Christ, sofern sein Leib und Leben reicht, schuldig ist, zu der Ehre Gottes zu bekennen, zu retten und zu schützen: so lassen wir uns von solcher heilsamen Lehre nicht abschrecken. Denn wer wollte ihm [sich] doch nicht wünschen an seinem letzten Ende, daß er im Bekenntnis des Artikels sterben möchte,

tation openly show by what spirit they are led. For what in the Church is more certain than that the remission of sins occurs freely for Christ's sake, that Christ, and not our works, is the propitiation for sins, as Peter says, Acts 10, 43: *To Him give all the prophets witness that through His name, whosoever believeth on Him, shall receive remission of sins?* [This strong testimony of all the holy prophets may duly be called a decree of the catholic Christian Church. For even a single prophet is very highly esteemed by God and a treasure worth the whole world.] To this Church of the prophets we would rather assent than to these abandoned writers of the Confutation, who so impudently blaspheme Christ. For although there were writers who held that after the remission of sins men are just before God, not by faith, but by works themselves, yet they did not hold this, namely, that the remission of sins itself occurs on account of our works, and not freely for Christ's sake.

Therefore the blasphemy of ascribing Christ's honor to our works is not to be endured. These theologians are now entirely without shame if they dare to bring such an opinion into the Church. Nor do we doubt that His Most Excellent Imperial Majesty and very many of the princes would not have allowed this passage to remain in the Confutation if they had been admonished of it. Here we could cite infinite testimonies from Scripture and from the Fathers [that this article is certainly divine and true, and this is the sacred and divine truth. For there is hardly a syllable, hardly a leaf in the Bible, in the principal books of the Holy Scriptures, where this is not clearly stated.] But also above we have said enough on this subject. And there is no need of more testimonies for one who knows why Christ has been given to us, who knows that Christ is the propitiation for our sins. [God-fearing, pious hearts that know well why Christ has been given, who for all the possessions and kingdoms of the world would not be without Christ as our only Treasure, our only Mediator and Redeemer, must here be shocked and terrified that God's holy Word and Truth should be so openly despised and condemned by poor men.] Isaiah says, 53, 6: *The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquities of us all.* The adversaries, on the other hand, [accuse Isaiah and the entire Bible of lying and] teach that God lays our iniquities not on Christ, but on our [beggarly] works. Neither are we disposed to mention here the sort of works [rosaries, pilgrimages, and the like] which they teach. We see that a horrible decree has been prepared against us, which would terrify us still more if we were contending concerning doubtful or trifling subjects. Now, since our consciences understand that by the adversaries the manifest truth is condemned, whose defense is necessary for the Church and increases the glory of Christ, we easily despise the terrors of the world, and with a strong spirit will bear whatever is to be suffered for the glory of Christ and the advantage of the Church. Who would not rejoice to die in the confession of such articles as that we obtain the remission of sins by faith freely for Christ's sake, that we do not merit the remission of sins by our works? [Experience shows — and the monks themselves must admit it — that] The consciences of the pious will have no sufficiently sure con-

daß wir Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben, ohne unser Verdienst und Werk, durch das Blut Christi erlangen? Es gibt die Erfahrung, wie die Mönche selbst bekennen müssen, daß sich die Gewissen nicht lassen stillen noch zufrieden bringen denn durch den Glauben an Christum. Und die Gewissen können keinen rechten, beständigen Trost haben in den großen Ängsten an [in] der Todesstunde und in Anfechtung wider das große Schrecken des Todes, der Sünde, wenn sie nicht an die Zusage der Gnade in Christo sich halten. Auch können sie keinen beständigen Trost haben wider den Teufel, welcher dann erst stark die Herzen drängt, ängstet und zur Verzweiflung reizt und alle unsere Werke in einem Augenblick wie den Staub hinwegbläst, wenn sie nicht an dem Evangelio, an dieser Lehre, festhalten, daß wir ohne unser Verdienst, durch das teure Blut Christi Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Denn der Glaube allein erquickt und erhält uns in dem großen Todeskampf, in den großen Ängsten, wenn keine Kreatur helfen kann, ja, wenn wir außerhalb dieser ganzen sichtlichen [sichtbaren] Kreatur von dannen in ein ander Wesen und Welt sollen abscheiden und sterben.

86] Digna igitur causa est, propter quam nullum recusemus periculum. „Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito", quisquis assentiris Confessioni nostrae, quum adversarii terroribus, cruciatibus, suppliciis conantur excutere tibi tantam consolationem, quae universae ecclesiae in hoc nostro articulo propo-
87] sita est. Non deerunt quaerenti testimonia Scripturae, quae confirmabunt animum. Nam Paulus tota voce, ut dicitur, clamitat Rom. 3, 24 sq. et 4, 16, *gratis remitti peccata propter Christum.* Ideo inquit: *Ex fide iustificamur, et gratis, ut firma sit promissio.* Id est, si ex nostris operibus penderet promissio, non esset firma. Si propter nostra opera daretur remissio peccatorum, quando sciremus eam nos consecutos esse, quando [R. 222 reperiret opus conscientia territa, quod statueret ad placandam iram Dei sufficere? Sed
88] supra de tota re diximus. Inde lector sumat testimonia. Nam hanc non disputationem, sed querelam indignitas rei nobis expressit, quod hoc loco diserte posuerunt se improbare hunc nostrum articulum, quod remissionem peccatorum consequamur non propter opera nostra, sed fide et gratis propter Christum.

Darum ist es eine Sache, die wahrlich der Rede wert ist, um welcher willen ein jeder Christ von Herzen gern alles wagen und in [Ge]Fahr setzen soll. Darum alle diejenigen, so dieser unserer Konfession anhangen, dürfen sich nicht schrecken oder irren [irremachen] lassen, sondern mögen in aller Freudigkeit auf Gott und den HErrn Christum es getrost und fröhlich wagen und diese öffentliche Wahrheit wider alle Welt, Tyrannei, Zorn, Drohen, Schrecken, auch wider alles tyrannische tägliche Morden und Verfolgen fröhlich bekennen. Denn wer wollte ihm [sich] doch solchen großen, ja ewigen Trost, daran der ganzen christlichen Kirche alles Heil gelegen ist, nehmen lassen? Wer die Bibel in die Hand nimmt und mit Ernst liest, der merkt bald, daß allenthalben in der Schrift diese Lehre gegründet ist. Denn Paulus sagt klar Röm. 3 und 4, daß die Sünden ohne Verdienst, um Christus' willen vergeben werden; darum sagt er: „Wir werden gerecht durch den Glauben ohne Verdienst, daß die Verheißung feststehe." Das ist, so die Verheißung aus unsern Werken wäre, so wäre sie nicht fest. Und wenn die Gnade oder Vergebung der Sünden gegeben würde um unserer Werke willen, wann würden wir dann gewiß, daß wir Gnade erlangt hätten? Wann wollte das Gewissen ein solch Werk finden, das genug wäre, Gottes Zorn zu versöhnen? Wir haben hier oben davon genug gesagt; da mag ein jeder Sprüche der Schrift, so diese Lehre gründen, suchen. Denn an diesem Ort hat mich bewegt, so heftig zu klagen, die greuliche, unverschämte, übermachte [übermäßige], vorgefaßte Bosheit der Widersacher, da sie mit klaren Worten setzen, daß sie diesen Artikel verwerfen, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen nicht durch unsere Werke, sondern ohne Verdienst, durch den Glauben an Christum.

89] Adversarii etiam addunt testimonia suae condemnationi. Et operae pretium est unum atque alterum recitare. Allegant ex Petro, 2. ep. 1, 10: *Studete firmam facere vocationem vestram* etc. Iam vides, lector, adversarios nostros non perdidisse operam in discenda dialectica, sed habere artificium ratiocinandi ex Scripturis prorsus, quidquid libet. Facite firmam vocationem vestram per bona opera. Igitur opera merentur remissionem peccatorum. Sane concinna erit argumentatio, si quis sic ratiocinetur de reo capitalis poenae, cui poena remissa est: Magistratus praecipit, ut in posterum abstineas ab alieno. Igitur per hoc meritus es condonationem poenae, quod nunc ab alieno abstines.
90] Sic argumentari est ex non causa causam facere. Nam Petrus loquitur de operibus sequentibus remissionem peccatorum et docet, quare sint facienda, scilicet, ut sit firma vocatio, hoc est, ne vocatione sua excidant, si iterum peccent. Facite bona opera, ut perseveretis in vocatione, ne amittatis dona vocationis, quae prius contigerunt, non propter

Die Widersacher führen auch etliche Sprüche der Schrift ein, warum sie diesen Artikel verdammen. Nämlich bringen sie den Spruch Petri hervor: „Fleißiget euch, euren Beruf festzumachen durch gute Werke" usw. Da sieht jedermann, daß unsere Widersacher ihr Geld nicht übel angelegt, da sie Dialecticam studiert haben. Denn sie mögen die Sprüche der Schrift gereimt, ungereimt, schließlich, unschließlich, wie sie wollen, und wie es ihnen gefällt, einführen. Denn also schließen sie: Petrus sagt: „Fleißiget euch, durch gute Werke euren Beruf festzumachen"; darum verdienen wir durch Werke Vergebung der Sünden. Es ist wahrlich eine feine Argumentation, als wenn einer spräche von einem Beklagten im Halsgericht, welchem das Leben gefristet wäre: Der Richter hat geboten, daß der forthin sich solcher Übeltat soll enthalten; darum so hat er verdient mit solchem Enthalten, daß ihm das Leben gefristet ist. Also argumentieren, das heißt, ex non causa causam machen. Denn Petrus redet von guten Werken und Früchten, die da folgen dem Glauben, und lehrt, warum man sie tun solle, nämlich, daß wir unsern Beruf festmachen, das ist,

solation against the terrors of sin and of death, and against the devil soliciting to despair [and who in a moment blows away all our works like dust], if they do not know that they ought to be confident that they have the remission of sins freely for Christ's sake. This faith sustains and quickens hearts in that most violent conflict with despair [in the great agony of death, in the great anguish, when no creature can help, yea, when we must depart from this entire visible creation into another state and world, and must die].

Therefore the cause is one which is worthy that for its sake we should refuse no danger. Whosoever you are that has assented to our Confession, "do not yield to the wicked, but, on the contrary, go forward the more boldly," when the adversaries endeavor, by means of terrors and tortures and punishments, to drive away from you that consolation which has been tendered to the entire Church in this article of ours [but with all cheerfulness rely confidently and gladly on God and the Lord Jesus, and joyfully confess this manifest truth in opposition to the tyranny, wrath, threatening, and terrors of all the world, yea, in opposition to the daily murders and persecution of tyrants. For who would suffer to have taken from him this great, yea, everlasting consolation on which the entire salvation of the whole Christian Church depends? Any one who picks up the Bible and reads it earnestly will soon observe that this doctrine has its foundation everywhere in the Bible]. Testimonies of Scripture will not be wanting to one seeking them, which will establish his mind. For Paul at the top of his voice, as the saying is, cries out, Rom. 3, 24 f., and 4, 16, that sins are freely remitted for Christ's sake. *It is of faith,* he says, *that it might be by grace, to the end the promise might be sure.* That is, if the promise would depend upon our works, it would not be sure. If remission of sins would be given on account of our works, when would we know that we had obtained it, when would a terrified conscience find a work which it would consider sufficient to appease God's wrath? But we spoke of the entire matter above. Thence let the reader derive testimonies. For the unworthy treatment of the subject has forced from us the present, not discussion, but complaint that on this topic they have distinctly recorded themselves as disapproving of this article of ours, that we obtain remission of sins not on account of our works, but by faith and freely on account of Christ.

The adversaries also add testimonies to their own condemnation, and it is worth while to recite several of them. They quote from Peter, 2. Ep. 1, 10: *Give diligence to make your calling sure,* etc. Now you see, reader, that our adversaries have not wasted labor in learning logic, but have the art of inferring from the Scriptures whatever pleases them [whether it is in harmony with the Scriptures or out of harmony; whether it is correctly or incorrectly concluded. For they conclude thus:] "Make your calling sure by good works." Therefore works merit the remission of sins. A very agreeable mode of reasoning, if one would argue thus concerning a person sentenced to capital punishment, whose punishment has been remitted: "The magistrate commands that hereafter you abstain from that which belongs to another. Therefore you have merited the remission of the penalty, because you are now abstaining from what belongs to another." Thus to argue is to make a cause out of that which is not a cause. For Peter speaks of works following the remission of sins, and teaches why they should be done, namely, that the calling may be sure, *i. e.,* lest they may fall from their calling if they sin again. Do good works that you may persevere in your call-

sequentia opera, sed iam retinentur fide, et fides non manet in his, qui amittunt Spiritum Sanctum, qui abiiciunt poenitentiam, sicut supra [p. 252 sq.] diximus, fidem exsistere in poenitentia.

daß wir nicht wiederum vom Evangelio fallen, wenn wir wiederum sündigten. Will sagen: Tut gute Werke, daß ihr bei dem Evangelio, bei eurem himmlischen Beruf bleibt, daß ihr nicht wiederum abfallt, kalt werdet, verliert Geist und Gaben, die euch aus Gnaden durch Christum widerfahren sind, nicht um der folgenden Werke willen. Denn in dem Beruf bleibt man fest durch den Glauben, und der Glaube und [der] Heilige Geist bleibt in denjenigen nicht, die sündlich Leben führen.

91] Addunt alia testimonia non melius cohaerentia. Postremo dicunt hanc opinionem ante mille annos Augustini tempore damnatam esse. Id quoque falsissimum est. Semper enim ecclesia Christi sensit remissionem peccatorum gratis contingere. Imo Pelagiani damnati sunt, qui gratiam propter opera no-
92] stra dari contendebant. Ceterum supra satis ostendimus, quod sentiamus bona [R. 223 opera necessario sequi debere fidem. *Non enim abolemus legem*, inquit Paulus Rom. 3, 31, *sed stabilimus.* Quia quum fide accepimus Spiritum Sanctum, necessario sequitur legis impletio, qua subinde crescit dilectio, patientia, castitas et alii fructus Spiritus.

Der Sprüche und Zeugnisse setzen sie mehr, die sich ebensowohl reimen. Dazu dürfen sie sagen, daß diese Meinung vor tausend Jahren zu Augustinus' Zeiten verdammt sei. Das ist nicht wahr, sondern eine Lüge. Denn die christliche Kirche hat allezeit gehalten, daß Vergebung der Sünden ohne Verdienst uns widerfahre, und die Pelagianer sind darum verdammt, die da sagten, die Gnade würde uns gegeben um unserer Werke willen. Wir haben oben genug angezeigt, daß wir auch lehren, daß, wo Glaube ist, da sollen auch gute Früchte und gute Werke folgen. „Denn wir tun das Gesetz nicht ab, sondern richten es auf", wie Paulus sagt. Denn wenn wir durch den Glauben den Heiligen Geist empfangen haben, so folgen gute Früchte, da nehmen wir denn zu in der Liebe, in Geduld, in Keuschheit und andern Früchten des Geistes.

Art. XXI. (IX.)

De Invocatione Sanctorum.

1] Articulum XXI. simpliciter damnant, quod *invocationem sanctorum* non requirimus. Nec ullo in loco prolixius rhetoricantur. Neque tamen aliud quidquam efficiunt, quam sanctos honorandos esse, item sanctos, qui vivunt, orare pro aliis: quasi vero propterea necessaria sit invocatio mortuorum sancto-
2] rum. Allegant Cyprianum, quod vivum Cornelium rogaverit, ut discedens pro fratribus oret. [Cyprianus, Lib. 7, ep. 7 ad Cornelium papam: „Memores nostri invicem sumus, concordes atque unanimes utrobique pro nobis semper oremus. Et si quis hinc nostrum prior divina dignationis celeritate praecesserit, perseveret apud Deum nostra dilectio, pro fratribus et sororibus nostris apud misericordiam Patris non cesset oratio."] Hoc exemplo probant mortuorum invocationem. Citant et Hieronymum contra Vigilantium: In hac arena, inquiunt, ante mille et centum annos vicit Hieronymus Vigilantium. Sic triumphant adversarii, quasi iam sit debellatum. Nec vident isti asini, apud Hieronymum contra Vigilantium nullam exstare syllabam de invocatione. Loquitur de honoribus sancto-
3] rum, non de invocatione. Neque reliqui veteres scriptores ante Gregorium fecerunt mentionem invocationis. Certe haec invocatio cum his opinionibus, quas nunc docent adversarii de applicatione meritorum, non habet testimonia veterum scriptorum.

4] Confessio nostra probat honores sanctorum. Nam hic triplex honos probandus est. Primus est gratiarum actio. Debemus enim Deo gratias agere, quod ostenderit exempla misericordiae, quod significaverit se [R. 224 velle salvare homines, quod dederit doctores aut alia dona ecclesiae. Et haec dona, ut sunt maxima, amplificanda sunt, et laudandi

Artikel XXI. (IX.)

Vom Anrufen der Heiligen.

Den einundzwanzigsten Artikel verdammen die Widersacher ganz, daß wir **vom Anrufen der Heiligen** nichts lehren, und sie handeln kein Stück so gar mit weitläuftigem Geschwätze und richten doch nichts aus, denn daß sie sagen, man solle die Heiligen ehren. Item, sie probieren [beweisen], die lebendigen Heiligen beten einer für den andern; daraus schließen sie, daß man die toten Heiligen solle und müsse anrufen. Sie ziehen an Cyprianum, der habe Cornelium, da er noch gelebt, gebeten, daß er, wenn er gestorben wäre, für die Brüder bitten wolle. Damit beweisen sie, daß man die toten Heiligen müsse anrufen. Auch ziehen sie an Hieronymum wider Vigilantium und sagen: In dieser Sache hat vor tausend Jahren Hieronymus Vigilantium überwunden. Also gehen sie überhin, meinen, sie haben weit gewonnen, und sehen die groben Esel nicht, daß im Hieronymo wider Vigilantium keine Silbe steht vom Anrufen der Heiligen. Hieronymus redet nicht vom **Anrufen** der Heiligen, sondern von Heiligen **ehren.** Auch so haben die alten Lehrer vor Gregorius' Zeiten des Anrufens der Heiligen nicht gedacht. Und die Anrufung der Heiligen wie auch die applicatio des Verdienstes der Heiligen, davon die Widersacher lehren, hat gar keinen Grund in der Schrift.

In unserer Konfession leugnen wir nicht, daß man die Heiligen ehren soll. Denn dreierlei Ehre ist, damit man die Heiligen ehrt. Für das erste, daß wir Gott danksagen, daß er uns an den Heiligen Exempel seiner Gnade hat dargestellt, daß er hat Lehrer in der Kirche und andere Gaben gegeben, und die Gaben, weil sie groß sind, soll man sie hoch preisen, auch die Heiligen selbst loben,

ing, that you [do not fall away again, grow cold and] may not lose the gifts of your calling, which were given you before, and not on account of works that follow, and which now are retained by faith; for faith does not remain in those who lose the Holy Ghost, who reject repentance, just as we have said above (p. 253) that faith exists in repentance.

They add other testimonies cohering no better. Lastly they say that this opinion was condemned a thousand years before, in the time of Augustine. This also is quite false. For the Church of Christ always held that the remission of sins is obtained freely. Yea, the Pelagians were condemned, who contended that grace is given on account of our works. Besides, we have above shown sufficiently that we hold that good works ought necessarily to follow faith. *For we do not make void the Law,* says Paul, Rom. 3, 31; *yea, we establish the Law,* because when by faith we have received the Holy Ghost, the fulfilling of the Law necessarily follows, by which love, patience, chastity, and other fruits of the Spirit gradually grow.

Article XXI (IX):

Of the Invocation of Saints.

The Twenty-first Article they absolutely condemn, because we do not require *the invocation of saints.* Nor on any topic do they speak more eloquently and with more prolixity. Nevertheless they do not effect anything else than that the saints should be honored; likewise, that the saints who live pray for others; as though, indeed, the invocation of dead saints were on that account necessary. They cite Cyprian, because he asked Cornelius while yet alive to pray for his brothers when departing. By this example they prove the invocation of the dead. They quote also Jerome against Vigilantius. "On this field" [in this matter], they say, "eleven hundred years ago, Jerome overcame Vigilantius." Thus the adversaries triumph, as though the war were already ended. Nor do those asses see that in Jerome, against Vigilantius, there is not a syllable concerning invocation. He speaks concerning honors for the saints, not concerning invocation. Neither have the rest of the ancient writers before Gregory made mention of invocation. Certainly this invocation, with these opinions which the adversaries now teach concerning the application of merits, has not the testimonies of the ancient writers.

Our Confession approves honors to the saints. For here a threefold honor is to be approved. The first is thanksgiving. For we ought to give thanks to God because He has shown examples of mercy; because He has shown that He wishes to save men; because He has given teachers or other gifts to the Church. And these gifts, as they are the greatest, should be amplified, and the saints themselves should be praised, who have faithfully used these gifts, just as Christ praises

ipsi sancti, qui his donis fideliter usi sunt, sicut Christus laudat fideles negotiatores, 5] Matth. 25, 21. 23. Secundus cultus est confirmatio fidei nostrae; quum videmus Petro condonari negationem, erigimur et nos, ut magis credamus, quod vere *gratia exuberet* 6] *supra peccatum*, Rom. 5, 20. Tertius honos est imitatio primum fidei, deinde ceterarum virtutum, quas imitari pro sua quisque voca- 7] tione debet. Hos veros honores non requirunt adversarii. Tantum de invocatione, quae, etiamsi nihil haberet periculi, tamen non est necessaria, rixantur.

8] Praeterea et hoc largimur, quod angeli orent pro nobis. Exstat enim testimonium Zachariae 1, 12, ubi angelus orat: *Domine exercituum, usque quo tu non misereberis* 9] *Ierusalem* etc.? De sanctis etsi concedimus, quod, sicut vivi orant pro ecclesia universa in genere, ita in coelis orent pro ecclesia in genere, tametsi testimonium nullum de mortuis orantibus exstat in Scripturis, praeter illud somnium sumptum ex libro Machabaeorum posteriore, 2 Macc. 15, 14.

Porro ut maxime pro ecclesia orent sancti, 10] tamen non sequitur, quod sint invocandi. Quamquam confessio nostra hoc tantum affirmat, quod Scriptura non doceat sanctorum invocationem, seu petere a sanctis auxilium. Quum autem neque praeceptum neque promissio neque exemplum ex Scripturis de invocandis sanctis afferri possit, sequitur conscientiam nihil posse certi de illa invocatione habere. Et quum oratio debeat ex fide fieri, quomodo scimus, quod Deus approbet illam invocationem? Unde scimus sine testimonio Scripturae, quod sancti intelligant singulorum 11] preces? Quidam plane tribuunt divinitatem sanctis, videlicet quod tacitas cogitationes mentium in nobis cernant. Disputant de matutina et vespertina cognitione, [R. 225 fortassis, quia dubitant, utrum mane an vesperi audiant. Haec comminiscuntur, non ut sanctos honore afficiant, sed ut quaestuosos 12] cultus defendant. Nihil afferri potest ab adversariis contra hanc rationem, quod, quum invocatio non habeat testimonium ex Verbo Dei, non possit affirmari, quod sancti intelligant invocationem nostram, aut, ut maxime intelligant, quod Deus eam approbet. Quare 13] adversarii non debebant nos ad rem incertam cogere, quia oratio sine fide non est oratio. Nam quod allegant ecclesiae exemplum, constat novum hunc in ecclesia morem esse; nam veteres orationes, etsi mentionem sanctorum faciunt, non tamen invocant sanctos. Quamquam etiam illa nova invocatio in ecclesia dissimilis est invocationi singulorum.

14] Deinde adversarii non solum invocationem in cultu sanctorum requirunt, sed etiam applicant merita sanctorum pro aliis et faciunt ex sanctis non solum *deprecatores*, sed etiam *propitiatores*. Id nullo modo ferendum est. Nam hic prorsus transfertur in sanctos

die ſolche Gaben wohl gebraucht haben, wie Chriſtus im Evangelio lobt die treuen Knechte. Die andere Ehre, ſo wir den Heiligen tun mögen, [iſt,] daß wir an ihrem Exempel unſern Glauben ſtärken; als wenn ich ſehe, daß Petro aus ſo reicher Gnade die Sünde vergeben iſt, da er Chriſtum verleugnet, wird mein Herz und Gewiſſen geſtärkt, daß ich glaube, daß die Gnade mächtiger ſei denn die Sünde. Für das dritte ehren wir die Heiligen, wenn wir ihres Glaubens, ihrer Liebe, ihrer Geduld Exempel nachfolgen, ein jeder nach ſeinem Beruf. Von dieſer rechten Ehre der Heiligen reden die Widerſacher gar nichts; allein von dem Anrufen der Heiligen, welches, wenn es auch ohne Fährlichkeit [Gefahr] der Gewiſſen wäre, doch nicht not iſt, da zanken ſie von.

Darüber ſo geben wir ihnen nach, daß die Engel für uns bitten. Denn Zach. 1 ſteht geſchrieben, daß der Engel bittet: „HErr Zebaoth, wie lange willſt du dich nicht erbarmen über Jeruſalem?“ Und wiewohl wir nachgeben, daß, gleichwie die lebendigen Heiligen für die ganze Kirche bitten insgemein oder in genere, alſo mögen für die ganze Kirche die Heiligen im Himmel bitten insgemein, in genere. Doch hat ſolches kein Zeugnis in der Schrift denn allein den Traum, der genommen iſt aus dem andern Buch Maccabaeorum.

Weiter, ob die Heiligen gleich beten für die Kirche, ſo folgt doch daraus nicht, daß man die Heiligen ſolle anrufen; wiewohl unſere Konfeſſion allein dies ſetzt: In der Schrift ſteht nichts von dem Anrufen der Heiligen, oder daß man Hilfe ſuchen ſolle bei den Heiligen. So man nun weder Gebot noch Zuſage noch Exempel aus der Schrift mag vorbringen, ſo folgt, daß kein Herz noch Gewiſſen darauf ſich verlaſſen kann. Denn dieweil ein jeglich Gebet ſoll aus dem Glauben geſchehen, woher will ich denn wiſſen, daß Gott ihm [ſich] gefallen läßt das Anrufen der Heiligen, wenn ich nicht Gottes Wort davon habe? Wodurch werde ich gewiß, daß die Heiligen mein Gebet und eines jeden beſondern [insbeſondere] hören? Etliche machen ſchlechts [geradezu] Götter aus den Heiligen und ſagen, ſie können unſere Gedanken wiſſen und uns ins Herz ſehen. Daſſelbe erdichten ſie, nicht daß ſie damit die Heiligen ehren, ſondern daß ſie ihre Kretſchmerei [Handel] und Jahrmarkt, welcher ihnen Geld [ein]trägt, verteidigen. Wir ſagen noch wie vor[hin]: In Gottes Wort, in der Schrift, ſteht nicht, daß die Heiligen unſer Anrufen verſtehen, und ob ſie es verſtünden, daß Gott ihm [ſich] ſolch Anrufen gefallen laſſe; ſo hat's je keinen Grund. Dawider können die Widerſacher nichts aufbringen; darum ſollten die Widerſacher uns zu ungewiſſen Dingen nicht zwingen oder dringen; denn ein Gebet ohne Glauben iſt nicht ein Gebet. Denn daß ſie ſagen, die Kirche habe es im Gebrauch, ſo iſt es doch gewiß, daß ſolches ein neuer Gebrauch in der Kirche iſt, denn die alten Kollekten, ob ſie wohl der Heiligen gedenken, ſo rufen ſie doch die Heiligen nicht an.

Darüber reden die Widerſacher nicht allein vom Anrufen der Heiligen, ſondern ſagen auch, daß Gott der Heiligen Verdienſt annehme für unſere Sünde, und machen alſo aus den Heiligen nicht allein Fürbitter, ſondern Mittler und Verſöhner. Das iſt nun gar nicht zu leiden; denn da geben

faithful business-men, Matt. 25, 21. 23. The second service is the strengthening of our faith; when we see the denial forgiven Peter, we also are encouraged to believe the more that *grace truly superabounds over sin*, Rom. 5, 20. The third honor is the imitation, first, of faith, then of the other virtues, which every one should imitate according to his calling. These true honors the adversaries do not require. They dispute only concerning invocation, which, even though it would have no danger, nevertheless is not necessary.

Besides, we also grant that the angels pray for us. For there is a testimony in Zech. 1, 12, where an angel prays: *O Lord of hosts, how long wilt Thou not have mercy on Jerusalem?* Although concerning the saints we concede that, just as, when alive, they pray for the Church universal in general, so in heaven they pray for the Church in general, albeit no testimony concerning the praying of the dead is extant in the Scriptures, except the dream taken from the Second Book of Maccabees, 15, 14.

Moreover, even supposing that the saints pray for the Church ever so much, yet it does not follow that they are to be invoked; although our Confession affirms only this, that Scripture does not teach the invocation of the saints, or that we are to ask the saints for aid. But since neither a command, nor a promise, nor an example can be produced from the Scriptures concerning the invocation of saints, it follows that conscience can have nothing concerning this invocation that is certain. And since prayer ought to be made from faith, how do we know that God approves this invocation? Whence do we know without the testimony of Scripture that the saints perceive the prayers of each one? Some plainly ascribe divinity to the saints, namely, that they discern the silent thoughts of the minds in us. They dispute concerning morning and evening knowledge, perhaps because they doubt whether they hear us in the morning or the evening. They invent these things, not in order to treat the saints with honor, but to defend lucrative services. Nothing can be produced by the adversaries against this reasoning, that, since invocation does not have a testimony from God's Word, it cannot be affirmed that the saints understand our invocation, or, even if they understand it, that God approves it. Therefore the adversaries ought not to force us to an uncertain matter, because a prayer without faith is not prayer. For when they cite the example of the Church, it is evident that this is a new custom in the Church; for although the old prayers make mention of the saints, yet they do not invoke the saints. Although also this new invocation in the Church is dissimilar to the invocation of individuals.

Again, the adversaries not only require invocation in the worship of the saints, but also apply the merits of the saints to others, and make of the saints not only intercessors, but also propitiators. This is in no way to be endured. For here the honor belonging

proprius honor Christi. Faciunt enim eos mediatores et propitiatores, et quamquam distinguunt de mediatoribus *intercessionis* et mediatoribus *redemptionis*, tamen plane faciunt ex sanctis mediatores redemptionis. 15] Atque etiam illud dicunt sine testimonio Scripturae, quod sint mediatores intercessionis, quod, ut verecundissime dicatur, tamen obscurat officium Christi et fiduciam misericordiae debitam Christo transfert in sanctos. Fingunt enim homines Christum duriorem esse et sanctos placabiliores, et magis confidunt misericordia sanctorum quam misericordia Christi, et fugientes Christum quaerunt sanctos. Ita faciunt ex eis re ipsa mediatores redemptionis.

sie die Ehre, so Christo allein gebührt, den Heiligen; denn sie machen aus ihnen **Mittler** und **Versöhner.** Und wiewohl sie wollen Unterschied machen unter Mittlern, die **für uns bitten,** und dem Mittler, **der uns erlöst und Gott versöhnt hat,** so machen sie doch aus den Heiligen Mittler, dadurch die Leute versöhnt werden. Und daß sie sagen, die Heiligen sind Mittler, für uns zu bitten, das sagen sie auch ohne alle Schrift; und wenn man schon davon aufs glimpflichste reden will, so wird doch Christus und seine Wohltat durch solche Lehre unterdrückt, und vertrauen [sie] da auf die Heiligen, da sie auf Christum vertrauen sollten. Denn sie erdichten ihnen [sich] selbst einen Wahn, als sei Christus ein strenger Richter und die Heiligen gnädige, gütige Mittler; fliehen also zu den Heiligen, scheuen sich vor Christo wie vor einem Tyrannen, vertrauen mehr auf die Güte der Heiligen denn auf die Güte Christi, laufen von Christo und suchen der Heiligen Hilfe. Also machen sie im Grunde doch mediatores redemptionis aus den Heiligen.

16] Itaque ostendemus, quod vere faciant ex sanctis non tantum deprecatores, sed propitiatores, hoc est, mediatores redemptionis. Nondum recitamus hic vulgi abusus. De doctorum opinionibus adhuc loquimur. [R. 226 Reliqua etiam imperiti iudicare possunt.

Derhalben wollen wir beweisen, daß sie aus den Heiligen machen nicht allein Fürbitter, sondern Versöhner und mediatores redemptionis. Wir reden hier noch nicht von groben Mißbräuchen, wie der gemeine Pöbel mit den Heiligen und Wallfahrten öffentlich Abgötterei treibt; wir reden, was ihre Gelehrten von diesem Stücke predigen, schreiben und in ihren Schulen lehren. Das andere, als die groben Mißbräuche, können auch unerfahrene, grobe Leute urteilen und richten.

17] In propitiatore haec duo concurrunt. Primum oportet exstare Verbum Dei, ex quo certo sciamus, quod Deus velit misereri et exaudire invocantes per hunc propitiatorem. Talis exstat de Christo promissio, Ioh. 16, 23: *Quidquid petieritis Patrem in nomine meo, dabit vobis.* De sanctis nulla exstat talis promissio. Quare conscientiae non possunt certo statuere, quod per sanctorum invocationem exaudiamur. Itaque invocatio illa 18] non fit ex fide. Deinde mandatum etiam habemus, ut invocemus Christum iuxta illud Matth. 11, 28: *Venite ad me, qui laboratis* etc., quod certe nobis quoque dictum est. Et Esaias ait 11, 10: *In die illa stabit radix Iesse, in signum populorum; ipsum gentes deprecabuntur.* Et Ps. 45, 13: *Vultum tuum deprecabuntur omnes divites plebis.* Et Ps. 72, 11. 15: *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae.* Et paulo post: *Orabunt coram eo iugiter.* Et Ioh. 5, 23 inquit Christus: *Ut omnes honorificent Filium, sicut honorificant Patrem.* Et Paulus 2 Thess. 2, 16. 17 orans inquit: *Ipse autem Dominus noster Iesus Christus et Deus et Pater noster exhortetur corda vestra et confirmet vos* etc. At de sanctorum invocatione, quod possunt adversarii praeceptum, quod exemplum ex Scripturis afferre? Alte- 19] rum est in propitiatore, quod merita ipsius proposita sunt, ut quae pro aliis satisfacerent, quae aliis donentur imputatione divina, ut per ea tamquam propriis meritis iusti reputentur. Ut si quis amicus pro amico solvit aes alienum, debitor alieno merito tamquam proprio liberatur. Ita Christi merita nobis donantur, ut iusti reputemur fiducia meritorum Christi, quum in eum credimus, tamquam propria merita haberemus.

Es gehören zwei Stücke zu einem Mittler und Versöhner. Für das erste ein gewiß, klar Gotteswort und -verheißung, daß Gott durch den Mittler erhören will alle, die ihn anrufen. Eine solche göttliche Zusage steht in der Schrift von Christo: „Was ihr werdet bitten den Vater in meinem Namen, das wird er euch geben." Von den Heiligen steht nirgend in der Schrift eine solche Zusage, darum kann keiner bei sich gewiß schließen, daß er auf Anrufen der Heiligen erhört werde; darum ist solch Anrufen nicht aus dem Glauben. Darüber haben wir Gottes Wort und Gebot, daß wir sollen Christum anrufen, da er sagt: „Kommt zu mir alle, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid, und ich will euch erquicken." Ps. 45: „Vor deinem Angesicht werden anbeten alle Reichen im Volk." Und Ps. 72: „Und werden ihn anbeten alle Könige auf Erden." Und bald hernach: „Sie werden täglich vor ihm knien" usw. Und Joh. 5 sagt Christus: „Damit sie alle ehren den Sohn, wie sie ehren den Vater." Item 2 Thess. 2 sagt Paulus, da er betet: „Unser HErr JEsus Christus und Gott, unser Vater, ermahne eure Herzen und stärke euch!" Das sind eitel Sprüche von Christo. Aber vom Anrufen der Heiligen können die Widersacher kein Gottesgebot, kein Exempel der Schrift vorbringen. Zum andern gehört zu einem Versöhner, daß sein Verdienst für andere Leute bezahle, daß seines Verdienstes und Bezahlung andere teilhaftig werden, als hätten sie selbst bezahlt. Als, wenn ein guter Freund für den andern Schuld bezahlt, da wird der Schuldiger durch eines andern Bezahlung, als durch sein eigen Bezahlen, der Schuld los. Also wird uns Christi Verdienst geschenkt und zugerechnet, wenn wir an ihn glauben, gleich als wäre sein Verdienst unser, daß uns also seine Gerechtigkeit und sein Verdienst wird zugerechnet, und wird sein Verdienst unser eigen.

only to Christ is altogether transferred to the saints. For they make them mediators and propitiators, and although they make a distinction between mediators of *intercession* and mediators [the Mediator] of *redemption*, yet they plainly make of the saints mediators of redemption. But even that they are mediators of intercession they declare without the testimony of Scripture, which, be it said ever so reverently, nevertheless obscures Christ's office, and transfers the confidence of mercy due Christ to the saints. For men imagine that Christ is more severe and the saints more easily appeased, and they trust rather to the mercy of the saints than to the mercy of Christ, and fleeing from Christ [as from a tyrant], they seek the saints. Thus they actually make of them mediators of redemption.

Therefore we shall show that they truly make of the saints, not only intercessors, but propitiators, *i. e.*, mediators of redemption. Here we do not as yet recite the abuses of the common people [how manifest idolatry is practised at pilgrimages]. We are still speaking of the opinions of the Doctors. As regards the rest, even the inexperienced [common people] can judge.

In a propitiator these two things concur. In the first place, there ought to be a word of God from which we may certainly know that God wishes to pity, and hearken to, those calling upon Him through this propitiator. There is such a promise concerning Christ, John 16, 23: *Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in My name, He will give it you.* Concerning the saints there is no such promise. Therefore consciences cannot be firmly confident that by the invocation of saints we are heard. This invocation, therefore, is not made from faith. Then we have also the command to call upon Christ, according to Matt. 11, 28: *Come unto Me, all ye that labor,* etc., which certainly is said also to us. And Isaiah says, 11, 10: *In that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign to the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek.* And Ps. 45, 12: *Even the rich among the people shall entreat Thy favor.* And Ps. 72, 11. 15: *Yea, all kings shall fall down before Him.* And shortly after: *Prayer also shall be made for Him continually.* And in John 5, 23 Christ says: *That all men should honor the Son even as they honor the Father.* And Paul, 2 Thess. 2, 16. 17, says, praying: *Now our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and God, even our Father, ... comfort your hearts and stablish you.* [All these passages refer to Christ.] But concerning the invocation of saints, what commandment, what example can the adversaries produce from the Scriptures? The second matter in a propitiator is, that his merits have been presented as those which make satisfaction for others, which are bestowed by divine imputation on others, in order that through these, just as by their own merits, they may be accounted righteous. As when any friend pays a debt for a friend, the debtor is freed by the merit of another, as though it were by his own. Thus the merits of Christ are bestowed upon us, in order that, when we believe in Him, we may be accounted righteous by our confidence in Christ's merits as though we had merits of our own.

20] Et ex utroque, nempe ex promissione et donatione meritorum, oritur fiducia misericordiae. Talis fiducia promissionis divinae, item meritorum Christi debet afferri [R. 227 ad orandum. Vere enim statuere debemus, et quod propter Christum exaudiamur, et quod ipsius meritis habeamus placatum Patrem.

21] Hic adversarii primum iubent invocare sanctos, quum neque promissionem Dei neque mandatum neque exemplum Scripturae habeant. Et tamen faciunt, ut maior fiducia misericordiae sanctorum concipiatur quam Christi, quum Christus ad se venire iusserit, **22**] non ad sanctos. Secundo applicant merita sanctorum aliis, sicut merita Christi, iubent confidere meritis sanctorum, quasi reputemur iusti propter merita sanctorum, sicut iusti reputamur meritis Christi. Nihil **23**] hic fingimus. In indulgentiis dicunt se applicare merita sanctorum. Et Gabriel, interpres canonis missae, confidenter pronuntiat: *Nos ordine instituto a Deo debere ad auxilia sanctorum confugere, ut salvemur eorum meritis et votis.* Haec sunt verba Gabrielis. Et tamen passim in libris et concionibus adversariorum leguntur absurdiora. Quid est facere propitiatores, si hoc non est? Prorsus aequantur Christo, si confidere debemus, quod meritis eorum salvemur.

24] Ubi autem institutus est ille ordo a Deo, quem dicit iste, quod debeamus ad auxilia sanctorum confugere? Proferat exemplum ex Scripturis aut praeceptum. Fortassis ex aulis regum sumunt hunc ordinem, ubi amicis intercessoribus utendum est. At si rex constituerit certum intercessorem, non volet ad se causas per alios deferri. Ita quum Christus sit constitutus intercessor et pontifex, cur quaerimus alios?

25] Passim usurpatur haec forma absolutionis: *Passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi, merita beatissimae virginis Mariae et omnium sanctorum sint tibi in remissionem peccatorum.* Hic pronuntiatur absolutio, quod non solum meritis Christi, sed meritis aliorum sanctorum reconciliemur et iusti reputemur. **26**] Quidam e nobis viderunt morientem doctorem theologiae, ad quem consolandum adhibitus erat monachus quispiam theologus. Is morienti nihil inculcabat, nisi hanc [R. 228 precationem: *Mater gratiae, nos ab hoste protege, in hora mortis suscipe.*

27] Ut largiamur, quod beata Maria oret pro ecclesia, num ipsa suscipit animas in morte, num vincit mortem, num vivificat? Quid agit Christus, si haec facit beata Maria?

Auf beide Stücke, nämlich auf die göttliche Zusage und auf Christi Verdienst, muß ein christlich Gebet sich gründen. Ein solcher Glaube an die göttliche Zusage und auf das Verdienst Christi gehört zum Gebet. Denn wir sollen's gewiß dafürhalten, daß wir um Christus' willen erhört werden, und daß wir um seinetwillen einen gnädigen Gott haben.

Da lehren nun die Widersacher, wir sollen die Heiligen anrufen, so wir dazu weder Gebot noch Verheißung noch Exempel in der Schrift haben, und machen doch damit, daß man größeres Vertrauen auf die Heiligen setzt denn auf Christum, so doch Christus sagt: „Kommt zu mir", nicht zu den Heiligen. Zum andern sagen sie, daß Gott der Heiligen Verdienste annehme für unsere Sünde, und lehren also Vertrauen auf der Heiligen Verdienste, nicht auf das Verdienst Christi. Und solches lehren sie klar vom Ablaß, darin sie der Heiligen Verdienst austeilen als satisfactiones für unsere Sünden. Und Gabriel [Biel], der den canonem missae auslegt, der darf frei sagen: „Wir sollen nach der Ordnung, die Gott eingesetzt hat, fliehen zu den Heiligen, daß wir durch ihre Hilfe und Verdienste selig werden." Dies sind die klaren Worte Gabrielis. Und hin und wieder in der Widersacher Büchern findet man noch viel Ungeschickteres vom Verdienst der Heiligen. Heißt das nun die Heiligen nicht zu Versöhnern gemacht? Denn da werden sie doch gar Christo gleich, wenn wir vertrauen sollen, daß wir durch ihre Verdienste selig werden.

Wo ist aber die Ordnung von Gott eingesetzt, da Gabriel von redet, daß wir sollen zu den Heiligen fliehen? Er bringe doch ein Wort, ein einig Exempel aus der Heiligen Schrift. Sie machen vielleicht die Ordnung von dem Gebrauch, der in weltlichen Fürstenhöfen ist, da die Räte des Fürsten armer Leute Sachen vortragen und als Mittler fördern. Wie aber, wenn ein Fürst oder ein König einen einigen Mittler bestellte und wollte durch keinen andern die Sachen in Gnaden hören, oder alle Bitte durch den allein erhören? Darum so Christus nun allein zu einem Hohenpriester und Mittler gesetzt ist, warum suchen wir denn andere? Was können nun hier die Widersacher dawider sagen?

Es ist eine gemeine Form der Absolution bis anher gebraucht, die lautet also: „Das Leiden unsers HErrn JEsu Christi, die Verdienste der Mutter Maria und aller Heiligen sollen sein dir zur Vergebung der Sünden." Da wird öffentlich die Absolution gesprochen nicht allein durch das Verdienst Christi, sondern auch durch Verdienste der andern Heiligen, daß wir durch dieselben sollen Gnade und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen. Etliche aus uns haben gesehen einen Doktor der Heiligen Schrift in agone oder an [in] seinen letzten Zügen; dem war ein Mönch beigegeben, ihn zu trösten. Nun rief und schrie er dem sterbenden Menschen nichts anderes ein denn allein dieses Gebet: „Maria, du Mutter der Güte und Gnade, behüte uns vor dem Feinde und in der Todesstunde nimm uns auf, Maria, mater gratiae" etc.

Ob nun gleich Maria, die Mutter Gottes, für die Kirche bittet, so ist doch das zu viel, daß sie sollte den Tod überwinden, daß sie vor der großen Gewalt des Satans uns behüten sollte. Denn

And from both, namely, from the promise and the bestowment of merits, confidence in mercy arises [upon both parts must a Christian prayer be founded]. Such confidence in the divine promise, and likewise in the merits of Christ, ought to be brought forward when we pray. For we ought to be truly confident, both that for Christ's sake we are heard, and that by His merits we have a reconciled Father.

Here the adversaries first bid us invoke the saints, although they have neither God's promise, nor a command, nor an example from Scripture. And yet they cause greater confidence in the mercy of the saints to be conceived than in that of Christ, although Christ bade us come to Him and not to the saints. Secondly, they apply the merits of the saints, just as the merits of Christ, to others; they bid us trust in the merits of the saints as though we were accounted righteous on account of the merits of the saints, in like manner as we are accounted righteous by the merits of Christ. Here we fabricate nothing. In indulgences they say that they apply the merits of the saints [as satisfactions for our sins]. And Gabriel, the interpreter of the canon of the Mass, confidently declares: *According to the order instituted by God, we should betake ourselves to the aid of the saints, in order that we may be saved by their merits and vows.* These are the words of Gabriel. And nevertheless, in the books and sermons of the adversaries still more absurd things are read here and there. What is it to make propitiators if this is not? They are altogether made equal to Christ if we must trust that we are saved by their merits.

But where has this arrangement, to which he refers when he says that we ought to resort to the aid of the saints, been instituted by God? Let him produce an example or command from the Scriptures. Perhaps they derive this arrangement from the courts of kings, where friends must be employed as intercessors. But if a king has appointed a certain intercessor, he will not desire that cases be brought to him through others. Thus, since Christ has been appointed Intercessor and High Priest, why do we seek others? [What can the adversaries say in reply to this?]

Here and there this form of absolution is used: *The passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, the merits of the most blessed Virgin Mary and of all the saints, be to thee for the remission of sins.* Here the absolution is pronounced on the supposition that we are reconciled and accounted righteous not only by the merits of Christ, but also by the merits of the other saints. Some of us have seen a doctor of theology dying, for consoling whom a certain theologian, a monk, was employed. He pressed on the dying man nothing but this prayer: *Mother of grace, protect us from the enemy; receive us in the hour of death.*

Granting that the blessed Mary prays for the Church, does she receive souls in death, does she conquer death [the great power of Satan], does she quicken? What does Christ do if the blessed Mary does these things? Although she is most worthy of the most ample honors, nevertheless she does not wish to be made equal to Christ, but rather wishes us to consider and follow her example

Quae etsi est dignissima amplissimis honoribus, tamen non vult se aequari Christo, sed potius exempla sua nos intueri et amplecti
28] vult. At res loquitur ipsa, quod publica persuasione beata virgo prorsus in locum Christi successerit. Hanc invocaverunt homines, huius misericordia confisi sunt, per hanc voluerunt placare Christum, quasi is non esset propitiator, sed tantum horrendus iudex
29] et ultor. Nos autem sentimus, quod non sit confidendum, quod merita sanctorum nobis applicentur, quod propter illa Deus nobis reconcilietur, aut reputet nos iustos, aut salvet nos. Tantum enim Christi meritis consequimur remissionem peccatorum, quum in eum credimus. De aliis sanctis dictum est 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Unusquisque recipiet mercedem secundum suum laborem*, id est, ipsi inter se donare sua merita alii aliis non possunt, sicut monachi vendunt suorum ordinum merita. Et
30] Hilarius ait de fatuis virginibus: *Et quia prodire obviam fatuae extinctis lampadibus non possunt, deprecantur eas, quae prudentes erant, ut oleum mutuent, quibus responderunt, non posse se dare, quia non sit forte, quod omnibus satis sit, alienis scilicet operibus ac meritis neminem adiuvandum, quia unicuique lampadi suae emere oleum necesse sit.*

31] Quum igitur adversarii doceant fiduciam collocare in invocationem sanctorum, quum neque Verbum Dei, neque exemplum Scripturae habeant, quum applicent merita sanctorum pro aliis, non secus ac merita Christi, et proprium Christi honorem in sanctos transferant: neque opiniones eorum de cultu sanctorum, neque consuetudinem [R. 229 invocationis recipere possumus. Scimus enim fiduciam in Christi intercessionem collocandam esse, quia haec sola habet promissionem Dei. Scimus solius Christi merita propitiationem pro nobis esse. Propter Christi merita reputamur iusti, quum credimus in eum, sicut textus ait, Rom. 9, 33; cf. 1 Petr. 2, 6 et Ies. 28, 16: *Omnes, qui confidunt in eum, non confundentur.* Nec est confidendum, quod iusti reputemur meritis beatae Virginis aut aliorum sanctorum.

32] Haeret et hic error apud doctos, quod singulis sanctis certae procurationes commissae sint, ut Anna divitias largiatur, Sebastianus arceat pestilentiam, Valentinus medeatur morbo comitiali, Georgius tueatur equites. Hae persuasiones plane sunt ortae ex ethnicis exemplis. Sic enim apud Romanos putabatur Iuno ditare, Febris arcere febrim, Castor et Pollux defendere equites etc.
33] Et fingamus moderatissime tradi invocationem sanctorum, tamen, quum exemplum sit periculosissimum, quorsum opus est eam defendere, quum nullum habeat mandatum aut testimonium ex Verbo Dei? Imo nec veterum scriptorum testimonium habet. Pri-
34] mum quia, ut supra dixi, quum alii mediatores praeter Christum quaeruntur, collocatur fiducia in alios, obruitur tota notitia

was wäre Christus not, wenn Maria das vermöchte? Denn wiewohl sie alles höchsten Lobes wert ist, so will sie doch nicht Christo gleich gehalten sein, sondern will vielmehr, daß wir dem Exempel ihres Glaubens und ihrer Demut folgen sollen. Nun ist dies öffentlich am Tage, daß durch solche falsche Lehre Maria an Christus' Statt ist gekommen; dieselbe haben sie angerufen, auf deren Güte haben sie vertraut, durch die haben sie gewollt [wollen] Christum versöhnen, gleich als sei er nicht ein Versöhner, sondern allein ein schrecklicher, rachgieriger Richter. Wir sagen aber, daß man nicht lehren soll auf die Heiligen vertrauen, als machte uns ihr Verdienst selig, sondern allein um Christus' Verdienstes willen erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden und Seligkeit, wenn wir an ihn glauben. Von den andern Heiligen ist gesagt: „Ein jeder wird Lohn empfangen nach seiner Arbeit" usw. Das ist, sie untereinander können einer dem andern ihr Verdienst nicht mitteilen, wie die Mönche ihrer Orden Verdienste uns unverschämt verkauft haben. Und Hilarius sagt von den törichten Jungfrauen: „Dieweil die tollen dem Bräutigam nicht können entgegengehen, dieweil ihre Lampen verloschen sind, so bitten sie die weisen, daß sie ihnen wollen Öl leihen; aber dieselben antworten, sie können's ihnen nicht leihen, denn es möchte beiden fehlen; es sei nicht genug für alle" usw. Da zeigt er an, daß niemand unter uns durch fremde Werke oder Verdienste dem andern helfen kann.

So nun die Widersacher lehren, daß wir auf Anrufen der Heiligen vertrauen sollen, so sie doch des keinen Gottesbefehl haben, kein Gotteswort noch Exempel Alten oder Neuen Testaments haben, so sie auch das Verdienst der Heiligen so hoch heben als das Verdienst Christi und die Ehre, so Christo gebührt, den Heiligen geben, so können wir ihre Meinung und Gewohnheit vom Anbeten oder Anrufen der Heiligen nicht loben noch annehmen. Denn wir wissen, daß wir unser Vertrauen sollen setzen auf Christum; da haben wir Gottes Zusage, daß er soll der Mittler sein; so wissen wir, daß allein Christi Verdienst eine Versöhnung für unsere Sünde ist. Um Christus' willen werden wir versöhnt, wenn wir in [an] ihn glauben, wie der Text sagt: „Alle, die an ihn glauben, die sollen nicht zuschanden werden." Und man soll nicht vertrauen, daß wir von wegen des Verdienstes Mariä vor Gott gerecht sind.

Auch so predigen ihre Gelehrten unverschämt, daß jeder unter'n Heiligen eine sonderliche Gabe könne geben, als: St. Anna behüte vor Armut, St. Sebastianus vor der Pestilenz, St. Valten vor der fallenden Seuche; den heiligen Ritter St. Jörgen haben die Reiter angerufen, vor Stich und Schoß [Geschoß] und allerlei Fahr zu behüten. Und das alles im Grunde ist von Heiden hergekommen. Und ich will gleich setzen, daß die Widersacher nicht so gar unverschämt heidnische Lügen vom Anrufen der Heiligen lehrten, dennoch ist das Exempel [ge]fährlich. So sie auch des keinen Gottesbefehl noch -wort haben, auch aus den alten Vätern davon nichts Gewisses können aufbringen: was ist denn not, daß man solchen Ungrund verteidigen will? Erstlich aber ist es darum ganz [ge]fährlich; denn so man andere Mittler sucht denn Christum, so setzt man Vertrauen auf

[the example of her faith and her humility]. But the subject itself declares that in public opinion the blessed Virgin has succeeded altogether to the place of Christ. Men have invoked her, have trusted in her mercy, through her have desired to appease Christ, as though He were not a Propitiator, but only a dreadful judge and avenger. We believe, however, that we must not trust that the merits of the saints are applied to us, that on account of these God is reconciled to us, or accounts us just, or saves us. For we obtain remission of sins only by the merits of Christ, when we believe in Him. Of the other saints it has been said, 1 Cor. 3, 8: *Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labor, i. e.,* they cannot mutually bestow their own merits, the one upon the other, as the monks sell the merits of their orders. Even Hilary says of the foolish virgins: *And as the foolish virgins could not go forth with their lamps extinguished, they besought those who were prudent to lend them oil; to whom they replied that they could not give it because peradventure there might not be enough for all; i. e., no one can be aided by the works and merits of another, because it is necessary for every one to buy oil for his own lamp.* [Here he points out that none of us can aid another by other people's works or merits.]

Since, therefore, the adversaries teach us to place confidence in the invocation of saints, although they have neither the Word of God nor the example of Scripture [of the Old or of the New Testament]; since they apply the merits of the saints on behalf of others, not otherwise than they apply the merits of Christ, and transfer the honor belonging only to Christ to the saints, we can receive neither their opinions concerning the worship of the saints, nor the practise of invocation. For we know that confidence is to be placed in the intercession of Christ, because this alone has God's promise. We know that the merits of Christ alone are a propitiation for us. On account of the merits of Christ we are accounted righteous when we believe in Him, as the text says, Rom. 9, 33 (cf. 1 Pet. 2, 6 and Is. 28, 16): *Whosoever believeth on Him shall not be confounded.* Neither are we to trust that we are accounted righteous by the merits of the blessed Virgin or of the other saints.

With the learned this error also prevails, namely, that to each saint a particular administration has been committed, that Anna bestows riches [protects from poverty], Sebastian keeps off pestilence, Valentine heals epilepsy, George protects horsemen. These opinions have clearly sprung from heathen examples. For thus, among the Romans, Juno was thought to enrich, Febris to keep off fever, Castor and Pollux to protect horsemen, etc. Even though we should imagine that the invocation of saints were taught with the greatest prudence, yet since the example is most dangerous, why is it necessary to defend it when it has no command or testimony from God's Word? Aye, it has not even the testimony of the ancient writers. First because, as I have said above, when other mediators are sought in addition to Christ, and confidence is put in others, the entire knowl-

Christi. Idque res ostendit. Videtur initio mentio sanctorum, qualis est in veteribus orationibus, tolerabili consilio recepta esse. Postea secuta est invocatio, invocationem prodigiosi et plus quam ethnici abusus secuti sunt. Ab invocatione ad imagines ventum est, hae quoque colebantur, et putabatur eis inesse quaedam vis, sicut magi vim inesse fingunt imaginibus signorum coelestium certo tempore sculptis. Vidimus in quodam monasterio simulacrum beatae Virginis, quod quasi *αὐτόματον* arte movebatur, ut videretur aut aversari petentes aut annuere.

dieſelben, und wird alſo Chriſtus und die Erkenntnis Chriſti ganz unterdrückt, wie wir leider die Erfahrung haben. Denn es mag ſein, daß erſtlich etliche [in] guter Meinung der Heiligen gedacht haben in ihrem Gebet. Bald hernach iſt gefolgt das Anrufen der Heiligen. Bald nach dem Anrufen ſind einzeln eingeriſſen die wunderlichen heidniſchen Greuel und Mißbräuche uſw., als, daß man's dafürgehalten, daß die Bilder eine eigene heimliche Kraft hätten, wie die Zauberer und magi dafürhalten, daß, wenn man etliche Sternzeichen zu gewiſſer Zeit in Gold oder ander Metall gräbt oder bildet, die ſollten eine ſonderliche heimliche Kraft haben und Wirkung. Unſer etliche haben etwan [vormals[in einem Kloſter ein Marienbild geſehen von Holz geſchnitzt, welches alſo inwendig mit Schnürlein konnte gezogen werden, daß es von außen ſchien, als regte ſich's von ihm ſelbſt, als winkte es mit dem Haupt den Anbetern, die es erhört, und als wendete es das Angeſicht weg von den Anbetern, die nicht viel opferten, die es nicht erhört.

35] Et tamen omnium statuarum atque picturarum portenta superant fabulosae historiae de sanctis, quae magna auctoritate [R. 230 publice tradebantur. Barbara petit inter tormenta praemium, ne quis invocans ipsam moriatur sine eucharistia. Alius totum psalterium stans pede in uno quotidie recitavit. Christophorum pinxit aliquis vir prudens, ut significaret per allegoriam, magnum oportere robur animi esse in his, qui ferrent Christum, hoc est, qui docerent evangelium, aut confiterentur, quia necesse sit subire maxima pericula. Deinde stolidi monachi apud populum docuerunt invocare Christophorum, quasi talis Polyphemus aliquando exstitisset. Quumque **36**] sancti maximas res gesserint vel reipublicae utiles vel continentes privata exempla, quarum commemoratio tum ad fidem confirmandam, tum ad imitationem in rebus gerendis multum conduceret, has nemo ex veris historiis conquisivit. At vero prodest audire, quomodo sancti viri administraverint respublicas, quos casus, quae pericula subierint, quomodo sancti viri regibus auxilio fuerint in magnis periculis, quomodo docuerint evangelium, quas habuerint cum haereticis dimicationes. Prosunt et exempla misericordiae, ut quum videmus Petro condonatam esse negationem, quum videmus Cypriano condonatum esse, quod magus fuisset, quum videmus Augustinum in morbo expertum vim fidei constanter affirmare, quod vere Deus exaudiat preces credentium. Huiusmodi exempla, quae vel fidem vel timorem vel administrationem reipublicae continent, proderat recitari. Sed **37**] histriones quidam nulla neque fidei neque rerumpublicarum regendarum scientia praediti confinxerunt fabulas imitatione poematum, in quibus tantum insunt superstitiosa exempla de certis precibus, certis ieiuniis, et addita sunt quaedam ad quaestum facientia. Cuiusmodi sunt miracula de rosariis et similibus ceremoniis conficta. Neque opus est hic recitare exempla. Exstant enim legendae, ut vocant, et specula exemplorum et rosaria, in quibus pleraque sunt non dissimilia veris narrationibus Luciani. [R. 231

Und ob ſolcher Greuel, ſolche Abgötterei, Wallfahrten und Betrug mit den Bildern unzählig und unſäglich nicht wären geweſen, ſo ſind doch noch greulicher und häßlicher geweſen die vielen Fabeln und Lügen der Legenden von Heiligen, welche man öffentlich gepredigt. Als, von St. Barbara haben ſie gepredigt, daß ſie an ihrem Tode Gott gebeten habe, für ihre Marter den Lohn zu geben, wer ſie anriefe, daß der nicht könnte ohne Sakrament ſterben. St. Chriſtophorum, welcher auf deutſch heißt Chriſtträger, hat etwan [einſt] ein weiſer Mann den Kindern in ſolcher großen Länge malen laſſen und hat wollen anzeigen, daß eine größere Stärke, denn Menſchenſtärke iſt, in denjenigen ſein müſſe, die Chriſtum ſollen tragen, die das Evangelium predigen und bekennen ſollen. Denn ſie müſſen durch das große Meer bei Nacht waten uſw., das iſt, allerlei große Anfechtung und Fahr [Gefahr] ausſtehen. Da ſind danach die tollen, ungelehrten, heilloſen Mönche zugefahren und haben das Volk alſo gelehrt, den Chriſtophorum an[zu]rufen, als ſei etwan [vorzeiten] ein ſolch großer Rieſe leiblich vorhanden geweſen, der Chriſtum durchs Meer getragen habe. So nun Gott der Allmächtige durch ſeine Heiligen, als ſonderliche Leute, viel großes Dinges gewirkt in beiden Regimenten, in der Kirche und in weltlichen Händeln (ſo ſind viel große Exempel an der Heiligen Leben, welche Fürſten und Herren, rechten Pfarrherren und Seelſorgern, beide zum Weltregiment und Kirchenregierung, vornehmlich zur Stärkung des Glaubens gegen Gott ganz nütz wären): die haben ſie laſſen fahren und das Geringſte von den Heiligen gepredigt, von ihrem harten Lager, von härenen Hemden uſw.; welches des größern Teils Lügen ſind. Nun wäre es je nütz und faſt tröſtlich zu hören, wie etliche große, heilige Leute (wie in der Heiligen Schrift von Königen Iſraels und Judas erzählt wird) in ihrem Regiment Land und Leute regiert hätten, wie ſie gelehrt und gepredigt, was mancherlei Fahr [Gefahr] und Anfechtung ſie ausgeſtanden, wie auch viel gelehrte Leute den Königen, Fürſten und Herren in großen [ge]fährlichen Läuften rätig und tröſtlich ſeien geweſen, wie ſie gelehrt und das Evangelium gepredigt haben, was mancherlei Kämpfe ſie mit den Ketzern ausgeſtanden. So wären auch die Exempel, da den Heiligen große, ſonderliche Barmherzigkeit von Gott erzeigt, faſt [ſehr] nütz und tröſtlich. Als, wenn wir ſehen, daß Petrus, ſo Chriſtum verleugnet, Gnade erlangt hat, daß Cypriano ſeine magia vergeben iſt. Item, wir leſen, daß Auguſtinus, da er todkrank geweſen, erſt die Kraft des Glaubens erfahren hat und öffent-

edge of Christ is suppressed. The subject shows this. In the beginning, mention of the saints seems to have been admitted with a design that is endurable, as in the ancient prayers. Afterwards invocation followed, and abuses that are prodigious and more than heathenish followed invocation. From invocation the next step was to images; these also were worshiped, and a virtue was supposed to exist in these, just as magicians imagine that a virtue exists in images of the heavenly bodies carved at a particular time. In a certain monastery we [some of us] have seen a statue of the blessed Virgin, which moved automatically by a trick [within by a string], so as to seem either to turn away from [those who did not make a large offering] or nod to those making request.

Still the fabulous stories concerning the saints, which are publicly taught with great authority, surpass the marvelous tales of the statues and pictures. Barbara, amidst her torments, asks for the reward that no one who would invoke her should die without the Eucharist. Another, standing on one foot, recited daily the whole psaltery. Some wise man painted [for children] Christophorus [which in German means Bearer of Christ], in order by the allegory to signify that there ought to be great strength of mind in those who would bear Christ, *i. e.*, who would teach or confess the Gospel, because it is necessary to undergo the greatest dangers [for they must wade by night through the great sea, *i. e.*, endure all kinds of temptations and dangers]. Then the foolish monks taught among the people that they ought to invoke Chistophorus, as though such a Polyphemus [such a giant who bore Christ through the sea] had once existed. And although the saints performed very great deeds, either useful to the state or affording private examples, the remembrance of which would conduce much both toward strengthening faith and toward following their example in the administration of affairs, no one has searched for these from true narratives. [Although God Almighty through His saints, as a peculiar people, has wrought many great things in both realms, in the Church and in worldly transactions; although there are many great examples in the lives of the saints which would be very profitable to princes and lords, to true pastors and guardians of souls, for the government both of the world and of the Church, especially for strengthening faith in God, yet they have passed these by, and preached the most insignificant matters concerning the saints, concerning their hard beds, their hair shirts, etc., which, for the greater part, are falsehoods.] Yet indeed it is of advantage to hear how holy men administered governments [as in the Holy Scriptures it is narrated of the kings of Israel and Judah], what calamities, what dangers they underwent, how holy men were of aid to kings in great dangers, how they taught the Gospel, what encounters they had with heretics. Examples of mercy are also of service, as when we see the denial forgiven Peter, when we see Cyprian forgiven for having been a magician, when we see Augustine, having experienced the power of faith in sickness, steadily affirming that God truly hears the prayers of believers. It was profitable that such examples as these, which contain admonitions for either faith or fear or the administration of the state, be recited. But certain triflers, endowed with no knowledge either of faith or for governing states, have invented stories in imitation of poems, in which there are nothing but superstitious examples concerning certain prayers, certain fastings, and

lich Gott bekennt mit diesen Worten: „Nun habe ich erst empfunden, daß Gott der Gläubigen Seufzen und Gebet erhöre.“ Solche Exempel des Glaubens, da man lernt Gott fürchten, Gott vertrauen, daraus man recht sieht, wie es gottesfürchtigen Leuten in der Kirche, auch in großen Sachen der hohen weltlichen Regimente ergangen, die hätte man fleißig und klar von den Heiligen schreiben und predigen sollen. Nun haben etliche müßige Mönche und lose Buben (welche nicht gewußt, wie große und schwere Sorge es ist, Kirchen oder sonst Leute regieren) Fabeln erdichtet, zum Teil aus der Heiden Büchern, da nichts denn Exempel sind, wie die Heiligen härene Hemde getragen, wie sie ihre sieben Zeiten gebetet, wie sie Wasser und Brot gegessen, und haben das alles gerichtet auf ihre Kretschmerei [Handel], aus den Wallfahrten Geld zu marken [markten, einzunehmen]; wie denn sind die Wunderzeichen, welche sie vom Rosenkranze rühmen, und wie die Barfüßermönche von ihren hölzernen Körnern rühmen. Und ist hier nicht groß Not, Exempel anzuzeigen; ihre Lügenlegenden sind noch vorhanden, daß man's nicht verneinen mag [leugnen kann].

38] His prodigiosis et impiis fabulis applaudunt episcopi, theologi, monachi, quia faciunt *πρὸς τὰ ἄλφιτα*, nos non ferunt, qui, ut Christi honos et officium magis conspici possit, non requirimus invocationem sanctorum et abusus in cultu sanctorum taxamus. **39]** Quumque omnes boni viri ubique desiderent in his abusibus corrigendis vel episcoporum auctoritatem vel diligentiam concionantium, tamen adversarii nostri in Confutatione omnino dissimulant etiam manifesta vitia, quasi recepta Confutatione velint nos cogere, ut etiam notissimos abusus approbemus.

Und solchen Greuel wider Christum, solche Gotteslästerung, schändliche, unverschämte Lügen und Fabeln, solche Lügenprediger können die Bischöfe und Theologen leiden und haben sie lange Zeit gelitten zu großem Schaden der Gewissen, daß es schrecklich ist zu gedenken; denn solche Lügen haben Geld und Zinse getragen. Uns aber, die wir das Evangelium rein predigen, wollten sie gern vertilgen, so wir doch darum das Anrufen der Heiligen anfechten, damit Christus allein der Mittler bleibe und der große Mißbrauch abgetan werde. So auch lange vor dieser Zeit, ehe D. Luther geschrieben, ihre Theologen selbst, auch alle frommen, gottesfürchtigen, ehrbaren Leute über die Bischöfe und Prediger geschrien, daß sie die Mißbräuche um des Bauchs und Gelds willen zu strafen übergingen, so gedenken doch unsere Widersacher in ihrer Konfutation solcher Mißbräuche nicht mit einem Wort, daß, so wir die Konfutation annähmen, müßten wir zugleich in alle ihre öffentlichen Mißbräuche gehen.

40] Ita insidiose scripta est Confutatio non tantum in hoc loco, sed fere ubique. Nullus est locus, in quo a dogmatibus suis discernant manifestos abusus. Et tamen apud ipsos, si qui sunt saniores, fatentur multas falsas persuasiones haerere in doctrina scholasticorum et canonistarum, multos praeterea abusus in tanta inscitia et negligentia pastorum irre- **41]** psisse in ecclesiam. Neque enim primus fuit Lutherus, qui de publicis abusibus quereretur. Multi docti et praestantes viri longe ante haec tempora deploraverunt abusus missae, fiduciam observationum monasticarum, quaestuosos cultus sanctorum, confusionem doctrinae de poenitentia, quam vel maxime oportebat perspicuam et explicatam exstare in ecclesia. Ipsi audivimus excellentes theologos desiderare modum in scholastica doctrina, quae multo plus habet rixarum philosophicarum quam pietatis. Et tamen in his veteres fere propiores sunt Scripturae quam recentiores. Ita magis magisque degeneravit istorum theologia. Nec alia causa fuit multis bonis viris, qui initio amare Lutherum coeperunt, quam quod videbant eum explicare animos hominum ex illis labyrinthis confusissimarum et infinitarum disputationum, quae sunt apud scholasticos theologos et canonistas, et res utiles ad pietatem docere.

Also voll Hinterlist und gefährlichen Betrugs ist ihre ganze Konfutation, nicht allein an diesem Ort, sondern allenthalben. Sie stellen sich, als seien sie gar goldrein, als haben [hätten] sie nie kein Wasser getrübt. Denn an keinem Ort unterscheiden sie von ihren dogmatibus oder Lehren die öffentlichen Mißbräuche. Und doch, viele unter ihnen sind so ehrbar und redlich, bekennen selbst, daß viele Irrtümer sind in der scholasticorum und Kanonisten Bücher, daß auch viele Mißbräuche durch ungelehrte Prediger und durch so großen, schändlichen Unfleiß der Bischöfe eingerissen sind in der Kirche. Es ist auch D. Luther nicht allein noch der erste gewesen, der über solche unzählige Mißbräuche geschrien und geklagt hat. Es sind viel gelehrte, redliche Leute vor dieser Zeit gewesen, welche erbärmlich geklagt haben über den großen Mißbrauch der Messe, über Mißbrauch der Möncherei, item, über solchen Geiz- und Geldmarkt der Wallfahrten, und sonderlich, daß der nötigste Artikel von der Buße, von Christo, ohne welchen keine christliche Kirche sein noch bleiben kann, welcher vor allen andern rein und richtig soll gelehrt werden, so jämmerlich ward unterdrückt.

42] Quare non fecerunt candide adversarii, quod quum vellent nos assentiri Con- [R. 232 futationi, dissimulaverunt abusus. Ac si vellent ecclesiae consultum, maxime isto in loco, in hac occasione, debebant hortari optimum Imperatorem, ut de corrigendis abusibus consilium caperet, quem quidem non obscure animadvertimus cupidissimum esse bene constituendae et sanandae ecclesiae. Sed adversarii non hoc agunt, ut honestissimam et sanctissimam voluntatem Imperatoris ad-

Darum haben die Widersacher darin nicht treulich noch christlich gehandelt, daß sie in ihrer Konfutation die öffentlichen Mißbräuche stillschweigend übergangen [haben]. Und wenn es ihnen rechter Ernst wäre, der Kirche und den armen Gewissen zu helfen und nicht vielmehr Pracht und Geiz zu erhalten, so hätten sie hier einen rechten Zutritt und Ursache gehabt und sollten sonderlich an diesem Ort die Kaiserliche Majestät, unsern allergnädigsten Herrn, aufs untertänigste angesucht haben, solche große, öffentliche, schändliche

certain additions of service for bringing in gain [where there are nothing but examples as to how the saints wore hair shirts, how they prayed at the seven canonical hours, how they lived upon bread and water]. Such are the miracles that have been invented concerning rosaries and similar ceremonies. Nor is there need here to recite examples. For the legends, as they call them, and the mirrors of examples, and the rosaries, in which there are very many things not unlike the true narratives of Lucian, are extant.

The bishops, theologians, and monks applaud these monstrous and wicked stories [this abomination set up against Christ, this blasphemy, these scandalous, shameless lies, these lying preachers; and they have permitted them so long, to the great injury of consciences, that it is terrible to think of it] because they aid them to their daily bread. They do not tolerate us, who, in order that the honor and office of Christ may be more conspicuous, do not require the invocation of saints, and censure the abuses in the worship of saints. And although [even their own theologians], all good men everywhere [a long time before Dr. Luther began to write] in the correction of these abuses, greatly longed for either the authority of the bishops or the diligence of the preachers, nevertheless our adversaries in the Confutation altogether pass over vices that are even manifest, as though they wish, by the reception of the Confutation, to compel us to approve even the most notorious abuses.

Thus the Confutation has been deceitfully written, not only on this topic, but almost everywhere. [They pretend that they are as pure as gold, that they have never muddled the water.] There is no passage in which they make a distinction between the manifest abuses and their dogmas. And nevertheless, if there are any of sounder mind among them, they confess that many false opinions inhere in the doctrine of the scholastics and canonists, and, besides, that in such ignorance and negligence of the pastors many abuses crept into the Church. For Luther was not [the only one nor] the first to complain of [innumerable] public abuses. Many learned and excellent men long before these times deplored the abuses of the Mass, confidence in monastic observances, services to the saints intended to yield a revenue, the confusion of the doctrine concerning repentance [concerning Christ], which ought to be as clear and plain in the Church as possible [without which there cannot be nor remain a Christian Church]. We ourselves have heard that excellent theologians desire moderation in the scholastic doctrine, which contains much more for philosophical quarrels than for piety. And nevertheless, among these the older ones are generally nearer Scripture than are the more recent. Thus their theology degenerated more and more. Neither had many good men, who from the very first began to be friendly to Luther, any other reason than that they saw that he was freeing the minds of men from these labyrinths of most confused and infinite discussions which exist among the scholastic theologians and canonists, and was teaching things profitable for godliness.

The adversaries, therefore, have not acted candidly in passing over the abuses when they wished us to assent to the Confutation. And if they wished to care for the interests of the Church [and of afflicted consciences, and not rather to maintain their pomp and avarice], especially on that topic, at this occasion, they ought to exhort our most excellent Emperor to take measures for the correction of abuses [which furnish grounds for derision among the Turks, the Jews, and all unbelievers], as we observe plainly enough that he is most desirous of healing and well-establishing the Church. But the adversaries

iuvent, sed ut nos quoquo modo opprimant. **43**] De statu ecclesiae multa signa ostendunt eos parum sollicitos esse. Non dant operam, ut exstet apud populum certa quaedam summa dogmatum ecclesiasticorum. Manifestos abusus nova et inusitata crudelitate defendunt. Nullos patiuntur in ecclesiis idoneos doctores. Haec quo spectent, boni viri facile iudicare possunt. Sed hac via neque suo regno neque ecclesiae bene consulunt. Nam interfectis bonis doctoribus, oppressa sana doctrina, postea exsistent fanatici spiritus, quos non poterunt reprimere adversarii, qui et ecclesiam impiis dogmatibus perturbabunt et totam ecclesiasticam politiam evertent, quam nos maxime cupimus conservare.

Mißbräuche, welche uns Christen auch bei Türken, bei Juden und allen Ungläubigen zum Spott gereichen, abzuschaffen. Denn wir in vielen Stücken klar genug vermerkt, daß Kaiserliche Majestät, unser allergnädigster Herr, ohne Zweifel mit allem treuen Fleiß die Wahrheit forschen und nachsuchen und gern die christliche Kirche recht bestellt und geordnet sehen. Aber den Widersachern ist daran nicht viel gelegen, wie sie der kaiserlichen Majestät kaiserlichem, christlichem Gemüt, Willen und löblichem Bedenken genug tun, oder wie sie den Sachen helfen, sondern wie sie nur die Wahrheit und uns unterdrücken. Denn sie liegen darum nicht viel ungeschlafen, daß die christliche Lehre und das Evangelium rein gepredigt werde. Das Predigtamt lassen sie ganz wüste stehen, verteidigen öffentliche Mißbräuche, vergießen noch täglich unschuldig Blut aus ungehörter Tyrannei und Wüterei, allein ihre öffentlichen Lügen zu verteidigen. Auch so wollen sie fromme, christliche Prediger nicht dulden. Wo das endlich hinausgehen will, können verständige Leute wohl abnehmen. Denn mit eitel Gewalt und Tyrannei werden sie nicht lange [die] Kirche regieren. Und obgleich die Widersacher nichts anderes denn allein des Papsts Reich zu erhalten suchten, so wird doch das der Weg nicht dazu sein, sondern eine eitle Wüstung des Reichs und der Kirche. Denn wenn sie gleich alle frommen, christlichen Prediger also erwürgt hätten, und das Evangelium unterdrückt wäre, so würden danach Rottengeister und Schwärmergeister kommen, welche mit der Faust auch aufrührerisch fechten würden, welche die Gemeinde und Kirche mit falschen Lehren würden betrüben, alle Kirchenordnung verwüsten, welche wir gerne erhalten wollten.

44] Quare te, optime Imperator Carole, propter gloriam Christi, quam nihil dubitamus te cupere ornare atque augere, oramus, ne violentis consiliis adversariorum nostrorum assentiaris, sed ut quaeras alias honestas vias concordiae ita constituendae, ne piae conscientiae graventur, neve saevitia aliqua in homines innocentes, sicut hactenus fieri vidimus, exerceatur, neve sana doctrina in ecclesia opprimatur. Hoc officium Deo maxime omnium debes, sanam doctrinam conservare et propagare ad posteros, et defendere recta docentes. Id enim postulat Deus, quum reges ornat nomine suo et deos appellat, inquiens Ps. 82, 6: *Ego dixi: Dii estis*, ut res divinas, hoc est, evangelium Christi, in terris conservari et propagari curent, et tamquam vicarii Dei vitam et salutem innocentum defendant.

Derhalben, allergnädigster Herr Kaiser, nachdem wir nicht zweifeln, Euer Kaiserlicher Majestät Gemüt und Herz sei, daß die göttliche Wahrheit, die Ehre Christi und das Evangelium möge erhalten werden und allezeit reichlich zunehmen, bitten wir aufs untertänigste, Eure Kaiserliche Majestät wollen dem unbilligen Vornehmen der Widersacher nicht stattgeben, sondern gnädiglich andere Wege suchen der Einigkeit, damit die christlichen Gewissen nicht also beschwert werden, damit auch die göttliche Wahrheit nicht so mit Gewalt unterdrückt oder unschuldige Leute darum durch eitel Tyrannei erwürgt, wie bis anher geschehen. Denn Eure Kaiserliche Majestät wissen sich des ohne Zweifel zu erinnern, daß solches sonderlich Euer Kaiserlicher Majestät Amt ist, die christliche Lehre, soviel menschlich oder möglich, also zu erhalten, daß sie möge auf die Nachkommen reichen, auch fromme, rechte Prediger schützen und handhaben. Denn das fordert Gott der HErr von allen Königen und Fürsten, da er ihnen seinen Titel mitteilt und nennt sie Götter, da er sagt: „Ihr seid Götter." Darum nennt er sie aber Götter, daß sie göttliche Sachen, das ist, das Evangelium Christi und die reine göttliche Lehre auf Erden, soviel möglich, schützen, retten und handhaben sollen, auch rechte christliche Lehrer und Prediger an Gottes Statt wider unrechte Gewalt in Schirm und Schutz haben.

Art. XXII. (X.)

De Utraque Specie Coenae Domini.

1] Non potest dubitari, quin pium sit et consentaneum institutioni Christi et [R. 233 verbis Pauli, uti *utraque parte in coena Domini.* Christus enim instituit utramque partem et instituit non pro parte ecclesiae, sed pro tota ecclesia. Nam non presbyteri solum, sed tota ecclesia auctoritate Christi, non auctoritate humana utitur sacramento, idque **2**] fateri adversarios existimamus. Iam si Christus instituit pro tota ecclesia, cur altera species adimitur parti ecclesiae? Cur prohibetur usus alterius speciei? Cur mutatur ordinatio Christi, praesertim quum ipse vocet eam testamentum suum? Quodsi hominis testamentum rescindere non licet, multo minus Christi testamentum rescindere licebit.

Artikel XXII. (X.)

Von beiderlei Gestalt im Abendmahl.

Es hat keinen Zweifel, daß es göttlich ist und recht und dem Befehl Christi und den Worten Pauli gemäß, **beiderlei Gestalt im Abendmahl** [zu] brauchen. Denn Christus hat beiderlei Gestalt eingesetzt, nicht allein für einen Teil der Kirche, sondern für die ganze Kirche. Denn nicht allein die Priester, sondern die ganze Kirche braucht des Sakraments aus Befehl Christi, nicht aus Menschenbefehl; und das müssen die Widersacher bekennen. So nun Christus für die ganze Kirche das ganze Sakrament hat eingesetzt, warum nehmen sie denn der Kirche die eine Gestalt? Warum ändern sie die Ordnung Christi, sonderlich so er es sein Testament nennt? Denn so man eines Menschen Testament nicht soll brechen, viel weniger soll man das Testament Christi brechen.

do not act so as to aid the most honorable and most holy will of the Emperor, but so as in every way to crush [the truth and] us. Many signs show that they have little anxiety concerning the state of the Church. [They lose little sleep from concern that Christian doctrine and the pure Gospel be preached.] They take no pains that there should be among the people a summary of the dogmas of the Church. [The office of the ministry they permit to be quite desolate.] They defend manifest abuses [they continue every day to shed innocent blood] by new and unusual cruelty. They allow no suitable teachers in the churches. Good men can easily judge whither these things tend. But in this way they have no regard to the interest either of their own authority or of the Church. For after the good teachers have been killed and sound doctrine suppressed, fanatical spirits will rise up, whom the adversaries will not be able to restrain, who both will disturb the Church with godless dogmas, and will overthrow the entire ecclesiastical government, which we are very greatly desirous of maintaining.

Therefore, most excellent Emperor Charles, for the sake of the glory of Christ, which we have no doubt that you desire to praise and magnify, we beseech you not to assent to the violent counsels of our adversaries, but to seek other honorable ways of so establishing harmony that godly consciences are not burdened, that no cruelty is exercised against innocent men, as we have hitherto seen, and that sound doctrine is not suppressed in the Church. To God most of all you owe the duty [as far as this is possible to man] to maintain sound doctrine and hand it down to posterity, and to defend those who teach what is right. For God demands this when He honors kings with His own name and calls them gods, saying, Ps. 82, 6: *I have said, Ye are gods*, namely, that they should attend to the preservation and propagation of divine things, *i. e.*, the Gospel of Christ, on the earth, and, as the vicars of God, should defend the life and safety of the innocent [true Christian teachers and preachers].

Article XXII (X):

Of Both Kinds in the Lord's Supper.

It cannot be doubted that it is godly and in accordance with the institution of Christ and the words of Paul to use *both parts in the Lord's Supper.* For Christ instituted both parts, and instituted them not for a part of the Church, but for the entire Church. For not only the presbyters, but the entire Church uses the Sacrament by the authority of Christ, and not by human authority; and this, we suppose, the adversaries acknowledge. Now, if Christ has instituted it for the entire Church, why is one kind denied to a part of the Church? Why is the use of the other kind prohibited? Why is the ordinance of Christ changed, especially when He Himself calls it His testament? But if it is not allowable to annul man's testament, much less will it be allowable to annul the testament of Christ. And Paul says, 1 Cor. 11, 23 ff., *that he had received of the Lord that which he delivered.* But he had delivered the use of both kinds, as the text, 1 Cor. 11,

3] Et Paulus inquit 1 Cor. 11, 23 sq., *se a Domino accepisse, quod tradidit.* Traditerat autem usum utriusque speciei, sicut clare ostendit textus, 1 Cor. 11. *Hoc facite,* inquit primum *de corpore;* postea eadem verba *de poculo* repetit. Et deinde: *Probet se ipsum homo, et sic de pane comedat et ex poculo bibat.* Haec sunt verba disponentis. Et quidem praefatur, ut, qui sunt usuri coena Do-
4] mini, simul utantur. Quare constat pro tota ecclesia sacramentum institutum esse. Et manet mos adhuc in ecclesiis Graecis et fuit quondam etiam in Latinis ecclesiis, sicut Cyprianus et Hieronymus testantur. Sic enim inquit Hieronymus in Sophoniam: *Sacerdotes, qui eucharistiae serviunt et sanguinem Domini populis eius dividunt* etc. Idem testatur Synodus Toletana. Nec difficile fuerit magnum acervum testimoniorum
5] congerere. Hic nihil exaggeramus, tantum relinquimus prudenti lectori expendendum, quid sentiendum sit de divina ordinatione.

Und Paulus sagt: „Ich habe es von dem HErrn empfangen, das ich euch gegeben habe." Nun hat er ihnen je beide[rlei] Gestalt gegeben, wie der Text klar anzeigt, 1 Kor. 11: „Das tut", sagt er, „zu meinem Gedächtnis." Da redet er **vom Leibe.** Danach [wied]erholt er dieselben Worte **vom Blut Christi** und sagt bald hernach: „Es prüfe sich aber der Mensch selbst und esse also von dem Brote und trinke also vom Kelche" usw. Da nennt er sie beide. Das sind die klaren Worte des Apostels Pauli, und er macht eine Vorrede kurz zuvor, daß diejenigen, so das Sakrament brauchen wollen, sollen es in einem Abendmahl zugleich brauchen. Darum ist's gewiß, daß [es] nicht allein für die Priester, sondern für die ganze Kirche ist eingesetzt. Und solcher Gebrauch wird auch heutigestags gehalten in der griechischen Kirche; so ist er auch in den lateinischen oder römischen Kirchen gewesen, wie Cyprianus und Hieronymus zeugen. Denn also sagt Hieronymus über den Propheten Sophonia [Zephanja]: „Die Priester, so das Sakrament reichen und das Blut Christi dem Volk austeilen" usw. Dasselbe zeugt auch Synodus Toletana. Und es wäre fast [sehr] leicht, viele Sprüche und Zeugnisse hier einzuführen; wir wollen's aber um [der] Kürze willen unterlassen. Denn ein jeglicher christlicher Leser wird selbst bedenken können, ob sich's gebühre, [die] Ordnung und Einsetzung Christi zu verbieten und zu ändern.

6] Adversarii in Confutatione non hoc agunt, ut excusent ecclesiam, cui adempta est altera pars sacramenti. Id decuit [R. 234 bonos et religiosos viros. Erat quaerenda firma ratio excusandae ecclesiae et docendarum conscientiarum, quibus non potest contingere nisi pars sacramenti. Nunc ipsi defendunt recte prohiberi alteram partem, et vetant concedere usum utriusque partis. Pri-
7] mum fingunt initio ecclesiae alicubi morem fuisse, ut una pars tantum porrigeretur. Neque tamen exemplum huius rei vetus ullum afferre possunt. Sed allegant locos, in quibus fit mentio panis, ut apud Lucam, 24, 35, ubi scriptum est, quod *discipuli agnoverint Christum in fractione panis.* Citant et alios locos, Act. 2, 42. 46; 20, 7, de fractione panis. Quamquam autem non valde repugnamus, quominus aliqui de sacramento accipiantur, tamen hoc non consequitur, unam partem tantum datam esse, quia partis appellatione reliquum significatur communi consuetudine ser-
8] monis. Addunt de laica communione, quae non erat usus alterius tantum speciei, sed utriusque; et si quando sacerdotes laica communione uti iubentur, significatur, quod a ministerio consecrationis remoti fuerint. Neque hoc ignorant adversarii, sed abutuntur inscitia imperitorum, qui, quum audiunt laicam communionem, statim somniant morem nostri temporis, quo datur laicis tantum pars sacramenti.

Die Widersacher gedenken gar nicht in ihrer Konfutation, wie derjenigen Gewissen zu trösten oder zu entschuldigen seien, denen unter dem Papsttum eine Gestalt entzogen ist. Dieses hätte gelehrten und gottesfürchtigen Doctoribus wohl angestanden, daß sie beständige Ursache hätten angezeigt, solche Gewissen zu trösten. Nun dringen sie darauf, daß es christlich und recht sei, beiderlei Gestalt zu verbieten, und wollen nicht gestatten, beiderlei Gestalt zu gebrauchen. Für das erste erdichten sie aus ihrem Kopfe, daß im Anfang der Kirche ein Gebrauch gewesen sei, daß man den Laien allein einerlei Gestalt gereicht habe, und können doch des Gebrauchs kein gewiß Exempel anzeigen. Sie ziehen etliche Sprüche aus dem Evangelisten Lukas an von dem Brechen des Brots, da geschrieben steht, **daß die Jünger den HErrn erkannt haben im Brotbrechen.** Sie ziehen auch mehr Sprüche von dem Brotbrechen an. Wiewohl wir nun nicht hart dawider sind, ob etliche vom Sakrament wollten verstanden werden, so folgt doch daraus nicht, daß nur die eine Gestalt anfänglich gereicht sei. Denn es ist gemein, daß man ein Stück nennt und das Ganze meint. Sie ziehen auch an die laica communio, gleich als sei es eine Gestalt gebrauchen, welches nicht wahr ist. Denn so die Canones auflegen den Priestern, der laica communio zu gebrauchen, meinen sie, daß sie zu einer Strafe nicht selbst konsekrieren sollen, sondern von einem andern gleichwohl beiderlei Gestalt empfangen. Und die Widersacher wissen das selber wohl, aber sie machen also einen Schein den Ungelehrten und Unerfahrenen. Denn wenn dieselben hören das Wort communio laica, denken sie von Stund' an, es sei eine communio gewesen wie zu unserer Zeit, daß man die Laien mit einerlei Gestalt gespeist habe.

9] Ac videte impudentiam! Gabriel inter ceteras causas recitat, cur non detur utraque pars, quia fuerit discrimen inter laicos et presbyteros faciendum. Et credibile est hanc praecipuam causam esse, cur defendatur prohibitio unius partis, ut dignitas ordinis religione quadam fiat commendatior. Hoc est consilium humanum, ut nihil dicamus incivi-

Aber laßt sehen weiter. Wie unverschämt Ding schreiben doch die Widersacher wider Christi Einsetzung und Ordnung! Gabriel unter andern Ursachen, warum den Laien nicht beide Gestalt gereicht werde, setzt auch diese: es habe müssen ein Unterschied sein, sagt er, unter Priestern und Laien. Und ich halte wohl, es sei die größte und vornehmste Ursache, warum sie heutigestags so

clearly shows. *This do* [in remembrance of Me], he says first *concerning His body;* afterwards he repeats the same words *concerning the cup* [the blood of Christ]. And then: *Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.* [Here he names both.] These are the words of Him who has instituted the Sacrament. And, indeed, he says before that those who will use the Lord's Supper should use both. It is evident, therefore, that the Sacrament was instituted for the entire Church. And the custom still remains in the Greek churches, and also once obtained in the Latin churches, as Cyprian and Jerome testify. For thus Jerome says on Zephaniah: *The priests who administer the Eucharist, and distribute the Lord's blood to the people,* etc. The Council of Toledo gives the same testimony. Nor would it be difficult to accumulate a great multitude of testimonies. Here we exaggerate nothing; we but leave the prudent reader to determine what should be held concerning the divine ordinance [whether it is proper to prohibit and change an ordinance and institution of Christ].

The adversaries in the Confutation do not endeavor to [comfort the consciences or] excuse the Church, to which one part of the Sacrament has been denied. This would have been becoming to good and religious men. For a strong reason for excusing the Church, and instructing consciences to whom only a part of the Sacrament could be granted, should have been sought. Now these very men maintain that it is right to prohibit the other part, and forbid that the use of both parts be allowed. First, they imagine that, in the beginning of the Church, it was the custom at some places that only one part was administered. Nevertheless they are not able to produce any ancient example of this matter. But they cite the passages in which mention is made of bread, as in Luke 24, 35, where it is written that *the disciples recognized Christ in the breaking of bread.* They quote also other passages, Acts 2, 42. 46; 20, 7, concerning the breaking of bread. But although we do not greatly oppose if some receive these passages as referring to the Sacrament, yet it does not follow that one part only was given, because, according to the ordinary usage of language, by the naming of one part the other is also signified. They refer also to Lay Communion, which was not the use of only one kind, but of both; and whenever priests are commanded to use Lay Communion [for a punishment are not to consecrate themselves, but to receive Communion, however, of both kinds, from another], it is meant that they have been removed from the ministry of consecration. Neither are the adversaries ignorant of this, but they abuse the ignorance of the unlearned, who, when they hear of Lay Communion, immediately dream of the custom of our time, by which only a part of the Sacrament is given to the laymen.

And consider their impudence. Gabriel recounts among other reasons why both parts are not given that a distinction should be made between laymen and presbyters. And it is credible that the chief reason why the prohibition of the one part is defended is this, namely, that the dignity of the order may be the more highly exalted by a religious rite. To say nothing more severe, this is a human design; and whither this tends can easily be judged. In the Confutation they also quote concerning the sons of Eli that, after the loss of the high-priesthood, they were to seek *the one part pertaining to the priests,* 1 Sam. 2, 36 [the text reads: *Every one that is left in thine house shall come*

lius, quod quo spectet, facile iudicari potest. 10] Et in Confutatione allegant de filiis Heli, quod amisso summo sacerdotio petituri sint *unam partem sacerdotalem*, 1 Sam. 2, 39. Hic dicunt usum unius speciei significatum esse. Et addunt: Sic ergo et nostri laici una parte sacerdotali, una specie contenti esse debent. Plane ludunt adversarii, quum ad sacramentum transferunt historiam de posteris [R. 235 Heli. Ibi describitur poena Heli. Num hoc quoque dicent laicos propter poenam removeri ab altera parte? Sacramentum institutum est ad consolandas et erigendas territas mentes, quum credunt carnem Christi datam pro vita mundi cibum esse, quum credunt se coniunctos Christo vivificari. Verum adversarii argumentantur laicos removeri ab altera parte poenae causa. Debent, inquiunt, esse contenti. 11] Satis pro imperio. Cur autem debent? Non est quaerenda ratio, sed lex esto, quidquid dicunt theologi. Haec est ἑωλοκρασία Ecciana. Agnoscimus enim istas Thrasonicas voces, quas si exagitare vellemus, non defutura nobis esset oratio. Videtis enim, quanta sit impudentia. Imperat tamquam aliquis tyrannus in tragoediis: Quod nolunt, velint, 12] debent esse contenti. Num hae rationes, quas citat, excusabunt hos in iudicio Dei, qui prohibent partem sacramenti, qui saeviunt in homines bonos utentes integro sacramento? 13] Si hac ratione prohibent, ut sit ordinis discrimen, haec ipsa ratio movere debeat, ne assentiamur adversariis, vel si alioqui morem cum ipsis servaturi eramus. Alia sunt discrimina ordinis sacerdotum et populi, sed non est obscurum, quid habeant consilii, cur hoc discrimen tantopere defendant. Nos, ne de vera dignitate ordinis detrahere videamur, de hoc callido consilio plura non dicemus.

festhalten, damit der Pfaffenstand heiliger scheine gegen dem [den] Laienstand. Das ist nun ein Menschengedanke; worauf der gehe, ist wohl abzunehmen. Und in der Konfutation ziehen sie an die Kinder Elis, 1 Sam. 2, da der Text sagt: „Wer übrig ist von deinem Hause, der wird kommen und ihn anbeten um ein Stück Brots und wird sagen: Lieber, laß mich zu einem Priesterteil, daß ich einen Bissen Brots esse" usw. Da, sagen sie, ist die einerlei Gestalt bedeutet, und sagen nun, also sollen auch unsere Laien mit einem Priesterteil, das ist, mit einerlei Gestalt, zufrieden sein. Die Meister der Konfutation sind recht unverschämte, grobe Esel, sie spielen und gaukeln mit der Schrift, wie sie wollen, so die Historien von den Kindern Elis auf das Sakrament deuten. Denn an dem Ort wird beschrieben die ernstliche Strafe über Eli und seine Kinder. Wollen sie denn auch sagen, daß den Laien eine Gestalt werde darum gewehrt zu einer Strafe? Sie sind gar töricht und toll. Das Sakrament ist von Christo eingesetzt, erschrockene Gewissen zu trösten, ihren Glauben zu stärken, wenn sie glauben, daß Christi Fleisch für der Welt Leben gegeben ist, und daß wir durch die Speise mit Christo vereinigt werden, Gnade und Leben haben. Aber die Widersacher schließen also, daß diejenigen, so solch Sakrament in **einer** Gestalt empfangen, damit also gestraft werden, und sprechen, es sollen und müssen die Laien ihnen [sich] genügen lassen; das heißt je stolz genug dahergetrotzt. Wie, ihr Herren, dürfen wir auch Ursache fragen, warum sie ihnen [sich] sollen genügen lassen? Oder soll es eitel Wahrheit heißen, was ihr wollt und was ihr sagt? Seht aber Wunder zu, wie unverschämt und frech die Widersacher sind: sie dürfen ihr Wort als eitel Herrengebote setzen, sagen frei, die Laien müssen ihnen [sich] genügen lassen. Wie aber, wenn sie nicht müssen? Sind das nun die Gründe und Ursachen, dadurch diejenigen entschuldigt sollen sein vor Gottes Urteil, die bisanher die Leute von beiderlei Gestalt abgedrungen und unschuldig die Leute darum erwürgt haben? Sollen sie sich damit trösten, daß von [den] Kindern Elis geschrieben: „Sie werden betteln"? Das wird eine faule Entschuldigung sein vor Gottes Gericht.

14] Allegant et periculum effusionis et similia quaedam, quae non habent tantam 15] vim, ut ordinationem Christi mutent. Et fingamus sane liberum esse, uti una parte aut ambabus, quomodo poterit prohibitio defendi? Quamquam ecclesia non sumit sibi hanc libertatem, ut ex ordinationibus Christi faciat res 16] indifferentes. Nos quidem ecclesiam excusamus, quae hanc iniuriam pertulit, quum utraque pars ei contingere non posset, [R. 236 sed auctores, qui defendunt recte prohiberi usum integri sacramenti, quique nunc non solum prohibent, sed etiam utentes integro sacramento excommunicant et vi persequuntur, non excusamus. Ipsi viderint, quomodo Deo rationem suorum consiliorum reddituri 17] sint. Neque statim iudicandum est ecclesiam constituere aut probare, quidquid pontifices constituunt, praesertim quum Scriptura de episcopis et pastoribus vaticinetur in hanc sententiam, ut Ezechiel ait 7, 26: *Peribit lex a sacerdote.*

Doch ziehen sie noch mehr Ursachen an, warum beide[rlei] Gestalt nicht solle gereicht werden, nämlich um Fährlichkeit willen, damit nicht etwa ein Tröpflein aus dem Kelche verschüttet werde. Dergleichen Träume bringen sie mehr vor, um welcher willen Christus' Ordnung billig nicht soll geändert werden. Ich will aber gleich setzen, daß frei wäre, einer oder beiderlei Gestalt gebrauchen. Wie wollten sie denn beweisen, daß sie Macht hätten, beiderlei Gestalt zu verbieten? Wiewohl auch den Menschen oder der Kirche nicht gebührt, die Freiheit selbst zu machen, oder daß sie aus Christi Ordnung wollten res indifferentes, das ist, frei auf beiden Seiten, machen. Die armen Gewissen, welchen die eine Gestalt mit Gewalt entzogen ist, und solch Unrecht haben leiden müssen, die wollen wir hier nicht richten. Aber diejenigen, so beiderlei Gestalt verboten haben, und doch nicht allein verbieten, sondern auch also öffentlich lehren, predigen, die Leute darum fangen, erwürgen usw., die laden auf sich Gottes schrecklich Gericht und Zorn, und die wissen wir gar nicht zu entschuldigen; sie mögen sehen, wie sie Gott wollen Rechenschaft geben ihres Vornehmens. Und es ist auch nicht so bald der Kirche Beschluß, was die Bischöfe und Pfaffen beschließen, sonderlich so die Schrift und der Prophet Ezechiel sagt: „Es werden Priester und Bischöfe kommen, die kein Gottesgebot noch -gesetz wissen."

and crouch to him for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and shall say, Put me, I pray thee, into one of the priest's offices (German: Lieber, lass mich zu einem Priesterteil) *that I may eat a piece of bread*]. Here they say that the use of one kind was signified. And they add: "Thus, therefore, our laymen ought also to be content, with one part pertaining to the priests, with one kind." The adversaries [the masters of the Confutation are quite shameless, rude asses, and] are clearly trifling when they are transferring the history of the posterity of Eli to the Sacrament. The punishment of Eli is there described. Will they also say this, that as a punishment the laymen have been removed from the other part? [They are quite foolish and mad.] The Sacrament was instituted to console and comfort terrified minds, when they believe that the flesh of Christ, given for the life of the world, is food, when they believe that, being joined to Christ [through this food], they are made alive. But the adversaries argue that laymen are removed from the other part as a punishment. "They ought," they say, "to be content." This is sufficient for a despot. [That, surely, sounds proud and defiant enough.] But [my lords, may we ask the reason] why ought they? "The reason must not be asked, but let whatever the theologians say be law." [Is whatever you wish and whatever you say to be sheer truth? See now and be astonished how shameless and impudent the adversaries are: they dare to set up their own words as sheer commands of lords; they frankly say: The laymen must be content. But what if they must not?] This is a concoction of Eck. For we recognize those vainglorious words, which if we would wish to criticize, there would be no want of language. For you see how great the impudence is. He commands, as a tyrant in the tragedies: "Whether they wish or not, they must be content." Will the reasons which he cites excuse, in the judgment of God, those who prohibit a part of the Sacrament, and rage against men using an entire Sacrament? [Are they to take comfort in the fact that it is recorded concerning the sons of Eli: *They will go begging?* That will be a shuffling excuse at the judgment-seat of God.] If they make the prohibition in order that there should be a distinguishing mark of the order, this very reason ought to move us not to assent to the adversaries, even though we would be disposed in other respects to comply with their custom. There are other distinguishing marks of the order of priests and of the people, but it is not obscure what design they have for defending this distinction so earnestly. That we may not seem to detract from the true worth of the order, we will not say more concerning this shrewd design.

They also allege the danger of spilling and certain similar things, which do not have force sufficient to change the ordinance of Christ. [They allege more dreams like these, for the sake of which it would be improper to change the ordinance of Christ.] And, indeed, if we assume that we are free to use either one part or both, how can the prohibition [to use both kinds] be defended? Although the Church does not assume to itself the liberty to convert the ordinances of Christ into matters of indifference. We indeed excuse the Church which has borne the injury [the poor consciences which have been deprived of one part by force], since it could not obtain both parts; but the authors who maintain that the use of the entire Sacrament is justly prohibited, and who now not only prohibit, but even excommunicate and violently persecute those using an entire Sacrament, we do not excuse. Let them see to it how they will give an account to God for their decisions. Neither is it to be judged immediately that the Church determines or approves whatever the pontiffs determine, especially since Scripture prophesies concerning the bishops and pastors to effect this as Ezekiel says, 7, 26: *The Law shall perish from the priest* [*there will be priests or bishops who will know no command or law of God*].

Art. XXIII. (XI.)
De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

1] In tanta infamia inquinati coelibatus audent adversarii non solum defendere legem pontificiam impio et falso praetextu nominis divini, sed etiam hortari Caesarem ac Principes, ne tolerent coniugia sacerdotum ad ignominiam et infamiam Romani imperii. Sic enim loquuntur.

Artikel XXIII. (XI.) Von der Priesterehe.

Wiewohl die große, ungehörte Unzucht mit Hurerei und Ehebruch unter Pfaffen und Mönchen usw. auf hohen Stiften, andern Kirchen und Klöstern in aller Welt also rüchtig ist, daß man davon singt und sagt, noch sind die Widersacher, so die Konfutation gestellt, so ganz verblendet und unverschämt, daß sie des Papstes Gesetz, dadurch die Ehe verboten, verteidigen, und dazu mit falschem Schein, als sei es Geistlichkeit. Darüber, wiewohl sie billig sich des überaus schändlichen, unzüchtigen, freien, losen Bubenlebens auf ihren Stiften und in Klöstern in ihr Herz schämen sollten und allein des Stücks halben nicht kühnlich die Sonne ansehen, wiewohl auch ihr bös, unruhig Herz und Gewissen ihnen billig so bange macht, sich zu entsetzen und zu scheuen, vor so löblichem, ehrliebendem Kaiser ihre Augen aufzuheben, so sind sie doch henkerskühn, tun wie der Teufel selbst und alle verwegenen, verruchten Leute, gehen in ihrem blinden Trotz dahin, aller Ehre und Scham vergessend. Und die reinen, keuschen Leute dürfen kaiserliche Majestät, die Kurfürsten und Fürsten vermahnen, daß sie der Priester Ehe nicht leiden sollen ad infamiam et ignominiam imperii, das ist zu deutsch, dem römischen Reich zu Schmach und Unehren. Denn dies sind ihre Worte, gleich als sei ihr schändlich Leben der Kirche sehr ehrlich und rühmlich.

2] Quae maior impudentia unquam ulla in historia lecta est, quam haec est adversariorum? Nam argumenta, quibus utuntur, postea recensebimus. Nunc hoc expendat prudens lector, quid frontis habeant isti nihili homines, qui dicunt coniugia parere infamiam et ignominiam imperio, quasi vero ecclesiam valde ornet ista publica infamia flagitiosarum ac prodigiosarum libidinum, quae flagrant apud istos sanctos patres, qui Curios simulant et bacchanalia vivunt. Ac pleraque ne verecunde quidem nominari que-
3] unt, quae isti summa licentia faciunt. Et has suas libidines castissima dextra tua, Carole Caesar, quem etiam vetera quaedam vaticinia appellant regem pudica facie, de te enim dictum apparet: *Pudicus facie regnabit ubique* [Oracula Sibyllina: *Καὶ τότε ἀγνὸς ἄναξ πάσης γῆς σκῆπτρα κρατήσει εἰς αἰῶνας ἅπαντας*], propugnari postulant. Postulant, ut contra ius divinum, contra ius gentium, contra canones conciliorum dissipes matrimonia, ut in homines innocentes tantum [R. 237 propter coniugium atrocia supplicia constituas, ut sacerdotes trucides, quibus religiose parcunt etiam barbari, ut in exilium agas extorres mulieres, orbos pueros. Tales leges tibi ferunt, optime et castissime Imperator, quas nulla barbaria, quamlibet immanis ac
4] fera, posset audire. Sed quia nulla cadit in hos tuos mores vel turpitudo vel saevitia, speramus te et in hac causa clementer nobiscum acturum esse, praesertim ubi cognoveris, nos gravissimas habere causas nostrae sententiae sumptas ex Verbo Dei, cui adversarii nugacissimas et vanissimas persuasiones opponunt.

Wie könnten doch die Widersacher ungeschickter, unverschämter und öffentlicher ihre eigene Schande und Schaden wirken und reden? Dergleichen unverschämt Vorbringen vor einem römischen Kaiser wird man in keiner Historie finden. Wenn sie nicht alle Welt kennte, wenn nicht viel fromme, redliche Leute, ihre eigenen Konkanoniken, unter ihnen selbst über so schändlich, unzüchtig, unehrlich Wesen vor langer Zeit geklagt hätten, wenn ihr ehrlos, schändlich, ungöttlich, unzüchtig, heidnisch, epikurisch Leben und die Grundsuppe aller Unzucht zu Rom nicht so gar am Tage wäre, daß sich weder decken noch färben noch schmücken will lassen, so möchte man denken, ihre große Reinigkeit und ihre unverrückte jungfräuliche Keuschheit wäre eine Ursache, daß sie ein Weib oder die Ehe auch nicht mögen hören nennen, daß sie die heilige Ehe, welche der Papst selbst ein Sakrament der heiligen Ehe heißt, infamiam imperii taufen. Wohlan, ihre Argumente und Gründe wollen wir hernach erzählen. Dieses wolle aber ein jeder christlicher Leser, alle ehrbaren, ehrliebenden, frommen Leute zu Herzen nehmen und wohl bedenken, wie ganz ohne Ehre und Scheu und alle Scham die Leute sein müssen, so die heilige Ehe, welche die Heilige Schrift aufs höchste preist und lobt, einen Schandflecken, eine Infamie des römischen Reichs dürfen nennen; gleich als sei es so eine große Ehre der Kirche und des Reichs ihre lästerliche, greuliche Unzucht, wie man das römische und der Pfaffen Wesen kennt. Und, allergnädigster Herr Kaiser, bei Eurer Kaiserlichen Majestät, welche in alten Schriften wird ein züchtiger Fürst und König genannt (denn freilich dieser Spruch von Eurer Kaiserlichen Majestät gesagt ist: Pudicus facie regnabit ubique), ja bei Eurer Majestät und den löblichen Reichsständen dürfen solche Leute suchen und unverschämt fordern, daß Eure Majestät (was Gott verhüte!) solche greuliche Unzucht sollen handhaben, ihre kaiserliche Macht, welche der Allmächtige bisanher Eurer kaiserlichen Majestät sieghaftig und seliglich zu gebrauchen gnädiglich verliehen hat, darauf wenden solle, schändliche Unzucht und ungehörte Laster, welche auch bei den Heiden für greulich gehalten, zu schützen und zu verteidigen. Und wie sie in ihren blutdürstigen, verblendeten Herzen gesinnt seien, daß sie gern wollten ungeachtet aller göttlichen und natürlichen Rechte, ungeachtet der Konzilien und ihrer eigenen Canones solche Priesterehe mit Gewalt auf einmal zerreißen, viel arme, unschuldige Leute [aus] keiner andern Ursache denn allein um des Ehestandes willen tyrannisch mit Galgen und Schwert dahinrichten, die Priester selbst, welcher doch in größeren Fällen auch die Heiden verschont haben, als die großen Übeltäter um der Ehe willen erwürgen, so viel fromme, unschuldige Weiber und Kinder ins Elend vertreiben, zu armen verlassenen Witwen und Waisen machen und ihren

Article XXIII (XI):
Of the Marriage of Priests.

Despite the great infamy of their defiled celibacy, the adversaries have the presumption not only to defend the pontifical law by the wicked and false pretext of the divine name, but even to exhort the Emperor and princes, to the disgrace and infamy of the Roman Empire, not to tolerate the marriage of priests. For thus they speak. [Although the great, unheard-of lewdness, fornication, and adultery among priests, monks, etc., at the great abbeys, in other churches and cloisters, has become so notorious throughout the world that people sing and talk about it, still the adversaries who have presented the Confutation are so blind and without shame that they defend the law of the Pope by which marriage is prohibited, and that, with the specious claim that they are defending a spiritual state. Moreover, although it would be proper for them to be heartily ashamed of the exceedingly shameful, lewd, abandoned, loose life of the wretches in their abbeys and cloisters, although on this account alone they should not have the courage to show their face in broad daylight, although their evil, restless heart and conscience ought to cause them to tremble, to stand aghast, and to be afraid to lift their eyes to our excellent Emperor, who loves uprightness, still they have the courage of the hangman, they act like the very devil and like all reckless, wanton people, proceeding in blind defiance and forgetful of all honor and decency. And these pure, chaste gentlemen dare to admonish His Imperial Majesty, the Electors and Princes not to tolerate the marriage of priests *ad infamiam et ignominiam imperii*, that is, to ward off shame and disgrace from the Roman Empire. For these are their words, as if their shameful life were a great honor and glory to the Church.]

What greater impudence has ever been read of in any history than this of the adversaries? [Such shameless advocates before a Roman Emperor will not easily be found. If all the world did not know them, if many godly, upright people among them, their own canonical brethren, had not complained long ago of their shameful, lewd, indecent conduct, if their vile, abominable, ungodly, lewd, heathenish, Epicurean life, and the dregs of all filthiness at Rome were not quite manifest, one might think that their great purity and their inviolate virgin chastity were the reason why they could not bear to hear the word woman or marriage pronounced, and why they baptize holy matrimony, which the Pope himself calls a sacrament, *infamiam imperii.*] For the arguments which they use we shall afterwards review. Now let the wise reader consider this, namely, what shame these good-for-nothing men have who say that marriages [which the Holy Scriptures praise most highly and command] produce infamy and disgrace to the government, as though, indeed, this public infamy of flagitious and unnatural lusts which glow among these very holy fathers, *who feign that they are Curii and live like bacchanals,* were a great ornament to the Church! And most things which these men do with the greatest license cannot even be named without a breach of modesty. And these their lusts they ask you to defend with your chaste right hand, Emperor Charles (whom even certain ancient predictions name as the king of modest face; for the saying appears concerning you: "One modest in face shall reign everywhere"). For they ask that, contrary to divine law, contrary to the law of nations, contrary to the canons of Councils, you sunder marriages, in order to impose merely for the sake of marriage atrocious punishments upon innocent men, to put to death priests, whom even barbarians reverently spare, to drive into exile banished women and fatherless children. Such laws they bring to you, most excellent and most chaste Emperor, to which no barbarity, however monstrous and cruel, could lend its ear. But because the stain of no disgrace or cru-

teuflischen Haß an unschuldigem Blute rächen: dazu dürfen sie Eure Kaiserliche Majestät vermahnen. Dieweil aber Gott der Allmächtige Eure Majestät mit sonderlicher angeborner Güte und Zucht begnadet, daß Eure Majestät aus hohem, adeligem, christlichem Gemüt so große Unzucht zu handhaben oder so ungehörte Tyrannei vorzunehmen, selbst Scheu haben und diese Handlung ohne Zweifel viel fürstlicher und christlicher bedenken denn die losen Leute, so hoffen wir, Eure Majestät werden in diesem [hierin] ganz kaiserlich und gnädiglich sich erzeigen und bedenken, daß wir dieses guten Grund und Ursache haben aus der Heiligen Schrift, dagegen die Widersacher eitel Lügen und Irrtümer vorbringen.

5] Et tamen non tuentur serio coelibatum. Neque enim ignorant, quam pauci praestent castitatem, sed praetexunt speciem religionis regno suo, cui prodesse coelibatum putant, ut intelligamus Petrum recte monuisse 2. ep. 2, 1, futurum ut *pseudoprophetae fictis verbis decipiant homines.* Nihil enim vere, simpliciter et candide in hac tota causa dicunt, scribunt aut agunt adversarii, sed re ipsa dimicant de dominatione, quam falso putant periclitari et hanc impio praetextu pietatis munire conantur.

Auch so ist es ihnen gewiß nicht Ernst, solchen Zölibat und eheloſen Stand zu verfechten; denn sie wissen wohl, wie reine Jungfern sie sind, wie wenige unter ihnen die Keuschheit halten. Allein sie bleiben bei ihrem Trostwort, das sie in ihrer Schrift finden: Si non caste, tamen caute, und wissen, daß keusch sich rühmen oder nennen und doch nicht sein, in der Welt einen Schein der Keuschheit hat, daß auch ihr Papstreich und Pfaffenwesen dadurch vor der Welt desto heiliger scheint. Denn Petrus der Apostel hat recht gewarnt, daß solche falsche Propheten werden die Leute betrügen mit erdichteten Worten. Die Widersacher nehmen sich der Sache der Religion, welches die Hauptsache ist, gar nicht mit Ernst an. Was sie schreiben, reden, handeln, sind eitel Worte ad hominem; da ist kein Ernst, keine Treue, kein recht Herz zu gemeinem Nutz, den armen Gewissen oder Kirchen zu helfen. Im Grund ist's ihnen um die Herrschaft zu tun, derselben haben sie Sorge und unterstützeln [stärken] sie fein mit eitel gottlosen, heuchlerischen Lügen; so wird sie auch stehen wie Butter an der Sonne.

6] Nos hanc legem de coelibatu, quam defendunt adversarii, ideo non possumus approbare, quia cum iure divino et naturali pugnat et ab ipsis canonibus conciliorum dissentit. Et constat superstitiosam et periculosam esse. Parit enim infinita scandala, peccata et corruptelam publicorum morum. Aliae controversiae nostrae aliquam disputationem doctorum desiderant: in hac ita manifesta res est in utraque parte, ut nullam requirat disputationem. Tantum requirit iudicem virum bonum et timentem Dei. Et quum defendatur a nobis manifesta veritas, tamen adversarii calumnias quasdam architectati sunt ad cavillanda argumenta nostra.

Wir können das Gesetz vom eheloſen Stand darum nicht annehmen, denn es ist wider göttlich und natürlich Recht, wider alle Heilige Schrift, wider die Konzilien und Canones selbst. Darüber ist's lauter Heuchelei und dem Gewissen fährlich und ganz schädlich; so erfolgen auch daraus unzählige Ärgernisse, häßliche, schreckliche Sünden und Schanden, und wie man sieht in den rechten Pfaffenstädten und Residenzen, wie sie es nennen, Zerrüttung aller weltlichen Ehre und Zucht. Die andern Artikel unserer Konfession, wiewohl sie gewiß gegründet, sind dennoch so klar nicht, daß sie nicht mit einem Schein möchten angefochten werden. Aber dieser Artikel ist so klar, daß er auf beiden Seiten gar nahe [schier] keiner Rede bedarf; allein wer ehrbar und gottesfürchtig ist, der kann hier bald Richter sein. Und wiewohl wir die öffentliche Wahrheit hier nun für uns haben, noch [dennoch] suchen die Widersacher Fündlein, unsere Gründe etwas anzufechten.

7] Primum. Gen. 1, 28 docet homines conditos esse, ut sint foecundi, et sexus recta ratione sexum appetat. Loquimur enim non de concupiscentia, quae peccatum est, [R. 238 sed de illo appetitu, qui in integra natura futurus erat, quem vocant *στοργὴν φυσικήν*. Et haec *στοργή* est vere ordinatio divina sexus ad sexum. Quum autem haec ordinatio Dei sine singulari opere Dei tolli non possit, sequitur ius contrahendi matrimonii non posse tolli statutis aut votis.

Erstlich ist geschrieben Gen. 1, daß Mann und Weib also geschaffen von Gott sind, daß sie sollen fruchtbar sein, Kinder zeugen usw., das Weib geneigt sein zum Mann, der Mann wieder zum Weibe. Und wir reden hier nicht von der unordentlichen Brunst, die nach Adams Fall gefolgt ist, sondern von natürlicher Neigung zwischen Mann und Weib, welche auch gewesen wäre in der Natur, wenn sie rein geblieben wäre. Und das ist Gottes Geschöpf und Ordnung, daß der Mann zum Weib geneigt sei, das Weib zum Mann. So nun die göttliche Ordnung und die angeschaffene Art niemand ändern mag noch soll denn Gott selbst, so folgt, daß der Ehestand durch kein menschlich Statut oder Gelübde mag abgetan werden.

8] Haec cavillantur adversarii, dicunt initio fuisse mandatum, ut repleretur terra, nunc repleta terra non esse mandatum coniuglum. Videte, quam prudenter iudicent! Natura hominum formatur illo verbo Dei, ut sit foecunda non solum initio creationis, sed tantisper, dum haec corporum natura exsistet,

Wider diesen starken Grund spielen die Widersacher mit Worten; sagen: im Anfang der Schöpfung habe das Wort noch stattgehabt: „Wachset und mehret euch und erfüllet die Erde"; nun aber, so die Erde erfüllt ist, sei die Ehe nicht geboten. Seht aber, wie weise Leute sind da die Widersacher! Durch dies göttliche Wort: „Wachset und

elty falls upon your character, we hope that you will deal with us mildly in this matter, especially when you have learned that we have the weightiest reasons for our belief, derived from the Word of God, to which the adversaries oppose the most trifling and vain opinions.

And nevertheless they do not seriously defend celibacy. For they are not ignorant how few there are who practise chastity, but [they stick to that comforting saying which is found in their treatise, *Si non caste, tamen caute* (If not chastely, at least cautiously), and] they devise a sham of religion for their dominion, which they think that celibacy profits, in order that we may understand Peter to have been right in admonishing, 2 Ep. 2, 1, that there will be *false teachers who will deceive men with feigned words.* For the adversaries say, write, or do nothing truly [their words are merely an argument *ad hominem*], frankly, and candidly in this entire case, but they actually contend only concerning the dominion which they falsely think to be imperiled, and which they endeavor to fortify with a wicked pretense of godliness [they support their case with nothing but impious, hypocritical lies; accordingly, it will endure about as well as butter exposed to the sun].

We cannot approve this law concerning celibacy which the adversaries defend, because it conflicts with divine and natural law, and is at variance with the very canons of the Councils. And that it is superstitious and dangerous is evident. For it produces infinite scandals, sins, and corruption of public morals [as is seen in the real towns of priests, or, as they are called, their residences]. Our other controversies need some discussion by the doctors; in this the subject is so manifest to both parties that it requires no discussion. It only requires as judge a man that is honest and fears God. And although the manifest truth is defended by us, yet the adversaries have devised certain reproaches for satirizing our arguments.

First. Gen. 1, 28 teaches that men were created to be fruitful, and that one sex in a proper way should desire the other. For we are speaking not of concupiscence, which is sin, but of that appetite which was to have been in nature in its integrity [which would have existed in nature even if it had remained uncorrupted], which they call physical love. And this love of one sex for the other is truly a divine ordinance. But since this ordinance of God cannot be removed without an extraordinary work of God, it follows that the right to contract marriage cannot be removed by statutes or vows.

The adversaries cavil at these arguments; they say that in the beginning the commandment was given to replenish the earth, but that now since the earth has been replenished, marriage is not commanded. See how wisely they judge! The nature of men is so formed by the word of God that it is fruitful not only in the beginning of the creation, but as

sicut hoc verbo, Gen. 1, 11, terra fit foecunda: *Germinet terra herbam virentem.* Propter hanc ordinationem non solum initio coepit terra producere gramina, sed quotannis vestiuntur agri, donec exsistet haec natura. Sicut igitur legibus humanis non potest natura terrae mutari, ita neque votis neque lege humana potest natura hominis mutari sine speciali opere Dei.

mehret euch", welches noch immer geht und nicht aufhört, ist Mann und Weib also geschaffen, daß sie sollen fruchtbar sein, nicht allein die Zeit des Anfangs, sondern solange diese Natur währt. Denn gleichwie durch das Wort Gen. am 1., da Gott sprach: „Es lasse die Erde aufgehen Gras und Kraut" usw., die Erde also geschaffen ist, daß sie nicht allein im Anfang Frucht brachte, sondern daß sie alle Jahre Gras, Kräuter und ander Gewächs brächte, solange diese Natur währt: also ist auch Mann und Weib geschaffen, fruchtbar zu sein, solange diese Natur währt. Wie nun das Menschengebot und -gesetz nicht ändern kann, daß die Erde nicht sollte grün werden usw., also kann auch kein Klostergelübde, kein Menschengebot die menschliche Natur ändern, daß ein Weib nicht sollte eines Mannes begehren, ein Mann eines Weibes, ohne ein sonderlich Gotteswerk.

9] Secundo. Et quia haec creatio seu ordinatio divina in homine est ius naturale, ideo sapienter et recte dixerunt iurisconsulti coniunctionem maris et feminae esse iuris naturalis. Quum autem ius naturale sit immutabile, necesse est semper manere ius contrahendi coniugii. Nam ubi natura non mutatur, necesse est et illam ordinationem manere, quam Deus indidit naturae, nec pot-
10] est legibus humanis tolli. Ridiculum igitur est, quod adversarii nugantur, initio fuisse mandatum coniugium, nunc non esse. Hoc perinde est, ac si dicerent: Olim nascentes homines secum attulerunt sexum, nunc non afferunt. Olim secum attulerunt ius naturale nascentes, nunc non afferunt. Nullus Faber fabrilius cogitare quidquam posset, quam hae ineptiae excogitatae sunt ad eludendum ius
11] naturae. Maneat igitur hoc in causa, quod et Scriptura docet, et iurisconsultus sapienter dixit: coniunctionem maris et femi-
12] nae esse iuris naturalis. Porro ius [R. 239 naturale vere est ius divinum, quia est ordinatio divinitus impressa naturae. Quia autem hoc ius mutari non potest sine singulari opere Dei, necesse est manere ius contrahendi coniugii, quia ille naturalis appetitus est ordinatio Dei in natura sexus ad sexum, et propterea ius est; alioqui quare uterque sexus
13] conderetur? Et loquimur, ut supra dictum est, non de concupiscentia, quae peccatum est, sed de illo appetitu, quem vocant *στοργὴν φυσικήν*, quem concupiscentia non sustulit ex natura, sed accendit, ut nunc remedio magis opus habeat, et coniugium non solum procreationis causa necessarium sit, sed etiam remedii causa. Haec sunt perspicua et adeo firma, ut nullo modo labefactari queant.

Zum andern, dieweil das göttliche Geschöpf und Gottes Ordnung natürlich Recht und Gesetz ist, so haben die Juriskonsulti recht gesagt, daß des Mannes und Weibes Beieinandersein und Zusammengehören ist natürlich Recht. So aber das natürliche Recht niemand verändern kann, so muß je einem jeden die Ehe frei sein. Denn wo Gott die Natur nicht verändert, da muß auch die Art bleiben, die Gott der Natur eingepflanzt hat, und sie kann mit Menschengesetz nicht verändert werden. Derhalben ist es ganz kindisch, daß die Widersacher sagen, im Anfang, da der Mensch geschaffen, sei die Ehe geboten, nun aber nicht. Denn es ist gleich, als wenn sie sprächen: Etwan [früher] zu Adams und der Patriarchen Zeiten, wenn ein Mann geboren ward, hatte er Mannesart an sich, wenn ein Weib geboren ward, hatte sie Weibesart an sich, jetzund aber ist's anders; vorzeiten brachte ein Kind aus Mutterleib natürliche Art mit sich, nun aber nicht. So bleiben wir nun billig bei dem Spruch, wie die Juriskonsulti weislich und recht gesagt haben, daß Mann und Weib beieinander sind, ist natürlich Recht. Ist's nun natürlich Recht, so ist es Gottes Ordnung, also in die Natur gepflanzt, und ist also auch göttlich Recht. Dieweil aber das göttliche und natürliche Recht niemand zu ändern hat denn Gott allein, so muß der Ehestand jedermann frei sein. Denn die natürliche angeborne Neigung des Weibes gegen den Mann, des Mannes gegen dem [das] Weib ist Gottes Geschöpf und Ordnung. Darum ist's recht, und hat's kein Engel noch Mensch zu ändern. Gott der HErr hat nicht allein Adam geschaffen, sondern auch Eva, nicht allein einen Mann, sondern auch ein Weib, und sie gesegnet, daß sie fruchtbar seien. Und wir reden, wie ich gesagt habe, nicht von der unordentlichen Brunst, die da sündlich ist, sondern von der natürlichen Neigung, die zwischen Mann und Weib auch gewesen wäre, so die Natur rein geblieben wäre. Die böse Lust nach dem Fall hat solche Neigung noch stärker gemacht, daß wir nun des Ehestandes viel mehr bedürfen, nicht allein Kinder zu zeugen, sondern auch Sünde zu verhüten. Dies ist so ein klarer Grund, daß ihn niemand wird umstoßen, sondern der Teufel und alle Welt wird ihn müssen bleiben lassen.

14] Tertio. Paulus ait 1 Cor. 7, 2: *Propter fornicationem unusquisque habeat uxorem suam.* Hoc iam expressum mandatum est, ad omnes pertinens, qui non sunt idonei ad coeli-
15] batum. Adversarii iubent sibi ostendi praeceptum, quod praecipit sacerdotibus uxores ducere, quasi sacerdotes non sint homines. Nos, quae de natura hominum in genere disputamus, profecto etiam ad sacerdotes per-
16] tinere iudicamus. An non praecipit hic

Für das dritte sagt Paulus: „Zu vermeiden die Hurerei, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib." Das ist ein gemeiner Befehl und Gebot und geht alle diejenigen an, die nicht vermögen, ohne Ehe zu bleiben. Die Widersacher fordern, wir sollen Gottes Gebot zeigen, da er gebiete, daß die Priester sollen Weiber nehmen, gleich als seien die Priester nicht Menschen. Was die Schrift insgemein vom ganzen menschlichen Geschlecht redet, das geht wahrlich die Priester mit an.

long as this nature of our bodies will exist; just as the earth becomes fruitful by the word Gen. 1, 11: *Let the earth bring forth grass, yielding seed.* Because of this ordinance the earth not only commenced in the beginning to bring forth plants, but the fields are clothed every year as long as this natural order will exist. Therefore, just as by human laws the nature of the earth cannot be changed, so, without a special work of God, the nature of a human being can be changed neither by vows nor by human law [that a woman should not desire a man, nor a man a woman].

Secondly. And because this creation or divine ordinance in man is a natural right, jurists have accordingly said wisely and correctly that the union of male and female belongs to natural right. But since natural right is immutable, the right to contract marriage must always remain. For where nature does not change, that ordinance also with which God has endowed nature does not change, and cannot be removed by human laws. Therefore it is ridiculous for the adversaries to prate that marriage was commanded in the beginning, but is not now. This is the same as if they would say: Formerly, when men were born, they brought with them sex; now they do not. Formerly, when they were born, they brought with them natural right; now they do not. No craftsman (*Faber*) could produce anything more crafty than these absurdities, which were devised to elude a right of nature. Therefore let this remain in the case which both Scripture teaches and the jurist says wisely, namely, that the union of male and female belongs to natural right. Moreover, a natural right is truly a divine right, because it is an ordinance divinely impressed upon nature. But inasmuch as this right cannot be changed without an extraordinary work of God, it is necessary that the right to contract marriage remains, because the natural desire of sex for sex is an ordinance of God in nature, and for this reason is a right; otherwise, why would both sexes have been created? And we are speaking, as it has been said above, not of concupiscence, which is sin, but of that desire which they call physical love [which would have existed between man and woman even though their nature had remained pure], which concupiscence has not removed from nature, but inflames, so that now it has greater need of a remedy, and marriage is necessary not only for the sake of procreation, but also as a remedy [to guard against sins]. These things are clear, and so well established that they can in no way be overthrown.

Thirdly. Paul says, 1 Cor. 7, 2: *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.* This now is an express command pertaining to all who are not fit for celibacy. The adversaries ask that a commandment be shown them which commands priests to marry. As though priests are not men! We judge indeed that the things which we maintain concerning human nature in general pertain also

Paulus, ut ducant uxorem isti, qui non habent donum continentiae? Interpretatur enim se ipse paulo post, v. 9, quum ait: *Melius est nubere, quam uri.* Et Christus clare dixit Matth. 19, 11: *Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum, sed quibus datum est.* Quia nunc post peccatum concurrunt haec duo, naturalis appetitus et concupiscentia, quae inflammat naturalem appetitum, ut iam magis opus sit coniugio quam in natura integra: ideo Paulus de coniugio tamquam de remedio loquitur et propter illa incendia iubet nubere. Neque hanc vocem: *Melius est nubere, quam uri,* ulla humana auctoritas, ulla lex, ulla vota tollere possunt, quia haec non tollunt natu-
17] ram aut concupiscentiam. Retinent igitur ius ducendi omnes, qui uruntur. Et tenentur hoc mandato Pauli: *Propter fornicationem unusquisque habeat uxorem* [R. 240 *suam,* omnes, qui non vere continent, de qua re iudicium ad conscientiam cuiusque pertinet.

Paulus gebietet da, daß diejenigen sollen Weiber nehmen, so nicht haben die Gabe der Jungfrauschaft; denn er legt sich bald hernach selbst aus, da er sagt: „Es ist besser ehelich werden, denn brennen." Und Christus sagt klar: „Sie fassen nicht alle das Wort, sondern denen es gegeben ist." Dieweil nun nach Adams Fall in uns allen die beiden beieinander sind, die natürliche Neigung und angeborne böse Lust, welche die natürliche Neigung noch stärker macht, also daß des Ehestandes mehr vonnöten ist, denn da die Natur unverderbt war: darum redet Paulus also von der Ehe, daß damit unserer Schwachheit geholfen werde, und solch Brennen zu vermeiden, gebietet er, daß diejenigen, so es bedürfen, sollen ehelich werden. Und dies Wort: „Es ist besser, ehelich zu werden, denn brennen", mag [kann] durch kein Menschengesetz, durch kein Klostergelübde weggetan werden. Denn kein Gesetz kann die Natur anders machen, denn sie geschaffen oder geartet ist. Darum haben wir Freiheit und Macht, ehelich zu werden, alle, so das Brennen fühlen; und alle, die nicht recht rein und keusch vermögen zu bleiben, die sind schuldig, diesem Gebot und Wort Pauli zu folgen: „Es soll ein jeglicher sein eigen Weib haben, zu vermeiden Hurerei." Darin hat ein jeder für sich sein Gewissen zu prüfen.

18] Nam quod hic iubent petere a Deo continentiam, iubent corpus laboribus et inedia conficere, cur sibi quoque non canunt haec magnifica praecepta? Sed ut supra diximus, tantum ludunt adversarii, nihil agunt serio. 19] Si continentia esset omnibus possibilis, non requireret peculiare donum. At Christus ostendit eam peculiari dono opus habere, quare non contingit omnibus. Reliquos vult Deus uti communi lege naturae, quam instituit. Non enim vult Deus contemni suas ordinationes, suas creaturas. Ita vult illos castos esse, ut remedio divinitus proposito utantur, sicut ita vult vitam nostram alere, 20] si cibo, si potu utamur. Et Gerson testatur multos fuisse bonos viros, qui conati domare corpus, tamen parum profecerunt. Ideo recte ait Ambrosius: *Sola virginitas est, quae suaderi potest, imperari non potest; res* 21] *magis voti quam praecepti est.* Si quis hic obiecerit Christum laudare hos, *qui se castrant propter regnum coelorum,* Matth. 19, 12, is hoc quoque consideret, quod tales laudat, qui donum continentiae habent, ideo enim addidit: *Qui potest capere, capiat.* Non 22] enim placet Christo immunda continentia. Laudamus et nos veram continentiam. Sed nunc de lege disputamus, et de his, qui non habent donum continentiae. Res debebat relinqui libera, non debebant iniici laquei imbecillibus per hanc legem.

Denn daß die Widersacher sagen, man solle Gott um Keuschheit bitten und anrufen, man solle den Leib mit Fasten und Arbeit kasteien, sollten sie billig solch Kasteien anfangen. Aber wie ich hier oben gesagt, die Widersacher meinen diese Sache nicht mit Ernst; sie spielen und scherzen ihres Gefallens. Wenn Jungfrauschaft einem jeden möglich wäre, so bedürfte es keiner [be]sonderen Gottesgabe. Nun sagt der HErr Christus Matth. 19, es sei eine besondere hohe Gottesgabe, und „nicht jedermann fasse das Wort". Die andern nun, will Gott, daß sie sollen gebrauchen des Ehestandes, den Gott eingesetzt. Denn Gott will nicht, daß man sein Geschöpf und Ordination verachten soll; so will er dennoch, daß dieselben auch sollen keusch sein, nämlich, daß sie des Ehestandes gebrauchen, welchen er eheliche Reinigkeit und Keuschheit zu erhalten hat eingesetzt; wie er auch will, daß wir sollen der Speise und des Tranks gebrauchen, die er uns zur Leibeserhaltung geschaffen hat. Und Gerson, der zeigt an, daß viel fromme, große Leute gewesen sind, die durch Leibeskasteien haben wollen Keuschheit halten und haben dennoch nichts geschafft. Darum sagt auch St. Ambrosius recht: „Allein die Jungfrauschaft ist ein solch Ding, die man raten mag und nicht gebieten." Ob jemand hier nun sagen wollte, der HErr Christus lobt diejenigen, die sich selbst verschnitten haben um des Himmelreichs willen, der soll auch bedenken, daß Christus von denjenigen redet, welche die Gabe der Jungfrauschaft haben; denn darum setzt er dazu: „Wer es fassen kann, der fasse es." Denn dem HErrn Christo gefällt solche unreine Keuschheit nicht, wie in Stiften und Klöstern ist. Wir lassen auch rechte Keuschheit eine feine, edle Gottesgabe sein. Wir reden aber hier davon, daß solch Gesetz und Verbot der Ehe unrecht ist, und von denen, die Gottes Gabe nicht haben. Darum soll es frei sein, und sollen nicht solche Stricke den armen Gewissen angeworfen werden.

23] Quarto. Dissentit lex pontificia et a canonibus conciliorum. Nam veteres canones non prohibent coniugium, nec contracta coniugia dissolvunt, etsi hos, qui in ministerio contraxerunt, removent ab administratione. Haec missio istis temporibus beneficii loco erat. Sed novi canones, qui non sunt in

Zum vierten, so ist auch dasselbe Papstgesetz wider die Canones und alten Konzilien. Denn die alten Canones verbieten nicht die Ehe, sie zerreißen auch nicht den Ehestand; wiewohl sie diejenigen, so sich zum Ehestand begeben, ihres geistlichen Amtes entsetzen. Das war die Zeit nach Gelegenheit mehr eine Gnade denn eine

to priests. Does not Paul here command those who have not the gift of continence to marry? For he interprets himself a little after when he says, v. 9: *It is better to marry than to burn.* And Christ has clearly said, Matt. 19, 11: *All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given.* Because now, since sin [since the fall of Adam], these two things concur, namely, natural appetite and concupiscence, which inflames the natural appetite, so that now there is more need of marriage than in nature in its integrity, Paul accordingly speaks of marriage as a remedy, and on account of these flames commands to marry. Neither can any human authority, any law, any vows remove this declaration: *It is better to marry than to burn,* because they do not remove the nature or concupiscence. Therefore all who burn, retain the right to marry. By this commandment of Paul: *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife,* all are held bound who do not truly keep themselves continent; the decision concerning which pertains to the conscience of each one.

For as they here give the command to seek continence of God, and to weaken the body by labors and hunger, why do they not proclaim these magnificent commandments to themselves? But, as we have said above, the adversaries are only playing; they are doing nothing seriously. If continence were possible to all, it would not require a peculiar gift. But Christ shows that it has need of a peculiar gift; therefore it does not belong to all. God wishes the rest to use the common law of nature which He has instituted. For God does not wish His ordinances, His creations to be despised. He wishes men to be chaste in this way, that they use the remedy divinely presented, just as He wishes to nourish our life in this way, that we use food and drink. Gerson also testifies that there have been many good men who endeavored to subdue the body, and yet made little progress. Accordingly, Ambrose is right in saying: *Virginity is only a thing that can be recommended, but not commanded; it is a matter of vow rather than of precept.* If any one here would raise the objection that Christ praises those *which have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake,* Matt. 19, 12, let him also consider this, that He is praising such as have the gift of continence; for on this account He adds: *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it.* For an impure continence [such as there is in monasteries and cloisters] does not please Christ. We also praise true continence. But now we are disputing concerning the law, and concerning those who do not have the gift of continence. The matter ought to be left free, and snares ought not to be cast upon the weak through this law.

Fourthly. The pontifical law differs also from the canons of the Councils. For the ancient canons do not prohibit marriage, neither do they dissolve marriages that have been contracted, even if they remove from the administration of their office those who have contracted them in the ministry. At those times this dismissal was an act of kindness [rather than a punishment]. But the new canons, which have not been framed in the Synods, but have been made according to the private judgment of the Popes, both pro-

synodis conditi, sed privato consilio pontificum facti, et prohibent contrahere matrimonia, et contracta dissolvunt; idque [R. 241 palam est fieri contra mandatum Christi, Matth. 19, 6: *Quos Deus coniunxit, homo non* 24] *separet.* Adversarii vociferantur in Confutatione coelibatum praeceptum esse a conciliis. Nos non accusamus decreta conciliorum, nam haec certa conditione permittunt coniugium, sed accusamus leges, quas post veteres synodos Romani pontifices contra auctoritatem synodorum condiderunt. Adeo pontifices contemnunt auctoritatem synodorum, quam aliis volunt videri sacrosanctam. 25] Propria igitur est haec lex de perpetuo coelibatu huius novae pontificiae dominationis. Neque id abs re. Daniel, 11, 37, enim tribuit hanc notam regno antichristi, videlicet contemptum mulierum.

26] Quinto. Etsi adversarii non defendunt legem superstitionis causa, quum videant non solere observari, tamen superstitiosas opiniones serunt, dum praetexunt religionem. Coelibatum ideo praedicant se requirere, quod sit mundities, quasi coniugium sit immundities ac peccatum, aut quasi coelibatus magis mereatur iustificationem quam coniugium. Et 27] huc allegant ceremonias legis Mosaicae, quod quum in lege tempore ministerii sacerdotes separati fuerint ab uxoribus, in novo testamento sacerdos, quum semper orare debeat, semper debeat continere. Haec inepta similitudo allegatur tamquam demonstratio, quae cogat sacerdotes ad perpetuum coelibatum, quum quidem in ipsa similitudine coniugium concedatur, tantum ministerii tempore consuetudo interdicitur. Et aliud est orare, aliud ministrare. Orabant sancti tunc quoque, quum non exercebant publicum ministerium, nec consuetudo cum coniuge prohibebat, ne orarent.

Strafe. Aber die neuen Canones, die nicht in den Conciliis, sondern durch die Päpste gemacht sind, die verbieten die Ehe und zerreißen die iam contracta matrimonia usw. So ist's nun am Tage, daß solches wider die Schrift, auch wider Christi Gebot ist, da er sagt: „Die Gott zusammengefügt hat, soll der Mensch nicht scheiden." Die Widersacher schreien fast [sehr], daß der Zölibat oder Keuschheit der Priester geboten sei in den Conciliis. Wir fechten die Concilia des Teils nicht an, denn sie verbieten die Ehe nicht; sondern das neue Gesetz fechten wir an, welches die Päpste wider die Concilia gemacht haben. Also gar verachten die Päpste selbst die Concilia, so sie doch andern bei Gottes Zorn und ewiger Verdammnis dürfen gebieten, die Konzilien zu halten. Darum ist das Gesetz, dadurch die Priesterehe verboten, ein recht Papstgesetz der römischen Tyrannei. Denn der Prophet Daniel hat das antichristische Reich also abgemalt, daß es solle Ehestand und Eheweiber, ja das weibliche Geschlecht verachten lehren.

Zum fünften, wiewohl sie das ungöttliche Gesetz nicht Heiligkeit halben oder aus Unwissenheit verteidigen (denn sie wissen wohl, daß sie Keuschheit nicht halten), so geben sie doch Ursache zu unzähliger Heuchelei, dieweil sie einen Schein der Heiligkeit vorwenden. Sie sagen, daß darum die Priester sollen Keuschheit halten, denn sie müssen heilig und rein sein; gleich als sei der Ehestand eine Unreinigkeit, gleich als werde man eher heilig und gerecht vor Gott durch den Zölibat denn durch den Ehestand. Und dazu ziehen sie an die Priester im Gesetz Mosis. Denn sie sagen, wenn die Priester haben im Tempel gedient, haben sie sich ihrer Weiber müssen enthalten; darum, so im Neuen Testament die Priester allezeit beten sollen, sollen sie sich auch allezeit keusch halten. Solch ungeschickt, närrisch Gleichnis ziehen sie an als einen ganz klaren, gewissen Grund, dadurch schon erstritten sei, daß die Priester schuldig seien, ewige Keuschheit zu halten, so sie doch, wenn auch das Gleichnis hier töchte [taugte] oder sich reimte, nichts mehr damit erhalten [beweisen], denn daß die Priester sich ihrer Weiber allein eine Zeitlang enthalten sollten, nämlich wenn sie Kirchendienst vorhätten. Auch so ist ein ander Ding beten, ein ander Ding, in der Kirche priesterlich Amt tun. Denn viel Heilige haben wohl gebetet, wenn sie gleich nicht im Tempel gedient, und hat sie eheliche Beiwohnung daran nichts gehindert.

28] Sed respondebimus ordine ad haec figmenta. Primum hoc fateri necesse est adversarios, quod coniugium sit mundum in credentibus, quia est sanctificatum Verbo Dei, hoc est, est res licita et approbata Verbo Dei, sicut copiose testatur Scriptura. [R. 242 29] Christus enim vocat coniugium *coniunctionem divinam*, quum ait Matth. 19, 6: *Quos* 30] *Deus coniunxit.* Et Paulus de coniugio, de cibis et similibus rebus inquit 1 Tim. 4, 5: *Sanctificantur per Verbum et orationem*, hoc est, per verbum, quo conscientia fit certa, quod Deus approbet, et per orationem, hoc est, per fidem, quae cum gratiarum 31] actione tamquam dono Dei utitur. Item 1 Cor. 7, 14: *Sanctificatur vir infidelis per uxorem fidelem* etc., id est, usus coniugalis licitus et sanctus est propter fidem in Christum, sicut licitum est uti cibo etc. Item 32] 1 Tim. 2, 15: *Salvatur mulier per filiorum generationem* etc. Si talem locum adversarii

Wir wollen aber ordentlich nacheinander auf solche Träume antworten. Für das erste müssen je die Widersacher bekennen und können's nicht leugnen, daß der Ehestand an Christgläubigen ein reiner, heiliger Stand sei; denn er ist je geheiligt durch das Wort Gottes. Denn von Gott ist er eingesetzt, durch Gottes Wort ist er bestätigt, wie da die Schrift reichlich zeugt. Denn Christus sagt: „Was Gott hat zusammengefügt, das soll kein Mensch scheiden." Da sagt Christus, Eheleute und Ehestand füge Gott zusammen; so ist es ein rein, heilig, edel, löblich Gotteswerk. Und Paulus sagt von der Ehe, von Speisen und dergleichen, daß sie „geheiligt werden durch das Wort Gottes und durch das Gebet". Erstlich durchs göttliche Wort, dadurch das Herz gewiß wird, daß Gott dem HErrn der Ehestand gefällt. Zum andern durch das Gebet, das ist, durch Danksagung, welche im Glauben geschieht, da wir des Ehestands, Speise, Tranks mit Danksagung gebrauchen. 1 Kor. 7: „Der ungläubige Mann wird

hibit the contraction of marriages, and dissolve them when contracted; and this is to be done openly, contrary to the command of Christ, Matt. 19, 6: *What God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.* In the Confutation the adversaries exclaim that celibacy has been commanded by the Councils. We do not find fault with the decrees of the Councils; for under a certain condition these allow marriage; but we find fault with the laws which, since the ancient Synods, the Popes of Rome have framed contrary to the authority of the Synods. The Popes despise the authority of the Synods, just as much as they wish it to appear holy to others [under peril of God's wrath and eternal damnation]. Therefore this law concerning perpetual celibacy is peculiar to this new pontifical despotism. Nor is it without a reason. For Daniel, 11, 37, ascribes to the kingdom of Antichrist this mark, namely, the contempt of women.

Fifthly. Although the adversaries do not defend the law because of superstition, [not because of its sanctity, as from ignorance], since they see that it is not generally observed, nevertheless they diffuse superstitious opinions, while they give a pretext of religion. They proclaim that they require celibacy because it is purity. As though marriage were impurity and a sin, or as though celibacy merited justification more than does marriage! And to this end they cite the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, because, since, under the Law, the priests, at the time of ministering, were separated from their wives, the priest in the New Testament, inasmuch as he ought always to pray, ought always to practise continence. This silly comparison is presented as a proof which should compel priests to perpetual celibacy, although, indeed, in this very comparison marriage is allowed, only in the time of ministering its use is interdicted. And it is one thing to pray; another, to minister. The saints prayed even when they did not exercise the public ministry; nor did conjugal intercourse hinder them from praying.

But we shall reply in order to these figments. In the first place, it is necessary for the adversaries to acknowledge this, namely, that in believers marriage is pure because it has been sanctified by the Word of God, *i. e.*, it is a matter that is permitted and approved by the Word of God, as Scripture abundantly testifies. For Christ calls marriage *a divine union*, when He says, Matt. 19, 6: *What God hath joined together* [*let not man put asunder.* Here Christ says that married people are joined together by God. Accordingly, it is a pure, holy, noble, praiseworthy work of God]. And Paul says of marriage, of meats and similar things, 1 Tim. 4, 5: *It is sanctified by the Word of God and prayer, i. e.*, by the Word, by which consciences become certain that God approves; and by prayer, *i. e.*, by faith, which uses it with thanksgiving as a gift of God. Likewise, 1 Cor. 7, 14: *The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife*, etc., *i. e.*, the use of marriage is per-

de coelibatu proferre possent, tum vero miros triumphos agerent. Paulus dicit salvari mulierem per filiorum generationem. Quid potuit dici contra hypocrisin coelibatus honorificentius, quam mulierem salvari ipsis coniugalibus operibus, usu coniugali, pariendo et reliquis oeconomicis officiis? Quid autem sentit Paulus? Lector observet addi fidem, nec laudari officia oeconomica sine fide: *Si manserint*, inquit, *in fide*. Loquitur enim de toto genere matrum. Requirit igitur praecipue fidem, qua mulier accipit remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem. Deinde addit certum opus vocationis, sicut in singulis hominibus fidem sequi debet bonum opus certae vocationis. Id opus placet Deo propter fidem. Ita mulieris officia placent Deo propter fidem, et salvatur mulier fidelis, quae in talibus officiis vocationis suae pie servit.

geheiligt durch das gläubige Weib", das ist, der Ehestand ist rein, gut, christlich und heilig um des Glaubens willen in [an] Christum, des wir brauchen mögen mit Danksagung, wie wir Speise und Trank usw. brauchen. Item 1 Tim. 2: „Das Weib aber wird selig durch Kindergebären, so sie bleibt im Glauben" usw. Wenn die Widersacher von ihrer Pfaffenkeuschheit einen solchen Spruch könnten vorbringen, wie sollten sie triumphieren! Paulus sagt, das Weib werde selig durch Kindergebären. Was hätte doch der heilige Apostel wider die schändliche Heuchelei der unflätigen, erlogenen Keuschheit Trefflicheres reden können, denn daß er sagt, sie werden selig durch die ehelichen Werke, durch Gebären, durch Kindersäugen und -ziehen, durch Haushalten usw.? Ja, wie meint das Paulus? Er setzt dazu mit klaren Worten: „So sie bleibt im Glauben" usw. Denn die Werke und Arbeit im Ehestande für sich selbst ohne den Glauben werden hier allein nicht gelobt. So will er nun vor allen Dingen, daß sie Gottes Wort haben und gläubig seien, durch welchen Glauben (wie er denn allenthalben sagt) sie empfangen Vergebung der Sünden und Gott versöhnt werden. Danach gedenkt er des Werkes ihres weiblichen Amtes und Berufs, gleichwie in allen Christen aus dem Glauben sollen gute Werke folgen, daß ein jeder nach seinem Beruf etwas tue, damit er seinem Nächsten nütz werde; und wie dieselben guten Werke Gott gefallen, also gefallen auch Gott solche Werke, die ein gläubig Weib tut ihrem Beruf nach; und ein solch Weib wird selig, die also ihrem Beruf nach im ehelichen Stand ihr weiblich Amt tut.

33] Haec testimonia docent coniugium rem licitam esse. Si igitur mundities significat id, quod coram Deo licitum et approbatum est, coniugia sunt munda, quia sunt appro-
34] bata Verbo Dei. Et Paulus ait de rebus licitis Tit. 1, 15: *Omnia munda mundis*, hoc est, his, qui credunt Christo et fide iusti sunt. Itaque ut virginitas in impiis est immunda, ita coniugium in piis est mundum propter Verbum Dei et fidem.

Diese Sprüche zeigen an, daß der Ehestand ein heilig und christlich Ding sei. So nun Reinigkeit auch das heißt, das vor Gott heilig und angenehm ist, so ist der Ehestand heilig und angenehm, denn er ist bestätigt durch das Wort Gottes. Und wie Paulus sagt: „Den Reinen ist alles rein", das ist, denen, die da glauben in [an] Christum. Derhalben wie die Jungfrauschaft in den Gottlosen unrein ist, also ist der Ehestand heilig in den Gläubigen um des göttlichen Wortes und Glaubens willen.

35] Deinde. Si mundities proprie opponitur concupiscentiae, significat munditiem [R. 243 cordis, hoc est, mortificatam concupiscentiam, quia lex non prohibet coniugium, sed concupiscentiam, adulterium, scortationem. Quare coelibatus non est mundities. Potest enim esse maior mundities cordis in coniuge, velut in Abraham aut Iacob, quam in plerisque etiam vere continentibus.

So aber die Widersacher das Reinigkeit heißen, da keine Unzucht ist, so heißt Reinigkeit des Herzens, da die böse Lust getötet ist. Denn Gottes Gesetz verbietet nicht die Ehe, sondern die Unzucht, Ehebruch, Hurerei. Darum, äußerlich ohne Weib sein, ist nicht die rechte Reinigkeit, sondern es kann eine größere Reinigkeit des Herzens sein in einem Ehemann (als in Abraham und Jakob) denn in vielen, die gleich nach leiblicher Reinigkeit ihre Keuschheit recht halten.

36] Postremo. Si ita intelligunt coelibatum munditiem esse, quod mereatur iustificationem magis quam coniugium, maxime reclamamus. Iustificamur enim neque propter virginitatem neque propter coniugium, sed gratis propter Christum, quum credimus nos propter
37] eum habere Deum propitium. Hic exclamabunt fortassis, Ioviniani more aequari coniugium virginitati. Sed propter haec convicia non abiiciemus veritatem de iustitia
38] fidei, quam supra exposuimus. Neque tamen aequamus coniugio virginitatem. Sicut enim donum dono praestat, prophetia praestat eloquentiae, scientia rei militaris praestat agriculturae, eloquentia praestat architectonicae: ita virginitas donum est praestantius
39] coniugio. Et tamen sicut orator non est magis iustus coram Deo propter eloquentiam quam architectus propter architectonicam, ita virgo non magis meretur iustificationem virginitate quam coniunx coniugalibus officiis,

Endlich, so sie die Keuschheit derhalben Reinigkeit nennen, daß man dadurch eher sollte vor Gott gerecht werden denn durch den Ehestand, so ist es ein Irrtum. Denn ohne Verdienst, um Christus' willen allein, erlangen wir Vergebung der Sünden, wenn wir glauben, daß wir durch Christus' Blut und Sterben einen gnädigen Gott haben. Hier aber werden die Widersacher schreien, daß wir wie Jovinianus den Ehestand der Jungfrauschaft gleichachten. Aber um ihres Geschreies willen werden wir die göttliche Wahrheit und die Lehre von Christo, von Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, die wir oben angezeigt, nicht verleugnen. Doch lassen wir dennoch der Jungfrauschaft ihren Preis und Lob und sagen auch, daß eine Gabe sei höher denn die andern. Denn gleichwie Weisheit zu regieren eine höhere Gabe ist denn andere Künste, also ist die Jungfrauschaft oder Keuschheit eine höhere Gabe denn der Ehestand. Und doch wiederum, wie der Regent nicht von wegen seiner Gabe und Klugheit vor Gott mehr gerecht

mitted and holy on account of faith in Christ, just as it is permitted to use meat, etc. Likewise, 1 Tim. 2, 15: *She shall be saved in childbearing* [*if they continue in faith*], etc. If the adversaries could produce such a passage concerning celibacy, then indeed they would celebrate a wonderful triumph. Paul says that woman is saved by child-bearing. What more honorable could be said against the hypocrisy of celibacy than that woman is saved by the conjugal works themselves, by conjugal intercourse, by bearing children and the other duties? But what does St. Paul mean? Let the reader observe that faith is added, and that domestic duties without faith are not praised. *If they continue*, he says, *in faith*. For he speaks of the whole class of mothers. Therefore he requires especially faith [that they should have God's Word and be believing], by which woman receives the remission of sins and justification. Then he adds a particular work of the calling, just as in every man a good work of a particular calling ought to follow faith. This work pleases God on account of faith. Thus the duties of the woman please God on account of faith, and the believing woman is saved who in such duties devoutly serves her calling.

These testimonies teach that marriage is a lawful [a holy and Christian] thing. If therefore purity signifies that which is allowed and approved before God, marriages are pure, because they have been approved by the Word of God. And Paul says of lawful things, Titus 1, 15: *Unto the pure all things are pure, i. e.*, to those who believe in Christ and are righteous by faith. Therefore, as virginity is impure in the godless, so in the godly marriage is pure on account of the Word of God and faith.

Again, if purity is properly opposed to concupiscence, it signifies purity of heart, *i. e.*, mortified concupiscence, because the Law does not prohibit marriage, but concupiscence, adultery, fornication. Therefore celibacy is not purity. For there may be greater purity of heart in a married man, as in Abraham or Jacob, than in most of those who are even truly continent [who even, according to bodily purity, really maintain their chastity].

Lastly, if they understand that celibacy is purity in the sense that it merits justification more than does marriage, we most emphatically contradict it. For we are justified neither on account of virginity nor on account of marriage, but freely for Christ's sake, when we believe that for His sake God is propitious to us. Here perhaps they will exclaim that, according to the manner of Jovinian, marriage is made equal to virginity. But, on account of such clamors we shall not reject the truth concerning the righteousness of faith, which we have explained above. Nevertheless we do not make virginity and marriage equal. For just as one gift surpasses another, as prophecy surpasses eloquence, the science of military affairs surpasses agriculture, and eloquence surpasses architecture, so virginity is a more excellent gift than marriage. And

sed unusquisque in suo dono fideliter servire debet ac sentire, quod propter Christum fide consequatur remissionem peccatorum, et fide iustus coram Deo reputetur.

40] Nec Christus aut Paulus laudant virginitatem ideo, quod iustificet, sed quia sit expeditior, et minus distrahatur domesticis occupationibus in orando, docendo, serviendo. Ideo Paulus ait 1 Cor. 7, 32: *Virgo curat ea, quae sunt Domini.* Laudatur igitur virginitas propter meditationem et studium. Sic Christus non simpliciter laudat hos, *qui se castrant*, sed addit: *propter regnum* [R. 244 *coelorum*, hoc est, ut discere aut docere evangelium vacet. Non enim dicit virginitatem mereri remissionem peccatorum aut salutem.

41] Ad exempla sacerdotum Leviticorum respondimus, quod non efficiunt oportere perpetuum coelibatum imponi sacerdotibus. Deinde immunditiae Leviticae non sunt ad nos transferendae. Consuetudo contra legem tunc erat immunditia. Nunc non est immunditia, quia Paulus dicit Tit. 1, 15: *Omnia munda mundis.* Liberat enim nos evangelium ab illis 42] immunditiis Leviticis. Ac si quis hoc consilio legem coelibatus defendit, ut illis observationibus Leviticis gravet conscientias, huic perinde adversandum est, ut apostoli in Actis, cap. 15, 10 sq., adversantur his, qui circumcisionem requirebant et legem Mosis Christianis imponere conabantur.

43] Interim tamen boni scient moderari usum coniugalem, praesertim quum sunt occupati publicis ministeriis, quae quidem saepe tantum faciunt negotii bonis viris, ut omnes domesticas cogitationes animis excutiant. Sciunt boni et hoc, quod Paulus 1 Thess. 4, 4 iubet, *vasa possidere in sanctificatione.* Sciunt item, quod interdum secedendum sit, ut vacent orationi, sed Paulus hoc ipsum non 44] vult esse perpetuum, 1 Cor. 7, 5. Iam talis continentia facilis est bonis et occupatis. Sed illa magna turba otiosorum sacerdotum, quae in collegiis est, in his deliciis ne quidem hanc Leviticam continentiam praestare potest, ut res ostendit. Et nota sunt poemata: *Desidiam puer ille sequi solet, odit agentes* etc.

45] Multi haeretici male intellecta lege Mosis contumeliose de coniugio senserunt, quibus tamen peperit singularem admirationem coelibatus. Et Epiphanius queritur Encratitas hac commendatione praecipue cepisse imperitorum animos. Hi abstinebant a vino, etiam in coena Domini, abstinebant a carnibus omnium animantium, qua in re superabant fratres Dominici, qui piscibus vescuntur.

ist denn ein anderer von wegen seiner Kunst, also ist der Keusche nicht mehr gerecht vor Gott von wegen seiner Gaben denn die Ehelichen von wegen ihres Standes, sondern ein jeder soll treulich dienen mit seiner Gabe und dabei wissen, daß er um Christus' willen, durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden habe und gerecht vor Gott geschätzt werde.

Der HErr Christus und Paulus auch loben die Jungfrauschaft nicht darum, daß sie vor Gott gerecht mache, sondern daß diejenigen, so ledig, ohne Weib oder ohne Mann, sind, desto freier, unverhindert mit Haushalten, Kinderziehen usw., lesen, beten, schreiben, dienen können. Darum sagt Paulus zu den Korinthern: „Aus der Ursache wird die Jungfrauschaft gelobt, daß man in dem Stand mehr Raum hat, Gottes Wort zu lernen und andere zu lehren." So lobt auch Christus nicht schlechthin diejenigen, so sich verschnitten, sondern setzt dazu: „um des Himmelreichs willen", das ist, daß sie desto leichter lernen und lehren können das Evangelium. Er sagt nicht, daß Jungfrauschaft Vergebung der Sünden verdiene.

Auf das Exempel von den levitischen Priestern haben wir geantwortet, daß damit gar nicht bewiesen ist, daß die Priester sollen ohne Ehestand sein. Auch so geht uns Christen das Gesetz Mosis mit den Zeremonien der Reinigkeit oder Unreinigkeit nichts an. Im Gesetz Mosis, wenn ein Mann sein Weib berührte, ward er etliche Zeit unrein; jetzund ist ein Christenehemann nicht unrein. Denn das Neue Testament sagt: „Den Reinen ist alles rein." Denn durch das Evangelium sind wir gefreit von allen Zeremonien Mosis, nicht allein von den Gesetzen der Unreinigkeit. Wo aber den Zölibat jemand aus dem Grunde wollte verfechten, daß er die Gewissen wollte verpflichten zu solchen levitischen Reinigkeiten, dem müßten wir ebenso heftig widerstehen, als die Apostel den Juden widerstanden haben, Act. 15, da sie zu dem Gesetz Mosis und zu der Beschneidung die Christen verpflichten wollten.

Hier aber werden christliche, gottesfürchtige Eheleute wohl in ehelicher Pflicht Maß zu halten wissen. Denn diejenigen, so in Regimenten oder der Kirchen Ämtern sind und zu schaffen haben, die werden auch im Ehestand wohl keusch müssen sein. Denn mit großen Sachen und Händeln beladen sein, da Landen und Leuten, Regimenten und Kirchen an gelegen ist, ist ein gut remedium, daß der alte Adam nicht geil werde. So wissen auch die Gottesfürchtigen, daß Paulus 1 Thess. 4 sagt: „Ein jeglicher unter euch wisse sein Faß zu behalten in Heiligung und Ehren, nicht in der Lustseuche." Dagegen aber, was kann für eine Keuschheit bei so viel tausend Mönchen und Pfaffen sein, die ohne Sorge in aller Lust leben müßig und voll, haben dazu kein Gotteswort, lernen's nicht und achten's nicht? Da muß alle Unzucht folgen. Solche Leute können weder levitische noch ewige Keuschheit halten.

Viele Ketzer, welche das Gesetz Mosis, oder wie es zu gebrauchen sei, nicht verstanden, reden schmählich von dem Ehestand, welche doch um solches heuchlerischen Scheines willen für heilig gehalten sind. Und Epiphanius klagt heftig, daß die Enkratiten mit dem heuchlerischen Schein, sonderlich der Keuschheit, bei den Unerfahrenen ein Ansehen gewonnen haben. Sie tranken keinen Wein, auch nicht im Abendmahl des HErrn, und

nevertheless, just as an orator is not more righteous before God because of his eloquence than an architect because of his skill in architecture, so a virgin does not merit justification by virginity more than a married person merits it by conjugal duties, but each one ought faithfully to serve in his own gift, and to believe that for Christ's sake he receives the remission of sins and by faith is accounted righteous before God.

Neither does Christ or Paul praise virginity because it justifies, but because it is freer and less distracted with domestic occupations, in praying, teaching, [writing,] serving. For this reason Paul says, 1 Cor. 7, 32: *He that is unmarried careth for the things which belong to the Lord.* Virginity, therefore, is praised on account of meditation and study. Thus Christ does not simply praise those *who make themselves eunuchs*, but adds, *for the kingdom of heaven's sake, i. e.*, that they may have leisure to learn or teach the Gospel; for He does not say that virginity merits the remission of sins or salvation.

To the examples of the Levitical priests we have replied that they do not establish the duty of imposing perpetual celibacy upon the priests. Furthermore, the Levitical impurities are not to be transferred to us. [The law of Moses, with the ceremonial statutes concerning what is clean or unclean, do not at all concern us Christians.] Then intercourse contrary to the Law was an impurity. Now it is not impurity, because Paul says, Titus 1, 15: *Unto the pure all things are pure.* For the Gospel frees us from these Levitical impurities [from all the ceremonies of Moses, and not alone from the laws concerning uncleanness]. And if any one defends the law of celibacy with the design to burden consciences by these Levitical observances, we must strive against this, just as the apostles in Acts 15, 10 sqq. strove against those who required circumcision and endeavored to impose the Law of Moses upon Christians.

Yet, in the mean while, good men will know how to control the use of marriage, especially when they are occupied with public offices, which often, indeed, give good men so much labor as to expel all domestic thoughts from their minds. [For to be burdened with great affairs and transactions, which concern commonwealths and nations, governments and churches, is a good remedy to keep the old Adam from lustfulness.] Good men know also this, that Paul, 1 Thess. 4, 4, commands that every one *possess his vessel in sanctification* [*and honor, not in the lust of concupiscence*]. They know likewise that they must sometimes retire, in order that there may be leisure for prayer; but Paul does not wish this to be perpetual, 1 Cor. 7, 5. Now such continence is easy to those who are good and occupied. But this great crowd of unemployed priests which is in the fraternities cannot afford, in this voluptuousness, even this Levitical continence, as the facts show. [On the other hand, what sort of chastity can there be among so many thousands of monks and priests who live without worry in all manner of delights, being idle and full, and, moreover, have not the Word of God, do not learn it, and have no regard for it. Such conditions bring on all manner of inchastity. Such people can observe neither Levitical nor perpetual chastity.] And the lines are well known: *The boy accustomed to pursue a slothful life hates those who are busy.*

Many heretics understanding the Law of Moses incorrectly have treated marriage with contempt, for whom, nevertheless, celibacy has gained extraordinary admiration. And Epiphanius complains that, by this commendation especially, the Encratites captured the minds of the unwary. They abstained from wine even in the Lord's Supper; they abstained from the flesh of all animals, in which they surpassed the Dominican brethren, who live upon fish. They abstained also from

Abstinebant et a coniugio, sed haec res praecipuam admirationem habuit. Haec [R. 245 opera, hos cultus sentiebant magis mereri gratiam, quam usum vini et carnium, et quam coniugium, quod videbatur res esse profana et immunda, et quae vix posset placere Deo, etiamsi non in totum damnaretur.

46] Has religiones angelorum Paulus ad Colossenses, 2, 18, valde improbat. Opprimunt enim cognitionem Christi, quum sentiunt homines se mundos ac iustos esse propter talem hypocrisin, opprimunt et cognitionem donorum et praeceptorum Dei. Vult 47] enim Deus nos pie uti donis suis. Ac nos exempla commemorare possemus, ubi valde perturbatae sunt piae quaedam conscientiae propter legitimum usum coniugii. Id malum erat natum ex opinionibus monachorum super- 48] stitiose laudantium coelibatum. Neque tamen temperantiam aut continentiam vituperamus, sed supra diximus, exercitia et castigationes corporis necessarias esse. Fiduciam vero iustitiae detrahimus certis observationi- 49] bus. Et eleganter dixit Epiphanius, observationes illas laudandas esse *διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν*, hoc est, *ad coercendum corpus aut propter publicos mores;* sicut sunt instituti quidam ritus ad commonefaciendos imperitos, non quod sint cultus iustificantes.

50] Sed adversarii nostri non requirunt coelibatum per superstitionem; sciunt enim non solere praestari castitatem. Verum praetexunt superstitiosas opiniones, ut imperitis fucum faciant. Magis igitur odio digni sunt quam Encratitae, qui quadam specie religionis lapsi videntur; illi Sardanapali consulto abutuntur praetextu religionis.

51] Sexto. Quum habeamus tot causas improbandae legis de perpetuo coelibatu, tamen praeter has accedunt etiam pericula animarum et publica scandala, quae, etiamsi lex non esset iniusta, tamen absterrere bonos viros debent, ne approbent tale onus, quod innumerabiles animas perdidit. [R. 246

52] Diu omnes boni viri de hoc onere questi sunt vel sua, vel aliorum causa, quos periclitari videbant, sed has querelas nulli pontifices audiunt. Neque obscurum est, quantum haec lex noceat publicis moribus, quae vitia, quam flagitiosas libidines pepererit. Exstant Romanae satyrae. In his etiam num agnoscit mores Roma legitque suos.

53] Sic ulciscitur Deus contemptum sui doni suaeque ordinationis in istis, qui coniugium prohibent. Quum autem hoc fieri in aliis legibus consueverit, ut mutentur, si id evidens utilitas suaserit, cur idem non fit in

enthielten sich gar beides, Fische und Fleisch zu essen, waren noch heiliger denn die Mönche, welche Fische essen! Auch enthielten sie sich des Ehestandes; das hatte erst einen großen Schein, und hielten also, daß sie durch diese Werke und erdichtete Heiligkeit Gott versöhnten, wie unsere Widersacher lehren.

Wider solche Heuchelei und Engelsheiligkeit streitet Paulus heftig zu den Kolossern. Denn dadurch wird Christus gar unterdrückt, wenn die Leute in solchen Irrtum kommen, daß sie verhoffen, rein und heilig zu sein vor Gott durch solche Heuchelei. So kennen auch solche Heuchler Gottes Gabe noch Gebote nicht; denn Gott will haben, daß wir mit Danksagung seiner Gaben gebrauchen sollen. Und ich wüßte wohl Exempel vorzubringen, wie manch fromm Herz und armes Gewissen dadurch betrübt worden und in Gefahr gekommen ist, daß es nicht unterrichtet, daß der Ehestand, die Ehepflicht und was an der Ehe ist, heilig und christlich wäre. Der große Jammer ist erfolgt aus der Mönche ungeschicktem Predigen, welche ohne Maß den Zölibat, die Keuschheit lobten und den ehelichen Stand für ein unrein Leben ausschrien, daß er sehr hinderlich wäre zu der Seligkeit und voll Sünden.

Aber unsere Widersacher halten nicht so hart über dem eheloſen Stand um des Scheins willen der Heiligkeit; denn sie wissen, daß zu Rom, auch in allen ihren Stiften, ohne Heuchelei, ohne Schein eitel Unzucht ist. So ist es auch ihr Ernst nicht, keusch zu leben, sondern wissentlich machen sie die Heuchelei vor den Leuten. Derhalben sie ärger und ihre Heuchelei ist häßlicher denn der Ketzer Enkratiten; denen war's doch mehr Ernst, aber diesen Epicureis ist's nicht Ernst, sondern sie spotten Gott und der Welt und wenden allein diesen Schein vor, damit ihr frei Leben zu erhalten.

Zum sechsten, so wir so viele Ursachen haben, warum wir des Papsts Gesetz vom Zölibat nicht können annehmen, so sind doch darüber unzählige Fährlichkeiten der Gewissen, unsäglich viel Ärgernisse. Darum ob solch Papstgesetz gleich nicht unrecht wäre, so sollte doch billig alle ehrbaren Leute abschrecken solche Beschwerung der Gewissen, daß so unzählige Seelen dadurch verderben.

Es haben lange vor dieser Zeit viel ehrbare Leute auch unter ihnen, ihre eigenen Bischöfe, Canonici usw., geklagt über die große, schwere Last des Zölibats und befunden, daß sie selbst und andere Leute in große Gefahr ihrer Gewissen darüber gekommen; aber der Klage hat sich niemand angenommen. Darüber ist es am Tage, wie an vielen Orten, wo Pfaffenstifte sind, gemeine Zucht dadurch zerrüttet wird, was greuliche Unzucht, Sünde und Schande, was große ungehörte Laster dadurch geursacht. Es sind der Poeten Schriften und satyrae vorhanden; darin mag sich Roma spiegeln.

Also rächt Gott der Allmächtige die Verachtung seiner Gabe und seiner Gebote in denjenigen, die den Ehestand verbieten. So man nun oft etliche nötige Gesetze aus Ursache geändert hat, wenn es der gemeine Nutz erfordert, warum sollte denn

marriage; and just this gained the chief admiration. These works, these services, they thought, merited grace more than the use of wine and flesh, and than marriage, which seemed to be a profane and unclean matter, and which scarcely could please God, even though it were not altogether condemned.

Paul to the Colossians, 2, 18, greatly disapproves these angelic forms of worship. For when men believe that they are pure and righteous on account of such hypocrisy, they suppress the knowledge of Christ, and suppress also the knowledge of God's gifts and commandments. For God wishes us to use His gifts in a godly way. And we might mention examples where certain godly consciences were greatly disturbed on account of the lawful use of marriage. This evil was derived from the opinions of monks superstitiously praising celibacy [and proclaiming the married estate as a life that would be a great obstacle to salvation, and full of sins]. Nevertheless we do not find fault with temperance or continence, but we have said above that exercises and mortifications of the body are necessary. We indeed deny that confidence should be placed in certain observances, as though they made righteous. And Epiphanius has elegantly said that these observances ought to be praised *διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ διὰ τὴν πολιτείαν, i. e., for restraining the body or on account of public morals;* just as certain rites were instituted for instructing the ignorant, and not as services that justify.

But it is not through superstition that our adversaries require celibacy, for they know that chastity is not ordinarily rendered [that at Rome, also in all their monasteries, there is nothing but undisguised, unconcealed inchastity. Nor do they seriously intend to lead chaste lives, but knowingly practise hypocrisy before the people]. But they feign superstitious opinions, so as to delude the ignorant. They are therefore more worthy of hatred than the Encratites, who seem to have erred by show of religion; these Sardanapali [Epicureans] designedly misuse the pretext of religion.

Sixthly. Although we have so many reasons for disapproving the law of perpetual celibacy, yet, besides these, dangers to souls and public scandals also are added, which even, though the law were not unjust, ought to deter good men from approving such a burden as has destroyed innumerable souls.

For a long time all good men [their own bishops and canons] have complained of this burden, either on their own account, or on account of others whom they saw to be in danger. But no Popes give ear to these complaints. Neither is it doubtful how greatly injurious to public morals this law is, and what vices and shameful lusts it has produced. The Roman satires are extant. In these Rome still recognizes and reads its own morals.

Thus God avenges the contempt of His own gift and ordinance in those who prohibit marriage. But since the custom in regard to other laws was that they should be changed if manifest utility would advise it, why is the

hac lege, in qua tot graves causae concurrunt, praesertim his postremis temporibus, cur mutari debeat? Natura senescit et fit paulatim debilior, et crescunt vitia, quo magis remedia **54**] divinitus tradita adhibenda erant. Videmus, quod vitium accuset Deus ante diluvium, quod accuset ante conflagrationem quinque urbium. Similia vitia praecesserunt excidia aliarum urbium multarum, ut Sybaris, Romae. Et in his imago temporum proposita est, quae **55**] proxima erunt rerum fini. Ideo imprimis oportuit hoc tempore severissimis legibus atque exemplis munire coniugium et ad coniugium invitare homines. Id ad magistratus pertinet, qui debent publicam disciplinam tueri. Interim doctores evangelii utrumque faciant: hortentur ad coniugium incontinentes, hortentur alios, ut donum continentiae non aspernentur.

dies Gesetz nicht geändert werden, da so viel treffliche Ursachen sind, so viel unzählige Beschwerungen der Gewissen, darum es billig geändert werde? Wir sehen, daß dies die letzten Zeiten sind, und wie ein alter Mensch schwächer ist denn ein junger, so ist auch die ganze Welt und ganze Natur in ihrem letzten Alter und im Abnehmen. Der Sünden und Laster wird nicht weniger, sondern täglich mehr. Derhalben sollte man wider die Unzucht und Laster desto eher der Hilfe brauchen, die Gott gegeben hat, als des Ehestands. Wir sehen in dem ersten Buch Mosis, daß solche Laster der Hurerei auch hatten überhandgenommen vor der Sintflut. Item, zu Sodoma, zu Sybaris, zu Rom und andern Städten ist greuliche Unzucht eingerissen, ehe sie zerstört wurden. In diesen Exempeln ist abgemalt, wie es zu den letzten Zeiten gehen werde, kurz vor der Welt Ende. Derhalben, so es auch die Erfahrung gibt, daß jetzund in diesen letzten Zeiten Unzucht stärker denn je leider eingerissen, sollten treue Bischöfe und Obrigkeit vielmehr Gesetze und Gebote machen, die Ehe zu gebieten, denn zu verbieten, auch mit Worten, Werken und Exempeln die Leute zu dem Ehestande vermahnen; das wäre der Obrigkeiten Amt; denn dieselben sollen Fleiß haben, daß Ehre und Zucht erhalten wird. Nun hat Gott die Welt also geblendet, daß man Ehebruch und Hurerei gar nahe ohne Strafe duldet, dagegen straft man um des Ehestands willen. Ist das nicht schrecklich zu hören? Dabei sollten die Prediger beiderlei unterrichten: diejenigen, so die Gabe der Keuschheit haben, vermahnen, daß sie dieselbe nicht verachteten, sondern zu Gottes Ehre brauchten, die andern, welchen der eheliche Stand vonnöten ist, dazu auch vermahnen.

56] Pontifices quotidie dispensant, quotidie mutant alias leges optimas, in hac una lege coelibatus ferrei et inexorabiles sunt, quum quidem constet eam simpliciter humani iuris **57**] esse. Et hanc ipsam legem nunc exacerbant multis modis. Canon iubet suspendere sacerdotes, isti parum commodi interpretes suspendunt non ab officio, sed ab arboribus. Multos bonos viros crudeliter occidunt, tan**58**] tum propter coniugium. Atque haec ipsa parricidia ostendunt hanc legem doctrinam esse daemoniorum. Nam diabolus, quum sit homicida, legem suam defendit his [R. 247 parricidiis.

Der Papst dispensiert sonst täglich in vielen nötigen Gesetzen, daran gemeinem Nutz viel gelegen, da er billig sollte fest sein. Allein in diesem Gesetz vom Zölibat erzeigt er sich also hart als Stein und Eisen, so man doch weiß, daß nichts denn ein Menschengesetz ist. Sie haben viel fromme, redliche, gottesfürchtige Leute, welche niemand kein Leid getan, wüterisch und tyrannisch erwürgt allein um des Ehestands willen, daß sie aus Notdurft ihrer Gewissen sind ehelich geworden. Derhalben zu besorgen, daß des Abels Blut so stark gen Himmel schreit, daß sie es nimmer werden verwinden, sondern wie Kain zittern müssen. Und dieselbe kainische Mörderei des unschuldigen Bluts zeigt an, daß diese Lehre vom Zölibat Teufelslehre sei. Denn der HErr Christus nennt den Teufel einen Mörder, welcher solch tyrannisch Gesetz mit eitel Blut und Morden auch gern wollte verteidigen.

59] Scimus aliquid offensionis esse in schismate, quod videmur divulsi ab his, qui existimantur esse ordinarii episcopi. Sed nostrae conscientiae tutissimae sunt, postquam scimus nos summo studio concordiam constituere cupientes, non posse placare adversarios, nisi manifestam veritatem proiiciamus, deinde nisi cum ipsis conspiremus, quod velimus hanc iniustam legem defendere, contracta matrimonia dissolvere, interficere sacerdotes, si qui non obtemperent, in exilium agere miseras mulieres atque orbos pueros. Quum autem certum sit has conditiones Deo displicere, nihil doleamus nos non habere *συμμαχίαν* tot parricidiorum cum adversariis.

Wir wissen fast [sehr] wohl, daß etliche sehr schreien, wir machten Schismata. Aber unsere Gewissen sind ganz sicher, nachdem wir mit allem treuen Fleiß Frieden und Einigkeit gesucht haben, und die Widersacher ihnen [sich] nicht wollen genügen lassen, wir verleugnen denn (das Gott verhüte!) die öffentliche göttliche Wahrheit, wir willigen denn mit ihnen, das häßliche Papstgesetz anzunehmen, fromme, unschuldige Eheleute voneinander zu reißen, die ehelichen Priester zu erwürgen, unschuldige Weiber und Kinder ins Elend zu vertreiben, ohne alle Ursache unschuldig Blut zu vergießen. Denn nachdem es gewiß ist, daß solches Gott nicht gefällt, so sollen wir uns lassen lieb sein, daß wir keine Einigkeit noch Gemeinschaft, auch keine Schuld an so viel unschuldigem Blut mit den Widersachern haben.

60] Exposuimus causas, quare non possimus bona conscientia assentiri adversariis, legem pontificiam de perpetuo coelibatu defendentibus, quia pugnet cum iure divino et naturali ac dissentiat ab ipsis canonibus, et

Wir haben Ursache angezeigt, warum wir es mit gutem Gewissen mit den Widersachern nicht halten können, die den Zölibat verteidigen. Denn es ist wider alle göttlichen und natürlichen Rechte, wider die Canones selbst, dazu ist's eitel Heuchelei und

same not done with respect to this law, in which so many weighty reasons concur, especially in these last times, why a change ought to be made? Nature is growing old and is gradually becoming weaker, and vices are increasing; wherefore the remedies divinely given should have been employed. We see what vice it was which God denounced before the Flood, what He denounced before the burning of the five cities. Similar vices have preceded the destruction of many other cities, as of Sybaris and Rome. And in these there has been presented an image of the times which will be next to the end of things. Accordingly, at this time, marriage ought to have been especially defended by the most severe laws and warning examples, and men ought to have been invited to marriage. This duty pertains to the magistrates, who ought to maintain public discipline. [God has now so blinded the world that adultery and fornication are permitted almost without punishment; on the contrary, punishment is inflicted on account of marriage. Is not this terrible to hear?] Meanwhile the teachers of the Gospel should do both; they should exhort incontinent men to marriage, and should exhort others not to despise the gift of continence.

The Popes daily dispense and daily change other laws which are most excellent, yet, in regard to this one law of celibacy, they are as iron and inexorable, although, indeed, it is manifest that this is simply of human right. And they are now making this law more grievous in many ways. The canon bids them suspend priests; these rather unfriendly interpreters suspend them not from office, but from trees. They cruelly kill many men for nothing but marriage. [It is to be feared, therefore, that the blood of Abel will cry to heaven so loudly as not to be endured, and that we shall have to tremble like Cain.] And these very parricides show that this law is a doctrine of demons. For since the devil is a murderer, he defends his law by these parricides.

We know that there is some offense in regard to schism, because we seem to have separated from those who are thought to be regular bishops. But our consciences are very secure, since we know that, though we most earnestly desire to establish harmony, we cannot please the adversaries unless we cast away manifest truth, and then agree with these very men in being willing to defend this unjust law, to dissolve marriages that have been contracted, to put to death priests if they do not obey, to drive poor women and fatherless children into exile. But since it is well established that these conditions are displeasing to God, we can in no way grieve that we have no alliance with the multitude of murderers among the adversaries.

We have explained the reasons why we cannot assent with a good conscience to the adversaries when they defend the pontifical law concerning perpetual celibacy, because it conflicts with divine and natural law and is at variance with the canons themselves, and is

sit superstitiosa et plena periculi, postremo, quia tota res sit simulata. Non enim imperatur lex religionis causa, sed dominationis causa, et huic impie praetexitur religio. Neque quidquam a sanis hominibus contra has **61**] firmissimas rationes afferri potest. Evangelium permittit coniugium his, quibus opus est. Neque tamen hos cogit ad coniugium, qui continere volunt, modo ut vere contineant. Hanc libertatem et sacerdotibus concedendam esse sentimus, nec volumus quemquam vi cogere ad coelibatum, nec contracta matrimonia dissolvere.

Gefahr. Denn sie halten über derselben erdichteten Keuschheit nicht so hart Heiligkeit halben, oder daß sie es nicht anders verstünden; sie wissen wohl, daß jedermann der hohen Stifte Wesen, welche wir wohl zu nennen wüßten, kennt, sondern allein ihre Tyrannei und Herrschaft zu erhalten. Und es wird kein ehrbarer Mensch wider obenangezeigte starke, klare Gründe etwas mögen [können] aufbringen. Das Evangelium läßt allen denjenigen den Ehestand frei, denen er vonnöten ist; so zwingt es die zum Ehestand nicht, so die Gabe der Keuschheit haben, wenn es allein rechte Keuschheit und nicht Heuchelei ist. Die Freiheit, halten wir, sei den Priestern auch zu vergönnen, und wir wollen niemand mit Gewalt zum Zölibat zwingen, wollen auch fromme Eheleute nicht voneinander treiben oder die Ehe zerreißen.

62] Obiter etiam, dum recensuimus argumenta nostra, indicavimus, quomodo adversarii unum atque alterum cavillentur, et calumnias illas diluimus. Nunc brevissime commemorabimus, quam gravibus rationibus **63**] defendant legem. Primum dicunt a Deo revelatam esse. Videtis extremam impudentiam istorum nebulonum. Audent affirmare, quod divinitus revelata sit lex de perpetuo coelibatu, quum adversetur manifestis [R. 248 Scripturae testimoniis, quae iubent, *ut unusquisque habeat uxorem suam propter fornicationem*, 1 Cor. 7, 2; item, quae vetant dissolvere contracta matrimonia, Matth. 5, 32; 19, 6; 1 Cor. 7, 27. Paulus admonet, quem auctorem habitura fuerit ista lex, quum vocat eam *doctrinam daemoniorum*, 1 Tim. 4, 1. Et fructus indicant auctorem, tot monstrosae libidines, tot parricidia, quae nunc suscipiuntur praetextu illius legis.

Wir haben nun etliche unserer Gründe auf diesmal kurz angezeigt; auch haben wir vermeldet, wie die Widersacher so ungeschickten Behelf und Träume dawider aufbringen. Nun wollen wir anzeigen, mit was starken Gründen sie ihr Papstgesetz verteidigen. Erstlich sagen sie, solch Gesetz sei von Gott offenbart. Da sieht man, wie ganz unverschämt die heillosen Leute sind. Sie dürfen sagen, daß ihr Eheverbieten von Gott offenbart sei, so es doch öffentlich ist wider die Schrift, wider Paulum, da er sagt: „Hurerei zu vermeiden, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib." Item, so die Schrift und Canones stark verbieten, daß man die Ehe, so schon vollzogen, in keinem Wege zerreißen soll, was dürfen die Buben sagen und den hohen, allerheiligsten Namen der göttlichen Majestät so frech und unverschämt mißbrauchen? Paulus der Apostel sagt recht, wer der Gott sei, der solch Gesetz erst eingeführt, nämlich der leidige Satan; denn er nennt's „Teufelslehre". Und wahrlich, die Frucht lehrt uns den Baum kennen, so wir sehen, daß so viel schreckliche, greuliche Laster dadurch geursacht werden, wie an Rom zu sehen; item, daß auch über diesem Gesetz des Würgens und Blutvergießens der Teufel kein Ende macht.

64] Secundum argumentum adversariorum est, quod sacerdotes debeant esse mundi, iuxta illud Es. 52, 11: *Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini.* Et citant in hanc sententiam multa. Hanc rationem, quam ostendant velut maxime *εὐπρόσωπον*, supra diluimus. Diximus enim virginitatem sine fide non esse munditiem coram Deo, et coniugium propter fidem mundum esse, iuxta illud Tit. 1, 15: *Omnia munda mundis.* Diximus et hoc externas munditias et ceremonias legis non esse huc transferendas, quia evangelium requirit munditiem cordis, non requirit ceremonias legis. Et fieri potest, ut cor mariti, velut Abrahae aut Iacobi, qui fuerunt *πολύγαμοι*, mundius sit et minus ardeat cupiditatibus quam multarum virginum, etiam vere continentium. Quod vero Esaias ait: *Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini*, intelligi debet de munditie cordis, de **65**] tota poenitentia. Ceterum sancti in externo usu scient, quatenus conducat moderari usum coniugalem et, ut Paulus ait 1 Thess. **66**] 4, 4, *possidere vasa in sanctificatione.* Postremo, quum coniugium sit mundum, recte dicitur his, qui in coelibatu non continent, ut ducant uxores, ut sint mundi. Ita eadem lex: *Mundamini, qui fertis vasa Domini*, praecipit, ut immundi coelibes fiant mundi coniuges.

Der andere Grund der Widersacher ist, daß die Priester sollen rein sein, wie die Schrift sagt: „Ihr sollt rein sein, die ihr traget die Gefäße des HErrn." Das Argument haben wir hier oben verlegt [widerlegt]; denn wir haben genug angezeigt, daß Keuschheit ohne Glauben keine Reinigkeit vor Gott sei, und der Ehestand ist Heiligkeit und Reinigkeit um des Glaubens willen, wie Paulus sagt: „Den Reinen ist alles rein." So haben wir klar genug gesagt, daß Mosis Zeremonien von Reinigkeit und Unreinigkeit dahin nicht zu ziehen seien. Denn das Evangelium will haben Reinigkeit des Herzens. Und hat keinen Zweifel, daß Abrahams, Isaaks, Jakobs, der Erzväter Herzen, welche doch viele Weiber gehabt, reiner gewesen seien denn vieler Jungfrauen, die gleich nach Reinigkeit des Leibes rechte, reine Jungfrauen gewesen. Daß aber Jesaias sagt: „Ihr sollt rein sein, die ihr das Gefäß des HErrn tragt", das ist zu verstehen von ganzer christlicher Heiligkeit und nicht von Jungfrauschaft, und eben dieser Spruch gebietet den unreinen, ehelosen Priestern, daß sie reine, eheliche Priester werden. Denn wie zuvor gesagt ist, die Ehe ist Reinigkeit bei den Christen.

superstitious and full of danger, and, lastly, because the whole affair is insincere. For the law is enacted not for the sake of religion [not for holiness' sake, or because they do not know better; they know very well that everybody is well acquainted with the condition of the great cloisters, which we are able to name], but for the sake of dominion, and this is wickedly given the pretext of religion. Neither can anything be produced by sane men against these most firmly established reasons. The Gospel allows marriage to those to whom it is necessary. Nevertheless, it does not compel those to marry who can be continent, provided they be truly continent. We hold that this liberty should also be conceded to the priests, nor do we wish to compel any one by force to celibacy, nor to dissolve marriages that have been contracted.

We have also indicated incidentally, while we have recounted our arguments, how the adversaries cavil at several of these; and we have explained away these false accusations. Now we shall relate as briefly as possible with what important reasons they defend the law. *First,* they say that it has been revealed by God. You see the extreme impudence of these sorry fellows. They dare to affirm that the law of perpetual celibacy has been divinely revealed, although it is contrary to manifest testimonies of Scripture, which command *that to avoid fornication each one should have his own wife,* 1 Cor. 7, 2; which likewise forbid to dissolve marriages that have been contracted; cf. Matt. 5, 32; 19, 6; 1 Cor. 7, 27. [What can the knaves say in reply? and how dare they wantonly and shamelessly misapply the great, most holy name of the divine Majesty?] Paul reminds us what an author such a law was to have when he calls it *a doctrine of demons,* 1 Tim. 4, 1. And the fruits show their author, namely, so many monstrous lusts and so many murders which are now committed under the pretext of that law [as can be seen at Rome].

The *second* argument of the adversaries is that the priests ought to be pure, according to Is. 52, 11: *Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord.* And they cite many things to this effect. This reason which they display we have above removed as especially specious. For we have said that virginity without faith is not purity before God, and marriage, on account of faith, is pure, according to Titus 1, 15: *Unto the pure all things are pure.* We have said also this, that outward purity and the ceremonies of the Law are not to be transferred hither, because the Gospel requires purity of heart, and does not require the ceremonies of the Law. And it may occur that the heart of a husband, as of Abraham or Jacob, who were polygamists, is purer and burns less with lusts than that of many virgins who are even truly continent. But what Isaiah says: *Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord,* ought to be understood as referring to cleanness of heart and to the entire repentance. Besides, the saints will know in the exercise of marriage how far it is profitable to restrain its use, and as Paul says, 1 Thess. 4, 4, *to possess his vessel in sanctification.* Lastly, since marriage is pure, it is rightly said to those who are not continent in celibacy that they should marry wives in order to be pure. Thus the same law: *Be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord,* commands that impure celibates become pure husbands [impure unmarried priests become pure married priests].

Tertium argumentum horribile est, quod sit
67] haeresis Ioviniani coniugium sacerdotum. Bona verba! Novum hoc crimen est, coniugium esse haeresin. Ioviniani tempore nondum norat mundus legem de perpetuo coelibatu. Impudens igitur mendacium est, [R. 249 coniugium sacerdotum Ioviniani haeresin esse, aut ab ecclesia tunc id coniugium damnatum
68] esse. In huiusmodi locis est videre, quid consilii habuerint adversarii in scribenda Confutatione. Iudicaverunt ita facillime moveri imperitos, si crebro audiant convicium haeresis, si fingant nostram causam multis ante iudiciis ecclesiae confossam et damnatam esse. Itaque saepe falso allegant ecclesiae iudicium. Id quia non ignorant, exhibere nobis exemplum apologiae noluerunt, ne haec vanitas, ne hae calumniae coargui possent. Quod vero ad Ioviniani causam attinet, de collatione vir-
69] ginitatis et coniugii supra diximus, quid sentiamus. Non enim aequamus coniugium et virginitatem, etsi neque virginitas neque coniugium meretur iustificationem.

Das dritte ist erstlich ein schrecklich Argument, daß der Priester Ehe solle Ketzerei sein. Gnadet unserer armen Seele, liebe Herren; fahrt schöne! Das ist gar ein Neues, daß der heilige Ehestand, den Gott im Paradies geschaffen hat, soll Ketzerei sein worden. Mit der Weise würde die ganze Welt eitel Ketzerkinder sein. Es ist eine große, unverschämte Lüge, daß der Priester Ehe solle Joviniani Ketzerei sein, oder daß solche Priesterehe zu der Zeit von der Kirche solle verdammt sein. Denn zu Jovinianus' Zeiten hat die Kirche von diesem Papstgesetz, dadurch den Priestern die Ehe ganz verboten ist, noch nicht gewußt. Und solches wissen unsere Widersacher wohl. Aber sie ziehen oft alte Ketzereien an und reimen unsere Lehre dazu wider ihr eigen Gewissen, allein den Ungelehrten einzubilden, als sei unsere Lehre vor alters von der Kirche verdammt, und also männiglich [jedermann] wider uns zu bewegen. Mit solchen Griffen gehen sie um; und darum haben sie uns die Konfutation nicht wollen zustellen. Sie haben besorgt, man möchte ihre öffentlichen Lügen verantworten, welches ihnen eine ewige Schande bei allen Nachkommen sein wird. Was aber Jovinianis Lehre belangt, haben wir hier oben gesagt, was wir von Keuschheit und was wir vom Ehestand halten. Denn wir sagen nicht, daß der Ehestand gleich sei der Jungfrauschaft, wiewohl weder Jungfrauschaft noch Ehestand gerecht macht vor Gott.

70] Talibus argumentis tam vanis defendunt legem impiam et perniciosam bonis moribus. Talibus rationibus muniunt Principum animos adversus iudicium Dei, in quo Deus reposcet rationem, cur dissipaverint coniugia, cur cruciaverint, cur interfecerint sacerdotes. Nolite enim dubitare, quin, ut *sanguis Abel mortui clamabat*, Gen. 4, 10, ita clamet etiam sanguis multorum bonorum virorum, in quos iniuste saevitum est. Et ulciscetur hanc saevitiam Deus; ibi comperietis, quam sint inanes hae rationes adversariorum, et intelligetis in iudicio Dei nullas calumnias adversus Verbum Dei consistere, ut ait Esaias 49, 6: *Omnis caro foenum, et omnis gloria eius quasi flos foeni.*

Mit solchen schwachen, losen Gründen schützen und verteidigen sie des Papstes Gesetz vom Zölibat, das so zu großen Lastern und Unzucht hat Ursache gegeben. Die Fürsten und Bischöfe, so diesen Lehrern glauben, werden wohl sehen, ob solche Gründe den Stich halten, wenn es zu der Todesstunde kommt, daß man vor Gott soll Rechenschaft geben, warum sie frommer Leute Ehe zerrissen haben, warum sie diese gestöckt und gepflöckt [ins Gefängnis geworfen] haben, warum sie so viele Priester erwürgt und unschuldig Blut über alles Klagen, Heulen und Weinen so vieler Witwen und Waisen vergossen haben. Denn das dürfen sie ihnen [sich] nicht in Sinn nehmen: die Zähren und Tränen der armen Witwen, das Blut der Unschuldigen ist im Himmel unvergessen, es wird zu seiner Stunde als stark als des heiligen, unschuldigen Abels Blut über sie in hohen Himmel schreien und vor Gott, dem rechten Richter, rufen. Wenn nun Gott solche Tyrannei richten wird, werden sie erfahren, daß ihre Argumente Stroh und Heu sind und Gott „ein verzehrend Feuer", vor dem nichts bleiben kann außer göttliches Worts, 1 Petr. 1, 24. 25.

71] Nostri Principes, quidquid acciderit, consolari se conscientia rectorum consiliorum poterunt, quia, etiamsi quid sacerdotes in contrahendis coniugiis mali fecissent, tamen illa dissipatio coniugiorum, illae proscriptiones, illa saevitia manifeste adversatur voluntati et Verbo Dei. Nec delectat nostros Principes novitas aut dissidium, sed magis fuit habenda ratio Verbi Dei, praesertim in causa non dubia, quam aliarum rerum omnium.

Unsere Fürsten und Herren, es gehe, wie es wolle, haben sich des zu trösten, daß sie mit gutem Gewissen gehandelt haben. Denn ich will gleich setzen, daß der Priester Ehe etwa anzufechten sei, als nicht ist, doch ist das stracks wider Gottes Wort und Willen, daß die Widersacher die vollzogenen Ehen also zerreißen, arme, unschuldige Leute ins Elend jagen und erwürgen. Es haben unsere Fürsten und Herren ja nicht Lust an Neuerung und Zwiespalt, dennoch sind sie schuldig, daß sie göttlich Wort und Wahrheit in so gerechter und gewisser Sache mehr lassen gelten denn alle andern Sachen. Da verleihe Gott Gnade zu! Amen.

Art. XXIV. (XII.) De Missa.

Initio hoc iterum praefandum est *nos* [R. 250
1] *non abolere missam, sed religiose retinere ac defendere.* Fiunt enim apud nos missae singulis dominicis et aliis festis, in quibus

Artikel XXIV. (XII.) Von der Messe.

Erstlich müssen wir aber [abermals] dies hier zum Eingange sagen, **daß wir die Messe nicht abtun.** Denn alle Sonntage und Feste werden in unsern Kirchen Messen gehalten, dabei das

The *third* argument is horrible, namely, that the marriage of priests is the heresy of Jovinian. Fine-sounding words! [Pity on our poor souls, dear sirs; proceed gently!] This is a new crime, that marriage [which God instituted in Paradise] is a heresy! [In that case all the world would be children of heretics.] In the time of Jovinian the world did not as yet know the law concerning perpetual celibacy. [This our adversaries know very well.] Therefore it is an impudent falsehood that the marriage of priests is the heresy of Jovinian, or that such marriage was then condemned by the Church. In such passages we can see what design the adversaries had in writing the Confutation. They judged that the ignorant would be thus most easily excited, if they would frequently hear the reproach of heresy, if they pretend that our cause had been dispatched and condemned by many previous decisions of the Church. Thus they frequently cite falsely the judgment of the Church. Because they are not ignorant of this, they were unwilling to exhibit to us a copy of their Apology, lest this falsehood and these reproaches might be exposed. Our opinion, however, as regards the case of Jovinian, concerning the comparison of virginity and marriage, we have expressed above. For we do not make marriage and virginity equal, although neither virginity nor marriage merits justification.

By such false arguments they defend a law that is godless and destructive to good morals. By such reasons they set the minds of princes firmly against God's judgment [the princes and bishops who believe this teaching will see whether their reasons will endure the test, when the hour of death arrives], in which God will call them to account as to why they have dissolved marriages, and why they have tortured [flogged and impaled] and killed priests [regardless of the cries, wails, and tears of so many widows and orphans]. For do not doubt but that, as *the blood of dead Abel cried out*, Gen. 4, 10, so the blood of many good men, against whom they have unjustly raged, will also cry out. And God will avenge this cruelty; there you will discover how empty are these reasons of the adversaries, and you will perceive that in God's judgment no calumnies against God's Word remain standing, as Isaiah says, 40, 6: *All flesh is grass, and all the goodliness thereof is as the flower of the field* [that their arguments are straw and hay, and God a consuming fire, before whom nothing but God's Word can abide, 1 Pet. 1, 24].

Whatever may happen, our princes will be able to console themselves with the consciousness of right counsels, because even though the priests would have done wrong in contracting marriages, yet this disruption of marriages, these proscriptions, and this cruelty are manifestly contrary to the will and Word of God. Neither does novelty or dissent delight our princes, but especially in a matter that is not doubtful more regard had to be paid to the Word of God than to all other things.

Article XXIV (XII): Of the Mass.

At the outset we must again make the preliminary statement that *we do not abolish the Mass, but religiously maintain and defend it.* For among us masses are celebrated every Lord's Day and on the other festivals,

porrigitur sacramentum his, qui uti volunt, postquam sunt explorati atque absoluti. Et servantur usitatae ceremoniae publicae, ordo lectionum, orationum, vestitus et alia similia.

2] Adversarii longam declamationem habent de usu Latinae linguae in missa, in qua suaviter ineptiunt, quomodo prosit auditori indocto in fide ecclesiae missam non intellectam audire. Videlicet fingunt ipsum opus audiendi cultum esse et prodesse sine intellectu. Haec 3] nolumus odiose exagitare, sed iudicio lectorum relinquimus. Nosque ideo commemoramus, ut obiter admoneamus, et apud nos retineri Latinas lectiones atque orationes.

Quum autem ceremoniae debeant observari, tum ut discant homines Scripturam, tum ut Verbo admoniti concipiant fidem, timorem, atque ita orent etiam, nam hi sunt fines ceremoniarum: Latinam linguam retinemus propter hos, qui Latine discunt atque intelligunt, et admiscemus Germanicas cantiones, ut habeat et populus, quod discat, et quo excitet 4] fidem et timorem. Hic mos semper in ecclesiis fuit. Nam etsi aliae frequentius, aliae rarius admiscuerunt Germanicas cantiones, tamen fere ubique aliquid canebat populus sua 5] lingua. Illud vero nusquam scriptum aut pictum est hominibus prodesse opus audiendi lectiones non intellectas, prodesse ceremonias, non quia doceant vel admoneant, sed ex opere operato, quia sic fiant, quia spectentur. Male valeant istae pharisaicae opiniones!

6] Quod vero tantum fit apud nos publica missa seu communis, nihil fit contra catholicam ecclesiam. Nam in Graecis parochiis ne hodie quidem fiunt privatae missae, [R. 251 sed fit una publica missa, idque tantum dominicis diebus et festis. In monasteriis fit quotidie missa, sed tantum publica. Haec sunt vestigia morum veterum. Nusquam enim veteres scriptores ante Gregorium mentionem 7] faciunt privatarum missarum. Qualia fuerint initia, nunc omittimus; hoc constat, quod, postquam monachi mendicantes regnare coeperunt, ex falsissimis persuasionibus et propter quaestum ita auctae sunt, ut omnes boni viri diu iam eius rei modum desideraverint. Quamquam S. Franciscus recte voluit ei rei prospicere, qui constituit, ut singula collegia quotidie unica communi missa contenta essent. Hoc postea mutatum est sive per superstitionem, sive quaestus causa. Ita, 8] ubi commodum est, instituta maiorum mutant ipsi, postea nobis allegant auctoritatem maiorum. Epiphanius scribit in Asia synaxin ter celebratam esse singulis septimanis, nec quotidianas fuisse missas. Et quidem ait hunc morem ab apostolis traditum esse. Sic enim inquit: *Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθεῖσαί εἰσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων, τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ.* [Franciscus, Ep. 12 ad sacerdotes totius ordinis: „Moneo praeterea et exhortor in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus morantur fratres, una tantum celebratur

Sakrament gereicht wird denjenigen, die es begehren, doch also, daß sie erst verhört und absolviert werden. So werden auch christliche Zeremonien gehalten mit Lesen, mit Gesängen, Gebeten und dergleichen usw.

Die Widersacher machen ein groß Geschwätz von der lateinischen Messe und reden ganz ungeschickt und kindisch davon, wie auch ein Ungelehrter, der Latein nicht verstehe, groß verdiene mit Messehören im Glauben der Kirche. Da erdichten sie ihnen selbst, daß das schlechte Werk des Messehörens ein Gottesdienst sei, welcher auch dann nütze sei, wenn ich kein Wort höre oder verstehe. Das will ich nicht hier dermaßen [her]ausstreichen, wie es wert wäre. Wir wollen verständige Leute hier richten lassen. Wir gedenken des darum, daß wir anzeigen, daß bei uns die lateinische Messe, Lektionen und Gebete auch gehalten werden.

So aber die Zeremonien sollen darum gehalten werden, daß die Leute die Schrift und Gottes Wort lernen und dadurch zu Gottesfurcht kommen und Trost erlangen und also recht beten, denn darum sind Zeremonien eingesetzt: so behalten wir das Latein um derer willen, die Lateinisch können, und lassen daneben deutsche christliche Gesänge gehen, damit das gemeine Volk auch etwas lerne und zu Gottesfurcht und Erkenntnis unterrichtet werde. Der Brauch ist allezeit für löblich gehalten in der Kirche. Denn wiewohl an etlichen Orten mehr, an etlichen Orten weniger deutsche Gesänge gesungen werden, so hat doch in allen Kirchen je etwas das Volk deutsch gesungen; darum ist's so neu nicht. Wo steht aber diese pharisäische Lehre geschrieben, daß Messehören ohne Verstand, ex opere operato, verdienstlich und seliglich sei? Schämt euch ins Herz, ihr Sophisten, mit solchen Träumen!

Daß wir aber nicht Privatmessen, sondern allein eine öffentliche Messe, wenn das Volk mit kommuniziert, halten, das ist nichts wider die gemeine christliche Kirche. Denn in der griechischen Kirche werden auf diesen Tag keine Privatmessen gehalten, sondern allein e i n e Messe, und dasselbe auf die Sonntage und hohen Feste. Das ist alles eine Anzeigung des alten Brauchs der Kirche. Denn die Lehrer, so vor der Zeit St. Gregorius' gewesen, gedenken an keinem Ort der Privatmessen. Wie aber die einzelnen Messen oder Privatmessen einen Anfang gehabt, lassen wir jetzund anstehen. Das ist gewiß, da die Bettelorden und Mönche also überhandgenommen, sind die Messen aus den falschen Lehren derselben also täglich mehr und mehr gestiftet und eingerissen um Geldes und Geizes willen, also daß die Theologen selbst darüber allezeit geklagt haben. Und wiewohl St. Franziskus aus rechter, guter Meinung hat dem Dinge wollen [zu]vorkommen und hat geordnet den Seinen, daß ein jeglich Kloster täglich mit einer gemeinen Messe sollte zufrieden sein, dasselbe nützliche Statut ist hernach durch Heuchelei oder um Geldes willen geändert. Also verändern sie die Ordnung der alten Väter, wann und wo [es] sie gelüstet, wenn es ihnen in die Küche trägt, und sagen uns danach, man müsse der alten Väter Ordnung heiliglich halten. Epiphanius schreibt, daß in Asia alle Wochen communio dreimal gehalten sei, und man habe nicht täglich Messe gehalten, und sagt, der Brauch sei von den Aposteln also hergekommen.

in which the Sacrament is offered to those who wish to use it, after they have been examined and absolved. And the usual public ceremonies are observed, the series of lessons, of prayers, vestments, and other like things.

The adversaries have a long declamation concerning the use of the Latin language in the Mass, in which they absurdly trifle as to how it profits [what a great merit is achieved by] an unlearned hearer to hear in the faith of the Church a Mass which he does not understand. They evidently imagine that the mere work of hearing is a service, that it profits without being understood. We are unwilling to malignantly pursue these things, but we leave them to the judgment of the reader. We mention them only for the purpose of stating, in passing, that also among us the Latin lessons and prayers are retained.

Since ceremonies, however, ought to be observed both to teach men Scripture, and that those admonished by the Word may conceive faith and fear [of God, and obtain comfort], and thus also may pray (for these are the designs of ceremonies), we retain the Latin language on account of those who are learning and understand Latin, and we mingle with it German hymns, in order that the people also may have something to learn, and by which faith and fear may be called forth. This custom has always existed in the churches. For although some more frequently, and others more rarely, introduced German hymns, nevertheless the people almost everywhere sang something in their own tongue. [Therefore, this is not such a new departure.] It has, however, nowhere been written or represented that the act of hearing lessons not understood profits men, or that ceremonies profit, not because they teach or admonish, but *ex opere operato*, because they are thus performed or are looked upon. Away with such pharisaic opinions! [Ye sophists ought to be heartily ashamed of such dreams!]

The fact that we hold only Public or Common Mass [at which the people also commune, not Private Mass] is no offense against the Church catholic. For in the Greek churches even to-day *private* Masses are not held, but there is only a public Mass, and that on the Lord's Day and festivals. In the monasteries daily Mass is held, but this is only public. These are the traces of former customs. For nowhere do the ancient writers before Gregory make mention of private Masses. We now omit noticing the nature of their origin. It is evident that after the mendicant monks began to prevail, from most false opinions and on account of gain they were so increased that all good men for a long time desired some limit to this thing. Although St. Francis wished to provide aright for this matter, as he decided that each fraternity should be content with a single common Mass daily, afterwards this was changed, either by superstition or for the sake of gain. Thus, where it is of advantage, they themselves change the institutions of the Fathers; and afterwards they cite against us the authority of the Fathers. Epiphanius writes that in Asia the Communion was celebrated three times a week, and that there were no daily Masses. And indeed he says that this custom was handed down from the apostles. For he speaks thus: *Assemblies for Communion were appointed by the apostles to be held on the fourth day, on Sabbath eve, and the Lord's Day.*

Missa in die, secundum formam s. Rom. ecclesiae. Si vero in loco plures fuerint sacerdotes, sic fit per amorem charitatis, alter contentus celebratione sacerdotis alterius."]

9] Etsi autem adversarii in hoc loco multa congerunt, ut probent missam esse sacrificium, tamen ille ingens tumultus verborum prolata hac unica responsione consilescet, quod haec, quamvis longa, coacervatio auctoritatum, rationum, testimoniorum non ostendat, quod missa ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem venialium et mortalium peccatorum, culpae et poenae. Haec una responsio evertit omnia, quae adversarii obiiciunt non solum in hac Confutatione, sed in omnibus scriptis, quae de missa ediderunt.

Wiewohl nun die Widersacher an diesem Ort viele Worte und Sprüche ineinandergekocht haben, da sie mit beweisen wollen, daß die Messe ein Opfer sei, so ist doch das große Geschrei mit dieser einzigen Antwort bald gestillt, und ist ihnen das Maul bald gestopft, wenn wir sagen: die Sprüche, die Argumente, Gründe und alles, was vorgebracht [ist], beweisen nicht, daß die Messen ex opere operato dem Priester oder andern, für die, so sie appliziert werden, verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, Erlassung der Pein und Schuld. Diese einzige, klare Antwort stößt über einen Haufen zu Boden alles, was die Widersacher vorbringen nicht allein in der Konfutation, sondern in allen ihren Büchern und Schriften, welche sie von der Messe geschrieben [haben].

10] Et hic causae status est, de quo ita nobis admonendi sunt lectores, ut Aeschines admonebat iudices, ut, perinde ac pugiles de statu inter se certant, ita cum adversario dimicarent ipsi de statu controversiae, nec sinerent eum extra causam egredi. Ad [R. 252 eundem modum hic adversarii nostri cogendi sunt, ut de re proposita dicant. Et cognito controversiae statu facillima erit diiudicatio de argumentis in utraque parte.

Und das ist die Hauptfrage in dieser ganzen Sache, davon wollen wir einen jeden christlichen Leser verwarnt haben, daß er den Widersachern genau darauf sehe, ob sie auch bei der Hauptfrage bleiben. Denn sie pflegen aus der Hauptsache viel vergebliche, ungereimte Umschweife zu machen. Denn wenn man gleich und ungewankt bei der Hauptfrage bleibt und nichts Fremdes einmengt, da ist desto leichter zu urteilen auf beiden Seiten.

11] Nos enim in Confessione nostra ostendimus, nos sentire, quod coena Domini non conferat gratiam ex opere operato, nec applicata pro aliis vivis aut mortuis mereatur eis ex opere operato remissionem peccatorum, cul-
12] pae aut poenae. Et huius status clara et firma probatio est haec, quia impossibile est consequi remissionem peccatorum propter opus nostrum ex opere operato, sed fide oportet vinci terrores peccati et mortis, quum erigimus corda cognitione Christi, et sentimus nobis ignosci propter Christum ac donari merita et iustitiam Christi, Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide pacem habemus.* Haec tam certa, tam firma sunt, ut adversus omnes portas inferorum consistere queant.

Wir haben in unserer Konfession angezeigt, daß wir halten, daß das Abendmahl oder die Messe niemand fromm mache ex opere operato, und daß die Messe, so für andere gehalten wird, ihnen nicht verdiene Vergebung der Sünden, Erlassung [von] Pein und Schuld. Und des Hauptstücks haben wir ganz starken, gewissen Grund, nämlich diesen: Es ist unmöglich, daß wir sollten Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch unsere Werke, ex opere operato, das ist, durch das getane Werk an ihm selbst, sine bono motu utentis, wenn schon das Herz keinen guten Gedanken hat, sondern durch den Glauben an Christum muß das Schrecken der Sünde, des Todes überwunden werden, wenn unsere Herzen aufgerichtet und getröstet werden durch die Erkenntnis Christi, wie oben gesagt, wenn wir empfinden, daß wir um Christus' willen einen gnädigen Gott haben, also daß uns sein Verdienst und Gerechtigkeit geschenkt wird, Röm. am 5. Kap.: „So wir denn gerecht sind worden durch den Glauben, so haben wir Frieden mit Gott" usw. Dies ist ein solch starker, gewisser Grund, daß alle Pforten der Hölle dawider nichts werden können aufbringen; des sind wir gewiß.

13] Si, quantum opus est, dicendum fuit, iam causa dicta est. Nemo enim sanus illam pharisaicam et ethnicam persuasionem de opere operato probare potest. Et tamen haec persuasio haeret in populo, haec auxit in infinitum missarum numerum. Conducuntur enim missae ad iram Dei placandam, et hoc opere remissionem culpae et poenae consequi volunt, volunt impetrare, quidquid in omni vita opus est; volunt etiam mortuos liberare. Hanc pharisaicam opinionem docuerunt in ecclesia monachi et sophistae.

Und dieses wäre eben genug von der ganzen Sache. Denn kein Vernünftiger oder Verständiger wird die pharisäische oder heidnische Heuchelei und den großen Mißbrauch vom opere operato loben mögen. Und ist doch derselbe Irrtum in aller Welt eingerissen. Daher hat man so viele, unzählige Messen in aller Welt, in allen Stiften, Klöstern, Kirchen, Klausen, in allen Winkeln gestiftet. Denn dazu werden Messen um Geld gehalten, Gottes Zorn zu versöhnen, durch das Werk Vergebung der Sünden, Erlösung von Pein und Schuld zu erlangen, die Toten aus dem Fegfeuer zu erlösen, Gesundheit, Reichtum, Glück und Wohlfahrt in Hantierung zu erlangen usw. Die heuchlerische, pharisäische Opinion haben die Mönche und Sophisten in die Kirche gepflanzt.

14] Quamquam autem causa iam dicta est, tamen quia adversarii multas scripturas inepte detorquent ad defensionem suorum errorum, pauca ad hunc locum addemus. Multa

Wiewohl nun der Irrtum vom Mißbrauch der Messe genugsam verlegt [widerlegt] ist dadurch, daß man nicht durch unser Werk, sondern durch den Glauben an Christum Vergebung der Sün-

Moreover, although the adversaries collect many testimonies on this topic to prove that the Mass is a sacrifice, yet this great tumult of words will be quieted when the single reply is advanced that this line of authorities, reasons and testimonies, however long, does not prove that the Mass confers grace *ex opere operato*, or that, when applied on behalf of others, it merits for them the remission of venial and mortal sins, of guilt and punishment. This one reply overthrows all objections of the adversaries, not only in this Confutation, but in all writings which they have published concerning the Mass.

And this is the issue [the principal question] of the case of which our readers are to be admonished, as Aeschines admonished the judges that just as boxers contend with one another for their position, so they should strive with their adversary concerning the controverted point, and not permit him to wander beyond the case. In the same manner our adversaries ought to be here compelled to speak on the subject presented. And when the controverted point has been thoroughly understood, a decision concerning the arguments on both sides will be very easy.

For in our Confession we have shown that we hold that the Lord's Supper does not confer grace *ex opere operato*, and that, when applied on behalf of others, alive or dead, it does not merit for them *ex opere operato* the remission of sins, of guilt or of punishment. And of this position a clear and firm proof exists in that it is impossible to obtain the remission of our sins on account of our own work *ex opere operato* [even when there is not a good thought in the heart], but the terrors of sin and death must be overcome by faith when we comfort our hearts with the knowledge of Christ, and believe that for Christ's sake we are forgiven, and that the merits and righteousness of Christ are granted us, Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace.* These things are so sure and so firm that they can stand against all the gates of hell.

If we are to say only as much as is necessary, the case has already been stated. For no sane man can approve that pharisaic and heathen opinion concerning the *opus operatum.* And nevertheless this opinion inheres in the people, and has increased infinitely the number of masses. For masses are purchased to appease God's wrath, and by this work they wish to obtain the remission of guilt and of punishment; they wish to procure whatever is necessary in every kind of life [health, riches, prosperity, and success in business]; they wish even to liberate the dead. Monks and sophists have taught this pharisaic opinion in the Church.

But although our case has already been stated, yet, because the adversaries foolishly pervert many passages of Scripture to the defense of their errors, we shall add a few things on this topic. In the Confutation they have said many things concerning "sacrifice,"

de sacrificio in Confutatione dixerunt, quum nos in Confessione nostra consulto id nomen propter ambiguitatem vitaverimus. Rem exposuimus, quid sacrificium isti nunc intelligant, quorum improbamus abusus. Nunc ut male detortas scripturas explicemus, necesse est initio, quid sit sacrificium, exponere. Toto **15**] iam decennio infinita paene volumina ediderunt adversarii de sacrificio, neque [R. 253 quisquam eorum definitionem sacrificii hactenus posuit. Tantum arripiunt nomen sacrificii vel ex Scripturis, vel ex patribus. Postea affingunt sua somnia, quasi vero sacrificium significet, quidquid ipsis libet.

den erlangt, doch, dieweil die Widersacher viele Sprüche der Schrift ganz ungeschickt einführen, ihren Irrtum zu verteidigen, wollen wir etwas mehr hier noch dazusetzen. Die Widersacher reden in ihrer Konfutation viel vom Opfer, so wir doch in unserer Konfession das Wort sacrificium mit Fleiß gemieden haben um ungewissen Verstandes willen, sondern haben ihren höchsten Mißbrauch mit klaren Worten ausgedrückt, den sie unter dem Namen sacrificium meinen und treiben. Daß wir nun die Sprüche, so sie unrecht und fälschlich eingeführt, verlegen mögen, müssen wir erst sagen, was das Wort sacrificium oder Opfer heißt. Sie haben zehn ganze Jahre viele Bücher geschrieben, daß die Messe ein Opfer sei, und ihrer keiner hat noch nie definiert, was Opfer sei oder nicht sei. Sie suchen allein das [die] Vokabel oder Wort sacrificium, wo sie es finden in concordantiis der Biblien, und dehnen es hierher, es reime sich oder nicht. Also tun sie auch in der alten Väter Büchern; danach erdichten sie ihre Träume dazu, gleich als müsse sacrificium heißen, was sie wollen.

Quid Sit Sacrificium, et Quae Sint Sacrificii Species.

16] Socrates in Phaedro Platonis ait se maxime cupidum esse divisionum, quod sine his nihil neque explicari dicendo, neque intelligi possit, ac si quem deprehenderit peritum dividendi, hunc inquit se assectari, eiusque tamquam Dei vestigia sequi. Et iubet dividentem in ipsis articulis membra secare, ne quod membrum mali coqui more quassatum frangat. Sed haec praecepta adversarii magnifice contemnunt, ac vere sunt iuxta Platonem *κακοὶ μάγειροι*, sacrificii membra corrumpentes, quemadmodum intelligi poterit, quum species sacrificii recensuerimus. Theo-**17**] logi recte solent distinguere *sacramentum et sacrificium*. Sit igitur genus horum vel **18**] ceremonia vel opus sacrum. *Sacramentum* est ceremonia vel opus, in quo Deus nobis exhibet hoc, quod offert annexa ceremoniae promissio, ut baptimus est opus, non quod nos Deo offerimus, sed in quo Deus nos baptizat, videlicet minister vice Dei, et hic offert et exhibet Deus remissionem peccatorum etc., iuxta promissionem Marc. 16, 16: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.* Econtra *sacrificium* est ceremonia vel opus, quod nos Deo reddimus, ut eum honore afficiamus.

19] Sunt autem sacrificii species proximae duae, nec sunt plures. Quoddam est *sacrificium propitiatorium*, id est, opus satisfactorium pro culpa et poena, hoc est, [R. 254 reconcilians Deum seu placans iram Dei, seu quod meretur aliis remissionem peccatorum. Altera species est *sacrificium εὐχαριστικόν*, quod non meretur remissionem peccatorum aut reconciliationem, sed fit a reconciliatis, ut pro accepta remissione peccatorum et pro aliis beneficiis acceptis gratias agamus, seu gratiam referamus.

20] Has duas species sacrificii magnopere oportet et in hac controversia et in aliis multis disputationibus in conspectu et ob oculos positas habere, et singulari diligentia cavendum est, ne confundantur. Quod si modus huius libri pateretur, rationes huius divisionis adderemus. Habet enim satis multa testimonia in Epistola ad Ebraeos et alibi. Et **21**] omnia sacrificia Levitica ad haec membra

Was Opfer sei oder nicht sei, und wie mancherlei Opfer.

Und damit man nicht blind in die Sache falle, müssen wir erstlich Unterschied anzeigen, was Opfer und was nicht Opfer sei, und dies ist nützlich und gut allen Christen zu wissen. Die Theologen pflegen recht zu unterscheiden *sacrificium* und *sacramentum*, **Opfer** und **Sakrament.** Nun, das genus wollen wir lassen sein ceremonia oder heilig Werk. *Sacramentum* ist eine ceremonia oder äußerlich Zeichen oder ein Werk, dadurch uns Gott gibt dasjenige, so die göttliche Verheißung, welche derselben Zeremonien angeheftet ist, anbietet. Als, die Taufe ist eine Zeremonie und ein Werk, nicht das wir Gott geben oder anbieten, sondern in welchem uns Gott gibt und anbietet, in welchem uns Gott tauft oder der Diener an Gottes Statt. Da bietet uns Gott an und gibt uns Vergebung der Sünden nach seiner Verheißung: „Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der soll selig werden." Wiederum, *sacrificium* oder **Opfer** ist eine ceremonia oder ein Werk, das wir Gott geben, damit wir ihn ehren.

Es ist aber vornehmlich zweierlei Opfer und nicht mehr, darunter alle andern Opfer begriffen sind. Für eins ist ein **Versöhnopfer,** dadurch genuggetan wird für Pein und Schuld, Gottes Zorn gestillt und versöhnt und Vergebung der Sünden für andere erlangt. Zum andern ist ein **Dankopfer,** dadurch nicht Vergebung der Sünden oder Versöhnung erlangt wird, sondern [es] geschieht von denjenigen, welche schon versöhnt sind, daß sie für die erlangte Vergebung der Sünden und andere Gnaden und Gaben Dank sagen.

Dieser zweierlei Opfer muß man mit Fleiß wahrnehmen in diesem Handel und in vielen andern Disputationen gar wohl darauf sehen, daß man diese zwei nicht ineinandermenge. Und diese unterschiedliche Teilung hat wohl starke Beweisung aus der Epistel zu den Hebräern und an vielen Orten in der Schrift. Und alle Opfer im Gesetz Mosis, wie mancherlei die sind, können unter diese zweierlei Opfer als unter ihre genera beschlossen

although in our Confession we purposely avoided this term on account of its ambiguity. We have set forth what those persons whose abuses we condemn now understand as a sacrifice. Now, in order to explain the passages of Scripture that have been wickedly perverted, it is necessary in the beginning to set forth what a sacrifice is. Already for an entire period of ten years the adversaries have published almost infinite volumes concerning sacrifice, and yet not one of them thus far has given a definition of sacrifice. They only seize upon the name "sacrifices" either from the Scriptures or the Fathers [and where they find it in the Concordances of the Bible, apply it here, whether it fits or not]. Afterward they append their own dreams, as though indeed a sacrifice signifies whatever pleases them.

What a Sacrifice Is, and What Are the Species of Sacrifice.

[Now, lest we plunge blindly into this business, we must indicate, in the first place, a distinction as to what is, and what is not, a sacrifice. To know this is expedient and good for all Christians.] Socrates, in the *Phaedrus* of Plato, says that he is especially fond of divisions, because without these nothing can either be explained or understood in speaking, and if he discovers any one skilful in making divisions, he says that he attends and follows his footsteps as those of a god. And he instructs the one dividing to separate the members in their very joints, lest, like an unskilful cook, he break to pieces some member. But the adversaries wonderfully despise these precepts, and, according to Plato, are truly *κακοὶ μάγειροι* (poor butchers), since they break the members of "sacrifice," as can be understood when we have enumerated the species of sacrifice. Theologians are rightly accustomed to distinguish between a Sacrament and a sacrifice. Therefore let the genus comprehending both of these be either a ceremony or a sacred work. A Sacrament is a ceremony or work in which God presents to us that which the promise annexed to the ceremony offers; as, Baptism is a work, not which we offer to God, but in which God baptizes us, *i. e.*, a minister in the place of God; and God here offers and presents the remission of sins, etc., according to the promise, Mark 16, 16: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* A sacrifice, on the contrary, is a ceremony or work which we render God in order to afford Him honor.

Moreover, the proximate species of sacrifice are two, and there are no more. One is the *propitiatory sacrifice*, *i. e.*, a work which makes satisfaction for guilt and punishment, *i. e.*, one that reconciles God, or appeases God's wrath, or which merits the remission of sins for others. The other species is the *eucharistic sacrifice*, which does not merit the remission of sins or reconciliation, but is rendered by those who have been reconciled, in order that we may give thanks or return gratitude for the remission of sins that has been received, or for other benefits received.

These two species of sacrifice we ought especially to have in view and placed before the eyes in this controversy, as well as in many other discussions; and especial care must be taken lest they be confounded. But if the limits of this book would suffer it, we would add the reasons for this division. For it has many testimonies in the Epistle to the Hebrews and elsewhere. And all Levitical sacrifices can be referred to these members as to their own homes [genera]. For in the Law certain sacrifices were named propitiatory on account of their signification or similitude;

referri tamquam ad sua domicilia possunt. Dicebantur enim in lege quaedam propitiatoria sacrificia propter significationem seu similitudinem, non quod mererentur remissionem peccatorum coram Deo, sed quia merebantur remissionem peccatorum secundum iustitiam legis, ne illi, pro quibus fiebant, excluderentur ab ista politia. Dicebantur itaque propitiatoria pro peccato, pro delicto holocaustum. Illa vero erant *εὐχαριστικά*, oblatio, libatio, retributiones, primitiae, decimae.

22] Sed revera unicum tantum in mundo fuit sacrificium propitiatorium, videlicet mors Christi, ut docet Epistola ad Ebraeos, quae ait 10, 4: *Impossibile est sanguine taurorum et hircorum auferri peccata.* Et paulo post, v. 10, de voluntate Christi: *In qua voluntate sanctificati sumus per oblationem corporis* 23] *Iesu Christi semel.* Et Esaias interpretatur legem, ut sciamus mortem Christi vere esse satisfactionem pro peccatis nostris seu expiationem, non ceremonias legis, quare ait 53, 10: *Postquam posuerit animam suam hostiam pro delictis, videbit semen longaevum* etc. Nam vocabulum אשם, quo hic usus est, significat hostiam pro delicto, [R. 255 quae in lege significavit, quod ventura esset hostia quaedam satisfactura pro peccatis nostris et reconciliatura Deum, ut scirent homines, quod non propter nostras iustitias, sed propter aliena merita, videlicet Christi, velit Deus nobis reconciliari. Paulus idem nomen אשם interpretatur *peccatum*, Rom. 8, 3: *De peccato damnavit peccatum*, id est, peccatum punivit de peccato, id est, per hostiam pro peccato. Significantia verbi facilius intelligi potest ex moribus gentium, quos videmus ex patrum sermonibus male intellectis acceptos esse. Latini vocabant *piaculum* hostiam, quae in magnis calamitatibus, ubi insigniter videbatur Deus irasci, offerebatur ad placandam iram Dei, et litaverunt aliquando humanis hostiis, fortassis quia audierant, quandam humanam hostiam placaturam esse Deum toti generi humano. Graeci alibi *καθάρματα*, alibi *περιψήματα* appellaverunt. Intelligunt igitur Esaias et Paulus, Christum factum esse hostiam, 24] hoc est, piaculum, ut ipsius meritis, non nostris, reconciliaretur Deus. Maneat ergo hoc in causa, quod sola mors Christi est vere propitiatorium sacrificium. Nam Levitica illa sacrificia propitiatoria tantum sic appellabantur ad significandum futurum piaculum. Propterea similitudine quadam erant satisfactiones redimentes iustitiam legis, ne ex politia excluderentur isti, qui peccaverant. Debebant autem cessare post revelatum evangelium; et quia cessare in evangelii revelatione debebant, non erant vere propitiationes, quum evangelium ideo promissum sit, ut exhibeat propitiationem.

und begriffen werden. Denn etliche Opfer im Gesetz Mosis werden genannt **Sühnopfer** oder Opfer für die Sünden um der Bedeutung willen, nicht daß Vergebung der Sünden dadurch verdient wird vor Gott, sondern daß es äußerliche Versöhnungen waren um der Bedeutung willen; denn diejenigen, für welche sie geschahen, wurden durch solche Opfer versöhnt, daß sie nicht aus dem Volk Israel verstoßen würden. Darum waren es genannt **Sühnopfer;** die andern Opfer aber waren **Dankopfer.**

Also sind im Gesetz wohl Bedeutungen gewesen des rechten Opfers, aber es ist allein ein einziges wahrhaftiges Sühnopfer, Opfer für die Sünden, in der Welt gewesen, nämlich der Tod Christi, wie die Epistel zu den Hebräern sagt: „Es ist unmöglich gewesen, daß der Ochsen und Böcke Blut sollte Sünden wegnehmen." Und bald hernach steht von dem Gehorsam und Willen Christi: „In welchem Willen wir geheiliget sind durch das Opfern des Leibes Jesu Christi einmal" usw. Und Jesaias der Prophet hat auch zuvor das Gesetz Mosis ausgelegt und zeigt an, daß der Tod Christi die Bezahlung für die Sünden ist und nicht die Opfer im Gesetz, da er von Christo sagt: „Wenn er sein Leben zum Schuldopfer gegeben hat, so wird er Samen haben und in die Länge leben." Denn der Prophet hat das Wort „Schuldopfer" auf Christus' Tod gezogen, anzuzeigen, daß die Schuldopfer im Gesetz nicht das rechte Opfer wären, die Sünden zu bezahlen, sondern es müßte ein ander Opfer kommen, nämlich Christus' Tod, dadurch Gottes Zorn sollte versöhnt werden. Item, die Schuldopfer im Gesetz mußten aufhören, da das Evangelium geoffenbart und das rechte Opfer ausgerichtet ward. Darum sind es nicht rechte Versöhnungen vor Gott gewesen, denn sie haben fallen müssen, und hat ein anderes müssen kommen. Derhalben sind es allein Bedeutungen und Vorbilder der rechten Versöhnung gewesen. Darum bleibt dieses feststehen, daß nur ein einig Opfer gewesen ist, nämlich der Tod Christi, das für andere sollte appliziert werden, Gottes Zorn zu versöhnen.

25] Nunc reliqua sunt sacrificia *εὐχαριστικά*, quae vocantur sacrificia laudis (cf. Lev. 3, 1 sq.; 7, 11 sq.; Ps. 56, 13 et infr.), praedicatio evangelii, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, confessio, afflictiones sanctorum, imo omnia bona opera sanctorum. Haec sacrificia non sunt satisfactiones pro facientibus, [R. 256 vel applicabiles pro aliis, quae mereantur eis ex opere operato remissionem peccatorum seu reconciliationem. Fiunt enim a reconciliatis. 26] Et talia sunt sacrificia novi testamenti, sicut docet Petrus 1 Pet. 2, 5: *Sacerdotium sanctum, ut offeratis hostias spirituales.* Opponuntur autem hostiae spirituales non tantum pecudibus, sed etiam humanis operibus, ex opere operato oblatis, quia spirituale significat motus Spiritus Sancti in nobis. Idem docet Paulus Rom. 12, 1: *Exhibete corpora vestra hostiam viventem, sanctam, cultum rationalem.*

Über dieses einige Sühnopfer, nämlich den Tod Christi, sind nun andere Opfer, die sind alle nur Dankopfer, als alles Leiden, Predigen, gute Werke der Heiligen. Dasselbe sind nicht solche Opfer, dadurch wir versöhnt werden, die man für andere tun könne, oder die da verdienen ex opere operato Vergebung der Sünden oder Versöhnung. Denn sie geschehen von denjenigen, so schon durch Christum versöhnt sind. Und solche Opfer sind unsere Opfer im Neuen Testament, wie Petrus der Apostel 1 Petr. 2 sagt: „Ihr seid ein heilig Priestertum, daß ihr opfert geistliche Opfer."

not because they merited the remission of sins before God, but because they merited the remission of sins according to the righteousness of the Law, in order that those for whom they were made might not be excluded from that commonwealth [from the people of Israel]. Therefore they were called sin-offerings and burnt offerings for a trespass. Whereas the eucharistic sacrifices were the oblation, the drink-offering, thank-offerings, first-fruits, tithes.

[Thus there have been in the Law emblems of the true sacrifice.] But in fact there has been only one propitiatory sacrifice in the world, namely, the death of Christ, as the Epistle to the Hebrews teaches, which says, 10, 4: *It is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins.* And a little after, of the [obedience and] will of Christ, v. 10: *By the which will we are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.* And Isaiah interprets the Law, in order that we may know that the death of Christ is truly a satisfaction for our sins, or expiation, and that the ceremonies of the Law are not; wherefore he says, 53, 10: *When Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin, He will see His seed,* etc. For the word employed here, אשם, signifies a victim for transgression; which signified in the Law that a certain Victim was to come to make satisfaction for our sins and reconcile God, in order that men might know that God wishes to be reconciled to us, not on account of our own righteousnesses, but on account of the merits of another, namely, of Christ. Paul interprets the same word אשם as *sin,* Rom. 8, 3: *For sin* (God) *condemned sin, i. e.,* He punished sin for sin, *i. e.,* by a Victim for sin. The significance of the word can be the more easily understood from the customs of the heathen, which, we see, have been received from the misunderstood expressions of the Fathers. The Latins called a victim that which in great calamities, where God seemed to be especially enraged, was offered to appease God's wrath, a *piaculum;* and they sometimes sacrificed human victims, perhaps because they had heard that a human victim would appease God for the entire human race. The Greeks sometimes called them *καθάρματα* and sometimes *περιψήματα.* Isaiah and Paul, therefore, mean that Christ became a victim, *i. e.,* an expiation, that by His merits, and not by our own, God might be reconciled. Therefore let this remain established in the case, namely, that the death of Christ alone is truly a propitiatory sacrifice. For the Levitical propitiatory sacrifices were so called only to signify a future expiation. On account of a certain resemblance, therefore, they were satisfactions redeeming the righteousness of the Law, lest those persons who sinned should be excluded from the commonwealth. But after the revelation of the Gospel [and after the true sacrifice has been accomplished] they had to cease; and because they had to cease in the revelation of the Gospel, they were not truly propitiations, since the Gospel was promised for this very reason, namely, to set forth a propitiation.

Now the rest are eucharistic sacrifices, which are called sacrifices of praise, Lev. 3, 1 f.; 7, 11 f.; Ps. 56, 12 f., namely, the preaching of the Gospel, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, the afflictions of saints, yea, all good works of saints. These sacrifices are not satisfactions for those making them, or applicable on behalf of others, so as to merit for these, *ex opere operato,* the remission of sins or reconciliation. For they are made by those who have been reconciled. And such are the sacrifices of the New Testament, as Peter teaches, 1. Ep. 2, 5: *An holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices.* Spiritual sacrifices, however, are contrasted not only with those of cattle, but even with human works offered *ex opere operato,* because *spiritual* refers to the movements of the Holy Ghost in us. Paul teaches the same thing Rom. 12, 1: *Present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable, which is your reasonable service. Reasonable service* signifies, however, a service in which God is known, and apprehended by the mind, as happens in the movements of fear and trust towards God. Therefore it is opposed not only to the Levitical service, in which cattle are slain, but also to a service in which a work is imagined to be offered *ex opere operato.* The Epistle to the Hebrews, 13, 15, teaches the same thing: *By Him, therefore, let us offer*

Significat autem *cultus rationalis* cultum, in quo Deus intelligitur, mente apprehenditur, ut fit in motibus timoris et fiduciae erga Deum. Opponitur igitur non solum cultui Levitico, in quo pecudes mactabantur, sed etiam cultui, in quo fingitur opus ex opere operato offerri. Idem docet epistola ad Ebraeos, cap. 13, 15: *Per ipsum offeramus hostiam laudis semper Deo*, et addit interpretationem, id est, *fructum labiorum confitentium nomini eius.* Iubet offerre laudes, hoc est, invocationem, gratiarum actionem, confessionem et similia. Haec valent non ex opere operato, sed propter fidem. Id monet particula: *per ipsum offeramus*, hoc est, fide in Christum.

27] In summa, cultus novi testamenti est spiritualis, hoc est, est iustitia fidei in corde et fructus fidei. Ideoque abrogat Leviticos cultus. Et Christus ait Ioh. 4, 23. 24: *Veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in spiritu et veritate. Nam et Pater tales quaerit, qui adorent eum. Deus est spiritus, et eos, qui adorant eum, in spiritu et veritate oportet adorare.* Haec sententia clare damnat opiniones de sacrificiis, quae fingunt ex opere operato valere, et docet, quod oporteat spiritu, id est, motibus cordis et fide, adorare. Ideo **28**] et prophetae damnant in veteri testamento opinionem populi de opere operato et docent iustitiam et sacrificia spiritus. [R. 257 Ieremiae 7, 22. 23: *Non sum locutus cum patribus vestris et non praecepi eis in die, qua eduxi eos de terra Aegypti, de holocaustis et victimis, sed hoc verbum praecepi eis dicens: Audite vocem meam, et ero vobis Deus* etc. Quomodo existimemus Iudaeos hanc concionem excepisse, quae videtur palam pugnare cum Mose? Constabat enim Deum praecepisse patribus de holocaustis ac victimis, sed Ieremias opinionem de sacrificiis damnat, hanc non tradiderat Deus, videlicet, quod illi cultus ex opere operato placarent eum. Addit autem de fide, quod hoc praeceperit Deus: *Audite me*, hoc est, credite mihi, quod ego sim Deus vester, quod velim sic innotescere, quum misereor et adiuvo, nec habeam opus vestris victimis; confidite, quod ego velim esse Deus iustificator, salvator, non propter opera, sed propter verbum et promissionem meam; a me vere et ex corde petite et exspectate auxilium.

Und im Neuen Teſtament gilt kein Opfer ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis, das iſt, das Werk ohne einen guten Gedanken im Herzen. Denn Chriſtus ſpricht Joh. am 4.: „Die rechten Anbeter werden den Vater anbeten im Geiſt und in der Wahrheit", das iſt, mit Herzen, mit herzlicher Furcht und herzlichem Glauben. Darum iſt's eitel teufliſche, phariſäiſche und antichriſtiſche Lehre und Gottesdienſt, daß unſere Widerſacher lehren, ihre Meſſe verdiene Vergebung der Schuld und Pein ex opere operato. Die Juden verſtanden ihre Zeremonien auch nicht recht und meinten, ſie wären vor Gott fromm, wenn ſie die Werke getan hätten, ex opere operato. Dawider ſchreien die Propheten aufs allerernſtlichſte, damit ſie die Leute von eigenen Werken auf die Zuſage Gottes wieſen und ſie zum Glauben und rechten Gottesdienſt brächten. Alſo ſteht Jer. am 7.: „Ich habe nicht mit euren Vätern von Opfern geredet oder Brandopfern, da ich ſie aus Ägyptenland führte, ſondern dies Wort habe ich ihnen geboten; Höret meine Stimme, und ich will euer Gott ſein" uſw. Was werden wohl die halsſtarrigen Juden zu dieſer Predigt und Lehre geſagt haben, die da ganz öffentlich wider das Geſetz und Moſe ſcheint? Denn es war je öffentlich, daß Gott den Vätern von Opfern geboten hatte, das konnte Jeremias nicht leugnen. Jeremias aber verdammt ihren Irrtum von den Opfern, von welchen kein Gottesbefehl war, nämlich daß die [ſie] meinten, daß die Opfer ex opere operato Gott verſöhnten und gefielen. Darum ſetzt Jeremias das dazu vom Glauben, das Gott geboten hat: Hört mich, das iſt, glaubt mir, daß ich euer Gott bin, daß ich euch erhalte, mich euer erbarme, euch alle Stunden helfe, und [be]darf eurer Opfer nicht; glaubt, daß ich euer Gott bin, der euch gerecht macht und heilig, nicht um eures Verdienſtes willen, ſondern um meiner Zuſage willen; darum ſollt ihr von mir allen Troſt und Hilfe [er]warten.

29] Damnat opinionem de opere operato et Psalmus 50, 13. 15, qui repudiatis victimis requirit invocationem: *Numquid manducabo carnes taurorum?* etc. *Invoca me in die tribulationis tuae, et eripiam te, et honorificabis me.* Testatur hanc esse veram *λατρείαν*, hunc esse verum honorem, si ex corde invocemus ipsum.

Item Ps. 40, 7: *Sacrificium et oblationem noluisti, aures autem aperuisti mihi*, id est, verbum mihi proposuisti, quod audirem, et requiris, ut credam Verbo tuo et promissionibus tuis, quod vere velis misereri, opitulari etc. Item Ps. 51, 18. 19: *Holocaustis non delectaberis. Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus; cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non despicies.* Item Ps. 4, 6: *Sacrificate sacrificium iustitiae et sperate in Domino.* Iubet sperare, et dicit id esse iustum sacrificium, significans cetera sacrificia non esse vera et iusta sacrificia. Et Ps. 116, 17: *Sacrificabo hostiam laudis et nomen Domini invocabo.* Vocat [R. 258 invocationem hostiam laudis.

Auch ſo verwirft die heidniſche Opinion vom opere operato der 50. Pſalm, da er ſagt: „Meineſt du, daß ich Ochſenfleiſch eſſen wolle oder Bocksblut trinken? Rufe mich an in der Zeit der Not" uſw. Da wird das opus operatum verworfen und ſagt: „Rufe mich an!" Da zeigt er den höchſten Gottesdienſt an, wenn wir ihn von Herzen anrufen.

Item im 40. Pſalm: „Du haſt keine Luſt am Opfer und Speisopfer; aber die Ohren haſt du mir aufgetan", das iſt, du haſt mir ein Wort gegeben, das ich hören ſoll, und forderſt, daß ich deinem Wort glauben ſoll und deinen Zuſagen, daß du mir helfen willſt. Item Pſ. 51: „Du haſt nicht Luſt zum Opfer, ich gäbe dir es ſonſt" uſw. „Die Opfer Gottes ſind ein zerbrochener Geiſt" uſw. Item im 4. Pſalm: „Opfert Opfer der Gerechtigkeit und hoffet auf den HErrn." Da befiehlt er, daß wir ſollen auf den HErrn hoffen, und nennt das ein recht Opfer. Da zeigt er an, daß die andern nicht rechte Opfer ſeien uſw. Item Pſ. 116: „Dir will ich Dankopfer opfern und des HErrn Namen anrufen" uſw.

the sacrifice of praise to God continually; and he adds the interpretation, *that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to His name.* He bids us offer praises, *i. e.*, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, and the like. These avail not *ex opere operato*, but on account of faith. This is taught by the clause: *By Him let us offer, i. e.*, by faith in Christ.

In short, the worship of the New Testament is spiritual, *i. e.*, it is the righteousness of faith in the heart and the fruits of faith. It accordingly abolishes the Levitical services. [In the New Testament no offering avails *ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis, i. e.*, on account of the work, without a good thought in the heart.] And Christ says, John 4, 23. 24: *True worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship Him. God is a Spirit; and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth* [that is, from the heart, with heartfelt fear and cordial faith]. This passage clearly condemns [as absolutely devilish, pharisaical, and antichristian] opinions concerning sacrifices which, they imagine, avail *ex opere operato*, and teaches that men ought to worship *in spirit, i. e.*, with the dispositions of the heart and by faith. [The Jews also did not understand their ceremonies aright, and imagined that they were righteous before God when they had wrought works *ex opere operato.* Against this the prophets contend with the greatest earnestness.] Accordingly, the prophets also in the Old Testament condemn the opinion of the people concerning the *opus operatum*, and teach the righteousness and sacrifices of the Spirit. Jer. 7, 22. 23: *For I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey My voice, and I will be your God*, etc. How do we suppose that the Jews received this arraignment, which seems to conflict openly with Moses? For it was evident that God had given the fathers commands concerning burnt offerings and victims. But Jeremiah condemns the opinion concerning sacrifices which God had not delivered, namely, that these services should please Him *ex opere operato.* But he adds concerning faith that God had commanded this: *Hear Me, i. e.*, believe Me that I am your God; that I wish to become thus known when I pity and aid; neither have I need of your victims; believe that I wish to be God the Justifier and Savior, not on account of works, but on account of My word and promise; truly and from the heart seek and expect aid from Me.

Ps. 50, 13. 15, which rejects the victims and requires prayer, also condemns the opinion concerning the *opus operatum: Will I eat the flesh of bulls?* etc. *Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.* The Psalmist testifies that this is true service, that this is true honor, if we call upon Him from the heart.

Likewise Ps. 40, 6: *Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire; mine ears hast Thou opened, i. e.*, Thou hast offered to me Thy Word that I might hear it, and Thou dost require that I believe Thy Word and Thy promises, that Thou truly desirest to pity, to bring aid, etc. Likewise Ps. 51, 16. 17: *Thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, Thou wilt not despise.* Likewise Ps. 4, 5: *Offer the sacrifices of righteousness, and put your trust* [*hope, V.*] *in the Lord.* He bids us hope, and says that this is a righteous sacrifice, signifying that other sacrifices are not true and righteous sacrifices. And Ps. 116, 17: *I will offer to Thee the sacrifices of thanksgiving, and will call upon the name of the Lord.* They call invocation a sacrifice of thanksgiving.

30] Sed plena est Scriptura talibus testimoniis, quae docent, quod sacrificia ex opere operato non reconcilient Deum. Ideoque in novo testamento abrogatis cultibus Leviticis docet fore, ut nova et munda sacrificia fiant, videlicet fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, confessio et praedicatio evangelii, afflictiones propter evangelium et similia.

31] Et de his sacrificiis loquitur Malachias, 1, 11: *Ab ortu solis usque ad occasum magnum est nomen meum in gentibus, et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo et oblatio munda.* Hunc locum detorquent adversarii ad missam et allegant auctoritatem patrum. Facilis est autem responsio, quod, ut maxime loqueretur de missa, non sequatur missam ex opere operato iustificare, aut applicatam aliis mereri remissionem peccatorum etc. Nihil horum dicit propheta, quae monachi et sophi-
32] stae impudenter affingunt. Ceterum ipsa prophetae verba offerunt sententiam. Primum enim hoc proponunt, *magnum fore nomen Domini.* Id fit per praedicationem evangelii. Per hanc enim innotescit nomen Christi, et misericordia Patris in Christo promissa cognoscitur. Praedicatio evangelii parit fidem in his, qui recipiunt evangelium. Hi invocant Deum, hi agunt Deo gratias, hi tolerant afflictiones in confessione, hi bene operantur propter gloriam Christi. Ita fit magnum nomen Domini in gentibus. *Incensum* igitur et *oblatio munda* significant non ceremoniam ex opere operato, sed omnia illa sacrificia, per quae fit magnum nomen Domini, scilicet fidem, invocationem, praedicationem
33] evangelii, confessionem etc. Et facile patimur, si quis hic velit complecti ceremoniam, modo neque intelligat solam ceremoniam, neque doceat ceremoniam ex opere operato prodesse. Sicut enim inter *sacrificia laudis*, hoc est, inter laudes Dei, complectimur praedicationem Verbi: ita laus [R. 259 esse potest seu gratiarum actio ipsa sumptio coenae Domini, sed non ex opere operato iustificans aut applicanda aliis, ut mereatur eis remissionem peccatorum. Sed paulo post exponemus, quomodo et ceremonia sacrificium sit. Verum quia Malachias de omnibus cultibus novi testamenti, non solum de coena Domini loquitur, item, quia non patrocinatur pharisaicae opinioni de opere operato, ideo nihil contra nos facit, sed magis adiuvat nos. Requirit enim cultus cordis, per quos vere fit magnum nomen Domini.

Und die ganze Schrift ist voll solcher Sprüche, die da anzeigen, daß kein Opfer, kein Werk ex opere operato Gott versöhnt. Darum lehrt sie, daß im Neuen Testament die Opfer des Gesetzes Mosis abgetan seien, und seien eitel reine Opfer, ohne Makel, nämlich der Glaube gegen Gott, Danksagung, Gottes Lob, Predigt des Evangelii, Kreuz und Leiden der Heiligen und dergleichen.

Und von diesen Opfern redet Maleachi, da er sagt: „Vom Aufgang der Sonne bis zu ihrem Niedergang ist mein Name groß unter den Heiden, und an allen Orten soll meinem Namen geopfert werden ein rein Opfer.“ Denselben Spruch deuten die Widersacher fälschlich und närrisch, von der Messe zu verstehen, und ziehen die alten Väter an. Es ist aber da bald geantwortet: Wenngleich Maleachi von der Messe redet, als er nicht tut, so folgt doch daraus nicht, daß die Messe ex opere operato uns vor Gott fromm mache, oder daß man Messe könne halten für andere, denselben Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen. Der keines sagt der Prophet, sondern die Sophisten und Mönche erdichten's unverschämt aus ihrem eigenen Hirn. Die Worte aber des Propheten bringen selbst den rechten Verstand mit. Denn erst sagt der Prophet, es solle der Name des HErrn groß werden; das geschieht durch die Predigt des Evangelii. Denn durch dieselbe wird der Name Christi bekannt, und wird bekannt die Gnade, in Christo verheißen. Durch die Predigt aber des Evangelii kommen die Leute zum Glauben; die rufen dann Gott recht an, die danken Gott, die leiden um Gottes willen Verfolgung, die tun gute Werke. Darum nennt's der Prophet das reine Opfer, nicht die Zeremonie der Messe allein ex opere operato, sondern alle geistlichen Opfer, durch welche Gottes Name groß wird. Nämlich ein rein, heilig Opfer ist die Predigt des Evangelii, der Glaube, Anrufen, Gebet, das Evangelium und Christum vor der Welt bekennen usw. Und wir fechten nicht groß an, ob es jemand je auch auf die Zeremonie der Messe deuten wollte, wenn er nur nicht sagt, daß die schlechte ceremonia ex opere operato Gott versöhne. Denn wie wir die Predigt heißen ein Lobopfer, so mag die ceremonia des Abendmahls an ihm selbst ein Lobopfer sein, aber nicht ein solch Opfer, das ex opere operato vor Gott gerecht mache, oder das man für andere tun könne, ihnen Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen. Aber bald hernach wollen wir auch sagen, wie die ceremonia ein Opfer sei. Dieweil aber Maleachi redet von allen Gottesdiensten und Opfern des Neuen Testaments, so redet er nicht allein von der Messe oder Abendmahl. Item, dieweil er klar widerredet demselben pharisäischen Irrtum vom opere operato, so tut der Spruch nichts wider uns, sondern vielmehr für uns, denn er fordert inwendig das Herz, Gott Dankopfer zu tun, durch welches der Name des HErrn recht groß werde.

34] Citatur ex Malachia et alius locus, 3, 3: *Et purgabit filios Levi, et colabit eos quasi aurum et quasi argentum, et erunt Domino offerentes sacrificia in iustitia.* Hic locus aperte requirit sacrificia iustorum, quare non patrocinatur opinioni de opere operato. Sunt autem sacrificia filiorum Levi, hoc est, docentium in novo testamento, praedicatio evangelii et boni fructus praedicationis, sicut Paulus ait Rom. 15, 16: *Sacrifico evangelium Dei, ut oblatio gentium fiat accepta, sanctificata Spi-*

Es wird auch aus dem Maleachi noch ein Spruch angezogen: „Und er wird seigern [seihen, läutern] die Söhne Levi wie Gold und wie Silber, und sie werden Gott opfern Opfer der Gerechtigkeit.“ Da sagt er von Opfern der Gerechtigkeit; darum ist der Text wider das opus operatum. Die Opfer aber der Söhne Levi, das ist, derjenigen, die da predigen im Neuen Testament, ist die Predigt des Evangelii und die guten Früchte der Predigt, wie Paulus Röm. 15 sagt: „Ich soll sein ein Diener Christi unter den Heiden, zu opfern

But Scripture is full of such testimonies as teach that sacrifices *ex opere operato* do not reconcile God. Accordingly the New Testament, since Levitical services have been abrogated, teaches that new and pure sacrifices will be made, namely, faith, prayer, thanksgiving, confession, and the preaching of the Gospel, afflictions on account of the Gospel, and the like.

And of these sacrifices Malachi speaks, 1, 11: *From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same My name shall be great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense shall be offered unto My name and a pure offering.* The adversaries perversely apply this passage to the Mass, and quote the authority of the Fathers. A reply, however, is easy, for even if it spoke most particularly of the Mass, it would not follow that the Mass justifies *ex opere operato*, or that, when applied to others, it merits the remission of sins, etc. The prophet says nothing of those things which the monks and sophists impudently fabricate. Besides, the very words of the prophet express his meaning. For they first say this, namely, that *the name of the Lord will be great.* This is accomplished by the preaching of the Gospel. For through this the name of Christ is made known, and the mercy of the Father, promised in Christ, is recognized. The preaching of the Gospel produces faith in those who receive the Gospel. They call upon God, they give thanks to God, they bear afflictions for their confession, they produce good works for the glory of Christ. Thus the name of the Lord becomes great among the Gentiles. Therefore *incense* and a *pure offering* signify not a ceremony *ex opere operato* [not the ceremony of the Mass alone], but all those sacrifices through which the name of the Lord becomes great, namely, faith, invocation, the preaching of the Gospel, confession, etc. And if any one would have this term embrace the ceremony [of the Mass], we readily concede it, provided he neither understands the ceremony alone, nor teaches that the ceremony profits *ex opere operato.* For just as among the sacrifices of praise, *i. e.*, among the praises of God, we include the preaching of the Word, so the reception itself of the Lord's Supper can be praise or thanksgiving; but it does not justify *ex opere operato;* neither is it to be applied to others so as to merit for them the remission of sins. But after a while we shall explain how even a ceremony is a sacrifice. Yet, as Malachi speaks of all the services of the New Testament, and not only of the Lord's Supper; likewise, as he does not favor the pharisaic opinion of the *opus operatum,* he is not against us, but rather aids us. For he requires services of the heart, through which the name of the Lord becomes truly great.

Another passage also is cited from Malachi 3, 3: *And He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering of righteousness.* This passage clearly requires the sacrifices of the righteous, and hence does not favor the opinion concerning the *opus operatum.* But the sacrifices of the sons of Levi, *i. e.*, of those teaching in the New Testament, are the preaching of the Gospel, and the good fruits of preaching, as Paul says, Rom. 15, 16: *Ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost, i. e.*, that

ritu Sancto, id est, ut gentes fiant hostiae acceptae Deo per fidem etc. Nam illa mactatio in lege significabat et mortem Christi et praedicationem evangelii, qua hanc vetustatem carnis mortificari oportet, et inchoari novam et aeternam vitam in nobis.

das Evangelium Gottes, auf daß die Heiden ein Opfer werden, Gott angenehm durch den Glauben." Denn das Ochsen- und Schafschlachten im Gesetz hat bedeutet den Tod Christi und das Predigtamt des Evangelii, dadurch der alte Adam täglich getötet werde, und das neue und ewige Leben sich anfängt.

Sed adversarii ubique sacrificii nomen ad solam ceremoniam detorquent. Praedicationem evangelii, fidem, invocationem et similia omittunt, quum ceremonia propter haec instituta sit, et novum testamentum debeat habere sacrificia cordis, non ceremonialia pro peccatis facienda more Levitici sacerdotii.

Aber die Widersacher deuten allenthalben das Wort Opfer oder sacrificium allein auf die Zeremonien der Messe. Von dem Predigtamt des Evangelii, vom Glauben, vom Danken und Anrufen göttlichen Namens reden sie gar nichts, so doch die Zeremonia darum ist eingesetzt, so doch das Neue Testament eitel geistliche Opfer hat inwendig des Herzens und nicht solche Opfer wie das levitische Priestertum.

35] Allegant et *iuge sacrificium* (cf. Ex. 29, 39 sq.; Dan. 8, 11 sq.; 12, 11), quod, sicut in lege fuit iuge sacrificium, ita missa debeat esse iuge sacrificium novi testamenti. Bene cum adversariis agitur, si patimur nos vinci allegoriis. Constat autem, quod allegoriae non pariunt firmas probationes. Quamquam nos quidem facile patimur missam intelligi iuge sacrificium, modo ut tota missa [R. 260 intelligatur, hoc est, ceremonia cum praedicatione evangelii, fide, invocatione et gratiarum actione. Nam haec simul coniuncta sunt iuge sacrificium novi testamenti, quia ceremonia propter haec instituta est, nec ab his divellenda est. Ideo Paulus ait 1 Cor. 11, 26: *Quoties comedetis panem hunc et poculum Domini bibetis, annuntiate mortem Domini.* Illud vero nullo modo sequitur ex hoc typo Levitico, quod ceremonia sit opus ex opere operato iustificans aut applicandum pro aliis, ut mereatur eis remissionem peccatorum etc.

Auch so ziehen die Widersacher an das *iuge sacrificium*, das ist, **das tägliche Opfer**, und sagen, wie im Gesetz Mosis sei gewesen ein täglich Opfer, also sei die Messe iuge sacrificium des Neuen Testaments. Wenn die Sache mit Allegorien auszurichten wäre, so würde jedermann Allegorien finden, ihm dienlich. Aber alle Verständigen wissen, daß man in solchen hochwichtigen Sachen vor Gott gewiß und klar Gottes Wort haben muß und nicht dunkle und fremde Sprüche herzuziehen mit Gewalt. Solche ungewisse Deutungen halten den Stich nicht vor Gottes Gericht. Wiewohl wir wollten den Widersachern zu Gefallen noch die Messe wohl iuge sacrificium oder täglich Opfer nennen lassen, wenn sie die ganze Messe, das ist, die Zeremonien mit der Danksagung, mit dem Glauben im Herzen, mit dem herzlichen Anrufen göttlicher Gnade, iuge sacrificium nennten; denn das alles zusammen möchte iuge sacrificium des Neuen Testaments heißen. Denn die Zeremonia der Messe oder des Abendmahls ist um des alles willen aufgerichtet; denn sie ist um des Predigens willen eingesetzt, wie Paulus sagt: „Sooft ihr das Brot esset und den Kelch trinket, sollt ihr den Tod des HErrn verkündigen." Das folgt aber gar nicht aus der Figur des täglichen Opfers, daß die Messe sei ein solch Opfer, das ex opere operato Gott versöhne, oder das man für andere halten oder tun könne, ihnen Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen.

36] Et typus apte pingit non ceremoniam solam, sed etiam praedicationem evangelii. In Num. cap. 28, 4 sq. tres ponuntur partes istius quotidiani sacrificii: *crematio agni, libatio et oblatio similae.* Lex habebat picturas seu umbras rerum futurarum. Ideo in hoc spectaculo Christus et totus cultus novi testamenti pingitur. Crematio agni significat mortem Christi. Libatio significat, ubique in toto mundo credentes illius agni sanguine aspergi per evangelii praedicationem, hoc est, sanctificari, sicut Petrus loquitur, 1 ep. 1, 2: *In sanctificationem Spiritus, in obedientiam et aspersionem sanguinis Iesu Christi.* Oblatio similae significat fidem, invocationem et gra-
37] tiarum actionem in cordibus. Ut igitur in veteri testamento umbra cernitur, ita in novo res significata quaerenda est, non alius typus tamquam ad sacrificium sufficiens.

Und wenn man iuge sacrificium oder das tägliche Opfer recht ansieht, so malet's ab und bedeutet nicht allein die Zeremonien, sondern auch die Predigt des Evangelii. Denn im 4. Buch Mosis am 28. werden gesetzt drei Stücke, die zu demselben täglichen Opfer gehörten. Erstlich ward geopfert ein Lamm zu einem Brandopfer, und ward Wein darauf gegossen. Danach ward auch geopfert ein Kuchen, mit Semmelmehl und Öl gemenget. Das ganze Gesetz Mosis ist ein Schatten und Figur Christi und des Neuen Testaments, darum so wird Christus darin abgemalet. Das Lamm bedeutet den Tod Christi. Wein darauf gießen bedeutet, daß in aller Welt alle Gläubigen von des Lammes Blut besprengt werden durch das Evangelium, das ist, daß sie geheiligt werden; wie Petrus sagt 1 Petr. 1: „durch Heiligung des Geistes im Gehorsam und Besprengung des Blutes JEsu Christi". Der Kuchen bedeutet das Anrufen und die Danksagung in aller Gläubigen Herzen. Wie nun im Alten Testament der Schatten ist und die Bedeutung Christi oder des Evangelii, also ist im Neuen Testament dasselbe Evangelium und die Wahrheit, welche durch die Figur bedeutet ist, zu suchen, und ist nicht erst ein neuer typus oder Figur zu suchen, das sie möchten oder wollten sacrificium nennen.

38] Quare etiamsi ceremonia est memoriale mortis Christi, tamen sola non est iuge sacrificium, sed ipsa memoria est iuge sacrificium,

Darum, wiewohl die Messe oder Zeremonia im Abendmahl ein Gedächtnis ist des Todes Christi, so ist doch nicht die Zeremonia allein das iuge

the Gentiles might be offerings acceptable to God by faith, etc. For in the Law the slaying of victims signified both the death of Christ and the preaching of the Gospel, by which this oldness of flesh should be mortified, and the new and eternal life be begun in us.

But the adversaries everywhere perversely apply the name *sacrifice* to the ceremony alone. They omit the preaching of the Gospel, faith, prayer, and similar things, although the ceremony has been established on account of these, and the New Testament ought to have sacrifices of the heart, and not ceremonials for sin that are to be performed after the manner of the Levitical priesthood.

They cite also the *daily sacrifice* (cf. Ex. 29, 38 f.; Dan. 8, 11 f.; 12, 11), that, just as in the Law there was a daily sacrifice, so the Mass ought to be a daily sacrifice of the New Testament. The adversaries have managed well if we permit ourselves to be overcome by allegories. It is evident, however, that allegories do not produce firm proofs [that in matters so highly important before God we must have a sure and clear word of God, and not introduce by force obscure and foreign passages; such uncertain explanations do not stand the test of God's judgment]. Although we indeed readily suffer the Mass to be understood as a daily sacrifice, provided that the entire Mass be understood, *i. e.*, the ceremony with the preaching of the Gospel, faith, invocation, and thanksgiving. For these joined together are a daily sacrifice of the New Testament, because the ceremony [of the Mass, or the Lord's Supper] was instituted on account of these things; neither is it to be separated from these. Paul says accordingly, 1 Cor. 11, 26: *As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come.* But it in no way follows from this Levitical type that a ceremony justifying *ex opere operato* is necessary, or ought to be applied on behalf of others, that it may merit for them the remission of sins.

And the type aptly represents not only the ceremony, but also the preaching of the Gospel. In Num. 28, 4 f. three parts of that daily sacrifice are represented, *the burning of the lamb, the libation, and the oblation of wheat flour.* The Law had pictures or shadows of future things. Accordingly, in this spectacle Christ and the entire worship of the New Testament are portrayed. The burning of the lamb signifies the death of Christ. The libation signifies that everywhere in the entire world, by the preaching of the Gospel, believers are sprinkled with the blood of that Lamb, *i. e.*, sanctified, as Peter says, 1. Ep. 1, 2: *Through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ.* The oblation of wheat flour signifies faith, prayer, and thanksgiving in hearts. As, therefore, in the Old Testament, the shadow is perceived, so in the New the thing signified should be sought, and not another type, as sufficient for a sacrifice.

Therefore, although a ceremony is a memorial of Christ's death, nevertheless it alone

hoc est, praedicatio et fides, quae vere credit, Deum morte Christi reconciliatum esse. Requiritur libatio, hoc est, effectus praedicationis, ut per evangelium aspersi sanguine Christi sanctificemur, mortificati ac vivificati. Requiruntur et oblationes, hoc est, gratiarum actiones, confessiones et afflictiones.

sacrificium oder tägliche Opfer, sondern das Gedächtnis des Todes Christi zusamt der Zeremonia ist das tägliche Opfer, das ist, die Predigt vom Glauben und Christo, welcher Glaube wahrlich glaubt, daß Gott durch den Tod Christi versöhnt sei. Zu demselben iuge sacrificio gehört auch die Frucht der Predigt, daß wir mit dem Blut Christi besprengt, das ist, geheiligt werden, daß der alte Adam getötet [werde] und der Geist zunehme; das ist das Gießen. Danach sollen wir auch danken und Gott loben und den Glauben mit Leiden und guten Werken bekennen; das ist durch Mehl und Öl bedeutet.

Sic abiecta pharisaica opinione de [R. 261
39] opere operato intelligamus, significari cultum spiritualem et iuge sacrificium cordis, quia in novo testamento corpus bonorum, hoc est, Spiritus Sanctus, mortificatio et vivi-
40] ficatio requiri debent. Ex his satis apparet typum de iugi sacrificio nihil contra nos facere, sed magis pro nobis, quia nos omnes partes significatas iugi sacrificio requirimus. Adversarii falso somniant solam ceremoniam significari, non etiam praedicationem evangelii, mortificationem et vivificationem cordis etc.

Also wenn der grobe pharisäische Irrtum von dem opere operato weggetan ist, findet sich, daß durch das iuge sacrificium bedeutet ist das geistliche Opfer und tägliche Opfer der Herzen; denn Paulus sagt: Im Alten Testament ist „der Schatten der künftigen Güter", „der Leib aber" und die Wahrheit „ist in Christo", Kol. 2, 17. Das ist nun das Erkenntnis Christi und der Heilige Geist im Herzen, welcher eitel Danksagung und täglich geistliche Opfer im Herzen wirkt. Aus dem erscheint nun genug, daß das Gleichnis vom iuge sacrificio oder täglichen Opfer nichts wider uns ist, sondern vielmehr für uns. Denn wir haben klar angezeigt, daß alles, was zum täglichen Opfer im Gesetz Mosis gehört hat, muß ein wahr, herzlich Opfer, nicht opus operatum bedeuten. Der Widersacher Traum ist falsch, da sie wähnen wollen, es werde allein das schlechte, äußerliche Werk und Zeremonien bedeutet, so doch der Glaube im Herzen, das Predigen, Bekennen, Danksagen und herzliches Anrufen die rechten täglichen Opfer sind und das Beste an der Messe, sie nennen's gleich Opfer oder anders.

41] Nunc igitur boni viri facile iudicare poterunt falsissimam hanc criminationem esse, quod iuge sacrificium aboleamus. Res ostendit, qui sint Antiochi illi, qui regnum tenent in ecclesia, qui praetextu religionis trahunt ad se regnum mundi, et abiecta cura religionis et docendi evangelii dominantur, belligerantur velut reges mundi, qui novos cultus
42] instituerunt in ecclesia. Nam adversarii in missa solam retinent ceremoniam, eamque conferunt publice ad sacrilegum quaestum. Postea fingunt hoc opus applicatum pro aliis
43] mereri eis gratiam et omnia bona. In concionibus non docent evangelium, non consolantur conscientias, non ostendunt gratis remitti peccata propter Christum, sed proponunt cultus sanctorum, satisfactiones humanas, traditiones humanas, per has affirmant homines coram Deo iustificari. Et harum quaedam quum sint manifeste impiae, tamen vi defenduntur. Si qui concionatores volunt perhiberi doctiores, tradunt quaestiones philosophicas, quas neque populus, neque ipsi, qui proponunt, intelligunt. Postremo, qui sunt tolerabiliores, legem docent; de iustitia fidei nihil dicunt.

Nun können alle gottesfürchtigen, frommen, ehrbaren, christlichen Leute leichtlich merken, daß der Widersacher Beschuldigung unrecht ist, da sie sagen, wir tun das iuge sacrificium ab. Die Erfahrung aber gibt's, daß sie die rechten Antiochi sind, die als die wütenden Tyrannen mit eitel Durst [Kühnheit] und Gewalt sich erzeigen in der Kirche, die unter einem Schein der Geistlichkeit zu sich ziehen alle Gewalt der Welt und fragen doch nichts nach dem Predigtamt, nach Christo oder dem Evangelio. Darüber [außerdem] unterstehen sie sich, neue Gottesdienste ihres Gefallens in der Kirche anzurichten und mit eitel Gewalt zu verfechten. Denn die Widersacher behalten allein die Zeremonie der Messe, den rechten Gebrauch aber der Messe lassen sie fahren und brauchen die Messe allein zum Geiz und schändlichen Jahrmarkt und erdichten danach, es sei ein Werk, das andern zugute komme, das andern Vergebung der Sünden, [der] Pein und Schuld verdiene. In ihren Predigten aber lehren sie nicht das Evangelium, sie trösten auch nicht die Gewissen, sie predigen auch nicht, daß die Sünden ohne Verdienst vergeben werden um Christus' willen, sondern predigen vom Anrufen der Heiligen, von satisfactionibus, von Genugtuungen, von Menschensatzungen und sagen, daß dadurch die Leute vor Gott fromm werden. Und wiewohl derselben öffentlichen, gotteslästerlichen Mißbräuche viel sind, so wollen sie doch dieselben, dieweil sie Geld tragen, mit Gewalt erhalten. Und die gelehrtesten Prediger unter ihnen predigen verworrene philosophische Quästionen und Fragen, welche weder sie selbst noch das Volk verstehen. Endlich, ob etliche unter ihnen sind nicht gar ungelehrt, so lehren sie doch eitel Gesetz und lehren von Christo oder vom Glauben gar nichts.

44] Adversarii in Confutatione miras tragoedias agunt de desolatione templorum, quod videlicet stent inornatae arae sine candelis, sine statuis. Has nugas iudicant esse [R. 262
ornatum ecclesiarum. Longe aliam desolatio-
45] nem significat Daniel 11, 31; 12, 11, vide-

Die Widersacher ziehen den Daniel an, der da sagt: „Es werden Greuel und Verwüstung in der Kirche stehen", und deuten dieses auf unsere Kirche, derhalben daß die Altäre nicht bedeckt sind, nicht Lichter drinnen brennen und dergleichen. Wiewohl es nicht wahr ist, daß wir solche äußer-

is not the daily sacrifice; but the memory itself is the daily sacrifice, *i. e.*, preaching and faith, which truly believes that, by the death of Christ, God has been reconciled. A libation is required, *i. e.*, the effect of preaching, in order that, being sprinkled by the Gospel with the blood of Christ, we may be sanctified, as those put to death and made alive. Oblations also are required, *i. e.*, thanksgiving, confessions, and afflictions.

Thus the pharisaic opinion of the *opus operatum* being cast aside, let us understand that spiritual worship and a daily sacrifice of the heart are signified, because in the New Testament the substance of good things should be sought for [as Paul says: *In the Old Testament is the shadow of things to come, but the body and the truth is in Christ*], *i. e.*, the Holy Ghost, mortification, and quickening. From these things it is sufficiently apparent that the type of the daily sacrifice testifies nothing against us, but rather for us, because we seek for all the parts signified by the daily sacrifice. [We have clearly shown all the parts that belonged to the daily sacrifice in the law of Moses, that it must mean a true cordial offering, not an *opus operatum.*] The adversaries falsely imagine that the ceremony alone is signified, and not also the preaching of the Gospel, mortification, and quickening of heart, etc. [which is the best part of the Mass, whether they call it a sacrifice or anything else].

Now, therefore, good men will be able to judge readily that the complaint against us that we abolish the daily sacrifice is most false. Experience shows what sort of Antiochi they are who hold power in the Church; who under the pretext of religion assume to themselves the kingdom of the world, and who rule without concern for religion and the teaching of the Gospel; who wage war like kings of the world, and have instituted new services in the Church. For in the Mass the adversaries retain only the ceremony, and publicly apply this to sacrilegious gain. Afterward they feign that this work, as applied on behalf of others, merits for them grace and all good things. In their sermons they do not teach the Gospel, they do not console consciences, they do not show that sins are freely remitted for Christ's sake; but they set forth the worship of saints, human satisfactions, human traditions, and by these they affirm that men are justified before God. And although some of these traditions are manifestly godless, nevertheless they defend them by violence. If any preachers wish to be regarded more learned, they treat of philosophical questions, which neither the people nor even those who propose them understand. Lastly, those who are more tolerable teach the Law, and say nothing concerning the righteousness of faith.

The adversaries in the Confutation make a great ado concerning the desolation of churches, namely, that the altars stand unadorned, without candles and without images. These trifles they regard as ornaments to churches. [Although it is not true that we abolish all such outward ornaments; yet, even if it were so, Daniel is not speaking of such things as are altogether external and do not belong to the Christian Church.] It is a far different desolation which Daniel means, 11, 31; 12, 11, namely, ignorance of

licet ignorationem evangelii. Nam populus obrutus multitudine et varietate traditionum atque opinionum nullo modo potuit complecti
46] summam doctrinae Christianae. Quis enim unquam de populo intellexit doctrinam de poenitentia, quam adversarii tradiderunt? Et hic praecipuus locus est doctrinae Christianae.

liche Ornamente alle wegtun, dennoch, so es schon also wäre, redet Daniel nicht von solchen Dingen, die gar äußerlich sind und zur christlichen Kirche nicht gehören, sondern meint viel eine andere, greulichere Verwüstung, welche im Papsttum stark geht, nämlich von Verwüstung des nötigsten, größten Gottesdienstes, des Predigtamts und Unterdrückung des Evangelii. Denn bei den Widersachern predigt man das mehrere Teil von Menschensatzungen, dadurch die Gewissen von Christo auf eigene Werke und Vertrauen geführt werden; so ist's gewiß, daß unterm Papsttum die Predigt von der Buße oder de poenitentia, wie die Widersacher davon gelehrt, niemand verstanden hat, und das ist doch das nötigste Stück der ganzen christlichen Lehre.

Vexabantur conscientiae enumeratione delictorum et satisfactionibus. De fide, qua gratis consequimur remissionem peccatorum, nulla prorsus fiebat ab adversariis mentio. De exercitiis fidei luctantis cum desperatione, de gratuita remissione peccatorum propter Christum omnes libri, omnes conciones adver-
47] sariorum mutae erant. Ad haec accessit horribilis profanatio missarum et alii multi impii cultus in templis. Haec est desolatio, quam Daniel describit.

Die Widersacher haben die armen Gewissen gequält und geplagt mit Sündenerzählen; vom Glauben an Christum, wodurch man erlangt Vergebung der Sünden, von dem rechten Kampf und Anfechtung, welche sind Übungen des Glaubens, haben sie gar nichts Rechtes gelehrt, dadurch die Gewissen hätten mögen Trost haben. Alle ihre Bücher, alle ihre Predigten sind in dem Stücke als nütze gewesen als nichts und haben dazu unsäglichen Schaden getan. Darüber [überdies] ist bei den Widersachern der schreckliche, greuliche Mißbrauch der Messe, desgleichen kaum je auf Erden gewesen, und sonst unzählig viel unchristliche, närrische Gottesdienste. Das ist die rechte Verwüstung, davon Daniel sagt.

48] Econtra Dei beneficio apud nos serviunt ministerio Verbi sacerdotes, docent evangelium de beneficiis Christi, ostendunt remissionem peccatorum gratis contingere propter Christum. Haec doctrina affert firmam consolationem conscientiis. Additur et doctrina bonorum operum, quae Deus praecipit. Dicitur de dignitate atque usu sacramentorum.

Dagegen in unsern Kirchen warten die Priester recht ihres Amts, lehren und predigen das Evangelium, predigen Christum, daß wir nicht um unserer Werke willen, sondern um Christus' willen Vergebung der Sünden und einen gnädigen Gott haben. Diese Lehre gibt den Herzen einen rechten, gewissen, beständigen Trost. Auch so lehren sie die zehn Gebote und von rechtschaffenen guten Werken, welche Gott geboten hat, darüber auch von rechtem christlichen Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente.

49] Quodsi iuge sacrificium esset usus sacramenti, tamen nos magis retineremus quam adversarii, quia apud illos sacerdotes mercede conducti utuntur sacramento. Apud nos crebrior et religiosior usus est. Nam populus utitur, sed prius institutus atque exploratus. Docentur enim homines de vero usu sacramenti, quod ad hoc institutum sit, ut sit sigillum et testimonium gratuitae remissionis peccatorum, ideoque debeat pavidas conscientias admonere, ut vere statuant et credant, sibi gratis remitti peccata. Quum igitur et praedicationem evangelii et legitimum usum sacramentorum retineamus, manet apud nos iuge sacrificium.

Und wenn ja das Abendmahl oder die Messe sollte das tägliche Opfer genannt werden, so möchte billiger die Messe bei uns also heißen. Denn bei ihnen halten ihre Pfaffen das mehrere Teil alle um ihre Präbenden und um Geldes willen Messe. In unsern Kirchen wird der heiligen Sakramente also nicht mißbraucht. Denn da wird niemand mit Geld dazu getrieben, sondern man läßt die Gewissen sich prüfen, Trost da zu suchen; dazu werden die Leute unterrichtet von rechtem christlichen Gebrauch des Sakraments, daß es nämlich dazu eingesetzt ist, daß es sei ein Siegel und gewiß Zeichen der Vergebung der Sünden, dadurch die Herzen erinnert und der Glaube gestärkt wird, daß sie gewiß glauben, daß ihnen die Sünden vergeben sind. So wir nun die Predigt des Evangelii und den rechten Gebrauch des Sakraments bei uns behalten, so haben wir ohne Zweifel das tägliche Opfer.

50] Et, si de externa specie dicendum est, frequentia in templis apud nos maior est quam apud adversarios. Tenentur enim auditoria utilibus et perspicuis concionibus. [R. 263 Verum adversariorum doctrinam nunquam neque populus neque doctores intellexerunt. Et
51] verus ornatus est ecclesiarum doctrina pia, utilis et perspicua, usus pius sacramentorum, oratio ardens et similia. Candelae, vasa aurea et similes ornatus decent, sed non sunt proprius ornatus ecclesiae. Quodsi adversarii in talibus rebus collocant cultus, non

Und wenn man gleich von äußerlichem Wohlstehen sagen sollte, so sind unsere Kirchen besser geziert denn des Gegenteils. Denn der rechte äußerliche Kirchenschmuck ist auch rechte Predigt, rechter Gebrauch der Sakramente, und daß das Volk mit Ernst dazu gewöhnt sei und mit Fleiß und züchtig zusammenkomme, lerne und bete. Dieweil man nun durch Gottes Gnade in unsern Kirchen christlich und heilsam Ding lehrt von Trost in allem Anfechten, bleiben die Leute gern bei guter Predigt. Denn es ist kein Ding, das die Leute mehr bei der Kirche behält denn die

the Gospel. For the people, overwhelmed by the multitude and variety of traditions and opinions, were in no way able to embrace the sum of Christian doctrine. [For the adversaries preach mostly of human ordinances, whereby consciences are led from Christ to confidence in their own works.] For who of the people ever understood the doctrine of repentance of which the adversaries treat? And yet this is the chief topic of Christian doctrine.

Consciences were tormented by the enumeration of offenses and by satisfactions. Of faith, by which we freely receive the remission of sins, no mention whatever was made by the adversaries. Concerning the exercises of faith, struggling with despair, and the free remission of sins for Christ's sake, all the books and all the sermons of the adversaries were silent [worse than worthless, and, moreover, caused untold damage]. To these, the horrible profanation of the masses and many other godless services in the churches were added. This is the desolation which Daniel describes.

On the contrary, by the favor of God, the priests among us attend to the ministry of the Word, teach the Gospel concerning the blessings of Christ, and show that the remission of sins occurs freely for Christ's sake. This doctrine brings sure consolation to consciences. The doctrine of [the Ten Commandments and] good works which God commands is also added. The worth and use of the Sacraments are declared.

But if the use of the Sacrament would be the daily sacrifice, nevertheless we would retain it rather than the adversaries, because with them priests hired for pay use the Sacrament. With us there is a more frequent and more conscientious use. For the people use it, but after having first been instructed and examined. For men are taught concerning the true use of the Sacrament that it was instituted for the purpose of being a seal and testimony of the free remission of sins, and that, accordingly, it ought to admonish alarmed consciences to be truly confident and believe that their sins are freely remitted. Since, therefore, we retain both the preaching of the Gospel and the lawful use of the Sacrament, the daily sacrifice remains with us.

And if we must speak of the outward appearance, attendance upon church is better among us than among the adversaries. For the audiences are held by useful and clear sermons. But neither the people nor the teachers have ever understood the doctrine of the adversaries. [There is nothing that so attaches people to the church as good preaching. But our adversaries preach their people out of the churches; for they teach nothing of the necessary parts of Christian doctrine; they narrate the legends of saints and other fables.] And the true adornment of the churches is godly, useful, and clear doctrine, the devout use of the Sacraments, ardent prayer, and the like. Candles, golden vessels [tapers, altar-cloths, images], and similar adornments

in praedicatione evangelii, in fide, in certaminibus fidei, sunt in istis numerandi, quos Daniel describit colere Deum suum auro et argento.

gute Predigt. Aber unsere Widersacher predigen ihre Leute aus der Kirche; denn sie lehren nichts von den nötigen Stücken christlicher Lehre, sagen Heiligenlegenden und andere Fabeln. Überdas, wo unsere Widersacher ihre Kerzen, Altartücher, Bilder und dergleichen Zier für nötige Stücke [achten] und damit Gottesdienste anrichten, sind sie des Antichrists Gesinde, davon Daniel sagt, daß sie ihren Gott ehren mit Silber, Gold und dergleichen Schmuck.

52] Allegant et ex epistola ad Ebraeos, 5, 1: *Omnis pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in his, quae sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro peccatis.* Hinc ratiocinantur, quum in novo testamento sint pontifices et sacerdotes, sequitur, quod sit et sacrificium aliquod pro peccatis. Hic locus vel maxime movet indoctos, praesertim quum illa pompa sacerdotii et sacrificiorum veteris testamenti offunditur oculis. Haec similitudo decipit imperitos, ut iudicent oportere ad eundem modum apud nos exsistere aliquod ceremoniale sacrificium, applicandum pro peccatis aliorum, sicut in veteri testamento. Neque aliud est ille cultus missarum et reliqua politia papae, quam *κακοζηλία* Leviticae politiae male intellectae.

Auch so ziehen sie an aus der Epistel Hebr. 5: „Ein jeglicher Hoherpriester, der aus den Menschen genommen wird, der wird gesetzt für die Menschen gegen Gott, auf daß er opfere Gaben und opfere [Opfer] für die Sünde.“ Da schließen sie: Nachdem [da] im Neuen Testament Bischöfe sind und Priester, so folgt, daß auch ein Opfer müsse sein für die Sünden. Dieses nun möchte am meisten die Ungelehrten und Unerfahrenen bewegen, sonderlich wenn sie ansehen das herrliche Gepränge im Tempel und Kirchen, item die Kleidung Aarons; da im Alten Testament auch viel Schmuck von Gold, Silber und Purpur gewesen, denken sie, es müsse im Neuen Testament gleich also ein Gottesdienst, solche Zeremonien und Opfer sein, da man für anderer Leute Sünden opfere wie im Alten Testament. Denn der ganze Mißbrauch der Messen und päpstlichen Gottesdienste ist nirgend hergekommen, denn daß sie haben wollen den Mosis Zeremonien nachfolgen und haben es nicht verstanden, daß das Neue Testament mit andern Sachen umgeht, und daß solche äußerliche Zeremonien, ob man sie zur Kinderzucht braucht, sollen ihr Maß haben.

53] Et quum sententia nostra habeat praecipua testimonia in epistola ad Ebraeos, tamen adversarii locos ex illa epistola truncatos contra nos detorquent, ut in hoc ipso loco, ubi dicitur, *pontificem constitui, ut offerat sacrificia pro peccatis.* Scriptura ipsa statim attexit Christum pontificem, Ebr. 5, 5. 6. 10. Verba praecedentia de Levitico sacerdotio loquuntur et significant Leviticum pontificatum fuisse imaginem pontificatus Christi. Nam sacrificia Levitica pro peccatis non merebantur remissionem peccatorum coram [R. 264 Deo; tantum erant imago sacrificii Christi, quod unum futurum erat propitiatorium sacri-
54] ficium, ut supra diximus. Itaque epistola magna ex parte consumitur in hoc loco, quod vetus pontificatus et vetera sacrificia non fuerint ad hoc instituta, ut mererentur remissionem peccatorum coram Deo seu reconciliationem, sed tantum ad significandum futurum sacrificium unius Christi. Oportuit
55] enim sanctos in veteri testamento iustificari fide ex promissione remissionis peccatorum donandae propter Christum, sicut et sancti in novo testamento iustificantur. Omnes sanctos ab initio mundi sentire oportuit, hostiam et satisfactionem fore pro peccato Christum, qui promissus erat, sicut Esaias docet cap. 53, 10: *Quum posuerit animam suam hostiam pro peccato* etc.

Und wiewohl unsere Sache sonderlich wohl gegründet ist in der Epistel zu den Hebräern, so ziehen doch die Widersacher aus derselben Epistel etliche Sprüche verstümpelt an, als eben an dem obangezeigten Ort, da der Text sagt: „Ein jeglicher Hoherpriester usw. wird gesetzt zu opfern“ usw. Der Text führt das bald auf Christum. Die Worte, so vorhergehen, reden vom levitischen Priestertum und sagen, das levitische Priestertum sei eine Deutung des Priestertums Christi. Denn die levitischen Opfer für die Sünden, die verdienten nicht Vergebung der Sünden vor Gott, sondern waren allein ein Bild Christi, welcher war das rechte, einige, wahre Opfer für die Sünden, wie ich oben gesagt habe. Und gar nahe die ganze Epistel zu den Hebräern handelt das mehrere Teil davon, daß das levitische Priestertum und die Opfer im Gesetz dazu nicht eingesetzt [sind], daß man Vergebung der Sünden oder Versöhnung vor Gott damit verdienen solle, sondern allein zu bedeuten das künftige rechte Opfer, Christum. Denn die Patriarchen und Heiligen im Alten Testament sind auch gerecht geworden und Gott versöhnt durch den Glauben an die Verheißung von dem künftigen Christo, durch welchen Heil und Gnade verheißen ward, gleichwie wir im Neuen Testament durch den Glauben an Christum, der da offenbart ist, Gnade erlangen. Denn alle Gläubigen von Anbeginn haben geglaubt, daß ein Opfer und Bezahlung für die Sünde geschehen würde, nämlich Christus, welcher künftig und verheißen war, wie Jesaia am 53. sagt: „Wenn er seine Seele wird geben ein Schuldopfer für die Sünde“ usw.

56] Quum igitur in veteri testamento sacrificia non mererentur reconciliationem nisi similitudine quadam (merebantur enim reconciliationem politicam), sed significarent venturum sacrificium, sequitur unicum esse sacrificium Christi, applicatum pro aliorum pec-

So nun im Alten Testament durch die Opfer niemand hat erlangt Vergebung der Sünden (denn allein sie haben bedeutet das einige Opfer Christi), so folgt, daß allein ein einiges Opfer ist, nämlich Christus, welcher für aller Welt Sünde bezahlt und genuggetan hat. Derhalben ist im

are becoming, but they are not the adornment that properly belongs to the Church. But if the adversaries make worship consist in such matters, and not in the preaching of the Gospel, in faith, and the conflicts of faith, they are to be numbered among those whom Daniel describes as worshiping their God with gold and silver, Dan. 11, 38.

They quote also from the Epistle to the Hebrews, 5, 1: *Every high priest taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God that he may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sins.* Hence they conclude that, since in the New Testament there are high priests and priests, it follows that there is also a sacrifice for sins. This passage particularly makes an impression on the unlearned, especially when the pomp of the priesthood [the garments of Aaron, since in the Old Testament there were many ornaments of gold, silver, and purple] and the sacrifices of the Old Testament are spread before the eyes. This resemblance deceives the ignorant, so that they judge that, according to the same manner, a ceremonial sacrifice ought to exist among us, which should be applied on behalf of the sins of others, just as in the Old Testament. Neither is the service of the masses and the rest of the polity of the Pope anything else than false zeal in behalf of the misunderstood Levitical polity. [They have not understood that the New Testament is occupied with other matters, and that, if such ceremonies are used for the training of the young, a limit must be fixed for them.]

And although our belief has its chief testimonies in the Epistle to the Hebrews, nevertheless the adversaries distort against us mutilated passages from this Epistle, as in this very passage, where it is said that every *high priest is ordained to offer sacrifices for sins.* Scripture itself immediately adds that Christ is High Priest, Heb. 5, 5. 6. 10. The preceding words speak of the Levitical priesthood, and signify that the Levitical priesthood was an image of the priesthood of Christ. For the Levitical sacrifices for sins did not merit the remission of sins before God; they were only an image of the sacrifice of Christ, which was to be the one propitiatory sacrifice, as we have said above. Therefore the Epistle is occupied to a great extent with the topic that the ancient priesthood and the ancient sacrifices were instituted not for the purpose of meriting the remission of sins before God or reconciliation, but only to signify the future sacrifice of Christ alone. For in the Old Testament it was necessary for saints to be justified by faith derived from the promise of the remission of sins that was to be granted for Christ's sake, just as saints are also justified in the New Testament. From the beginning of the world it was necessary for all saints to believe that Christ would be the promised offering and satisfaction for sins, as Isaiah teaches, 53, 10: *When Thou shalt make His soul an offering for sin.*

Since, therefore, in the Old Testament, sacrifices did not merit reconciliation, unless by a figure (for they merited civil reconciliation), but signified the coming sacrifice, it follows that Christ is the only sacrifice applied on behalf of the sins of others. There-

catis. Nullum igitur reliquum est in novo testamento sacrificium applicandum pro peccatis aliorum praeter unum Christi sacrificium in cruce.

Neuen Teſtament fürder auch kein ander Opfer zu machen, dadurch die Sünden bezahlt werden, denn allein der einige Tod Chriſti, ſo am Kreuz einmal geopfert iſt.

57] Tota via errant, qui fingunt sacrificia Levitica coram Deo meruisse remissionem peccatorum, et hoc exemplo sacrificia applicanda pro aliis in novo testamento requirunt praeter mortem Christi. Haec imaginatio simpliciter obruit meritum passionis Christi et iustitiam fidei et corrumpit veteris et novi testamenti doctrinam et pro Christo alios mediatores et propitiatores nobis efficit pontifices et sacrificulos, qui quotidie vendunt operam suam in templis.

58] Quare si quis ita argumentatur, oportere in novo testamento pontificem esse, qui pro peccatis offerat, tantum de Christo concedendum est. Et hanc solutionem confirmat tota epistola ad Ebraeos. Et id prorsus esset alios mediatores constituere praeter [R. 265 Christum, si aliam satisfactionem applicandam pro peccatis aliorum et reconciliantem Deum praeter mortem Christi requireremus. **59**] Deinde quia sacerdotium novi testamenti est *ministerium Spiritus*, ut docet Paulus 2 Cor. 3, 6, ideo unicum habet sacrificium Christi satisfactorium et applicatum pro peccatis aliorum. Ceterum nulla habet sacrificia similia Leviticis, quae ex opere operato applicari pro aliis possint, sed exhibet aliis evangelium et sacramenta, ut per haec concipiant fidem et Spiritum Sanctum, et mortificentur et vivificentur, quia ministerium Spiritus pugnat cum applicatione operis operati. Est enim ministerium Spiritus, per quod Spiritus Sanctus efficax est in cordibus, quare habet tale ministerium, quod ita prodest aliis, quum in eis efficax est, quum regenerat et vivificat eos. Id non fit applicatione alieni operis pro aliis ex opere operato.

Darum, wenn ſie ſo ſagen, es müſſe im Neuen Teſtament ein Prieſter ſein, der da opfert, ſo iſt das allein von Chriſto nachzugeben und zu verſtehen. Und darauf dringt und [damit] ſtimmt ſtark die ganze Epiſtel zu den Hebräern. Und das hieße auch gar andere Mittler darſtellen und einbringen neben Chriſto, wenn wir eine andere Satisfaktion für die Sünden zuließen und Verſöhnung denn den Tod Chriſti. Und dieweil das Prieſtertum des Neuen Teſtaments ein Amt iſt, dadurch der Heilige Geiſt wirkt, kann kein Opfer ſein, das ex opere operato andern helfe. Denn wo nicht eigener Glaube und Leben durch den Heiligen Geiſt gewirkt wird, kann mich eines andern opus operatum nicht fromm und ſelig machen. Darum kann die Meſſe nicht für andere gelten: das iſt ja klar und gewiß.

60] Ostendimus rationem, quare missa non iustificet ex opere operato, nec applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remissionem, quia utrumque pugnat cum iustitia fidei. Impossibile est enim remissionem peccatorum contingere, vinci terrores peccati et mortis ullo opere aut ulla re nisi fide in Christum, iuxta illud Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide pacem habemus.*

Wir haben nun Urſache angezeigt, warum die Meſſe niemand vor Gott gerecht mache ex opere operato, warum auch Meſſen für andere nicht können gehalten werden; denn beides iſt ſtracks wider den Glauben und die Lehre von Chriſto. Denn es iſt unmöglich, daß Sünden ſollten vergeben werden, oder daß die Schrecken des Todes, der Hölle ſollten durch eines andern Werk überwunden werden denn allein durch den Glauben an Chriſtum, wie der Spruch lautet Röm. 5: „So wir gerecht ſind worden, ſo haben wir Frieden mit Gott“ uſw.

61] Ad haec ostendimus Scripturas, quae contra nos citantur, minime patrocinari impiae opinioni adversariorum de opere operato. Idque iudicare omnes boni viri apud omnes **62**] gentes possunt. Quare repudiandus est error Thomae, qui scripsit: *Corpus Domini, semel oblatum in cruce pro debito originali, iugiter offerri pro quotidianis delictis in altari, ut habeat in hoc ecclesia munus ad* **63**] *placandum sibi Deum.* Repudiandi sunt et reliqui communes errores, quod missa conferat gratiam ex opere operato facienti. Item, quod applicata pro aliis, etiam iniustis non ponentibus obicem, mereatur eis remissionem peccatorum, culpae et poenae. Haec [R. 266 omnia falsa et impia sunt, nuper ab indoctis monachis conficta, et obruunt gloriam passionis Christi et iustitiam fidei.

Dazu haben wir angezeigt, daß die Sprüche der Schrift, welche man wider uns anzieht, auch nichts beweiſen für die heidniſche und antichriſtiſche Lehre der Widerſacher vom opere operato. Und das können nun alle gottesfürchtigen, ehrbaren Leute in aller Welt, in allen Nationen merken und urteilen. Darum iſt zu verwerfen der Irrtum Thomä, der da ſchreibt, daß der Leib des HErrn einmal am Kreuz geopfert ſei für die Erbſünde und werde täglich für die täglichen Sünden geopfert auf dem Altar, daß alſo die Kirche habe ein Opfer, täglich Gott zu verſöhnen. Auch ſind die andern Irrtümer zu verwerfen, daß die Meſſe zugute komme ex opere operato dem, der ſie hält. Item, wenn man Meſſe hält für andere, die nicht obicem ſetzen, wenn ſie gleich gottlos ſind, daß dieſelben Vergebung der Sünden und Erlöſung von Pein und Schuld erlangen. Das alles ſind eitel Irrtümer und falſch und von eitel ungelehrten, heilloſen Mönchen erdichtet, die doch vom Evangelio, von Chriſto und dem Glauben gar nichts wiſſen.

64] Et ex his erroribus infiniti alii nati sunt, quantum missae valeant applicatae simul pro multis, quantum valeant singulae

Aus dieſem Irrtum von ſolchen Mißbräuchen der Meſſen ſind unzählige andere erwachſen, nämlich daß ſie diſputieren, ob eine Meſſe, wenn ſie

fore, in the New Testament no sacrifice is left to be applied for the sins of others, except the one sacrifice of Christ upon the cross.

They altogether err who imagine that Levitical sacrifices merited the remission of sins before God, and, by this example in addition to the death of Christ, require in the New Testament sacrifices that are to be applied on behalf of others. This imagination absolutely destroys the merit of Christ's passion and the righteousness of faith, and corrupts the doctrine of the Old and New Testaments, and instead of Christ makes for us other mediators and propitiators out of the priests and sacrificers, who daily sell their work in the churches.

Therefore, if any one would thus infer that in the New Testament a priest is needed to make offering for sins, this must be conceded only of Christ. And the entire Epistle to the Hebrews confirms this explanation. And if, in addition to the death of Christ, we were to seek for any other satisfaction to be applied for the sins of others and to reconcile God, this would be nothing more than to make other mediators in addition to Christ. Again, as the priesthood of the New Testament is the *ministry of the Spirit*, as Paul teaches 2 Cor. 3, 6, it, accordingly, has but the one sacrifice of Christ, which is satisfactory and applied for the sins of others. Besides, it has no sacrifices like the Levitical, which could be applied *ex opere operato* on behalf of others; but it tenders to others the Gospel and the Sacraments, that by means of these they may conceive faith and the Holy Ghost, and be mortified and quickened, because the ministry of the Spirit conflicts with the application of an *opus operatum*. [For, unless there is personal faith and a life wrought by the Holy Spirit, the *opus operatum* of another cannot render me godly nor save me.] For the ministry of the Spirit is that through which the Holy Ghost is efficacious in hearts; and therefore this ministry is profitable to others, when it is efficacious in them, and regenerates and quickens them. This does not occur by the application *ex opere operato* of the work of another on behalf of others.

We have shown the reason why the Mass does not justify *ex opere operato*, and why, when applied on behalf of others, it does not merit remission, because both conflict with the righteousness of faith. For it is impossible that remission of sins should occur, and the terrors of death and sin be overcome by any work or anything, except by faith in Christ, according to Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace.*

In addition, we have shown that the Scriptures, which are cited against us, in no way favor the godless opinion of the adversaries concerning the *opus operatum*. All good men among all nations can judge this. Therefore the error of Thomas is to be rejected, who wrote: *That the body of the Lord, once offered on the cross for original debt, is continually offered for daily offenses on the altar, in order that, in this, the Church might have a service whereby to reconcile God to herself.* The other common errors are also to be rejected, as, that the Mass *ex opere operato* confers grace upon one employing it; likewise, that when applied for others, even for wicked persons, provided they do not interpose an obstacle, it merits for them the remission of sins, of guilt and punishment. All these things are false and godless, and lately invented by unlearned monks, and obscure the glory of Christ's passion and the righteousness of faith.

And from these errors infinite others sprang, as, that the masses avail when applied for many, just as much as when applied individually. The sophists have particular degrees of merit, just as money-changers have

pro singulis. Sophistae habent descriptos gradus meritorum, sicut argentarii gradus ponderum in auro aut argento. Deinde vendunt missam tamquam pretium ad impetrandum, quod quisque expetit, mercatoribus, ut felix sit negotiatio, venatoribus, ut felix sit venatio. Et alia infinita. Postremo transferunt eam et ad mortuos, liberant animas applicatione sacramenti a poenis purgatorii, quum sine fide nec vivis missa prosit. Neque **65**] ex Scripturis adversarii afferre vel unam syllabam possunt ad defensionem istarum fabularum, quas in ecclesia magna auctoritate docent, neque ecclesiae veteris, neque patrum testimonia habent.

für viele gehalten wird, auch [so] kräftig sei, als wenn eine jede Person eine eigene Messe für sich halten läßt. Aus dieser Disputation sind die Messen gewachsen und je höher verkauft worden. Weiter, so halten sie noch Messe für die Toten, zu erlösen die Seelen aus dem Fegfeuer (welches ein schändlicher Jahrmarkt ist), so doch das Sakrament weder den Lebendigen noch den Toten nütze ist ohne den Glauben. Und die Widersacher können aus der Schrift nicht einen Buchstaben, nicht eine Silbe vorbringen zur Bestätigung der Träume und Fabeln, welche sie doch ohne alle Scheu und Scham mit großem Geschrei in großem Ansehen predigen, so sie doch darüber weder der Kirche noch der Väter Zeugnis haben. Darum sind es heillose, verblendete Leute, welche die öffentliche Wahrheit Gottes wissentlich verachten und mit Füßen treten.

Quid Patres de Sacrificio Senserint.

66] Et quoniam loca Scripturae, quae contra nos citantur, explicavimus, de patribus etiam respondendum est. Non ignoramus missam a patribus appellari sacrificium, sed hi non hoc volunt missam ex opere operato conferre gratiam, et applicatam pro aliis mereri eis remissionem peccatorum, culpae et poenae. Ubi leguntur haec portenta verborum apud patres? Sed aperte testantur se de gratiarum actione loqui. Ideoque vocant **67**] *εὐχαριστίαν*. Diximus autem supra sacrificium *εὐχαριστικόν* non mereri reconciliationem, sed fieri a reconciliatis, sicut afflictiones non merentur reconciliationem, sed tunc sunt sacrificia *εὐχαριστικά*, quando reconciliati sustinent eas.

Was die alten Lehrer oder Väter vom Opfer schreiben.

Nachdem wir die Sprüche, so die Widersacher aus der Schrift angezogen, recht ausgelegt und verantwortet haben, so müssen wir auch auf der alten Väter Sprüche, welche sie anziehen, antworten. Wir wissen wohl, daß die Väter die Messe ein Opfer nennen; aber der Väter Meinung ist nicht, daß man durch Messehalten ex opere operato Vergebung der Sünden erlange, oder daß man Messe halten solle für Lebendige und Tote, ihnen Vergebung der Sünden, Ablaß von Pein und Schuld zu erlangen. Denn sie werden nimmermehr beweisen, daß von solchem Greuel wider alle Schrift die Väter etwas gelehrt, sondern der Väter Bücher reden von Danksagung und Dankopfer, darum nennen sie die Messe eucharistiam. Wir haben aber hier oben angezeigt, daß die Dankopfer uns nicht Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, sondern geschehen von denjenigen, die schon versöhnt sind durch den Glauben an Christum. Gleichwie Kreuz und Trübsal nicht Versöhnung gegen Gott verdienen, sondern sind Dankopfer, wenn diejenigen, so versöhnt sind, solche Trübsale tragen und leiden.

Et hoc responsum in genere ad patrum dicta satis tuetur nos contra adversarios. Certum est enim illa figmenta de merito operis operati nusquam exstare apud patres. [R. 267 Sed ut tota causa magis perspici possit, dicemus et nos de usu sacramenti ea, quae certum est consentanea esse patribus et Scripturae.

Und diese kurzen Worte sind Antwort genug wider die Sprüche der Väter, schützen uns auch genug wider unsere Widersacher. Denn es ist gewiß, daß die Träume vom opere operato nirgend in der Väter Büchern oder Schriften gefunden werden. Aber damit diese ganze Sache und Handel von der Messe desto klarer zu verstehen sei, so wollen wir auch vom rechten Gebrauch des Sakraments reden, und also, wie es in der Heiligen Schrift und in allen Schriften der Väter auch zu finden.

De Usu Sacramenti et de Sacrificio.

68] Quidam belli homines fingunt coenam Domini institutam esse propter duas causas. Primum, ut sit nota et testimonium professionis, sicut certa forma cuculli est signum certae professionis. Deinde cogitant praecipue talem notam Christo placuisse, videlicet convivium, ut significaret mutuam inter Christianos coniunctionem atque amicitiam, quia symposia sunt signa foederum et amicitiae. Sed haec opinio est civilis, nec ostendit praecipuum usum rerum a Deo traditarum, tantum de caritate exercenda loquitur,

Vom rechten Gebrauch des Sakraments und von dem Opfer.

Etliche vorwitzige Gelehrte erdichten ihnen selbst, das Abendmahl des HErrn sei um zweierlei Ursache willen eingesetzt. Erstlich, daß es sei eine Losung und Zeichen eines Ordens, wie die Mönchskappen ihrer Orden Unterschiede und Zeichen sind. Danach gedenken sie, Christus habe sonderlich Wohlgefallen, dieselbe Losung durch ein Essen oder Abendmahl zu geben oder anzurichten, daß er anzeigte die Freundschaft brüderlicher Verwandtnis, so unter den Christen sein soll; denn miteinander essen und trinken ist ein Zeichen der Freundschaft. Aber das ist ein menschlicher Ge-

grades of weight for gold or silver. Besides, they sell the Mass, as a price for obtaining what each one seeks: to merchants, that business may be prosperous; to hunters, that hunting may be successful; and infinite other things. Lastly, they apply it also to the dead; by the application of the Sacrament they liberate souls from the pains of purgatory; although without faith the Mass is of service not even to the living. Neither are the adversaries able to produce even one syllable from the Scriptures in defense of these fables which they teach with great authority in the Church; neither do they have the testimonies of the ancient Church nor of the Fathers. [Therefore they are impious and blind people who knowingly despise and trample under foot the plain truth of God.]

What the Fathers Thought concerning Sacrifice.

And since we have explained the passages of Scripture which are cited against us, we must reply also concerning the Fathers. We are not ignorant that the Mass is called by the Fathers a sacrifice; but they do not mean that the Mass confers grace *ex opere operato*, and that, when applied on behalf of others, it merits for them the remission of sins, of guilt and punishment. Where are such monstrous stories to be found in the Fathers? But they openly testify that they are speaking of thanksgiving. Accordingly they call it a eucharist. We have said above, however, that a eucharistic sacrifice does not merit reconciliation, but is made by those who have been reconciled, just as afflictions do not merit reconciliation, but are eucharistic sacrifices when those who have been reconciled endure them.

And this reply, in general, to the sayings of the Fathers defends us sufficiently against the adversaries. For it is certain that these figments concerning the merit of the *opus operatum* are found nowhere in the Fathers. But in order that the whole case may be the better understood, we also shall state those things concerning the use of the Sacrament which actually harmonize with the Fathers and Scripture.

Of the Use of the Sacrament, and of Sacrifice.

Some clever men imagine that the Lord's Supper was instituted for two reasons. First, that it might be a mark and testimony of profession, just as a particular shape of hood is the sign of a particular profession. Then they think that such a mark was especially pleasing to Christ, namely, a feast to signify mutual union and friendship among Christians, because banquets are signs of covenant and friendship. But this is a secular view;

quam homines profani et civiles utcumque intelligunt; de fide non loquitur, quae, quid sit, pauci intelligunt.

69] Sacramenta sunt signa voluntatis Dei erga nos, non tantum signa sunt hominum inter sese, et recte definiunt sacramenta in novo testamento esse signa gratiae. Et quia in sacramento duo sunt, signum et verbum: verbum in novo testamento est promissio gratiae addita. Promissio novi testamenti est promissio remissionis peccatorum, sicut textus hic dicit, Luc. 22, 19: *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur; hic est calix novi testamenti cum sanguine meo, qui pro multis effundetur in remissionem peccatorum.* **70**] Verbum igitur offert remissionem peccatorum. Et ceremonia est quasi pictura verbi seu *sigillum*, ut Paulus Rom. 4, 11 vocat, ostendens promissionem. Ergo sicut promissio inutilis est, nisi fide accipiatur, ita inutilis est ceremonia, nisi fides accedat, quae vere statuat hic offerri remissionem peccatorum. Et haec fides erigit contritas [R. 268 mentes. Et sicut verbum ad hanc fidem excitandam traditum est, ita sacramentum institutum est, ut illa species incurrens in oculos moveat corda ad credendum. Per haec enim, videlicet per verbum et sacramentum, operatur Spiritus Sanctus.

Die Sakramente aber sind Zeichen des göttlichen Willens gegen uns und sind nicht allein Losungen oder Zeichen, dabei sich die Leute kennen; und diejenigen sagen recht, die da sagen, die Sakramente sind signa gratiae, das ist, die Sakramente sind Zeichen der Gnade. Und dieweil im Sakrament zwei Dinge sind, das äußerliche Zeichen und das Wort, so ist im Neuen Testament das Wort die Verheißung der Gnade, welche dem Zeichen angeheftet ist. Und dieselbe Verheißung im Neuen Testament ist eine Verheißung der Vergebung der Sünden, wie der Text sagt: „Das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird; das ist der Kelch des Neuen Testaments in meinem Blut, welches vergossen wird für viele zur Vergebung der Sünden." Das Wort bietet uns an Vergebung der Sünden. Das äußerliche Zeichen ist wie ein Siegel und Bekräftigung der Worte und Verheißung, wie es Paulus auch nennt. Darum, wie die Verheißung vergeblich ist, wenn sie nicht durch den Glauben gefaßt wird, also ist auch die Zeremonia oder äußerliche Zeichen nicht nütze, es sei denn der Glaube da, welcher wahrhaftig dafürhält, daß uns Vergebung der Sünden widerfährt. Und derselbe Glaube tröstet die erschrockenen Gewissen. Und wie Gott die Verheißung gibt, solchen Glauben zu erwecken, also ist auch das äußerliche Zeichen daneben gegeben und vor die Augen gestellt, daß es die Herzen zu glauben bewege und den Glauben stärke. Denn durch die zwei, durchs Wort und äußerliche Zeichen, wirkt der Heilige Geist.

71] Et talis usus sacramenti, quum fides vivificat perterrefacta corda, cultus est novi testamenti, quia novum testamentum habet motus spirituales, mortificationem et vivificationem. Et ad hunc usum instituit Christus, quum iubet *facere in sui commemorationem.* **72**] Nam meminisse Christi non est otiosa spectaculi celebratio aut exempli causa instituta, sicut in tragoediis celebratur memoria Herculis aut Ulyssis; sed est meminisse beneficia Christi, eaque fide accipere, ut per ea vivificemur. Ideo Psalmus ait, 111, 4. 5: *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum, misericors et miserator Dominus; escam dedit timentibus se.* Significat enim voluntatem et misericordiam Dei agnoscendam esse in illa **73**] ceremonia. Illa autem fides, quae agnoscit misericordiam, vivificat. Et hic principalis usus est sacramenti, in quo apparet, qui sint idonei ad sacramentum, videlicet perterrefactae conscientiae, et quomodo uti debeant.

Und dies ist der rechte Gebrauch des heiligen Sakraments, wenn durch den Glauben an die göttliche Verheißung die erschrockenen Gewissen werden wieder aufgerichtet. Und das ist der rechte Gottesdienst im Neuen Testament; denn im Neuen Testament geht der höchste Gottesdienst inwendig im Herzen zu, daß wir nach dem alten Adam getötet werden und durch den Heiligen Geist neu geboren werden. Und dazu hat auch Christus das Sakrament eingesetzt, da er sagt: „Solches tut zu meinem Gedächtnis!" Denn solches zu Christi Gedächtnis tun, ist nicht ein solch Ding, das allein mit Gebärden und Werken zugeht, allein zu einer Erinnerung und zu einem Exempel, wie man in Historien Alexandri und dergleichen gedenkt usw., sondern heißt da Christum recht erkennen, Christi Wohltat suchen und begehren. Der Glaube nun, der da erkennt die überschwengliche Gnade Gottes, der macht lebendig. Und das ist der vornehmste Gebrauch des Sakraments, daran wohl zu merken, welche recht geschickt seien zu dem Sakrament, nämlich die erschrockenen Gewissen, welche ihre Sünden fühlen, vor Gottes Zorn und Urteil erschrecken und sich nach Trost sehnen. Darum sagt der Psalm: „Er hat ein Gedächtnis gemacht seiner Wunder, der gnädige und barmherzige HErr; er hat Speise gegeben denen, so ihn fürchten." Und der Glaube, der da erkennt solche Barmherzigkeit, der macht lebendig, und das ist der rechte Gebrauch des Sakraments.

74] Accedit et sacrificium. Sunt enim unius rei plures fines. Postquam conscientia fide erecta sensit, ex qualibus terroribus liberetur, tum vero serio agit gratias pro beneficio et passione Christi; et utitur ipsa ceremonia ad laudem Dei, ut hac obedientia gratitudi-

Da ist denn auch und findet sich das Dankopfer oder Danksagung. Denn wenn das Herz und Gewissen empfindet, aus was großer Not, Angst und Schrecken es erlöst ist, so dankt es aus Herzensgrunde für so großen, unsäglichen Schatz und braucht auch der Zeremonien oder äußerlichen

neither does it show the chief use of the things delivered by God; it speaks only of the exercise of love, which men, however profane and worldly, understand; it does not speak of faith, the nature of which few understand.

The Sacraments are signs of God's will toward us, and not merely signs of men among each other; and they are right in defining that Sacraments in the New Testament are signs of grace. And because in a sacrament there are two things, a sign and the Word, the Word, in the New Testament, is the promise of grace added. The promise of the New Testament is the promise of the remission of sins, as the text, Luke 22, 19, says: *This is My body, which is given for you. This cup is the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* Therefore the Word offers the remission of sins. And a ceremony is, as it were, a picture or *seal*, as Paul, Rom. 4, 11, calls it, of the Word, making known the promise. Therefore, just as the promise is useless unless it is received by faith, so a ceremony is useless unless such faith is added as is truly confident that the remission of sins is here offered. And this faith encourages contrite minds. And just as the Word has been given in order to excite this faith, so the Sacrament has been instituted in order that the outward appearance meeting the eyes might move the heart to believe [and strengthen faith]. For through these, namely, through Word and Sacrament, the Holy Ghost works.

And such use of the Sacrament, in which faith quickens terrified hearts, is a service of the New Testament, because the New Testament requires spiritual dispositions, mortification and quickening. [For according to the New Testament the highest service of God is rendered inwardly in the heart.] And for this use Christ instituted it, since He commanded them *thus to do in remembrance of Him.* For to remember Christ is not the idle celebration of a show [not something that is accomplished only by some gestures and actions], or one instituted for the sake of example, as the memory of Hercules or Ulysses is celebrated in tragedies, but it is to remember the benefits of Christ and receive them by faith, so as to be quickened by them. Psalm 111, 4. 5 accordingly says: *He hath made His wonderful works to be remembered: the Lord is gracious and full of compassion. He hath given meat unto them that fear Him.* For it signifies that the will and mercy of God should be discerned in the ceremony. But that faith which apprehends mercy quickens. And this is the principal use of the Sacrament, in which it is apparent who are fit for the Sacrament, namely, terrified consciences, and how they ought to use it.

The sacrifice [thank-offering or thanksgiving] also is added. For there are several ends for one object. After conscience encouraged by faith has perceived from what terrors it is freed, then indeed it fervently gives thanks for the benefit and passion of Christ, and uses the ceremony itself to the

nem ostendat, et testatur se magnifacere dona Dei. Ita fit ceremonia sacrificium laudis.

75] Ac patres quidem de duplici effectu loquuntur, de consolatione conscientiarum et de gratiarum actione seu laude. Horum effectuum prior ad sacramenti rationem pertinet; posterior pertinet ad sacrificium. De consolatione ait Ambrosius: *Accedite ad eum et absolvimini, quia est remissio peccatorum. Qui sit iste, quaeritis? Audite ipsum dicentem,* Ioh. 6, 35: *Ego sum panis vitae;* [R. 269 *qui venit ad me, non esuriet, et qui credit in me, non sitiet unquam.* Hic testatur in sacramento offerri remissionem peccatorum, testatur et fide accipi debere. Infinita testimonia leguntur in hanc sententiam apud patres, quae omnia detorquent adversarii ad opus operatum et applicandum pro aliis, quum patres aperte requirant fidem et de propria cuiusque consolatione loquantur, non de applicatione.

76] Praeter haec leguntur et sententiae de gratiarum actione, qualis illa est suavissime dicta a Cypriano de pie communicantibus: *Pietas,* inquit, *inter data et condonata se dividens, gratias agit tam uberis beneficii largitori,* id est, pietas intuetur data et condonata, hoc est, confert inter se magnitudinem beneficiorum Dei et magnitudinem nostrorum malorum, mortis et peccati, et agit gratias etc. Et hinc exstitit appellatio *εὐχα-*
77] *ριστίας* in ecclesia. Neque vero ceremonia ipsa est gratiarum actio ex opere operato applicanda pro aliis, ut mereatur eis remissionem peccatorum etc., ut liberet animas defunctorum. Haec pugnant cum iustitia fidei, quasi ceremonia sine fide prosit aut facienti, aut aliis.

Zeichen zu Gottes Lobe und erzeigt sich, daß es solche Gottesgnade mit Dankbarkeit annehme, groß und hoch achte. Also wird die Messe ein Dankopfer oder Opfer des Lobes.

Und also reden die Väter davon von zweierlei Effekt oder Nutzen des Sakraments: erstlich, daß dadurch die Gewissen getröstet werden; zum andern, daß Gott Lob und Dank gesagt werde. Das erste gehört eigentlich zum rechten Gebrauch des Sakraments, das andere zu dem Opfer. Vom Trost sagt Ambrosius: „Geht zu ihm, das ist, zu Christo, und empfangt Gnade usw.; denn er ist die Vergebung der Sünden. Fragt ihr aber, wer er sei? Hört ihn selbst reden: ‚Ich bin das Brot des Lebens; wer zu mir kommt, den wird nicht hungern, und wer an mich glaubet, den wird nicht dürsten.'" Da zeigt er an, daß mit dem Sakrament angeboten wird Vergebung der Sünden. Er sagt auch, man soll solches mit dem Glauben fassen. Man findet der Sprüche unzählige in der Väter Büchern, welche die Widersacher alle auf das opus operatum und auf das Messehalten, so für andere geschieht, deuten, so doch die Väter vom Glauben an die Verheißung Gottes und von dem Trost, den die Gewissen empfangen, reden, und de applicatione gar nichts sagen.

Darüber findet man Sprüche in den Vätern von Danksagung, wie denn Cyprianus fast lieblich redet vom christlichen Kommunizieren. „Ein christlich Herz", sagt er, „teilt seinen Dank auf einen Teil für den geschenkten Schatz, aufs andere Teil für die vergebenen Sünden und dankt für so reiche Gnade." Das ist, ein christlich Herz, das sieht an, was ihm geschenkt ist in Christo und was ihm auch für große Schuld aus Gnaden erlassen ist; hält gegeneinander unsern Jammer und die große Barmherzigkeit Gottes und dankt Gott usw. Und daher ist es **Eucharistia** genannt in der Kirche. Darum ist die Messe nicht eine solche Danksagung, die man ex opere operato für andere tun oder halten solle, ihnen Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen. Denn solches wäre stracks wider den Glauben, gleich als [ob] die Messe oder die äußerliche Zeremonie ohne den Glauben jemand fromm und selig machte.

De Vocabulis Missae.

78] Adversarii revocant nos etiam ad grammaticam, sumunt argumenta ex appellationibus missae, quae non habent opus longa disputatione. Non enim sequitur missam, etiamsi vocatur sacrificium, opus esse ex opere operato gratiam conferens, aut applicatum pro aliis mereri eis **79]** remissionem peccatorum etc. *Λειτουργία,* inquiunt, significat sacrificium, et Graeci missam appellant liturgiam. Cur hic omittunt appellationem veterem *synaxis,* quae ostendit missam **80]** olim fuisse multorum communicationem? Sed dicamus de *liturgia.* Ea vox non significat proprie sacrificium, sed potius publicum ministerium, et apte quadrat ad nostram [R. 270 sententiam, quod videlicet unus minister consecrans reliquo populo exhibet corpus et sanguinem Domini, sicut unus minister docens exhibet evangelium populo, sicut ait Paulus 1 Cor. 4, 1: *Sic nos existimet homo tamquam ministros Christi dispensatores sacramentorum Dei,* hoc est, evangelii et sacramentorum. Et 2 Cor. 5, 20: *Propter causam Christi legatione fungimur tam-*
81] *quam Deo per nos adhortante, rogamus Christi causa: Reconciliamini* etc. Ita apte quadrat nomen *λειτουργία* ad ministerium. Est enim vetus verbum, usurpatum in publicis ministeriis civilibus, ac significat Graecis onera publica, sicut tributum, sumptum instruendae classis aut similia, ut testatur oratio Demosthenis *πρὸς Λεπτίνην,* quae tota consumitur in disputatione de publicis muneribus et immunitatibus: *Φήσει δὲ ἀναξίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους εὑρομένους ἀτέλειαν ἐκδεδυκέναι τὰς λειτουργίας,* id est: *Dicet indignos quosdam homines inventa immunitate detrectare publica onera.* Et sic Romanis temporibus locuti sunt, ut ostendit rescriptum Pertinacis ff. *De iure immunitatis, l. Semper: Εἰ καὶ μὴ πασῶν λειτουργιῶν τοὺς πατέρας ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμὸς ἀνεῖται; etsi non liberat parentes omnibus oneribus publicis numerus natorum.* Et commentarius Demosthenis scribit, *λειτουργίαν* genus esse tributorum, sumptus ludorum, sumptus instruendarum navium, curandi gymnasii et similium publicarum

praise of God, in order by this obedience to show its gratitude; and testifies that it holds in high esteem the gifts of God. Thus the ceremony becomes a sacrifice of praise.

And the Fathers, indeed, speak of a twofold effect, of the comfort of consciences, and of thanksgiving, or praise. The former of these effects pertains to the nature [the right use] of the Sacrament; the latter pertains to the sacrifice. Of consolation Ambrose says: *Go to Him and be absolved, because He is the remission of sins. Do you ask who He is? Hear Him when He says,* John 6, 35: *I am the Bread of life; he that cometh to Me shall never hunger; and he that believeth on Me shall never thirst.* This passage testifies that in the Sacrament the remission of sins is offered; it also testifies that this ought to be received by faith. Infinite testimonies to this effect are found in the Fathers, all of which the adversaries pervert to the *opus operatum*, and to a work to be applied on behalf of others; although the Fathers clearly require faith, and speak of the consolation belonging to every one, and not of the application.

Besides these, expressions are also found concerning thanksgiving, such as that most beautifully said by Cyprian concerning those communing in a godly way. *Piety,* says he, *in thanking the Bestower of such abundant blessing, makes a distinction between what has been given and what has been forgiven, i. e.,* piety regards both what has been given and what has been forgiven, *i. e.,* it compares the greatness of God's blessings and the greatness of our evils, sin and death, with each other, and gives thanks, etc. And hence the term eucharist arose in the Church. Nor indeed is the ceremony itself, the giving of thanks *ex opere operato,* to be applied on behalf of others, in order to merit for them the remission of sins, etc., in order to liberate the souls of the dead. These things conflict with the righteousness of faith; as though, without faith, a ceremony can profit either the one performing it or others.

Of the Term Mass.

The adversaries also refer us to philology. From the names of the Mass they derive arguments which do not require a long discussion. For even though the Mass be called a sacrifice, it does not follow that it must confer grace *ex opere operato,* or, when applied on behalf of others, merit for them the remission of sins, etc. *Λειτουργία,* they say, signifies a sacrifice, and the Greeks call the Mass, liturgy. Why do they here omit the old appellation *synaxis,* which shows that the Mass was formerly the communion of many? But let us speak of the word *liturgy.* This word does not properly signify a sacrifice, but rather the public ministry, and agrees aptly with our belief, namely, that one minister who consecrates tenders the body and blood of the Lord to the rest of the people, just as one minister who preaches tenders the Gospel to the people, as Paul says, 1 Cor. 4, 1: *Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God, i. e.,* of the Gospel and the Sacraments. And 2 Cor. 5, 20: *We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled to God.* Thus the term *λειτουργία* agrees aptly with the ministry. For it is an old word, ordinarily employed in public civil administrations, and signified to the Greeks public burdens, as tribute, the expense of equipping a fleet, or similar things, as the oration of Demosthenes, *For Leptines,* testifies, all of which is occupied with the discussion of public duties and immunities: *Φήσει δὲ ἀναξίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους εὑρομένους ἀτέλειαν ἐκδεδυκέναι τὰς λειτουργίας, i. e.: He will say that some unworthy men, having found an immunity, have withdrawn from public burdens.* And thus they spoke in the time of the Romans, as the rescript of Pertinax, *De Iure Immunitatis, l. Semper,* shows: *Εἰ καὶ μὴ πασῶν λειτουργιῶν τοὺς πατέρας ὁ τῶν τέκνων ἀριθμὸς ἀνεῖται, Even though the number of children does not liberate parents from all public burdens.* And the Commentary upon Demosthenes states that *λειτουργία* is a kind of tribute, the expense of the games, the expense of equipping vessels, of attending to the gymnasia and similar public offices. And Paul in 2 Cor. 9, 12 employs it for a collection. The taking of the collection not only supplies those things which are wanting to the saints, but also causes them to give more thanks abundantly to God, etc. And in Phil. 2, 25 he calls Epaphroditus a *λειτουργός,* one *who ministered to my wants,* where assuredly a sacrificer cannot be understood. But there is no need of more testimonies, since

82] curationum. Et Paulus pro *collatione* usurpavit 2 Cor. 9, 12. Officium huius collationis non solum supplet ea, quae desunt sanctis, sed etiam efficit, ut plures Deo ubertim agant gratias etc. Et Phil. 2, 25 appellat Epaphroditum *λειτουργόν, ministrum necessitatis suae,* 83] ubi certe non potest intelligi sacrificulus. Sed nihil opus est pluribus testimoniis, quum exempla ubique obvia sint legentibus Graecos scriptores, in quibus *λειτουργία* usurpatur pro publicis oneribus civilibus seu ministeriis. Et propter diphthongum grammatici non [R. 271 deducunt a *λιτή*, quod significat preces, sed a publicis bonis, quae vocant *λεῖτα*, ut sit *λειτουργέω:* curo, tracto publica bona.

84] Illud est ridiculum, quod argumentantur altaris mentionem fieri in sacris literis, quare necesse sit missam esse sacrificium, quum parabola altaris per similitudinem a Paulo citetur. 85] Et missam fingunt dictam ab altari, מזבח. Quorsum opus erat tam procul accersere etymologiam, nisi volebant ostentare scientiam Ebraicae linguae? Quorsum opus est procul quaerere etymologiam, quum exstet nomen *missa* Deut. 16, 10, ubi significat collationes seu munera populi, non oblationem sacerdotis? Debebant enim singuli venientes ad celebrationem 86] paschae aliquod munus quasi symbolam afferre. Hunc morem initio retinuerunt et Christiani. Convenientes afferebant panes, vinum et alia, ut testantur canones apostolorum. Inde sumebatur pars, quae consecraretur; reliquum distribuebatur pauperibus. Cum hoc more retinuerunt et nomen collationum *missa.* Et propter tales collationes apparet etiam alicubi missam dictam esse *ἀγάπην,* nisi quis mavult ita dictam esse propter commune convivium. 87] Sed omittamus has nugas. Ridiculum est enim adversarios in re tanta adeo leves coniecturas afferre. Nam etiamsi missa dicitur oblatio, quid facit vocabulum ad illa somnia de opere operato et applicatione, quam fingunt aliis mereri remissionem peccatorum? Et potest oblatio dici propterea, quia ibi offeruntur orationes, gratiarum actiones et totus ille cultus, sicut et *εὐχαριστία* dicitur. Verum neque ceremoniae neque orationes ex opere operato sine fide prosunt. Quamquam nos hic non de orationibus, sed proprie de coena Domini [R. 272 disputamus.

Von dem Wort Meſſe.

Hier iſt zu ſehen, welch grobe Eſel unſere Widerſacher ſind. Sie ſagen, das Wort missa komme von dem Wort misbeach, das ein Altar heißt; daraus ſoll folgen, daß die Meſſe ein Opfer ſei; denn auf dem Altar opfert man. Item das Wort liturgia, wie die Gräken [Griechen] die Meſſe nennen, ſoll auch ein Opfer heißen. Darauf wollen wir kurz antworten. Alle Welt ſieht, daß aus dieſen Gründen dieſer heidniſche und antichriſtiſche Irrtum nicht folgen müſſe, daß die Meſſe helfe ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. Darum ſind ſie Eſel, daß ſie in ſolcher großwichtigen Sache ſo ungereimt Ding vorbringen. Auch ſo wiſſen die Eſel keine Grammatika. Denn missa und liturgia heißen nicht Opfer. Missa heißt hebräiſch eine zuſammengetragene Steuer. 5 Moſ. 16, 10. Denn alſo iſt etwa die Weiſe geweſen, daß die Chriſten Speiſe und Trank zugut den Armen in die Verſammlung gebracht haben. Und ſolche Weiſe iſt von [den] Juden hergekommen, die auf ihre Feſte mußten ſolche Steuer bringen; die nannten ſie missa. So heißt liturgia gräkiſch [griechiſch] eigentlich ein Amt, darin man der Gemeinde dient; das ſchickt ſich wohl auf unſere Lehre, daß der Prieſter da als ein gemeiner Diener denjenigen, ſo kommunizieren wollen, dient und das heilige Sakrament reicht.

Etliche meinen, missa komme nicht aus dem Hebräiſchen, ſondern ſei als viel als remissio, Vergebung der Sünden. Denn ſo man kommuniziert hat, hat man geſprochen: Ite, missa est; „Zieht hin, ihr habt Vergebung der Sünden.“ Und daß dem alſo ſei, ziehen ſie an, daß man bei den Gräken geſprochen hat: Lais Apheſis (*λαοῖς ἄφεσις*); das iſt auch ſo viel: Ihnen iſt verziehen. Wo dem alſo, wäre dieſes ein feiner Verſtand; denn es ſoll allezeit bei dieſer Zeremonie Vergebung der Sünden gepredigt und verkündigt werden. Doch iſt dieſem Handel wenig geholfen, das Wort missa heiße, was es wolle.

88] Graecus canon etiam multa dicit de oblatione, sed palam ostendit se non loqui proprie de corpore et sanguine Domini, sed de toto cultu, de precibus et gratiarum actionibus. Sic enim ait: *Καὶ ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς λαοῦ.* Nihil offendit recte intellectum. Orat enim *nos dignos effici ad offerendas preces et supplicationes et hostias incruentas pro populo.* Nam ipsas preces vocat hostias incruentas. Sicut et paulo post: *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν; offerimus,* inquit, *hunc rationalem et incruentum cultum.* Inepte enim exponunt, qui hic rationalem hostiam malunt interpretari et transferunt ad ipsum corpus Christi, quum canon loquatur de toto cultu, et *λογικὴ λατρεία* a Paulo, Rom. 12, 1, dicta sit contra opus operatum, videlicet de cultu mentis, de timore, de fide, de invocatione, de gratiarum actione etc.

[*De Missa pro Defunctis.*]

89] Quod vero defendunt adversarii nostri applicationem ceremoniae pro liberandis animabus defunctorum, qua ex re quaestum infinitum faciunt, nulla habent testimonia, nullum mandatum ex Scripturis. Neque vero est leve peccatum, tales cultus sine mandato Dei, sine exemplo Scripturae in ecclesia instituere, et coenam Domini institutam ad recordatio-

Von den Meſſen für die Toten.

Daß aber die Widerſacher noch dies wollen verteidigen, daß die Meſſe den Toten helfe, davon ſie einen eigenen Jahrmarkt und ſonderlich unſägliche Kretſchmerei gemacht, des haben ſie kein Zeugnis noch Befehl Gottes in der Schrift. Nun iſt es je ein unſäglicher, großer Greuel und nicht eine kleine Sünde, daß ſie dürfen ohne Gottes Wort, ohne alle Schrift, einen Gottesdienſt in der Kirche

examples are everywhere obvious to those reading the Greek writers, in whom *λειτουργία* is employed for public civil burdens or ministries. And on account of the diphthong, grammarians do not derive it from *λιτή*, which signifies prayers, but from public goods, which they call *λεῖτα*, so that *λειτουργέω* means, I attend to, I administer public goods.

Ridiculous is their inference that, since mention is made in the Holy Scriptures of an altar, therefore the Mass must be a sacrifice; for the figure of an altar is referred to by Paul only by way of comparison. And they fabricate that the Mass has been so called from מזבח, an altar. What need is there of an etymology so far fetched, unless it be to show their knowledge of the Hebrew language? What need is there to seek the etymology from a distance, when the term Mass is found in Deut. 16, 10, where it signifies the collections or gifts of the people, not the offering of the priest? For individuals coming to the celebration of the Passover were obliged to bring some gift as a contribution. In the beginning the Christians also retained this custom. Coming together, they brought bread, wine, and other things, as the Canons of the Apostles testify. Thence a part was taken to be consecrated; the rest was distributed to the poor. With this custom they also retained *Mass* as the name of the contributions. And on account of such contributions it appears also that the Mass was elsewhere called *ἀγάπη*, unless one would prefer that it was so called on account of the common feast. But let us omit these trifles. For it is ridiculous that the adversaries should produce such trifling conjectures concerning a matter of such great importance. For although the Mass is called an offering, in what does the term favor the dreams concerning the *opus operatum*, and the application which, they imagine, merits for others the remission of sins? And it can be called an offering for the reason that prayers, thanksgivings, and the entire worship are there offered, as it is also called a eucharist. But neither ceremonies nor prayers profit *ex opere operato*, without faith. Although we are disputing here not concerning prayers, but particularly concerning the Lord's Supper.

[Here you can see what rude asses our adversaries are. They say that the term *missa* is derived from the term *misbeach*, which signifies an altar; hence we are to conclude that the Mass is a sacrifice; for sacrifices are offered on an altar. Again, the word *liturgia*, by which the Greeks call the Mass, is also to denote a sacrifice. This claim we shall briefly answer. All the world sees that from such reasons this heathenish and antichristian error does not follow necessarily, that the Mass benefits *ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis*. Therefore they are asses, because in such a highly important matter they bring forward such silly things. Nor do the asses know any grammar. For *missa* and *liturgia* do not mean sacrifice. *Missa*, in Hebrew, denotes a joint contribution. For this may have been a custom among Christians, that they brought meat and drink for the benefit of the poor to their assemblies. This custom was derived from the Jews, who had to bring such contributions on their festivals; these they called *missa*. Likewise, *liturgia*, in Greek, really denotes an office in which a person ministers to the congregation. This is well applied to our teaching, because with us the priest, as a common servant of those who wish to commune, ministers to them the holy Sacrament.

Some think that *missa* is not derived from the Hebrew, but signifies as much as *remissio*, the forgiveness of sin. For, the communion being ended, the announcement used to be made: *Ite, missa est: Depart, you have forgiveness of sins.* They cite, as proof that this is so, the fact that the Greeks used to say: *Lais Aphesis* (*λαοῖς ἄφεσις*), which also means that they had been pardoned. If this were so, it would be an excellent meaning; for in connection with this ceremony forgiveness of sins must always be preached and proclaimed. But the case before us is little aided, no matter what the meaning of the word *missa* is.]

The Greek canon says also many things concerning the offering, but it shows plainly that it is not speaking properly of the body and blood of the Lord, but of the whole service, of prayers and thanksgivings. For it says thus: *Καὶ ποίησον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις καὶ ἱκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς λαοῦ.* When this is rightly understood, it gives no offense. For it prays that *we be made worthy to offer prayers and supplications and bloodless sacrifices for the people.* For he calls even prayers bloodless sacrifices. Just as also a little afterward: *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν, We offer*, he says, *this reasonable and bloodless service.* For they explain this inaptly who would rather interpret this of a reasonable sacrifice, and transfer it to the very body of Christ, although the canon speaks of the entire worship, and in opposition to the *opus operatum* Paul has spoken of *λογικὴ λατρεία* [reasonable service], namely, of the worship of the mind, of fear, of faith, of prayer, of thanksgiving, etc.

Of the Mass for the Dead.

Our adversaries have no testimonies and no command from Scripture for defending the application of the ceremony for liberating the souls of the dead, although from this they derive infinite revenue. Nor, indeed, is it a light sin to establish such services in the Church without the command of God and without the

nem et praedicationem inter vivos transferre ad mortuos. Hoc est abuti nomine Dei contra secundum praeceptum.

Primum enim contumelia est evangelii sentire, quod ceremonia ex opere operato sine fide sit sacrificium reconcilians Deum et satisfaciens pro peccatis. Horribilis oratio est, tantundem tribuere operi sacerdotis quantum morti Christi. Deinde peccatum et mors non possunt vinci nisi fide in Christum, [R. 273 sicut Paulus docet Rom. 5, 1: *Iustificati ex fide pacem habemus*, quare non potest vinci poena purgatorii applicatione alieni operis.

90] Omittemus iam, qualia habeant adversarii testimonia de purgatorio, quales existiment poenas esse purgatorii, quales habeat causas doctrina satisfactionum, quam supra ostendimus vanissimam esse. Illud tantum opponemus: certum est coenam Domini institutam esse propter remissionem culpae. Offert enim remissionem peccatorum, ubi necesse est vere culpam intelligere. Et tamen pro culpa non satisfacit, alioqui missa esset par morti Christi. Nec remissio culpae accipi potest aliter nisi fide. Igitur missa non est satisfactio, sed promissio et sacramentum requirens fidem.

91] Ac profecto necesse est omnes pios acerbissimo dolore affici, si cogitent missam magna ex parte ad mortuos et ad satisfactiones pro poenis translatam esse. Hoc est tollere iuge sacrificium ex ecclesia, hoc est, Antiochi regnum, qui saluberrimas promissiones de remissione culpae, de fide transtulit ad vanissimas opiniones de satisfactionibus, hoc est, evangelium contaminare, corrumpere usum sacramentorum. Hi sunt, quos Paulus 1 Cor. 11, 27 dixit *reos esse corporis et sanguinis Domini*, qui oppresserunt doctrinam de fide, et remissionem culpae et corpus et sanguinem Domini ad sacrilegum quaestum praetextu satisfactionum contulerunt. Et huius sacrilegii poenas aliquando dabunt. Quare cavendum est nobis et omnibus piis conscientiis, ne approbent adversariorum abusus.

anrichten und dürfen das Abendmahl des HErrn, welches Christus hat eingesetzt, das Wort zu predigen, dabei seines Todes zu gedenken, zu stärken den Glauben derjenigen, so die Zeremonie brauchen, unverschämt ziehen auf die Toten. Denn das heißt recht Gottes Namen mißbrauchen wider das andere Gebot.

Denn erstlich ist das die höchste Schmach und Lästerung des Evangelii und Christi, daß das schlechte Werk der Messe ex opere operato ein Opfer sei, das Gott versöhne und für die Sünden genugtue. Es ist eine recht schreckliche, häßliche Predigt und Lehre und ein großer, unsäglicher Greuel, daß das schlechte [bloße] getane Werk eines Priesters als viel gelten solle als der Tod Christi. So ist je gewiß, daß die Sünde und der Tod nicht können überwunden werden denn allein durch den Glauben an Christum, wie Paulus sagt Röm. 5. Darum so können die Messen den Toten in keinem Weg ex opere operato helfen.

Wir wollen hier nicht erzählen, wie schwache Gründe die Widersacher vom Fegfeuer haben; item, woher die Lehre von der Genugtuung und Satisfaktion erst aufgekommen; wie wir denn haben oben angezeigt, daß es eitel Träume und erdichteter Menschentand ist. Allein das wollen wir ihnen sagen, daß gewiß ist, das Abendmahl gehöre eigentlich zur Vergebung der Schuld. Denn was Trost hätten wir, so uns da sollte Vergebung angeboten werden, und sollte doch nicht Vergebung der Schuld sein? So nun die Zeremonia Vergebung der Schuld anbietet, folgt, daß unmöglich ist, daß eine satisfactio sei ex opere operato oder den Toten helfe. Denn gehört sie zur Vergebung der Schuld, so muß sie allein dazu dienen, die Gewissen zu trösten, daß sie glauben, ihnen sei die Schuld wahrhaftig vergeben.

Und wahrlich, es wäre nicht Wunder, daß alle frommen, christlichen Leute vor Angst und Leid Blut weinten, wenn sie recht bedächten, wie unsäglicher greulicher und schrecklicher Mißbrauch der Messe unter dem Papsttum ist, nämlich daß die Messe das mehrere Teil nirgend zu anders gebraucht wird, denn für die Toten und die Pein des Fegfeuers abzulösen. Sie schreien, wir tun iuge sacrificium oder das tägliche Opfer ab. Das heißt recht iuge sacrificium, das tägliche Opfer abgetan aus der Kirche, das ist eine rechte Tyrannei und Wüterei des gottlosen Antiochi, also das ganze Evangelium, die ganze Lehre vom Glauben, von Christo unterdrücken und auf solche Träume von satisfactionibus, solche Lügen vom opere operato an die Statt [statt dessen] predigen. Das heißt recht das Evangelium unter die Füße treten, den Gebrauch der Sakramente schändlich verkehren. Das sind die rechten Lästerer, da Paulus von sagt, daß sie „schuldig seien am Leib und Blut des HErrn", welche die Lehre von Christo, vom Glauben unterdrücken und mißbrauchen der Messe und des Abendmahls zu einem schändlichen, unverschämten öffentlichen Geiz, zu einem Jahrmarkt und Kretschmerei [Schenkwirtschaft], und das alles unter einem heuchlerischen Schein der Satisfaktion. Und eben um dieser großen, unsäglichen Gotteslästerung willen werden die Bischöfe schwere Strafe von Gott gewarten müssen. Es wird einmal Gott das andere Gebot wahrlich wahr machen und einen großen, grimmigen Zorn über sie ausgießen. Darum haben wir uns und alle wohl vorzusehen, daß wir uns der Widersacher Mißbrauchs nicht teilhaftig machen.

92] Sed redeamus ad causam. Quum missa non sit satisfactio, nec pro poena nec pro culpa, ex opere operato sine fide, sequitur applicationem pro mortuis inutilem esse. Ne-

Wir wollen aber wieder auf die Sache kommen. So die Messe nun nicht eine Genugtuung ist weder für eine Pein noch Schuld ex opere operato, so folgt, daß die Messe, so man für die Toten

example of Scripture, and to apply to the dead the Lord's Supper, which was instituted for commemoration and preaching among the living [for the purpose of strengthening the faith of those who use the ceremony]. This is to violate the Second Commandment, by abusing God's name.

For, in the first place, it is a dishonor to the Gospel to hold that a ceremony *ex opere operato*, without faith, is a sacrifice reconciling God, and making satisfaction for sins. It is a horrible saying to ascribe as much to the work of a priest as to the death of Christ. Again, sin and death cannot be overcome unless by faith in Christ, as Paul teaches, Rom. 5, 1: *Being justified by faith, we have peace with God*, and therefore the punishment of purgatory cannot be overcome by the application of the work of another.

Now we shall omit the sort of testimonies concerning purgatory that the adversaries have: what kinds of punishments they think there are in purgatory; what grounds the doctrine of satisfactions has, which we have shown above to be most vain. We shall only present this in opposition: It is certain that the Lord's Supper was instituted on account of the remission of guilt. For it offers the remission of sins, where it is necessary that guilt be truly understood. [For what consolation would we have if forgiveness of sin were here offered us, and yet there would be no remission of guilt?] And nevertheless it does not make satisfaction for guilt; otherwise the Mass would be equal to the death of Christ. Neither can the remission of guilt be received in any other way than by faith. Therefore the Mass is not a satisfaction, but a promise and Sacrament that require faith.

And, indeed, it is necessary that all godly persons be seized with the most bitter grief [shed tears of blood, from anguish and sorrow] if they consider that the Mass has been in great part transferred to the dead and to satisfactions for punishments. This is to banish the daily sacrifice from the Church; this is the kingdom of Antiochus, who transferred the most salutary promises concerning the remission of guilt and concerning faith to the most vain opinions concerning satisfactions; this is to defile the Gospel, to corrupt the use of the Sacraments. These are the persons [the real blasphemers] whom Paul has said, 1 Cor. 11, 27, to be *guilty of the body and blood of the Lord*, who have suppressed the doctrine concerning faith and the remission of sins, and, under the pretext of satisfactions, have devoted the body and blood of the Lord to sacrilegious gain. And they will at some time pay the penalty for this sacrilege. [God will one day vindicate the Second Commandment, and pour out a great, horrible wrath upon them.] Therefore we and all godly consciences should be on our guard against approving the abuses of the adversaries.

But let us return to the case. Since the Mass is not a satisfaction, either for punishment or for guilt, *ex opere operato*, without faith, it follows that the application on be-

que hic opus est longiore disputatione. Constat enim, quod illae applicationes pro mortuis nulla habeant ex Scripturis testimonia. Nec tutum est in ecclesia cultus instituere sine auctoritate Scripturae. Et si [R. 274 quando opus erit, prolixius de tota re dicemus. Quid enim nunc rixemur cum adversariis, qui neque quid sacrificium, neque quid sacramentum, neque quid remissio peccatorum, neque quid sit fides, intelligunt?

hält, unnütz und nichts sei. Und es [be]darf nicht langer Disputation. Denn da ist gewiß, daß solches Messehalten für die Toten in der Schrift gar keinen Grund hat. Nun ist es ein Greuel in der Kirche, Gottesdienst anrichten ohne alles Gotteswort, ohne alle Schrift. Und wenn es not wird sein, so wollen wir von diesem Stücke ganz reichlich mehr und nach aller Notdurft weiter reden. Denn was sollen wir uns jetzund hier viel mit den Widersachern zanken, so sie gar nicht verstehen, was Opfer, was Sakrament, was Vergebung der Sünden, was Glaube sei?

93] Nec Graecus canon applicat oblationem tamquam satisfactionem pro mortuis, quia applicat eam pariter beatis omnibus patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis. Apparet igitur, Graecos tamquam gratiarum actionem offerre, non applicare tamquam satisfactionem pro poenis, quamquam etiam loquuntur non de sola oblatione corporis et sanguinis Domini, sed de reliquis missae partibus, videlicet orationibus et gratiarum actionibus. Nam post consecrationem precantur, ut sumentibus prosit, non loquuntur de aliis. Deinde addunt: *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων προπατόρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων* etc. At *λογικὴ λατρεία* non significat ipsam **94**] hostiam, sed orationes et omnia, quae ibi geruntur. Quod vero allegant adversarii patres de oblatione pro mortuis, scimus veteres loqui de oratione pro mortuis, quam nos non prohibemus, sed applicationem coenae Domini pro mortuis ex opere operato improbamus. Nec patrocinantur adversariis veteres de opere operato. Et ut maxime Gregorii aut recentiorum **95**] testimonia habeant, nos opponimus clarissimas et certissimas scripturas. Et patrum magna dissimilitudo est. Homines erant et labi ac decipi poterant. Quamquam si nunc reviviscerent, ac viderent sua dicta praetexi luculentis illis mendaciis, quae docent adversarii de opere operato, longe aliter se ipsi interpretarentur.

Und der griechische Kanon appliziert auch nicht die Messe als eine Genugtuung für die Toten; denn er appliziert sie zugleich für alle Patriarchen, Propheten, Apostel. Daraus erscheint, daß die Kirchen [*Griechen] auch als eine Danksagung opfern, nicht aber als eine Satisfaktion für die Pein des Fegfeuers. Denn es wird freilich nicht ihre Meinung sein, die Propheten und Apostel aus dem Fegfeuer zu erlösen, sondern allein Dank zu opfern neben und mit ihnen für die hohen ewigen Güter, so ihnen und uns gegeben sind.

96] Falso etiam citant adversarii contra nos damnationem Aërii, quem dicunt propterea damnatum esse, quod negaverit in missa oblationem fieri pro vivis et mortuis. [R. 275 Saepe hoc colore utuntur, allegant veteres haereses, et cum his falso comparant nostram causam, ut illa collatione praegravent nos. Epiphanius testatur Aërium sensisse, quod orationes pro mortuis sint inutiles. Id reprehendit. Neque nos Aërio patrocinamur, sed vobiscum litigamus, qui haeresin manifeste pugnantem cum prophetis, apostolis et sanctis patribus sceleste defenditis, videlicet quod missa ex opere operato iustificet, quod mereatur remissionem culpae et poenae, etiam iniustis, pro quibus applicatur, si non ponant obicem. Hos perniciosos errores improbamus, qui laedunt gloriam passionis Christi et penitus obruunt doctrinam de iustitia fidei. **97**] Similis fuit persuasio impiorum in lege, quod mererentur remissionem peccatorum non gratis per fidem, sed per sacrificia ex opere operato. Itaque augebant illos cultus et sacrificia, instituebant cultum Baal in Israel, in Iuda etiam sacrificabant in lucis. Quare prophetae damnata illa persuasione belligerantur non solum cum cultoribus Baal, sed etiam cum aliis sacerdotibus, qui sacrificia a Deo ordinata cum illa opinione impia faciebant. Verum haeret in mundo haec persuasio et haerebit semper, quod cultus et sacrificia sint propitiationes. Non ferunt homines carnales soli sacrificio Christi tribui hunc honorem, quod sit propitiatio, quia iustitiam fidei non intelligunt, sed parem honorem tribuunt re-

Die Widersacher ziehen an, daß etwa für Ketzerei verdammt sein soll, daß einer, genannt Aerius, soll gehalten haben, die Messe sei nicht ein Opfer für die Toten. Hier behelfen sie sich aber mit ihren gewöhnlichen Griffen, daß sie erdichten, unsere Lehre sei von alters her verworfen. Aber die Esel schämen sich keiner Lüge. So wissen sie nicht, wer Aerius gewesen oder was er gelehrt hat. Epiphanius schreibt, daß Aerius gehalten habe, daß das Gebet für die Toten sei unnütz. Nun reden wir nicht vom Gebet, sondern vom Nachtmahl Christi, ob das ex opere operato ein Opfer sei, den Toten zu helfen. Dieser unser Handel betrifft Aerium nichts. Was auch sonst aus den Vätern für die Messe angezogen wird, belangt alles diesen Handel nicht. Denn die guten, frommen Väter haben diesen greulichen, lästerlichen, antichristischen Irrtum nicht gelehrt, daß die Messe ex opere operato den Lebendigen und Toten Vergebung [der] Pein und Schuld verdiene. Denn dieser Irrtum vom opere operato ist eine öffentliche Ketzerei wider alle Schrift, wider alle Propheten und Apostel, und alle Christen sollen lernen, daß solche papistische Messen eitel schreckliche Abgötterei seien. Es bleibt aber in der Welt solche Abgötterei, solange der Antichrist regiert und bleibt. Denn wie in Israel ein falscher Gottesdienst ward angerichtet mit Baal, auch unrechte Gottesdienste waren unter dem Schein des Gottesdienstes, den Gott geordnet hat, also hat der Antichrist in der Kirche auch einen falschen Gottesdienst aus dem Nachtmahl Christi gemacht. Und doch, wie Gott unter Israel und Juda dennoch seine Kirche, das ist, etliche Heilige, behalten hat, also hat Gott seine Kirche, das ist, etliche Heilige, unter

half of the dead is useless. Nor is there need here of a longer discussion. For it is evident that these applications on behalf of the dead have no testimonies from the Scriptures. Neither is it safe, without the authority of Scripture, to institute forms of worship in the Church. And if it will at any time be necessary, we shall speak at greater length concerning this entire subject. For why should we now contend with adversaries who understand neither what a sacrifice, nor what a sacrament, nor what remission of sins, nor what faith is?

Neither does the Greek canon apply the offering as a satisfaction for the dead, because it applies it equally for all the blessed patriarchs, prophets, apostles. It appears therefore that the Greeks make an offering as thanksgiving, and do not apply it as satisfaction for punishments. [For, of course, it is not their intention to deliver the prophets and apostles from purgatory, but only to offer up thanks along and together with them for the exalted eternal blessings that have been given to them and us.] Although they speak, moreover, not of the offering alone of the body and blood of the Lord, but of the other parts of the Mass, namely, prayers and thanksgiving. For after the consecration they pray that it may profit those who partake of it; they do not speak of others. Then they add: *Ἔτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπερ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπανσαμένων προπατόρων, πατέρων, πατριαρχῶν, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων,* etc. ["Yet we offer to you this reasonable service for those having departed in faith, forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles," etc.] *Reasonable service*, however, does not signify the offering itself, but prayers and all things which are there transacted. Now, as regards the adversaries' citing the Fathers concerning the offering for the dead, we know that the ancients speak of prayer for the dead, which we do not prohibit; but we disapprove of the application *ex opere operato* of the Lord's Supper on behalf of the dead. Neither do the ancients favor the adversaries concerning the *opus operatum*. And even though they have the testimonies especially of Gregory or the moderns, we oppose to them the most clear and certain Scriptures. And there is a great diversity among the Fathers. They were men, and could err and be deceived. Although if they would now become alive again, and would see their sayings assigned as pretexts for the notorious falsehoods which the adversaries teach concerning the *opus operatum*, they would interpret themselves far differently.

The adversaries also falsely cite against us the condemnation of Aerius, who, they say, was condemned for the reason that he denied that in the Mass an offering is made for the living and the dead. They frequently use this dexterous turn, cite the ancient heresies, and falsely compare our cause with these in order by this comparison to crush us. [The asses are not ashamed of any lies. Nor do they know who Aerius was and what he taught.] Epiphanius testifies that Aerius held that prayers for the dead are useless. With this he finds fault. Neither do we favor Aerius, but we on our part are contending with you who are defending a heresy manifestly conflicting with the prophets, apostles, and holy Fathers, namely, that the Mass justifies *ex opere operato*, that it merits the remission of guilt and punishment even for the unjust, to whom it is applied, if they do not present an obstacle. Of these pernicious errors, which detract from the glory of Christ's passion, and entirely overthrow the doctrine concerning the righteousness of faith, we disapprove. There was a similar persuasion of the godless in the Law, namely, that they merited the remission of sins, not freely by faith, but through sacrifices *ex opere operato*. Therefore they increased these services and sacrifices, instituted the worship of Baal in Israel, and even sacrificed in the groves in Judah. Therefore the prophets condemn this opinion, and wage war not only with the worshipers of Baal, but also with other priests who, with this godless opinion, made sacrifices ordained by God. But this opinion inheres in the world, and always will inhere, namely, that services and sacrifices are propitiations. Carnal men cannot endure that alone to the sacrifice of Christ the honor is ascribed that it is a propitiation, because they do not understand the righteousness of faith, but ascribe equal honor to the rest of the services and sacrifices. Just as, therefore, in Judah among the godless priests a false opinion concerning sacrifices inhered; just as in Israel, Baalitic services continued, and, nevertheless, a Church of God was there which disapproved of godless services, so Baalitic worship inheres in the domain of the Pope, namely, the abuse of the Mass, which they apply, that by it they may merit for the unrighteous the remission of guilt and punishment. [And yet, as God still kept His Church,

98] liquis cultibus et sacrificiis. Sicut igitur in Iuda haesit apud impios pontifices falsa persuasio de sacrificiis, sicut in Israel baalitici cultus duraverunt, et tamen erat ibi ecclesia Dei, quae impios cultus improbabat: ita haeret in regno pontificio cultus baaliticus, hoc est, abusus missae, quam applicant, ut per eam mereantur iniustis remissionem culpae et poenae. Et videtur hic baaliticus cultus una cum regno pontificio duraturus esse, donec veniet Christus ad iudicandum, et gloria adventus sui perdet regnum antichristi. Interim omnes, qui vere credunt evangelio, debent improbare illos impios cultus [R. 276 excogitatos contra mandatum Dei ad obscurandam gloriam Christi et iustitiam fidei.

99] Haec de missa breviter diximus, ut omnes boni viri ubique gentium intelligere queant, nos summo studio dignitatem missae tueri et verum usum ostendere et iustissimas habere causas, quare ab adversariis dissentiamus. Ac volumus admonitos esse omnes bonos viros, ne adiuvent adversarios defendentes profanationem missae, ne gravent se societate alieni peccati. Magna causa, magna res est, nec inferior illo negotio Eliae prophetae, qui cultum Baal improbabat. Nos modestissime causam tantam proposuimus et nunc sine contumelia respondimus. Quodsi commoverint nos adversarii, ut omnia genera abusuum missae colligamus, non tam clementer erit agenda causa.

dem Papsttum dennoch erhalten, daß die christliche Kirche nicht ganz untergegangen ist. Wiewohl nun der Antichrist mit seinem falschen Gottesdienst zum Teil bleiben wird, bis daß Christus der HErr öffentlich kommen und richten wird, so sollen doch alle Christen verwarnt sein, sich zu hüten vor solcher Abgötterei, und sollten lernen, wie man Gott recht dienen und Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen soll, daß sie Gott recht ehren und beständigen Trost wider die Sünde haben können. Denn darum hat Gott gnädiglich sein Evangelium scheinen lassen, daß wir verwarnt und selig würden.

Dieses haben wir von der Messe kurz gesagt, daß alle gottesfürchtigen, frommen, ehrbaren Leute in allen Nationen verstehen mögen, daß wir mit allem treuen Fleiß die rechte Ehre und den rechten Gebrauch der Messe erhalten haben, und daß wir des große, hochwichtige Ursachen haben, warum wir es mit den Widersachern nicht halten. Und wir wollen alle frommen, ehrbaren Leute verwarnt haben, daß sie des großen Greuels und Mißbrauchs der Messe sich mit den Widersachern nicht teilhaftig machen, damit sie sich nicht mit fremden Sünden beschweren. Es ist ein großer Handel und eine ganz wichtige Sache. Denn dieser Mißbrauch ist nicht geringer, denn zu Elias' Zeiten die Sache war mit dem falschen Gottesdienst Baal. Wir haben auf diesmal mit gelinden Worten und ohne Schmähworte diese Sache vorgetragen; werden aber die Widersacher nicht aufhören zu lästern, so sollen sie innewerden, daß wir ihnen auch härter zusprechen wollen.

Art. XXVII. (XIII.) De Votis Monasticis.

1] Apud nos in oppido Thuringiae Isenaco Franciscanus quidam fuit ante annos triginta, Iohannes Hilten, qui a suo sodalitio coniectus est in carcerem, propterea quod quosdam notissimos abusus reprehenderat. Vidimus enim eius scripta, ex quibus satis intelligi potest, quale fuerit ipsius doctrinae genus. Et qui norunt eum, testantur fuisse senem placidum 2] et sine morositate gravem. Is multa praedixit, quae partim evenerunt hactenus, partim iam videntur impendere, quae non volumus recitare, ne quis interpretetur, ea aut odio cuiusquam aut in gratiam alicuius narrari. Sed postremo, quum vel propter aetatem, vel propter squalorem carceris in morbum incidisset, accersivit ad se guardianum, ut suam valetudinem illi indicaret; quumque guardianus accensus odio pharisaico duriter [R. 277 obiurgare hominem propter doctrinae genus, quod videbatur officere culinae, coepisset, tum iste omissa iam mentione valetudinis ingemiscens inquit, se has iniurias aequo animo propter Christum tolerare, quum quidem nihil scripsisset aut docuisset, quod labefactare statum monachorum posset, tantum notos quos-3] dam abusus reprehendisset. *Sed alius quidam*, inquit, *veniet anno Domini MDXVI, qui destruet vos, nec poteritis ei resistere.* Hanc ipsam sententiam de inclinatione regni mona-

Artikel XXVII. (XIII.) Von den Klostergelübden.

In der Stadt Eisenach im Land zu Thüringen ist etwan gewesen vor dreißig Jahren ein Barfüßermönch, Johannes Hilten genannt, welcher von seinen Brüdern ist in einen Kerker geworfen, darum daß er etliche öffentliche Mißbräuche im Klosterleben hatte angefochten. Wir haben auch seiner Schriften zum Teil gesehen, aus welchen wohl zu merken ist, daß er christlich und der Heiligen Schrift gemäß gepredigt; und die ihn gekannt haben, sagen heutigestags, daß es ein frommer, stiller, alter Mann gewesen ist, ganz redlichen, ehrbaren Wesens und Wandels; derselbe hat viel von diesen Zeiten prophezeit und zuvorgesagt, das bereits geschehen ist, etliches auch, das noch geschehen soll, welches wir doch hier nicht erzählen wollen, damit niemand gedenke, daß wir aus Neid oder jemand zu Gefallen solches vorbrächten. Endlich, als er altershalber, und auch daß ihm das Gefängnis seine Gesundheit verderbet, in eine Krankheit gefallen, hat er zu sich lassen bitten den Guardian, ihm seine Schwachheit angezeigt, und als der Guardian aus pharisäischer Bitterkeit und Neid ihn mit harten Worten angefahren, darum daß solche Predigt nicht wollte in der Küche nütz sein, hat er seines Leibes Schwachheit zu klagen unterlassen, tief erseufzt und mit ernsten Gebärden gesagt, er wolle solch Unrecht um Christus' willen gern tragen und leiden, wiewohl er nichts geschrieben noch gelehrt hätte, das der

i. e., some saints, in Israel and Judah, so God still preserved His Church, *i. e.*, some saints, under the Papacy, so that the Christian Church has not entirely perished.] And it seems that this Baalitic worship will endure as long as the reign of the Pope, until Christ will come to judge, and by the glory of His advent destroy the reign of Antichrist. Meanwhile all who truly believe the Gospel [that they may truly honor God and have a constant comfort against sins; for God has graciously caused His Gospel to shine, that we might be warned and saved] ought to condemn these wicked services, devised, contrary to God's command, in order to obscure the glory of Christ and the righteousness of faith.

We have briefly said these things of the Mass in order that all good men in all parts of the world may be able to understand that with the greatest zeal we maintain the dignity of the Mass and show its true use, and that we have the most just reasons for dissenting from the adversaries. And we would have all good men admonished not to aid the adversaries in the profanation of the Mass, lest they burden themselves with other men's sin. It is a great cause and a great subject, not inferior to the transaction of the prophet Elijah, who condemned the worship of Baal. We have presented a case of such importance with the greatest moderation, and now reply without casting any reproach. But if the adversaries will compel us to collect all kinds of abuses of the Mass, the case will not be treated with such forbearance.

Article XXVII (XIII): Of Monastic Vows.

In the town of Eisenach, in Thuringia, there was, to our knowledge, a monk, John Hilten, who, thirty years ago, was cast by his fraternity into prison because he had protested against certain most notorious abuses. For we have seen his writings, from which it can be well understood what the nature of his doctrine was [that he was a Christian, and preached according to the Scriptures]. And those who knew him testify that he was a mild old man, and serious indeed, but without moroseness. He predicted many things, some of which have thus far transpired, and others still seem to impend, which we do not wish to recite, lest it may be inferred that they are narrated either from hatred toward one or from partiality to another. But finally, when, either on account of his age or the foulness of the prison, he fell into disease, he sent for the guardian in order to tell him of his sickness; and when the guardian, inflamed with pharisaic hatred, had begun to reprove the man harshly on account of his kind of doctrine, which seemed to be injurious to the kitchen, then, omitting all mention of his sickness, he said with a sigh that he was bearing these injuries patiently for Christ's sake, since he had indeed neither written nor taught anything which could overthrow the position of the monks, but had only protested against some well-known abuses. *But another one,* he said, *will come in A. D. 1516, who will destroy you, neither will you be able to resist him.* This very opinion concerning the downward career of the power of the monks, and this number of years, his friends afterwards found also written by him in his commentaries, which he had left, concerning certain passages of Daniel. But although the outcome will teach how much weight should be

chorum et hunc annorum numerum postea etiam repererunt eius amici perscriptum ab ipso in commentariis suis inter annotationes, quas reliquerat in certos locos Danielis. 4] Quamquam autem, quantum huic voci tribuendum sit, eventus docebit, tamen exstant alia signa, quae minantur mutationem regno monachorum, non minus certa quam oracula. Constat enim, quantum sit in monasteriis hypocrisis ambitionis, avaritiae, quanta inscitia et indoctissimi cuiusque saevitia, quanta vanitas in concionibus, in excogitandis subinde novis aucupiis pecuniae. Et sunt alia 5] vitia, quae non libet commemorare. Quumque fuerint olim scholae doctrinae Christianae, nunc degeneraverunt velut ab aureo genere in ferreum, seu ut cubus platonicus in malas harmonias degenerat, quas Plato ait exitium afferre. Locupletissima quaeque monasteria tantum alunt otiosam turbam, quae ibi falso praetextu religionis helluatur de 6] publicis eleemosynis ecclesiae. Christus autem admonet *de sale insipido, quod soleat effundi et conculcari*, Matth. 5, 13. Quare ipsi 7] sibi monachi his moribus fata canunt. Et accedit nunc aliud signum, quod passim auctores sunt interficiendorum bonorum virorum. Has caedes Deus haud dubie brevi ulciscetur. 8] Neque vero accusamus omnes; arbitramur enim passim aliquos viros bonos in monasteriis esse, qui de humanis cultibus et factitiis, ut quidam scriptores vocant, moderate sentiunt, nec probant saevitiam, quam [R. 278 exercent hypocritae apud ipsos.

Mönche Stand nachteilig, sondern hätte allein grobe Mißbräuche angegriffen. Zuletzt hat er gesagt: „Es wird ein anderer Mann kommen, wenn man schreibt 1516, der euch Mönche tilgen wird, und der wird vor euch wohl bleiben, dem werdet ihr nicht widerstehen können." Dasselbe Wort, wie die Möncherei würde ins Fallen geraten, und dieselbe Jahreszahl hat man hernach gefunden in andern seinen Büchern und sonderlich in den Commentariis über den Daniel. Was aber von dieses Mannes Rede zu halten sei, lassen wir einem jeden sein Urteil. Doch sind sonst Zeichen, daß der Mönche Wesen nicht lange bestehen könne. Es ist am Tage, daß das Klosterwesen nichts denn eine unverschämte Heuchelei und Betrug ist, voll Geizes und Hoffarts, und je ungelehrtere Esel die Mönche sind, je halsstarriger, grimmiger und bitterer, je giftigere Ottern sie sind, die Wahrheit und Gottes Wort zu verfolgen. So sind ihre Predigten und Schriften lauter kindisch, ungereimt, närrisch Ding, und ist all ihr Wesen dahin gerichtet, daß sie den Bauch und ihren Geiz füllen. Anfänglich sind die Klöster nicht solche Kerker oder ewige Gefängnisse gewesen, sondern Schulen, darin man die Jugend und andere in der Heiligen Schrift hat auferzogen. Nun ist solch edel Gold zu Kot geworden und der Wein Wasser geworden. Fast in den rechten, größten Stiften und Klöstern sind eitel faule, unnütze, müßige Mönche, die unter dem Schein der Heiligkeit von gemeinen Almosen in aller Pracht und Wollust leben. Christus sagt aber, daß das taube Salz nichts nütze sei, denn daß man's hinwegwerfe und mit Füßen trete. Darum, so die Mönche ein solch ungöttlich Wesen führen, so fingen sie ihnen [sich] mit der Tat ihr eigen requiem, und wird bald mit ihnen aus sein. Darüber ist noch ein Zeichen, daß die Mönche werden untergehen, daß sie Ursacher, Stifter und Anreger sind, daß viel gelehrte, redliche Leute unschuldig erwürgt und dahingerichtet werden. Das Abelsblut schreit über sie, und Gott wird es rächen. Wir sagen nicht von allen; es mögen etliche in Klöstern sein, die das heilige Evangelium von Christo wissen und keine Heiligkeit auf ihre Traditiones setzen, die sich auch des Blutes nicht schuldig gemacht haben, welches die Heuchler unter ihnen vergießen.

9] Sed de genere doctrinae disputamus, quod nunc defendunt architecti Confutationis, non utrum vota servanda sint. Sentimus enim licita vota servari debere, sed utrum cultus illi mereantur remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem; utrum sint satisfactiones pro peccatis; utrum sint pares baptismo; utrum sint observatio praeceptorum et consiliorum; utrum sint perfectio evangelica; utrum habeant merita supererogationis; utrum merita illa applicata aliis salvent eos; utrum sint licita vota his opinionibus facta; utrum licita sint vota, quae praetextu religionis tantum ventris et otii causa suscepta sunt; utrum vere sint vota, quae sunt extorta aut invitis aut his, qui per aetatem nondum iudicare poterant de genere vitae, quos parentes aut amici intruserunt in monasteria, ut de publico alerentur, sine patrimonii privati iactura; utrum licita sint vota, quae palam vergunt ad malum exitum, vel quia propter imbecillitatem non servantur, vel quia hi, qui sunt in illis sodalitiis, coguntur abusus missarum, impios cultus sanctorum, consilia saeviendi in bonos viros 10] approbare et adiuvare. De his quaestionibus disputamus. Et quum nos in Confes-

Wir reden aber hier von der Lehre, welche die Meister der Konfutation loben und verteidigen. Wir disputieren nicht, ob man Gelübde Gott halten soll; denn wir halten auch, daß man rechte Gelübde zu halten schuldig sei; sondern davon reden wir, ob man durch die Gelübde und solche Möncherei erlange Vergebung der Sünden vor Gott; ob sie Genugtuungen seien für die Sünde; ob sie der Taufe gleich seien; ob sie die Vollkommenheit seien, dadurch die praecepta und consilia, das ist, nicht allein die Gebote, sondern auch die Räte, gehalten werden; ob sie find evangelische Vollkommenheit; ob die Mönche haben merita supererogationis, das ist, so viel übrigen Verdienstes und heiliger Werke, daß sie deren auch nicht alle [be]dürfen; ob ihre Verdienste, wenn sie die den andern mitteilen, dieselben selig machen; ob die Klostergelübde christlich seien, der Meinung also getan; item, ob die Klostergelübde, welche erzwungen sind von Unwilligen und denjenigen, welche noch jugendhalber nicht verstanden, was sie tun, welche die Eltern oder Freunde in die Klöster gestoßen des Bauchs halben, allein ihr väterlich Erbe zu sparen, christlich und göttlich seien; ob die Klostergelübde christlich seien, die gewißlich zu Sünden Ursache geben, nämlich daß die Ordenspersonen den häßlichen Mißbrauch der

given to this declaration, yet there are other signs which threaten a change in the power of the monks, that are no less certain than oracles. For it is evident how much hypocrisy, ambition, avarice there is in the monasteries, how much ignorance and cruelty among all the unlearned, what vanity in their sermons and in devising continually new means of gaining money. [The more stupid asses the monks are, the more stubborn, furious, bitter, the more venomous asps they are in persecuting the truth and the Word of God.] And there are other faults, which we do not care to mention. While they once were [not jails or everlasting prisons, but] schools for Christian instruction, now they have degenerated, as though from a golden to an iron age, or as the Platonic cube degenerates into bad harmonies, which, Plato says, brings destruction. [Now this precious gold is turned to dross, and the wine to water.] All the most wealthy monasteries support only an idle crowd, which gluttonizes upon the public alms of the Church. Christ, however, teaches *concerning the salt that has lost its savor that it should be cast out and be trodden under foot,* Matt. 5, 13. Therefore the monks by such morals are singing their own fate [requiem, and it will soon be over with them]. And now another sign is added, because they are, in many places, the instigators of the death of good men. [This blood of Abel cries against them and] These murders God undoubtedly will shortly avenge. Nor indeed do we find fault with all; for we are of the opinion that there are here and there some good men in the monasteries who judge moderately concerning human and factitious services, as some writers call them, and who do not approve of the cruelty which the hypocrites among them exercise.

But we are now discussing the kind of doctrine which the composers of the Confutation are now defending, and not the question whether vows should be observed. For we hold that lawful vows ought to be observed; but whether these services merit the remission of sins and justification; whether they are satisfactions for sins; whether they are equal to Baptism; whether they are the observance of precepts and counsels; whether they are evangelical perfection; whether they have the merits of supererogation; whether these merits, when applied on behalf of others, save them; whether vows made with these opinions are lawful; whether vows are lawful that are undertaken under the pretext of religion, merely for the sake of the belly and idleness; whether those are truly vows that have been extorted either from the unwilling, or from those who on account of age were not able to judge concerning the kind of life, whom parents or friends thrust into the monasteries that they might be supported at the public expense, without the loss of private patrimony; whether vows are lawful that openly tend to an evil issue, either because on account of weakness they are not observed, or because those who are in these

sione pleraque diximus de eiusmodi votis, quae etiam canones pontificum improbant, tamen adversarii iubent omnia, quae produximus, reiicere. His enim verbis usi sunt.

Messe, das Anrufen und Anbeten der Heiligen loben und annehmen müssen, und des unschuldigen Blutes, das bisanher vergossen ist, sich müssen teilhaftig machen; item, da die Gelübde schwachheithalber doch nicht gehalten werden, ob dieselben rechte Gelübde und christlich seien. Von diesen Fragen ist unser Streit und Disputation. Und so wir in unserer Konfession von vielen untüchtigen Gelübden auch gesagt haben, welche die Canones der Päpste selbst verwerfen, noch [dennoch] wollen die Widersacher alles, was wir vorgebracht, verworfen haben. Denn also sagen sie mit klaren Worten, daß alles, so wir vorgebracht haben, soll verworfen werden.

Ac operae pretium est audire, quomodo cavillentur nostras rationes et quid afferant ad muniendam suam causam. Ideo breviter percurremus pauca quaedam argumenta nostra, et diluemus in his obiter cavillationes adversariorum. Quum autem haec tota causa diligenter et copiose a Luthero tractata sit in libro, cui titulum fecit: *De votis monasticis*, volumus hic librum illum pro repetito habere.

Es will aber hier not sein anzuzeigen, wie sie doch unsere Gründe anfechten, und was sie vorbringen, ihre Sache zu erhalten. Darum wollen wir kurz verlegen [widerlegen], was die Widersacher vorbringen. Und so nun dieser Handel fleißig und reichlich gehandelt ist in dem Buch Doctoris Martini **Von den Klostergelübden,** so wollen wir dasselbe Buch hier als für erneuert und erholt [wiederholt] achten.

11] Primum hoc certissimum est non esse licitum votum, quo sentit is, qui vovet, [R. 279 se mereri remissionem peccatorum coram Deo aut satisfacere pro peccatis coram Deo. Nam haec opinio est manifesta contumelia evangelii, quod docet nobis gratis donari remissionem peccatorum propter Christum, ut supra copiose dictum est. Recte igitur citavimus Pauli locum ad Galatas, Gal. 5, 4: *Evacuati estis a Christo, qui in lege iustificamini, a gratia excidistis.* Qui quaerunt remissionem peccatorum non fide in Christum, sed operibus monasticis, detrahunt de honore Christi et iterum crucifigunt Christum. Audite autem, audite, quomodo hic elabantur architecti Con-
12] futationis! Pauli locum tantum de lege Mosis exponunt et addunt monachos omnia propter Christum observare et conari propius secundum evangelium vivere, ut mereantur vitam aeternam. Et addunt horribilem epilogum his verbis: *Quare impia sunt, quae hic*
13] *contra monasticen allegantur.* O Christe, quamdiu feres has contumelias, quibus evangelium tuum afficiunt hostes nostri! Diximus in Confessione remissionem peccatorum gratis accipi propter Christum per fidem. Si haec non est ipsa evangelii vox, si non est sententia Patris aeterni, quam tu, qui es in sinu Patris, revelasti mundo, iure plectimur. Sed tua mors testis est, tua resurrectio testis est, Spiritus Sanctus testis est, tota ecclesia tua testis est, vere hanc esse evangelii sententiam, quod consequamur remissionem peccatorum non propter nostra merita, sed propter te, per fidem.

Für das erste ist das gewiß, daß solche Gelübde nicht göttlich noch christlich sind, wenn ich also mein Klostergelübde tue, daß ich gedenke, dadurch zu erlangen Vergebung der Sünden gegen Gott oder für die Sünden genugzutun. Denn das ist ein Irrtum, der da öffentlich wider das Evangelium ist, und ist eine Lästerung Christi. Denn das Evangelium lehrt, daß wir ohne Verdienst Vergebung der Sünden erlangen durch Christum, wie wir hier oben reichlich gesagt haben. Darum haben wir St. Pauli Spruch recht eingeführt zu den Galatern am 5.: „So ihr durchs Gesetz wollt gerecht werden, so seid ihr von Christo und der Gnade abgefallen." Denn die da suchen Vergebung der Sünden nicht durch den Glauben an Christum, sondern durch die Klostergelübde und Möncherei, die rauben Christo seine Ehre und kreuzigen ihn aufs neue. Hört aber, Lieber, hört, wie die Meister der Konfutation hier gerne Behelf suchen wollten, sagen: Paulus sei allein vom Gesetz Mosis zu verstehen, die Mönche aber tun und halten alles um Christus' willen und fleißigen sich, aufs allernächste dem Evangelio gemäß zu leben, damit sie das ewige Leben verdienen; und setzen ein schrecklich Wort dazu: „Darum ist es", sagen sie, „unchristlich und ketzerisch, was wider das Mönchsleben wird vorgebracht." O HErr JEsu Christe, wie lange willst du leiden und dulden solche öffentliche Schmach deines heiligen Evangelii, da unsere Feinde dein Wort und Wahrheit lästern?

Wir haben in unserer Konfession gesagt, daß man Vergebung der Sünden ohne Verdienst durch den Glauben an Christum erlangen müsse. Ist das nicht das lautere, reine Evangelium, wie es die Apostel gepredigt, ist das nicht die Stimme des Evangelii des ewigen Vaters, welche du, HErr, der du sitzest im Schoß des Vaters, der Welt offenbart hast, so sollen wir billig gestraft werden. Aber dein herber, bitterer Tod am Kreuz, dein Heiliger Geist, welchen du reichlich ausgeteilt hast, deine ganze heilige, christliche Kirche gibt stark, gewaltig und gewiß Gezeugnis, welches so hell und offenbar ist als die Sonne, daß dies die Summa, der Kern des Evangelii ist, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen nicht um unsers Verdienstes willen, sondern durch den Glauben an Christum.

14] Paulus quum negat homines lege Mosis mereri remissionem peccatorum, multo magis detrahit hanc laudem traditionibus humanis, idque aperte ad Colossenses, 2, 16, testatur. Si lex Mosis, quae erat divinitus revelata, non merebatur remissionem peccatorum, quanto

Wenn Paulus darf sagen, daß wir durch das heilige, göttliche Gesetz Mosis und seine Werke nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, so will er, daß wir viel weniger das tun durch menschliche Satzungen, und das zeigt er zu den Kolossern klar genug an. Denn so die Werke des Gesetzes

fraternities are compelled to approve and aid the abuses of the Mass, the godless worship of saints, and the counsels to rage against good men: concerning these questions we are treating. And although we have said very many things in the Confession concerning such vows as even the canons of the Popes condemn, nevertheless the adversaries command that all things which we have produced be rejected. For they have used these words.

And it is worth while to hear how they pervert our reasons, and what they adduce to fortify their own cause. Accordingly, we will briefly run over a few of our arguments, and, in passing, explain away the sophistry of the adversaries in reference to them. Since, however, this entire cause has been carefully and fully treated by Luther in the book to which he gave the title *De Votis Monasticis*, we wish here to consider that book as reiterated.

First, it is very certain that a vow is not lawful by which he who vows thinks that he merits the remission of sins before God, or makes satisfaction before God for sins. For this opinion is a manifest insult to the Gospel, which teaches that the remission of sins is freely granted us for Christ's sake, as has been said above at some length. Therefore we have correctly quoted the declaration of Paul to the Galatians, Gal. 5, 4: *Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the Law; ye are fallen from grace.* Those who seek the remission of sins, not by faith in Christ, but by monastic works, detract from the honor of Christ, and crucify Christ afresh. But hear, hear how the composers of the Confutation escape in this place! They explain this passage of Paul only concerning the Law of Moses, and they add that the monks observe all things for Christ's sake, and endeavor to live the nearer the Gospel in order to merit eternal life. And they add a horrible peroration in these words: *Wherefore those things are wicked that are here alleged against monasticism.* O Christ, how long wilt Thou bear these reproaches with which our enemies treat Thy Gospel? We have said in the Confession that the remission of sins is received freely for Christ's sake, through faith. If this is not the very voice of the Gospel, if it is not the judgment of the eternal Father, which Thou who art in the bosom of the Father hast revealed to the world, we are justly blamed. But Thy death is a witness, Thy resurrection is a witness, the Holy Ghost is a witness, Thy entire Church is a witness, that it is truly the judgment of the Gospel that we obtain remission of sins, not on account of our merits, but on account of Thee, through faith.

When Paul denies that by the Law of Moses men merit the remission of sins, he withdraws this praise much more from human traditions; and this he clearly testifies Col. 2, 16. If the Law of Moses, which was divinely revealed,

minus istae fatuae observationes abhorrentes a civili consuetudine vitae merentur remissionem peccatorum!

15] Adversarii fingunt Paulum abolere legem Mosis, et Christum ita succedere, [R. 280 ut non gratis donet remissionem peccatorum, sed propter opera aliarum legum, si quae 16] nunc excogitentur. Hac impia et fanatica imaginatione obruunt beneficium Christi. Deinde fingunt inter hos, qui observant illam legem Christi, monachos propius observare quam alios, propter hypocrisin paupertatis, obedientiae et castitatis, quum quidem omnia sint plena simulationis. Paupertatem iactant in summa copia rerum omnium. Obedientiam iactant, quum nullum genus hominum libertatem habeat maiorem quam monachi. De coelibatu non libet dicere, qui quam purus sit in plerisque, qui student continere, Gerson indicat. Et quotusquisque continere studet?

Mosis, welches durch Gott war offenbart, nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, wieviel weniger werden's tun die närrischen Werke, Möncherei, Rosenkränze und dergleichen, die auch zu weltlichem Leben nicht not noch nütze sind, viel weniger geben sie der Seele ewiges Leben.

Die Widersacher erdichten ihnen selbst einen Traum, daß Christus das Gesetz Mosis habe abgetan und sei gekommen also nach Mose und ein neu, gut Gesetz gebracht, dadurch man Vergebung der Sünden erlangen müsse. Durch den schwärmerischen, närrischen Gedanken drücken sie Christum unter und seine Wohltat. Danach erdichten sie weiter, daß unter denen, welche die neuen Gesetze Christi halten, die Mönche Christo und den Aposteln am nächsten ähnlich leben und wandeln durch ihren Gehorsam, Armut und Keuschheit, so doch die ganze Möncherei eitel unverschämte, schändliche Heuchelei ist. Sie sagen von Armut, so sie doch vor großem Überfluß nie haben erfahren können, wie einem rechten Armen zu Herzen ist. Sie rühmen ihren Gehorsam, so kein Volk auf Erden freier ist denn die Mönche, welche aus Bischofs- und Fürstengehorsam sich meisterlich geschlossen haben. Von ihrer heiligen, großen, [ge]fährlichen Keuschheit mag ich nicht sagen; ich will es Gerson sagen lassen, der auch von denjenigen, so ernstlich sich geflissen, keusch zu leben, wahrlich nicht viel Reinigkeit und Heiligkeit sagt; wiewohl das mehrere Teil ist Heuchelei und unter tausend nicht einer, der mit Ernst gedenkt, rein und keusch zu leben, daß wir inwendig der Herzen Gedanken schweigen.

17] Scilicet hac simulatione propius secundum evangelium vivunt monachi. Christus non ita succedit Mosi, ut propter nostra opera remittat peccata, sed ut sua merita, suam propitiationem opponat irae Dei pro nobis, ut gratis nobis ignoscatur. Qui vero praeter Christi propitiationem propria merita opponit irae Dei, et propter propria merita consequi remissionem peccatorum conatur, sive afferat opera legis Mosaicae, sive Decalogi, sive regulae Benedicti, sive regulae Augustini, sive aliarum regularum, *is abolet promissionem Christi, abiecit Christum et excidit gratia.* Haec est Pauli sententia.

Soll nun das die große Heiligkeit sein? Heißt das Christo und dem Evangelio gemäß gelebt? Christus ist nicht also nach Mose gekommen, neue Gesetze zu bringen, daß er um unserer Werke willen die Sünden vergebe, sondern sein Verdienst, seine eigenen Werke setzt er gegen Gottes Zorn für uns, daß wir ohne Verdienst Gnade erlangen. Wer aber ohne die Versöhnung Christi seine eigenen Werke gegen Gottes Zorn setzt und um seines eigenen Verdienstes willen Vergebung der Sünden erlangen will, er bringe die Werke des Gesetzes Mosis, der zehn Gebote, der Regeln Benedicti, Augustini oder andere Regeln, so wirft er hinweg die Verheißung Christi, fällt ab von Christo und seiner Gnade.

18] Vide autem, Carole Caesar Imperator clementissime, videte, Principes, videte, omnes Ordines, quanta sit impudentia adversariorum! Quum Pauli locum in hanc sententiam citaverimus, ipsi adscripserunt: *Impia sunt, quae hic contra monasticen allegantur.* Quid 19] est autem certius, quam quod remissionem peccatorum consequuntur homines fide propter Christum? Et hanc sententiam audent isti nebulones impiam vocare. Nihil dubitamus, quin, si admoniti fuissetis de hoc loco, eximi e Confutatione tantam blasphemiam curassetis.

Hier wollen aber Kaiserliche Majestät, alle Fürsten und Stände des Reichs merken, wie überaus unverschämt die Widersacher sind, daß sie trotziglich dürfen sagen, es sei alles gottlos, was wir wider die Möncherei haben vorgebracht, so wir doch ganz gewisse und klare Sprüche Pauli angezogen haben, und je nichts klarer, gewisser in der ganzen Bibel ist, denn daß wir Vergebung der Sünden erlangen allein durch den Glauben an Christum. Und diese gewisse, göttliche Wahrheit dürfen die Meister der Konfutation, die verzweifelten Bösewichter und heillosen Buben, gottlose Lehre heißen. Wir haben aber keinen Zweifel, wo Kaiserliche Majestät und die Fürsten des verwarnt werden, sie werden eine solche öffentliche Gotteslästerung lassen aus der Konfutation tilgen und ausreißen.

Quum autem supra copiose ostensum [R. 281 20] sit impiam opinionem esse, quod propter opera nostra consequamur remissionem peccatorum, breviores in hoc loco erimus. Facile enim inde prudens lector ratiocinari poterit, quod non mereamur remissionem peccatorum per opera monastica. Itaque et illa blasphemia nullo modo ferenda est, quae apud Tho-

Dieweil wir aber hier oben reichlich angezeigt, daß es ein Irrtum sei, daß wir Vergebung der Sünden um unsers Verdienstes willen erlangen sollten, so wollen wir hier desto kürzer reden. Denn ein jeder verständiger Leser kann leichtlich abnehmen, daß wir durch die elenden Mönchswerke nicht können vom Tode und des Teufels Gewalt erlöst werden und Vergebung der Sünden

did not merit the remission of sins, how much less do these silly observances [monasticism, rosaries, etc.], averse to the civil custom of life, merit the remission of sins!

The adversaries feign that Paul abolishes the Law of Moses, and that Christ succeeds in such a way that He does not freely grant the remission of sins, but on account of the works of other laws, if any are now devised. By this godless and fanatical imagination they bury the benefit of Christ. Then they feign that among those who observe this Law of Christ, the monks observe it more closely than others, on account of their hypocritical poverty, obedience, and chastity, since indeed all these things are full of sham. In the greatest abundance of all things they boast of poverty. Although no class of men has greater license than the monks [who have masterfully decreed that they are exempt from obedience to bishops and princes], they boast of obedience. Of celibacy we do not like to speak; how pure this is in most of those who desire to be continent, Gerson indicates. And how many of them desire to be continent [not to mention the thoughts of their hearts]?

Of course, in this sham life the monks live more closely in accordance with the Gospel! Christ does not succeed Moses in such a way as to remit sins on account of our works, but so as to set His own merits and His own propitiation on our behalf against God's wrath, that we may be freely forgiven. Now, he who, apart from Christ's propitiation, opposes his own merits to God's wrath, and on account of his own merits endeavors to obtain the remission of sins, whether he present the works of the Mosaic Law, or of the Decalog, or of the rule of Benedict, or of the rule of Augustine, or of other rules, *annuls the promise of Christ, has cast away Christ, and has fallen from grace.* This is the verdict of Paul.

But, behold, most clement Emperor Charles, behold, ye princes, behold, all ye ranks, how great is the impudence of the adversaries! Although we have cited the declaration of Paul to this effect, they have written: *Wicked are those things that are here cited against monasticism.* But what is more certain than that men obtain the remission of sins by faith for Christ's sake? And these wretches dare to call this a wicked opinion! We do not at all doubt that if you had been advised of this passage, you would have taken [will take] care that such blasphemy be removed from the Confutation.

But since it has been fully shown above that the opinion is wicked, that we obtain the remission of sins on account of our works, we shall be briefer at this place. For the prudent reader will easily be able to reason thence that we do not merit the remission of sins by monastic works. Therefore this blasphemy also is in no way to be endured which is read in

mam legitur, *professionem monasticam parem esse baptismo.* Furor est humanam traditionem, quae neque mandatum Dei neque promissionem habet, aequare ordinationi Christi, quae habet et mandatum et promissionem Dei, quae continet pactum gratiae et vitae aeternae.

verdienen. Darum ist auch das gotteslästerliche, häßliche Wort, welches Thomas schreibt, in keinem Wege zu leiden, daß ins Kloster gehen solle eine neue Taufe sein oder der Taufe gleich sein. Denn es ist eine teuflische Wüterei und Irrtum, daß man eine heillose menschliche Satzung und Gebot, welches weder Gottes Gebot noch Zusage hat, der heiligen Taufe vergleichen sollte, dabei keine [eine] Zusage oder Verheißung Gottes ist.

21] Secundo. Obedientia, paupertas et coelibatus, si tamen non sit impurus, exercitia sunt *ἀδιάφορα.* Ideoque sancti uti eis sine impietate possunt, sicut usi sunt Bernhardus, Franciscus et alii sancti viri. Et hi usi sunt propter utilitatem corporalem, ut expeditiores essent ad docendum et ad alia pia officia, non quod opera ipsa per se sint cultus, qui iustificent aut mereantur vitam aeternam. Denique sunt ex illo genere, de quo Paulus ait 1 Tim. 4, 8: *Corporalis exercitatio parumper* **22**] *utilis est.* Et credibile est alicubi nunc quoque esse bonos viros in monasteriis, qui serviunt ministerio Verbi, qui illis observatio- **23**] nibus sine impiis opinionibus utuntur. At sentire, quod illae observationes sint cultus, propter quos coram Deo iusti reputentur et per quos mereantur vitam aeternam, hoc pugnat cum evangelio de iustitia fidei, quod docet, quod propter Christum donetur nobis iustitia et vita aeterna. Pugnat et cum dicto Christi Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.* Pugnat et cum hac sententia, Rom. 14, 23: *Omne, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.* Quomodo autem possunt affirmare, quod sint cultus, quos Deus approbet tamquam iustitiam coram ipso, quum nullum habeant testimonium Verbi Dei?

Zum andern, so sind diese Stücke, willige Armut, Gehorsam, Keuschheit, wenn sie anders nicht unrein ist, eitel Adiaphora und leibliche Übung, darin weder Sünde noch Gerechtigkeit zu suchen ist. Darum haben die Heiligen derselben viel anders gebraucht, als St. Bernhard, Franciskus und andere, denn jetzund die Mönche. Denn dieselben haben solches Dinges gebraucht zur Übung des Leibes, daß sie desto leichter warten könnten Lehrens, Predigens und anderer dergleichen, nicht daß solche Werke Gottesdienste sollten sein, vor Gott gerecht zu machen oder das ewige Leben zu verdienen, sondern die Werke malet Paulus recht ab, da er sagt: „Leibliche Übung ist wenig nütze." Und es ist möglich, daß in etlichen Klöstern noch etliche fromme Leute sind, welche lesen und studieren, die solcher Regeln und Satzungen brauchen ohne Heuchelei und mit diesem Bericht, daß sie ihre Möncherei nicht für Heiligkeit halten. Das aber halten, daß dieselben Werke ein Gottesdienst seien, dadurch wir vor Gott fromm werden und das ewige Leben verdienen, das ist stracks wider das Evangelium und wider Christum. Denn das Evangelium lehrt, daß wir durch den Glauben an Christum gerecht werden und das ewige Leben erlangen. So ist es auch stracks wider das Wort Christi: „Sie dienen mir vergeblich mit Menschengeboten." So ist es wider diesen Spruch Pauli: „Alles, was nicht aus dem Glauben ist, das ist Sünde." Wie können sie aber sagen, daß es Gottesdienste sind, die Gott gefallen und angenehm seien vor ihm, so sie kein Gotteswort noch Befehl haben?

24] Sed videte impudentiam adversariorum. Non solum docent, quod observationes [R. 282 illae sint cultus iustificantes, sed addunt perfectiores esse cultus, hoc est, magis merentes remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, quam sint alia vitae genera. Et hic concurrunt multae falsae ac perniciosae opiniones. Fingunt se servare praecepta et consilia. Postea homines liberales, quum somnient se habere merita supererogationis, vendunt haec **25**] aliis. Haec omnia plena sunt pharisaicae vanitatis. Extrema enim impietas est sentire, quod Decalogo ita satisfaciant, ut supersint merita, quum haec praecepta omnes sanctos accusent: *Diligas Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo,* Deut. 6, 5, item: *Non concupiscas,* Rom. 7, 7. Propheta ait Ps. 116, 11: *Omnis homo mendax,* id est, non recte de Deo sentiens, non satis timens, non satis credens Deo. Quare falso gloriantur monachi in observatione monasticae vitae praeceptis satisfieri ac plus quam praecepta fieri.

Hier ist aber erst zu merken, wie gar unverschämte Heuchler und Buben sie sind. Sie dürfen sagen, daß ihre Klostergelübde und Orden nicht allein Gottesdienste seien, die gerecht und fromm vor Gott machen, sondern setzen noch dies dazu, daß es Stände seien der Vollkommenheit, das ist, heiligere und höhere Stände denn andere, als Ehestand, Regentenstand; und sind also in solcher ihrer mönchischen Heuchelei und pharisäischem Wesen unzählige andere greuliche, ketzerische Irrtümer begriffen. Denn sie rühmen sich für die allerheiligsten Leute, welche nicht allein die Gebote oder praecepta, sondern auch die consilia, das ist, die hohen Räte, was die Schrift von hohen Gaben nicht ein Gebot, sondern einen Rat gibt, halten. Danach so sie ihnen selbst erdichten, sie seien so reich von Verdienst und Heiligkeit, daß ihnen noch überbleibt, so sind dennoch die frommen Heiligen so milde, daß sie ihre merita supererogationis, ihre übrigen Verdienste, andern anbieten und um einen gleichen Pfennig, um Geld, lassen zustehen. Dieses alles ist eitel grobe, greuliche, erlogene, erstunkene Heiligkeit und eitel pharisäische Heuchelei und Gleißnerei. Denn nachdem [da] das erste Gebot Gottes: „Du sollst Gott, deinen HErrn, lieben von ganzem Herzen, von ganzer Seele" usw., höher ist, denn ein Mensch auf Erden begreifen kann, nachdem es die höchste Theologia ist, daraus alle Propheten, alle Apostel ihre beste, höchste Lehre als aus dem Brunnen geschöpft haben, ja, so es ein solch hohes Gebot ist, danach

Thomas, that *the monastic profession is equal to Baptism.* It is madness to make human tradition, which has neither God's command nor promise, equal to the ordinance of Christ, which has both the command and promise of God, which contains the covenant of grace and of eternal life.

Secondly. Obedience, poverty, and celibacy, provided the latter is not impure, are, as exercises, adiaphora [in which we are not to look for either sin or righteousness]. And for this reason the saints can use these without impiety, just as Bernard, Franciscus, and other holy men used them. And they used them on account of bodily advantage, that they might have more leisure to teach and to perform other godly offices, and not that the works themselves are, by themselves, works that justify or merit eternal life. Finally, they belong to the class of which Paul says, 1 Tim. 4, 8: *Bodily exercise profiteth little.* And it is credible that in some places there are also at present good men, engaged in the ministry of the Word, who use these observances without wicked opinions [without hypocrisy and with the understanding that they do not regard their monasticism as holiness]. But to hold that these observances are services on account of which they are accounted just before God, and through which they merit eternal life, conflicts with the Gospel concerning the righteousness of faith, which teaches that for Christ's sake righteousness and eternal life are granted us. It conflicts also with the saying of Christ, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* It conflicts also with this statement, Rom. 14, 23: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* But how can they affirm that they are services which God approves as righteousness before Him when they have no testimony of God's Word?

But look at the impudence of the adversaries! They not only teach that these observances are justifying services, but they add that these services are more perfect, *i. e.*, meriting more the remission of sins and justification, than do other kinds of life [that they are states of perfection, *i. e.*, holier and higher states than the rest, such as marriage, rulership]. And here many false and pernicious opinions concur. They imagine that they [are the most holy people who] observe [not only] precepts and [but also] counsels [that is, the superior counsels, which Scripture issues concerning exalted gifts, not by way of command, but of advice]. Afterwards these liberal men, since they dream that they have the merits of supererogation, sell these to others. All these things are full of pharisaic vanity. For it is the height of impiety to hold that they satisfy the Decalog in such a way that merits remain, while such precepts as these are accusing all the saints: *Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thine heart,* Deut. 6, 5. Likewise: *Thou shalt not covet,* Rom. 7, 7. [For as the First Commandment of God (*Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy mind*) is higher than a man upon earth can comprehend, as it is the highest theology, from which all the prophets and all the apostles have drawn as from a spring their best and highest doctrines; yea, as it is such an exalted commandment, according to which alone all divine service, all honor to God, every offering, all thanksgiving in heaven and upon earth, must be regulated and judged, so that all divine service, high and precious and holy though it appear, if it be not in accordance with this commandment, is nothing but husks and shells without a kernel, yea, nothing but filth and abomination before God; which exalted commandment no saint whatever has perfectly fulfilled, so that even Noah and Abraham, David, Peter and Paul acknowledged themselves imperfect and sinners: it is an unheard-of, pharisaic, yea, an actually diabolical pride for a sordid Barefooted monk or any similar godless hypocrite to say, yea, preach and teach, that he has observed and fulfilled the holy high commandment so perfectly, and according to the demands and will of God has done so many good

allein aller Gottesdienst, alle Gottesehre, alle Opfer, alle Danksagung im Himmel und auf Erden reguliert und gerichtet müssen werden, also daß alle Gottesdienste, wie hoch, köstlich und heilig sie scheinen, wenn sie außer dem Gebot sind, eitel Schalen und Hülsen ohne Kern, ja eitel Unflat und Greuel vor Gott sind, welches hohe Gebot so gar kein Heiliger vollkommen erfüllt hat, daß noch wohl Noah und Abraham, David, Petrus und Paulus sich da für unvollkommen, für Sünder bekennen und hier unten bleiben müssen: so ist es ungehörter pharisäischer, ja recht teuflischer Stolz, daß ein lausiger Barfüßermönch oder dergleichen heilloser Heuchler soll sagen, ja predigen und lehren, er habe das heilige, hohe Gebot also vollkömmlich gehalten und erfüllt und nach Erfordern und dem Willen Gottes so viel gute Werke getan, daß ihm noch Verdienste überbleiben. Ja, liebe Heuchler, wenn sich die heiligen zehn Gebote und das hohe erste Gottesgebot also erfüllen ließen, wie sich die Brote und Parteken lassen in Sack stecken! Es sind unverschämte Heuchler, damit die Welt in diesen letzten Zeiten geplagt ist. Der Prophet David sagt: „Alle Menschen sind Lügner", das ist, kein Mensch auf Erden, auch nicht die Heiligen achten oder fürchten Gott so hoch und groß, als sie sollten, kein Mensch auf Erden glaubt und vertraut Gott so ganz vollkömmlich, als er soll usw. Darum sind es Lügen und heuchlerische, erdichtete Träume, daß die Mönche rühmen, sie leben nach der Vollkommenheit des Evangelii und der Gebote Gottes, oder tun mehr, denn sie schuldig sind, daß ihnen gute Werke und etliche Zentner übriger, überflüssiger Heiligkeit im Vorrat bleiben.

26] Deinde falsum et hoc est, quod observationes monasticae sint opera consiliorum evangelii. Nam evangelium non consulit discrimina vestitus, ciborum, abdicationem rerum propriarum. Hae sunt traditiones humanae, de quibus omnibus dictum est 1 Cor. 8, 8: *Esca non commendat Deo.* Quare neque cultus iustificantes sunt, neque perfectio, imo, quum his titulis fucatae proponuntur, sunt merae *doctrinae daemoniorum.*

Auch so ist das falsch und erlogen, daß das Mönchsleben sollte sein eine Erfüllung der Konsilien oder Räte im Evangelio. Denn das Evangelium hat nirgend geraten solchen Unterschied der Kleider, der Speisen, oder durch solchen Bettelstab der Leute Güter auszusaugen; denn es sind eitel Menschensatzungen, von welchen Paulus sagt: „Die Speise macht uns nicht heiliger vor Gott" usw. Darum sind es auch nicht Gottesdienste, die vor Gott fromm machen, sind auch nicht eine evangelische Vollkommenheit, sondern wenn man sie mit den prächtigen Titeln lehrt, predigt und ausschreit, so sind's, wie sie Paulus nennt, rechte Teufelslehren.

27] Virginitas suadetur, sed his, qui donum habent, ut supra dictum est. Error est autem perniciosissimus sentire, quod perfectio evangelica sit in traditionibus humanis. Nam ita etiam Mahometistarum monachi gloriari possent se habere perfectionem evangelicam. Neque est in observatione aliorum, quae dicuntur *ἀδιάφορα*, sed quia regnum Dei est *iustitia et vita in cordibus*, Rom. 14, 17, ideo perfectio est crescere timorem Dei, fiduciam misericordiae promissae in Christo et curam obediendi vocationi, sicut et Paulus describit perfectionem 2 Cor. 3, 18: *Transformamur a* [R. 283 *claritate in claritatem, tamquam a Domini Spiritu.* Non ait: Alium subinde cucullum accipimus aut alios calceos aut alia cingula. Miserabile est in ecclesia tales pharisaicas, imo Mahometicas voces legi atque audiri, videlicet perfectionem evangelii, regni Christi, quod est vita aeterna, in his stultis observationibus vestium et similium nugarum collocari.

Die Jungfrauschaft lobt Paulus, und als einen guten Rat predigt er's denen, welche dieselbe Gabe haben, wie ich hier oben gesagt habe. Derhalben ist es ein schändlicher, höllischer Irrtum, lehren und halten, daß evangelische Vollkommenheit in menschlichen Satzungen stehe. Denn auf die Weise möchten sich auch die Mahometisten und Türken rühmen (denn sie haben auch Einsiedel und Mönche, wie glaubliche Historien vorhanden), daß sie evangelische Vollkommenheit hielten. So ist auch die evangelische Vollkommenheit nicht in den Dingen, welche Adiaphora sind, sondern dieweil dieses das Reich Gottes ist, daß inwendig der Heilige Geist unsere Herzen erleuchte, reinige, stärke, und daß er ein neu Licht und Leben in den Herzen wirke, so ist die rechte evangelische, christliche Vollkommenheit, daß wir täglich im Glauben, in Gottesfurcht, in treulichem Fleiß des Berufs und Amts, das uns befohlen, zunehmen, wie auch Paulus die Vollkommenheit beschreibt, daß er sagt 2 Kor. 3: „Wir werden verkläret in dasselbige Bild von einer Klarheit zu der andern, als vom Geist des HErrn." Er sagt nicht: Wir gehen von einem Orden in den andern, wir ziehen jetzund diese, dann jene Kappe an, jetzund diesen Gürtel, dann jenen Strick usw. Es ist erbärmlich, daß in der christlichen Kirche solche pharisäische, ja türkische und mahometische Lehre überhandgenommen hat, daß sie lehren, die evangelische Vollkommenheit und das Reich Christi, durch welches sich hier die ewigen Güter und das ewige Leben anheben, sollen stehen in Kappen, in Kleidern, in Speisen und dergleichen Kinderwerk.

28] Nunc audite Areopagitas nostros, quam indignam sententiam posuerint in Confutatione. Sic aiunt: *Sacris literis expressum est monasticam vitam, debita observatione custoditam, quam per gratiam Dei quilibet monastici custodire possunt, mereri vitam aeternam, et quidem multo auctiorem Christus eis promisit* Matth. 19, 29, *qui reliquerint domum* **29**] *aut fratres* etc. Haec sunt verba adver-

Hier höre man aber weiter die trefflichen Lehrer, wie sie in ihre Konfutation so eine öffentliche Gotteslästerung und häßlich Wort gesetzt haben. Sie dürfen unverschämt sagen, „es sei in der Heiligen Schrift geschrieben, daß das Mönchsleben und die heiligen Orden das ewige Leben verdienen, und Christus habe dasselbe sonderlich den Mönchen überschwenglich zugesagt, welche also verlassen Haus, Hof, Brüder, Schwestern". Das sind

works, that merit even superabounds to him. Yea, dear hypocrites, if the holy Ten Commandments and the exalted First Commandment of God were fulfilled as easily as the bread and remnants are put into the sack! They are shameless hypocrites with whom the world is plagued in this last time.] The prophet says, Ps. 116, 11: *All men are liars, i. e.*, not thinking aright concerning God, not fearing God sufficiently, not believing Him sufficiently. Therefore the monks falsely boast that in the observance of a monastic life the commandments are fulfilled, and more is done than what is commanded [that their good works and several hundredweights of superfluous, superabundant holiness remain in store for them].

Again, this also is false, namely, that monastic observances are works of the counsels of the Gospel. For the Gospel does not advise concerning distinctions of clothing and meats and the renunciation of property. These are human traditions, concerning all of which it has been said, 1 Cor. 8, 8: *Meat commendeth us not to God.* Therefore they are neither justifying services nor perfection; yea, when they are presented covered with these titles, they are mere *doctrines of demons.*

Virginity is recommended, but to those who have the gift, as has been said above. It is, however, a most pernicious error to hold that evangelical perfection lies in human traditions. For thus the monks even of the Mohammedans would be able to boast that they have evangelical perfection. Neither does it lie in the observance of other things which are called adiaphora, but because the kingdom of God is *righteousness and life in hearts,* Rom. 14, 17, perfection is growth in the fear of God, and in confidence in the mercy promised in Christ, and in devotion to one's calling; just as Paul also describes perfection 2 Cor. 3, 18: *We are changed from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.* He does not say: We are continually receiving another hood, or other sandals, or other girdles. It is deplorable that in the Church such pharisaic, yea, Mohammedan expressions should be read and heard as, that the perfection of the Gospel, of the kingdom of Christ, which is eternal life, should be placed in these foolish observances of vestments and of similar trifles.

Now hear our Areopagites [excellent teachers] as to what an unworthy declaration they have recorded in the Confutation. Thus they say: *It has been expressly declared in the Holy Scriptures that the monastic life merits eternal life if maintained by a due observance, which by the grace of God any monk can maintain; and, indeed, Christ has promised this as much more abundant to those who have left home or brothers,* etc., Matt. 19, 29. These are the words of the adversaries, in

sariorum, in quibus hoc primum impudentissime dicitur, quod sacris literis expressum sit vitam monasticam mereri vitam aeternam. Ubi enim loquuntur sacrae literae de monastica? Sic agunt causam adversarii, sic citant Scripturas nihili homines; quum nemo nesciat monasticam recens excogitatam esse, tamen allegant auctoritatem Scripturae, et quidem dicunt hoc suum decretum expressum esse in Scripturis.

30] Praeterea contumelia afficiunt Christum, quum dicunt homines per monasticam mereri vitam aeternam. Deus ne suae quidem legi hunc honorem tribuit, quod mereatur vitam aeternam, sicut clare dicit apud Ezech., cap. 20, 25: *Ego dedi eis praecepta non bona* **31**] *et iudicia, in quibus non vivent.* Primum hoc certum est, quod vita monastica non meretur remissionem peccatorum, sed hanc fide gratis accipimus, ut supra dictum est. Deinde **32**] propter Christum, per misericordiam donatur vita aeterna his, qui fide accipiunt remissionem, nec opponunt merita sua iudicio Dei, sicut et Bernhardus gravissime dicit: *Necesse est primo omnium credere, quod remissionem peccatorum habere non possis nisi per indulgentiam Dei. Deinde, quod nihil prorsus habere queas operis boni, nisi* [R. 284 *et hoc dederit ipse. Postremo, quod aeternam vitam nullis potes operibus promereri, nisi gratis detur et illa.* Cetera, quae in eandem sententiam sequuntur, supra recitavimus. Addit autem in fine Bernhardus: *Nemo se seducat, quia, si bene cogitare voluerit, inveniet procul dubio, quod nec cum decem millibus possit occurrere ei, qui cum viginti mil-* **33**] *libus venit ad se.* Quum autem nec divinae legis operibus mereamur remissionem peccatorum aut vitam aeternam, sed necesse sit quaerere misericordiam promissam in Christo, multo minus observationibus monasticis, quum sint merae traditiones humanae, tribuendus est hic honor, quod mereantur remissionem peccatorum aut vitam aeternam.

34] Ita simpliciter obruunt evangelium de gratuita remissione peccatorum et de apprehendenda misericordia promissa in Christo, qui docent monasticam vitam mereri remissionem peccatorum aut vitam aeternam, et fiduciam debitam Christo transferunt in illas stultas observationes. Pro Christo colunt suos cucullos, suas sordes. Quum autem et ipsi egeant misericordia, impie faciunt, quod fingunt merita supererogationis eaque aliis vendunt.

35] Brevius de his rebus dicimus, quia ex his, quae supra de iustificatione, de poenitentia, de traditionibus humanis diximus, satis constat vota monastica non esse pretium, propter quod detur remissio peccatorum et vita aeterna. Et quum Christus vocet traditiones cultus inutiles, nullo modo sunt perfectio evangelica.

die klaren Worte der Widersacher. Ist aber das nicht eine ganz unverschämte, häßliche Lüge, es sei in der Heiligen Schrift geschrieben, daß man durch das Mönchsleben könnte das ewige Leben verdienen? Wie seid ihr doch so kühn! Wo redet doch die Schrift von Möncherei? Also handeln diese große, treffliche Sache die Widersacher; also führen sie die Schrift ein. Die ganze Welt weiß, die Historien sind vor Augen, daß die Orden und Möncherei ein ganz neu Ding ist; noch [dennoch] dürfen sie rühmen, die Heilige Schrift rede von ihrer Möncherei.

Darüber so lästern sie und schmähen Christum, daß sie sagen, man könne durch Klosterleben das ewige Leben verdienen. Gott tut seinem eigenen Gesetz nicht die Ehre, daß man durch die Werke des Gesetzes sollte das ewige Leben verdienen, wie er klar sagt Hesek. am 20.: „Ich habe ihnen gegeben Gesetze, dadurch sie das Leben nicht haben können." Denn für das erste ist das gewiß, daß durch Möncherei niemand kann das ewige Leben verdienen, sondern um Christus' Verdienstes willen, durch lauter Barmherzigkeit, wird das ewige Leben gegeben denjenigen, so durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen und halten denselben gegen Gottes Urteil, nicht ihr armes Verdienst. Wie auch St. Bernhard ein fein Wort geredet hat: „daß wir Vergebung der Sünden nicht haben können denn allein durch Gottes Gnade und Güte"; item, „daß wir gar nichts von guten Werken haben können, wenn er es nicht gibt"; item, „daß wir das ewige Leben nicht verdienen können mit Werken, sondern es werde uns auch aus Gnaden gegeben". Und dergleichen redet St. Bernhard viel auf dieselbe Meinung, wie wir oben erzählt. Und am Ende setzt noch St. Bernhard dazu: „Darum wolle niemand darin sich selbst betrügen noch verführen; denn wird er's selbst recht bedenken, so wird er gewiß finden, daß er mit zehntausend dem nicht kann entgegenkommen (nämlich Gott), der mit zwanzigtausend auf ihn zudringt." So wir denn auch nicht durch die Werke des göttlichen Gesetzes Vergebung der Sünden oder das ewige Leben verdienen, sondern müssen die Barmherzigkeit suchen, welche in Christo verheißen ist, so verdienen wir es viel weniger durch Klosterleben, Möncherei, das eitel Menschensatzungen sind, und soll die Ehre viel weniger den bettelischen Satzungen gegeben werden.

Diejenigen, die da lehren, daß wir durch Möncherei können Vergebung der Sünden verdienen, und setzen also das Vertrauen, welches Christo allein gebührt, auf die elenden Satzungen, die treten schlecht das heilige Evangelium und die Verheißung von Christo mit Füßen; und für den Heiland Christum ehren sie ihre schäbichten Kappen, ihre mönchischen tollen Werke. Und so es ihnen noch selbst fehlt an Gnade, so tun sie als die gottlosen, heillosen Leute, daß sie noch ihre merita supererogationis erdichten und andern Leuten das übrige Teil am Himmel verkaufen.

Wir reden hier desto kürzer von dieser Sache; denn aus dem, so droben geredet von der Buße, de iustificatione, von Menschensatzungen usw., ist genug zu merken, daß die Klostergelübde nicht der Schatz sind, dadurch wir erlöst und erlangen ein ewiges Leben usw. Und so Christus dieselben Satzungen nennt vergebliche Gottesdienste, so sind sie in keinem Wege eine evangelische Vollkommenheit.

which it is first said most impudently that it is expressed in the Holy Scriptures that a monastic life merits eternal life. For where do the Holy Scriptures speak of a monastic life? Thus the adversaries plead their case, thus men of no account quote the Scriptures. Although no one is ignorant that the monastic life has recently been devised, nevertheless they cite the authority of Scripture, and say, too, that this their decree has been expressly declared in the Scriptures.

Besides, they dishonor Christ when they say that by monasticism men merit eternal life. God has ascribed not even to His Law the honor that it should merit eternal life, as He clearly says in Ezek. 20, 25: *I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.* In the first place, it is certain that a monastic life does not merit the remission of sins, but we obtain this by faith freely, as has been said above. Secondly, for Christ's sake, through mercy, eternal life is granted to those who by faith receive remission, and do not set their own merits against God's judgment, as Bernard also says with very great force: *It is necessary first of all to believe that you cannot have the remission of sins unless by God's indulgence. Secondly, that you can have no good work whatever, unless He has given also this. Lastly, that you can merit eternal life by no works, unless this also is given freely.* The rest that follows to the same effect we have above recited. Moreover, Bernard adds at the end: *Let no one deceive himself, because if he will reflect well, he will undoubtedly find that with ten thousand he cannot meet Him [namely, God] who cometh against him with twenty thousand.* Since, however, we do not merit the remission of sins or eternal life by the works of the divine Law, but it is necessary to seek the mercy promised in Christ, much less is this honor of meriting the remission of sins or eternal life to be ascribed to monastic observances, since they are mere human traditions.

Thus those who teach that the monastic life merits the remission of sins or eternal life, and transfer the confidence due Christ to these foolish observances, altogether suppress the Gospel concerning the free remission of sins and the promised mercy in Christ that is to be apprehended. Instead of Christ they worship their own hoods and their own filth. But since even they need mercy, they act wickedly in fabricating works of supererogation, and selling them [their superfluous claim upon heaven] to others.

We speak the more briefly concerning these subjects, because from those things which we have said above concerning justification, concerning repentance, concerning human traditions, it is sufficiently evident that monastic vows are not a price on account of which the remission of sins and life eternal are granted. And since Christ calls traditions useless services, they are in no way evangelical perfection.

36] Verum adversarii videri volunt astute moderari vulgarem persuasionem de perfectione. Negant monasticam vitam perfectionem esse, sed dicunt statum esse acquirendae perfectionis. Belle dictum est, et meminimus hanc correctionem exstare apud Gersonem. Apparet enim prudentes viros offensos immodicis illis encomiis vitae monasticae, quum non auderent in totum detrahere ei [R. 285 laudem perfectionis, addidisse hanc *ἐπανόρθωσιν*, quod sit status acquirendae perfectio-
37] nis. Hoc si sequimur, nihilo magis erit monastica status perfectionis quam vita agricolae aut fabri. Nam hi quoque sunt status acquirendae perfectionis. Omnes enim homines in quacunque vocatione perfectionem expetere debent, hoc est, crescere in timore Dei, in fide, in dilectione proximi et similibus virtutibus spiritualibus.

Doch haben etliche vernünftige Mönche eine Scheu gehabt, ihre Möncherei so hoch zu rühmen, daß sie sollte christliche Vollkommenheit heißen. Die haben diesen hohen Ruhm gemäßigt, haben gesagt, es sei nicht christliche Vollkommenheit, sondern es sei ein Stand, der dazu dienen soll, christliche Vollkommenheit zu suchen. Solcher Mäßigung gedenkt auch Gerson und verwirft die unchristliche Rede, daß Möncherei christliche Vollkommenheit sei. Wo nun Möncherei nur ein Stand ist, Vollkommenheit zu suchen, so ist's nicht mehr ein Stand der Vollkommenheit denn der Bauern und Ackerleute, der Schneider und Bäcker Leben usw. Denn das alles sind auch Stände, christliche Vollkommenheit zu suchen. Denn alle Menschen, sie seien, in was Stande sie wollen, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf, so sollen sie nach der Vollkommenheit, solange dies Leben währt, streben und allzeit zunehmen in Gottesfurcht, im Glauben, in Liebe gegen den Nächsten und dergleichen geistlichen Gaben.

38] Exstant in historiis eremitarum exempla, Antonii et aliorum, quae exaequant genera vitae. Scribitur Antonio petenti, ut Deus sibi ostenderet, quantum in hoc vitae genere proficeret, quendam in urbe Alexandria sutorem monstratum esse per somnium, cui compararetur. Postridie Antonius veniens in urbem accedit ad sutorem, exploraturus illius exercitia et dona; collocutus cum homine nihil audit, nisi mane eum pro universa civitate paucis verbis orare, deinde arti suae operam dare. Hic intellexit Antonius non esse iustificationem tribuendam illi vitae generi, quod susceperat.

Man liest in vitis patrum von St. Antonio und etlichen andern großen heiligen Einsiedeln, welche durch Erfahrung dahin sind endlich gekommen, daß sie gemerkt, daß sie ihre Werke vor Gott nicht mehr fromm machen denn anderer Stände Werke. Denn St. Antonius hat auf eine Zeit Gott gebeten, daß er ihm doch zeigen wolle, wie weit er gekommen wäre ins Leben der Vollkommenheit. Da ward ihm angezeigt ein Schuster zu Alexandria und ward ihm gesagt, dem Handwerksmanne wäre er in Heiligkeit gleich. Bald den andern Tag machte sich Antonius auf, zog gen Alexandria, sprach denselben Schuster an und fragte mit Fleiß, was er für einen heiligen Wandel, Leben und Wesen führte. Da antwortete ihm der Schuster: Ich tue nichts Besonderes; denn morgens spreche ich mein Gebet für die ganze Stadt und arbeite danach mein Handwerk, warte meines Hauses usw. Da verstand Antonius bald, was Gott durch die Offenbarung gemeint hätte. Denn man wird nicht durch dies oder jenes Leben vor Gott gerecht, sondern allein durch den Glauben an Christum.

39] Sed adversarii, etsi nunc moderantur laudes de perfectione, tamen aliter reipsa sentiunt. Vendunt enim merita et applicant pro aliis hoc praetextu, quod observent praecepta et consilia, quare reipsa sentiunt sibi superesse merita. Quid est autem arrogare sibi perfectionem, si hoc non est? Deinde in ipsa Confutatione positum est, quod monastici contendant propius secundum evangelium vivere. Tribuit igitur perfectionem traditionibus humanis, si ideo propius secundum evangelium vivunt monachi, quia non habent proprium, quia sunt coelibes, quia obediunt regulae in vestitu, cibis et similibus nugis.

Die Widersacher aber, wiewohl sie sich jetzund auch schämen, die Möncherei Vollkommenheit zu nennen, so halten sie es doch im Grund dafür. Denn sie verkaufen ihre Werke und Verdienste und geben vor, sie halten nicht allein die Gebote, sondern die consilia und Räte, und wähnen, sie behalten Verdienst noch übrig. Heißt das nun nicht mit der Tat Vollkommenheit und Heiligkeit rühmen, wenn sie gleich mit Worten ein wenig die Sache mäßigen? Auch ist klar gesetzt in der Konfutation, daß die Mönche näher und genauer nach dem Evangelio leben denn andere Weltliche. Wo nun ihre Meinung ist, daß man dadurch dem Evangelio näher lebt, wenn man nichts Eigenes hat, außerhalb der Ehe lebt, eine sonderliche Kleidung oder Kappe trägt, also fastet, also betet: so ist ja ihre Meinung, daß ihre Möncherei christliche Vollkommenheit sei, dieweil sie dem Evangelio näher sein soll denn gemein Leben.

40] Item, Confutatio dicit monachos mereri vitam aeternam auctiorem, et allegat Scripturam, Matth. 19, 29: *Qui reliquerit domum* etc.; scilicet, hic quoque perfectionem arrogat factitiis religionibus. Sed hic locus Scripturae nihil facit ad vitam monasticam. Non enim hoc vult Christus, quod deserere [R. 286 parentes, coniugem, fratres sit opus ideo faciendum, quia mereatur remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam. Imo maledicta est illa desertio. Fit enim cum contumelia

Item, in der Konfutation steht geschrieben, daß die Mönche das ewige Leben reichlicher erlangen denn andere, und ziehen an die Schrift: „Wer Haus und Hof verläßt" usw. Da rühmen sie auch eine Vollkommenheit, welche soll an der Möncherei sein. Aber der Spruch redet nichts von der Möncherei. Denn Christus will da nicht, daß Vater, Mutter, Weib, Kind, Haus und Hof verlassen ein solch Werk sei, damit man Vergebung der Sünden und das ewige Leben verdiene, sondern auf die Weise Vater und Mutter verlassen,

But the adversaries cunningly wish to appear as if they modify the common opinion concerning perfection. They say that a monastic life is not perfection, but that it is a state in which to acquire perfection. It is prettily phrased! We remember that this correction is found in Gerson. For it is apparent that prudent men, offended by these immoderate praises of monastic life, since they did not venture to remove entirely from it the praise of perfection, have added the correction that it is a state in which to acquire perfection. If we follow this, monasticism will be no more a state of perfection than the life of a farmer or mechanic. For these are also states in which to acquire perfection. For all men, in every vocation, ought to seek perfection, that is, to grow in the fear of God, in faith, in love towards one's neighbor, and similar spiritual virtues.

In the histories of the hermits there are examples of Anthony and of others which make the various spheres of life equal. It is written that when Anthony asked God to show him what progress he was making in this kind of life, a certain shoemaker in the city of Alexandria was indicated to him in a dream to whom he should be compared. The next day Anthony came into the city, and went to the shoemaker in order to ascertain his exercises and gifts, and, having conversed with the man, heard nothing except that early in the morning he prayed in a few words for the entire state, and then attended to his trade. Here Anthony learned that justification is not to be ascribed to the kind of life which he had entered [what God had meant by the revelation; for we are justified before God not through this or that life, but alone through faith in Christ].

But although the adversaries now moderate their praises concerning perfection, yet they actually think otherwise. For they sell merits, and apply them on behalf of others, under the pretext that they are observing precepts and counsels; hence they actually hold that they have superfluous merits. But what is it to arrogate to one's self perfection, if this is not? Again, it has been laid down in the Confutation that the monks endeavor to live more nearly in accordance with the Gospel. Therefore it ascribes perfection to human traditions if they are living more nearly in accordance with the Gospel by not having property, being unmarried, and obeying the rule in clothing, meats, and like trifles.

Again, the Confutation says that the monks merit eternal life the more abundantly, and quotes Scripture, Matt. 19, 29: *Every one that hath forsaken houses*, etc. Accordingly, here, too, it claims perfection also for factitious religious rites. But this passage of Scripture in no way favors monastic life. For Christ does not mean that to forsake parents, wife, brethren, is a work that must be done because it merits the remission of sins and eternal life. Yea, such a forsaking is cursed. For if any one forsakes parents or wife in order by this very work to merit the remis-

Christi, si quis ideo deserat parentes aut coniugem, ut hoc ipso opere mereatur remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam.

gefällt Gott gar nichts und ist in die Hölle vermaledeit. Denn wenn jemand darum Eltern, Haus, Hof verläßt, daß er dadurch will Vergebung der Sünden und das ewige Leben verdienen, da lästert er Christum.

41 Duplex autem desertio est. Quaedam fit sine vocatione, sine mandato Dei; hanc non probat Christus, Matth. 15, 9. Nam opera a nobis electa sunt inutiles cultus. Clarius autem hinc apparet Christum non probare hanc fugam, quia loquitur de deserenda uxore et liberis. Scimus autem, quod mandatum Dei prohibet deserere uxorem et liberos. Alia desertio est, quae fit mandato Dei, videlicet quum cogit nos potestas aut tyrannis cedere, aut negare evangelium. Hic habemus mandatum, ut potius sustineamus iniuriam, potius eripi nobis patiamur non solum facultates, coniugem, liberos, sed vitam quoque. Hanc desertionem probat Christus ideoque addit: *propter evangelium*, ut significet se de his loqui, non qui faciunt iniuriam uxori et liberis, sed qui propter confessionem evangelii **42**] sustinent iniuriam. Corpus nostrum etiam deserere debemus propter evangelium. Hic ridiculum fuerit sentire, quod cultus Dei sit se ipsum occidere et relinquere corpus sine mandato Dei. Ita ridiculum est sentire, quod cultus Dei sit deserere possessiones, amicos, coniugem, liberos sine mandato Dei.

Es ist aber zweierlei Verlassen. Eins geschieht aus Beruf und Gottes Gebot. Das Verlassen, welches ohne Beruf und Gottes Gebot geschieht, das läßt ihm [sich] der HErr Christus gar nicht gefallen. Denn die Werke, wo wir selbst erwählen, nennt der HErr Christus unnütze, vergebliche Gottesdienste. Man sieht aber daraus noch klarer, daß Christus nicht meint ein solches Fliehen von Weib und Kind; er sagt: „Wer da verläßt Weib, Kind, Haus, Hof" usw. Nun wissen wir, daß Gott geboten hat, Weib, Kind nicht zu verlassen. Es ist aber ein ander Verlassen, wenn wir aus Gottes Gebot verlassen Eltern, Weib, Kind usw., und wenn wir es selbst vornehmen. Denn wenn Tyrannen mich wollten zwingen, das Evangelium zu verleugnen, oder verjagen, da haben wir Gottes Befehl, daß wir sollen eher Unrecht leiden, als daß wir nicht allein von Weib und Kindern, Haus und Hof vertrieben werden, sondern auch, daß man uns unser Leib und Leben nimmt. Von dem Verlassen redet Christus, darum setzt er auch dazu: „um des Evangeliums willen", und zeigt genug an, daß er von denen rede, die um des Evangeliums willen leiden, nicht Weib und Kind aus eigenem Vornehmen verlassen. Denn wir sind auch schuldig, unser eigen Leben zu lassen um des Evangeliums willen. Da wäre es nun närrisch und ganz widersinns verstanden, wenn ich mich selbst töten wollte ohne Gottes Befehl. Also ist es auch närrisch, das für Heiligkeit und Gottesdienst halten, daß ich aus eigenem Vornehmen verließe Weib und Kind ohne Gottes Befehl.

43] Constat igitur male detorqueri dictum Christi ad vitam monasticam. Nisi fortassis hoc quadrat, quod centuplum in hac vita recipiunt. Plurimi enim fiunt monachi non propter evangelium, sed propter culinam et otium, qui pro exiguis patrimoniis inveniunt **44**] amplissimas opes. Sed ut tota res monastica simulationis plena est, ita falso praetextu testimonia Scripturae citant, ut duplíciter peccent, hoc est, ut fallant homines, et fallant praetextu nominis divini.

Derhalben wird der Spruch Christi übel auf die Möncherei gedeutet. Es möchte sich aber das auf die Mönche reimen, daß sie Hundertfältiges in diesem Leben empfangen. Denn viele werden Mönche um des Bauchs willen, und daß sie Müßiggang und feiste Küchen haben, da sie als Bettler dennoch in reiche Klöster kommen. Wie aber die ganze Möncherei voll Heuchelei ist und Betrugs, also ziehen sie auch die Schrift fälschlich an, tun also zweierlei schreckliche Sünde: für eins, daß sie die Welt mit Abgötterei betrügen; zum andern, daß sie Gottes Namen und Wort fälschlich anziehen, ihre Abgötterei zu schmücken.

45] Citatur et alius locus de perfectione, Matth. 19, 21: *Si vis perfectus esse,* [R. 287 *vade, vende, quae habes, et da pauperibus et veni et sequere me.* Hic locus exercuit multos, qui finxerunt perfectionem esse, posses-**46**] siones ac dominia rerum abiicere. Sinamus philosophos Aristippum praedicare, qui magnum auri pondus abiecit in mare. Talia exempla nihil pertinent ad Christianam perfectionem. Rerum divisio, dominia et possessio sunt ordinationes civiles, approbatae Verbo Dei in praecepto, Exod. 20, 15: *Non furtum facies.* Desertio facultatum non habet mandatum aut consilium in Scripturis. Nam evangelica paupertas non est desertio rerum, sed non esse avarum, non confidere opibus, sicut David pauper erat in ditissimo regno.

Auch so wird ein Spruch angezogen: „So du willst vollkommen sein, so gehe, verkaufe alles, was du hast, und gib's den Armen und folge mir nach." Der Spruch hat vielen zu schaffen gemacht, daß sie haben wollen wähnen, das sei die höchste Heiligkeit und Vollkommenheit, nicht Eigenes haben, nicht Haus, Hof, Güter haben. Es mögen aber die Cynici, als Diogenes, der kein Haus haben wollte, sondern lag in einem Faß, solche heidnische Heiligkeit rühmen; christliche Heiligkeit steht viel auf höheren Sachen denn auf solcher Heuchelei. Denn Güter haben, Haus und Hof, sind weltlicher Regimente Ordnungen, welche durch Gott bestätigt sind, als im siebenten Gebot: „Du sollst nicht stehlen" usw. Darum Güter, Haus und Hof verlassen, ist in der Schrift nicht geboten noch geraten. Denn evangelische, christliche Armut steht nicht darin, daß ich die Güter verlasse, sondern daß ich nicht darauf vertraue, gleichwie David gleichwohl arm war bei einer großen Gewalt und Königreich.

sion of sins or eternal life, this is done with dishonor to Christ.

There is, moreover, a twofold forsaking. One occurs without a call, without God's command; this Christ does not approve, Matt. 15, 9. For the works chosen by us are useless services. But that Christ does not approve this flight appears the more clearly from the fact that He speaks of forsaking wife and children. We know, however, that God's commandment forbids the forsaking of wife and children. The forsaking which occurs by God's command is of a different kind, namely, when power or tyranny compels us either to depart or to deny the Gospel. Here we have the command that we should rather bear injury, that we should rather suffer not only wealth, wife, and children, but even life, to be taken from us. This forsaking Christ approves, and accordingly He adds: *For the Gospel's sake,* Mark 10, 29, in order to signify that He is speaking not of those who do injury to wife and children, but who bear injury on account of the confession of the Gospel. For the Gospel's sake we ought even to forsake our body. Here it would be ridiculous to hold that it would be a service to God to kill one's self, and without God's command to leave the body. So, too, it is ridiculous to hold that it is a service to God without God's command to forsake possessions, friends, wife, children.

Therefore it is evident that they wickedly distort Christ's word to a monastic life. Unless perhaps the declaration that they "receive a hundredfold in this life" be in place here. For very many become monks not on account of the Gospel, but on account of sumptuous living and idleness, who find the most ample riches instead of slender patrimonies. But as the entire subject of monasticism is full of shams, so, by a false pretext, they quote testimonies of Scripture, and as a consequence they sin doubly, *i. e.*, they deceive men, and that, too, under the pretext of the divine name.

Another passage is also cited concerning perfection Matt. 19, 21: *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor, and come and follow Me.* This passage has exercised many, who have imagined that it is perfection to cast away possessions and the control of property. Let us allow the philosophers to extol Aristippus, who cast a great weight of gold into the sea. [Cynics like Diogenes, who would have no house, but lay in a tub, may commend such heathenish holiness.] Such examples pertain in no way to Christian perfection. [Christian holiness consists in much higher matters than such hypocrisy.] The division, control, and possession of property are civil ordinances, approved by God's Word in the commandment, Ex. 20, 15: *Thou shalt not steal.* The abandonment of property has no command or advice in the Scriptures. For evangelical poverty does not consist in the abandonment of property, but in not being avaricious, in not trusting in wealth, just as David was poor in a most wealthy kingdom.

47] Quare quum desertio facultatum sit mere traditio humana, est inutilis cultus. Et immodica sunt illa encomia in *Extravagante*, quae ait abdicationem proprietatis omnium rerum propter Deum meritoriam et sanctam et viam perfectionis esse. Et periculosissimum est rem pugnantem cum civili consuetudine talibus immoderatis laudibus efferre. 48] At Christus hic perfectionem vocat. Imo iniuriam faciunt textui, qui truncatum allegant. Perfectio est in hoc, quod addit Chri- 49] stus: *Sequere me.* Exemplum obedientiae in vocatione propositum est. Et quia vocationes dissimiles sunt, ita haec vocatio non est omnium, sed proprie ad illam personam, cum qua ibi loquitur Christus, pertinet, sicut vocatio Davidi ad regnum, Abrahami ad mactandum filium non sunt nobis imitandae. Vocationes sunt personales, sicut negotia ipsa variant temporibus et personis; sed exem- 50] plum obedientiae est generale. Perfectio erat futura illi iuveni, si huic vocationi credidisset et obedivisset. Ita perfectio nobis est obedire unumquemque vera fide suae vocationi.

Darum dieweil solch Verlassen der Güter nichts ist denn eine menschliche Satzung, so ist es ein unnützer Gottesdienst. Und des Papsts Extravagant rühmt und lobt auch viel zu hoch solche mönchische, heuchlerische Armut, da sie sagt, nicht Eigenes haben um Gottes willen sei ein verdienstlich, heilig Ding und ein Weg der Vollkommenheit. Wenn unerfahrene Leute solch Rühmen hören, fallen sie darauf, es sei unchristlich, in Gütern sitzen; daraus folgen denn viele Irrtümer und Aufruhre. Durch solch Rühmen ist Müntzer betrogen worden, und werden dadurch viele Anabaptisten verführt. Sie sprechen aber: Hat's doch Christus selbst Vollkommenheit genannt. Da sage ich nein zu; denn sie tun dem Text Gewalt, daß sie ihn nicht ganz anziehen. Vollkommenheit steht in diesem Stück, da Christus spricht: „Folge mir nach!" Und darin steht eines jeden Christen Vollkommenheit, daß er Christo folge, ein jeder nach seinem Beruf; und sind doch die Berufe ungleich; einer wird berufen zu einem Regenten, der andere zu einem Hausvater, der dritte zu einem Prediger. Darum, obschon jener Jüngling berufen ist, daß er verkaufen sollte, betrifft sein Beruf nicht andere, wie Davids Beruf, daß er König werden sollte, nicht alle betrifft; Abrahams Beruf, daß er seinen Sohn opfern sollte, betrifft nicht andere. Also sind die Berufe ungleich; aber der Gehorsam soll gleich sein, und darin steht Vollkommenheit, so ich in meinem Beruf gehorsam bin, nicht so ich mich eines fremden Berufs annehme, da ich nicht Befehl oder Gottes Gebot von habe.

51] Tertio. In votis monasticis promittitur castitas. Supra autem diximus de [R. 288 coniugio sacerdotum, non posse votis aut legibus tolli ius naturae in hominibus. Et quia non omnes habent donum continentiae, multi propter imbecillitatem infeliciter continent. Neque vero ulla vota aut ullae leges possunt abolere mandatum Spiritus Sancti, 1 Cor. 7, 2: *Propter fornicationem unusquisque habeat uxorem suam.* Quare hoc votum non est licitum in his, qui non habent donum continentiae, sed propter imbecillitatem contami- 52] nantur. De hoc toto loco satis supra dictum est, in quo profecto mirum est, quum versentur ob oculos pericula et scandala, tamen adversarios defendere suas traditiones contra manifestum Dei praeceptum. Nec commovet eos vox Christi, qui obiurgat Pharisaeos, Matth. 23, 13 sqq., qui traditiones contra mandatum Dei fecerant.

Für das dritte, eins von den Substantialklostergelübden ist die Keuschheit. Nun haben wir oben von der Priesterehe gesagt, daß man durch kein Gesetz oder Klostergelübde natürlich oder göttlich Recht ändern kann; und so nicht alle Leute die Gabe der Keuschheit haben, so halten sie auch dieselben, daß Gott geklagt sei. So können auch keine Klostergelübde noch Gesetze dem Heiligen Geist sein Gebot ändern, da Paulus sagt: „Hurerei zu vermeiden, habe ein jeglicher sein eigen Eheweib." Darum sind die Klostergelübde nicht christlich in denen, welche nicht haben die Gabe der Keuschheit, sondern fallen und machen's ärger aus Schwachheit. Von dem Artikel haben wir hier oben gesagt, und ist wahrlich Wunder, so die Widersacher vor Augen sehen so viele, unzählige Fährlichkeiten der Gewissen und Ärgernisse, daß sie nichtsdestoweniger als die törichten, rasenden Leute dringen auf solche Menschensatzungen wider das öffentliche Gottesgebot und sehen nicht, daß der HErr Christus so ernstlich straft die Pharisäer, welche Satzungen wider Gottes Gebot lehrten.

53] Quarto. Liberant hos, qui vivunt in monasteriis, impii cultus, quales sunt profanatio missae ad quaestum collatae pro mortuis, cultus sanctorum, in quibus duplex vitium est, et quod sancti in locum Christi surrogantur et impie coluntur, sicut finxerunt Dominicastri rosarium beatae Virginis, quod est mera *βαττολογία* non minus stulta quam impia, vanissimam fiduciam alens. Deinde hae ipsae impietates tantum conferuntur ad 54] quaestum. Item, evangelium de gratuita remissione peccatorum propter Christum, de iustitia fidei, de vera poenitentia, de operibus, quae habent mandatum Dei, neque audiunt neque docent. Sed versantur aut in philosophicis disputationibus aut in traditionibus ceremoniarum, quae obscurant Christum.

Zum vierten, so sollte doch jedermann vom Klosterleben abschrecken der greuliche, schreckliche Mißbrauch der Messen, welche gehalten werden für Lebendige und für die Toten; item, das Anrufen der Heiligen, das alles auf Geiz, auf eitel Teufelsgreuel gerichtet ist. Denn am Anrufen der Heiligen ist zweierlei Greuel: der eine, daß der Heiligen Dienst auf Geiz gerichtet ist; der andere, daß die Heiligen werden gesetzt an Christus' Statt, und daß sie werden abgöttisch angebetet und für Mittler gegen Gott gehalten, wie allein die Predigermönche (schweige [geschweige denn] unzählige tolle Träume der andern Mönche) mit der Brüderschaft des Rosenkranzes eine rechte unverschämte Abgötterei haben angerichtet, welches [worüber] jetzund Feinde und Freunde selbst spotten. Item, das Evangelium, welches da predigt Vergebung der Sünden um Christus' willen, von rechter Buße,

Therefore, since the abandonment of property is merely a human tradition, it is a useless service. Excessive also are the praises in the *Extravagant*, which says that the abdication of the ownership of all things for God's sake is meritorious and holy, and a way of perfection. And it is very dangerous to extol with such excessive praises a matter conflicting with political order. [When inexperienced people hear such commendations, they conclude that it is unchristian to hold property; whence many errors and seditions follow; through such commendations Muentzer was deceived, and thereby many Anabaptists were led astray.] But [they say] Christ here speaks of perfection. Yea, they do violence to the text who quote it mutilated. Perfection is in that which Christ adds: *Follow Me.* An example of obedience in one's calling is here presented. And as callings are unlike [one is called to rulership, a second to be father of a family, a third to be a preacher], so this calling does not belong to all, but pertains properly to that person with whom Christ there speaks, just as the call of David to the kingdom, and of Abraham to slay his son, are not to be imitated by us. Callings are personal, just as matters of business themselves vary with times and persons; but the example of obedience is general. Perfection would have belonged to that young man if he had believed and obeyed this vocation. Thus perfection with us is that every one with true faith should obey his own calling. [Not that I should undertake a strange calling for which I have not the commission or command of God.]

Thirdly. In monastic vows chastity is promised. We have said above, however, concerning the marriage of priests, that the law of nature [or of God] in men cannot be removed by vows or enactments. And as all do not have the gift of continence, many because of weakness are unsuccessfully continent. Neither, indeed, can any vows or any enactments abolish the command of the Holy Ghost, 1 Cor. 7, 2: *To avoid fornication, let every man have his own wife.* Therefore this vow is not lawful in those who do not have the gift of continence, but who are polluted on account of weakness. Concerning this entire topic enough has been said above, in regard to which indeed it is strange, since the dangers and scandals are occurring before men's eyes, that the adversaries still defend their traditions contrary to the manifest command of God. Neither does the voice of Christ move them, who chides the Pharisees, Matt. 23, 13 f., who had made traditions contrary to God's command.

Fourthly. Those who live in monasteries are released from their vows by such godless ceremonies as of the Mass applied on behalf of the dead for the sake of gain; the worship of saints, in which the fault is twofold, both that the saints are put in Christ's place, and that they are wickedly worshiped, just as the Dominicasters invented the rosary of the Blessed Virgin, which is mere babbling, not less foolish than it is wicked, and nourishes the most vain presumption. Then, too, these very impieties are applied only for the sake of gain. Likewise, they neither hear nor teach the Gospel concerning the free remission of sins for Christ's sake, concerning the righteousness of faith, concerning true repentance, concerning works which have God's command.

von rechten guten Werken, die Gottes Befehl haben, hören sie nicht, sie lehren's auch nicht, sondern lehren aus ihren Predigten Fabeln von Heiligen und eigenerdichtete Werke, dadurch Christus wird unterdrückt. Das alles haben die Bischöfe leiden können.

55] Non hic dicemus de illo toto cultu ceremoniarum, de lectionibus, cantu et similibus rebus, quae poterant tolerari, si haberentur pro exercitiis, sicut lectiones in scholis, quarum finis est docere audientes et inter docendum aliquos commovere ad timorem aut fidem. Sed nunc fingunt has ceremonias esse [R. 289 cultus Dei, qui mereantur remissionem peccatorum ipsis et aliis. Ideo enim augent has ceremonias. Quodsi susciperent ad docendos et adhortandos auditores, breves et accuratae lectiones plus prodessent quam illae infinitae **56]** *βαττολογίαι*. Ita tota vita monastica plena est hypocrisi et falsis opinionibus. Ad haec omnia accedit et hoc periculum, quod, qui sunt in illis collegiis, coguntur assentiri persequentibus veritatem. Multi igitur graves et magnae rationes sunt, quae liberant bonos viros ab hoc vitae genere.

Wir wollen hier geschweigen der unzähligen kindischen Zeremonien und närrischen Gottesdienste mit Lektionen, mit Gesängen und dergleichen, welche zum Teil möchten zu dulden sein, wenn sie ein Maß hätten und zu guter Übung gebraucht würden, wie man der Lektionen in der Schule und der Predigt dazu gebraucht, daß die Zuhörer davon sich bessern. Aber nun erdichten sie ihnen selbst, daß solche mancherlei Zeremonien sollen Gottesdienste sein, Vergebung der Sünden dadurch zu verdienen ihnen selbst und andern; darum machen sie auch ohne Unterlaß neue Zeremonien. Denn wenn sie solche Kirchendienste und Zeremonien dahin richteten, daß die Jugend und der gemeine Mann möchte geübt werden in Gottes Wort, so wären kurze und fleißige Lektionen viel nützer denn ihr Geplärre im Chor, das weder Maß noch Ende hat. Also ist das ganze Klosterleben gar voll Abgötterei und voll heuchlerischer Irrtümer wider das erste und andere Gebot, wider Christum. Darüber ist noch die Fährlichkeit dabei, daß diejenigen, die also in Stiften oder Klöstern sind, müssen wissentlich helfen die Wahrheit verfolgen. Derhalben sind viel große Ursachen, darum fromme, redliche Leute das Klosterleben fliehen oder auch verlassen mögen.

57] Postremo multos liberant ipsi canones, qui aut illecti artibus monachorum sine iudicio voverunt, aut coacti ab amicis voverunt. Talia vota ne canones quidem pronuntiant esse vota. Ex his omnibus apparet plurimas esse causas, quae docent vota monastica, qualia hactenus facta sunt, non esse vota, quare tuto deseri potest vitae genus plenum hypocrisis et falsarum opinionum.

Darüber, so sprechen die Canones selbst diejenigen los, die überredet sind mit guten Worten, ehe sie zu ihrem rechten Alter gekommen sind, oder welche die Freunde wider ihren Willen in ein Kloster verstoßen haben. Aus dem allem erscheint, daß viele Ursachen sind, welche da anzeigen, daß die Klostergelübde, welche bisher geschehen sind, nicht rechte christliche, bündige Gelübde sind. Darum mag man das Klosterleben mit gutem Gewissen verlassen, nachdem [da] es voll Heuchelei und allerlei Greuel ist.

58] Hic obiiciunt ex lege Nazaraeos, Num. 6, 2 sqq. Sed hi non suscipiebant vota sua cum his opinionibus, quas hactenus diximus nos reprehendere in votis monachorum. Nazaraeorum ritus erat exercitium aut protestatio fidei coram hominibus; non merebatur remissionem peccatorum coram Deo, non iustificabat coram Deo. Deinde sicut nunc circumcisio aut mactatio victimarum non esset cultus, ita nec ritus Nazaraeorum nunc debet proponi tamquam cultus, sed debet iudicari simpliciter *ἀδιάφορον*. Non igitur recte confertur monachatus sine verbo Dei excogitatus, ut sit cultus, qui mereatur remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem, cum ritu Nazaraeorum, qui habebat verbum Dei, nec traditus erat in hoc, ut mereretur remissionem peccatorum, sed ut esset exercitium externum sicut aliae ceremoniae legis. Idem de aliis votis in lege traditis dici potest.

Hier werfen uns die Widersacher vor die Nazaräer [Nasiräer] im Gesetz Mosis. Aber die taten ihre Gelübde nicht der Meinung, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden zu erlangen, wie wir oben von den Mönchsgelübden geklagt haben. Der Nazaräer Orden war eine leibliche Übung mit Fasten, mit gewisser Speise, dadurch sie ihren Glauben bekannten, nicht daß sie dadurch Vergebung der Sünden erlangten oder dadurch vom ewigen Tod erlöst würden; denn das suchten sie anderswo, nämlich in der Verheißung von dem gebenedeiten Samen. Item, wie die Beschneidung im Gesetz Mosis oder das Opferschlachten jetzund nicht soll für einen Gottesdienst aufgerichtet werden, also soll man das Fasten oder Zeremonie der Nazaräer nicht aufrichten oder anziehen als einen Gottesdienst, sondern soll gehalten werden für ein Mittelding und leibliche Übung. Derhalben können noch sollen sie ihren Mönchsstand, welcher ohne Gottes Wort erdichtet ist als ein Gottesdienst, dadurch Gott versöhnt werde, nicht vergleichen mit der Nazaräer Stand, welchen Gott befohlen hatte, und war nicht dazu erdacht, daß die Nazaräer dadurch sollten erlangen einen gnädigen Gott, sondern daß es eine äußerliche Zucht und Übung wäre des Leibes wie andere Zeremonien im Gesetz Mosis. Item, gleich dasselbe ist auch von andern mancherlei Gelübden, die im Gesetz Mosis gesetzt werden, zu antworten.

59] Allegantur et Rechabitae, qui nec possessiones habebant ullas, nec vinum [R. 290 bibebant, ut scribit Ieremias cap. 35, 6 sq. Scilicet pulchre quadrat exemplum Rechabitarum ad monachos nostros, quorum mona-

Auch so ziehen die Widersacher an das Exempel der Rechabiten, welche keine Güter hatten, auch keinen Wein tranken, wie Jeremia sagt am 35. Kapitel. Ja wahrlich, es reimt sich wohl der Rechabiten Exempel zu unsern Mönchen, so ihre Klöster

But they are occupied either in philosophic discussions or in the handing down of ceremonies that obscure Christ.

We will not here speak of the entire service of ceremonies, of the lessons, singing, and similar things, which could be tolerated if they [were regulated as regards number, and if they] would be regarded as exercises, after the manner of lessons in the schools [and preaching], whose design is to teach the hearers, and, while teaching, to move some to fear or faith. But now they feign that these ceremonies are services of God, which merit the remission of sins for themselves and for others. For on this account they increase these ceremonies. But if they would undertake them in order to teach and exhort the hearers, brief and pointed lessons would be of more profit than these infinite babblings. Thus the entire monastic life is full of hypocrisy and false opinions [against the First and Second Commandments, against Christ]. To all these this danger also is added, that those who are in these fraternities are compelled to assent to those persecuting the truth. There are, therefore, many important and forcible reasons which free good men from the obligation to this kind of life.

Lastly, the canons themselves release many, who either without judgment [before they have attained a proper age] have made vows when enticed by the tricks of the monks, or have made vows under compulsion by friends. Such vows not even the canons declare to be vows. From all these considerations it is apparent that there are very many reasons which teach that monastic vows such as have hitherto been made are not vows; and for this reason a sphere of life full of hypocrisy and false opinions can be safely abandoned.

Here they present an objection derived from the Law concerning the Nazarites, Num. 6, 2 f. But the Nazarites did not take upon themselves their vows with the opinions which, we have hitherto said, we censure in the vows of the monks. The rite of the Nazarites was an exercise [a bodily exercise with fasting and certain kinds of food] or declaration of faith before men, and did not merit the remission of sins before God, did not justify before God. [For they sought this elsewhere, namely, in the promise of the blessed Seed.] Again, just as circumcision or the slaying of victims would not be a service of God now, so the rite of the Nazarites ought not to be presented now as a service, but it ought to be judged simply as an adiaphoron. It is not right to compare monasticism, devised without God's Word, as a service which should merit the remission of sins and justification, with the rite of the Nazarites, which had God's Word, and was not taught for the purpose of meriting the remission of sins, but to be an outward exercise, just as other ceremonies of the Law. The same can be said concerning other ceremonies prescribed in the Law.

The Rechabites also are cited, who did not have any possessions, and did not drink wine, as Jeremiah writes, chap. 35, 6 f. Yea, truly, the example of the Rechabites accords beauti-

steria superant palatia regum, qui lautissime vivunt. Et Rechabitae in illa omnium rerum penuria tamen erant coniuges. Nostri monachi, quum affluant omnibus deliciis, profitentur coelibatum.

60] Ceterum exempla iuxta regulam, hoc est, iuxta Scripturas certas et claras, non contra regulam seu contra Scripturas inter-
61] pretari convenit. Certissimum est autem observationes nostras non mereri remissionem peccatorum aut iustificationem. Quare quum laudantur Rechabitae, necesse est eos morem suum non ideo servasse, quod sentirent se per eum mereri remissionem peccatorum, aut opus ipsum cultum esse iustificantem, aut propter quem consequerentur vitam aeternam, non per misericordiam Dei, propter semen promissum. Sed quia habuerunt mandatum parentum, laudatur obedientia, de qua exstat praeceptum Dei: *Honora patrem et matrem.*

62] Deinde mos habebat finem proprium: quia peregrini erant, non Israelitae, apparet patrem voluisse eos certis notis discernere a suis popularibus, ne relaberentur ad impietatem popularium. Volebat his notis eos admonere doctrinae fidei et immortalitatis. 63] Talis finis est licitus. At fines monasticae longe alii traduntur. Fingunt opera monastices cultus esse, fingunt ea mereri remissionem peccatorum ac iustificationem. Est igitur dissimile monasticae exemplum Rechabitarum; ut omittamus hic alia incommoda, quae haerent in praesenti monastica.

64] Citant et ex priore ad Timotheum, cap. 5, 11 sqq., de viduis, quae servientes ecclesiae alebantur de publico, ubi ait: *Nubere volunt, habentes damnationem, quia primam*
65] *fidem irritam fecerunt.* Primum hic fingamus apostolum de votis loqui; tamen hic locus non patrocinabitur monasticis [R. 291 votis, quae fiunt de impiis cultibus, et hac opinione, ut mereantur remissionem peccatorum et iustificationem. Paulus enim tota voce damnat omnes cultus, omnes leges, omnia opera, si ita observentur, ut mereantur remissionem peccatorum, aut ut propter ea consequamur vitam aeternam, non propter Christum per misericordiam. Ideo necesse est vota viduarum, si qua fuerunt, dissimilia fuisse votis monasticis.

66] Praeterea, si non desinant adversarii detorquere locum ad vota, detorquendum erit eodem hoc quoque, quod vetat *eligi viduam minorem annis sexaginta*, 1 Tim. 5, 9. Ita vota
67] ante eam aetatem facta erunt irrita. Sed nondum norat ecclesia haec vota. Itaque damnat Paulus viduas, non quia nubunt, iubet enim nubere iuniores, sed quia publico sumptu alitae lasciviebant ideoque fidem abiiciebant.

prächtiger denn der Könige Paläste gebaut sind, so sie in allem Überfluß leben. Auch so sind die Rechabiten bei ihrer Armut doch Eheleute gewesen; unsere Mönche, so sie alle Pracht, allen Überfluß haben, geben in ihrer Heuchelei Keuschheit vor.

Nun, die Verständigen und Gelehrten wissen wohl, daß man alle Exempel nach der Regel, das ist, nach der klaren Schrift, und nicht wider die Regel oder Schrift soll auslegen oder einführen. Darum, so die Rechabiten in der Schrift gelobt werden, so ist es gewiß, daß sie ihre Weise und Zeremonie nicht darum gehalten haben, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden oder ewiges Leben zu verdienen, oder daß ihre Werke an ihnen selbst sie vor Gott versöhnen könnten, sondern sie haben als fromme, gottesfürchtige Kinder geglaubt an den gesegneten, gebenedeiten Samen, an den zukünftigen Christum, und dieweil sie haben Gebot und Befehl gehabt ihrer Eltern, wird in der Schrift gelobt ihr Gehorsam, von welchem das vierte Gebot redet: „Du sollst deinen Vater und deine Mutter ehren."

Item, so hat der Rechabiten Weise noch eine Ursache. Sie waren unter den Heiden gewesen, da hat sie ihr Vater unterscheiden wollen von den Heiden mit etlichen Zeichen, daß sie nicht wieder fielen in gottlos Wesen und Abgötterei. Darum hat sie ihr Vater dadurch wollen erinnern der Gottesfurcht, des Glaubens, der Auferstehung der Toten; und das ist eine gute Ursache. Aber die Möncherei hat viel andere Ursachen. Sie erdichten, daß die Möncherei sei ein Gottesdienst, dadurch man verdiene Vergebung der Sünden und Gott versöhnt werde. Darum ist es gar keine Vergleichung mit der Rechabiten Exempel; daß ich geschweige andern unzähligen Unrats und Ärgernisses, welche darüber noch am Klosterleben sind.

Auch so bringen sie vor aus der ersten Epistel zum Timotheo am 5. von den Witwen, welche den Kirchen dienten und von dem gemeinen Kirchengut ernährt wurden, da Paulus sagt: „Denn wenn sie geil worden sind wider Christum, so wollen sie freien; und haben ihr Urteil, daß sie den ersten Glauben verbrochen haben." Ich will gleich setzen, daß, da der Apostel von den Gelübden rede (wie doch nicht ist), so tut doch der Spruch gar nichts dazu, daß die Klostergelübde sollten christlich sein. Denn die Klostergelübde geschehen darum, daß sie sollen ein Gottesdienst sein, dadurch man Vergebung der Sünden verdiene. Paulus aber verwirft alle Gesetze, alle Werke, alle Gottesdienste, welche also gehalten und angenommen werden, dadurch Vergebung der Sünden und das ewige Leben zu verdienen, welches wir allein durch Christum erlangen. Darum ist es gewiß, ob die Witwen etliche Gelübde getan hätten, daß sie doch ungleich den jetzigen Klostergelübden gewesen sind.

Darüber, wenn die Widersacher je den Spruch Pauli wollten auf die Klostergelübde ziehen und dehnen, so müßten sie das auch annehmen, daß Paulus verbietet, „es solle keine Witwe eingenommen werden, die jünger wäre denn sechzig Jahre". Also werden denn alle Klostergelübde, welche vor der Zeit des Alters geschehen sind von jüngeren Leuten, unbündig und nichts sein. Aber die Kirche hat von den Klostergelübden die Zeit nichts

fully with our monks, whose monasteries excel the palaces of kings, and who live most sumptuously! And the Rechabites, in their poverty of all things, were nevertheless married. Our monks, although abounding in all voluptuousness, profess celibacy.

Besides, examples ought to be interpreted according to the rule, *i. e.*, according to certain and clear passages of Scripture, not contrary to the rule, that is, contrary to the Scriptures. It is very certain, however, that our observances do not merit the remission of sins or justification. Therefore, when the Rechabites are praised, it is necessary [it is certain] that these have observed their custom, not because they believed that by this they merited remission of sins, or that the work was itself a justifying service, or one on account of which they obtained eternal life, instead of, by God's mercy, for the sake of the promised Seed. But because they had the command of their parents, their obedience is praised, concerning which there is the commandment of God: *Honor thy father and mother.*

Then, too, the custom had a particular purpose: Because they were foreigners, not Israelites, it is apparent that their father wished to distinguish them by certain marks from their countrymen, so that they might not relapse into the impiety of their countrymen. He wished by these marks to admonish them of the [fear of God, the] doctrine of faith and immortality. Such an end is lawful. But for monasticism far different ends are taught. They feign that the works of monasticism are a service; they feign that they merit the remission of sins and justification. The example of the Rechabites is therefore unlike monasticism; to omit here other evils which inhere in monasticism at present.

They cite also from 1 Tim. 5, 11 ff. concerning widows, who, as they served the Church, were supported at the public expense, where it is said: *They will marry, having damnation, because they have cast off their first faith.* First, let us suppose that the Apostle is here speaking of vows [which, however, he is not doing]; still this passage will not favor monastic vows, which are made concerning godless services, and in this opinion, that they merit the remission of sins and justification. For Paul, with ringing voice, condemns all services, all laws, all works, if they are observed in order to merit the remission of sins, or that, on account of them, instead of through mercy on account of Christ, we obtain remission of sins. On this account the vows of widows, if there were any, must have been unlike monastic vows.

Besides, if the adversaries do not cease to misapply the passage to vows, the prohibition that *no widow be selected who is less than sixty years,* 1 Tim. 5, 9, must be misapplied in the same way. Thus vows made before this age will be of no account. But the Church did not yet know these vows. Therefore Paul condemns widows, not because they marry, for he commands the younger to marry; but because, when supported at the public expense, they became wanton, and thus cast off faith. He calls this *first faith,* clearly not in a monastic vow, but in Christianity [of their Baptism, their Christian duty, their Christianity]. And in this sense he understands faith in the same chapter, v. 8: *If any one*

Hoc vocat *primam fidem*, scilicet non voti monastici, sed Christianismi. Et hoc modo fidem accipit in eodem capite, v. 8: *Si quis proprios, et maxime domesticos, non curat, fidem abne-*
68] *gavit.* Aliter enim de fide loquitur quam sophistae. Non tribuit fidem his, qui habent peccatum mortale. Ideo dicit hos abiicere fidem, qui non curant propinquos. Et ad eundem modum dicit mulierculas petulantes fidem abiicere.

gewußt. So verwirft nun Paulus die Witwen nicht darum, daß sie ehelich werden (denn er heißt die jungen ehelich werden), sondern daß sie aus dem gemeinen Kirchenkasten sich nähren ließen, desselben zu ihrer Lust und Mutwillen mißbrauchten und also den ersten Glauben brächen. Das heißt er **den ersten Glauben** fahren lassen nicht der Klostergelübde, sondern ihrer Taufe, ihrer christlichen Pflicht, ihres Christentums. Und also redet er auch vom Glauben im selben Kapitel: „So jemand seine Hausgenossen nicht versorget, der hat seinen Glauben verleugnet." Denn er redet anders vom Glauben denn die Sophisten. Darum sagt er, daß diejenigen den Glauben verleugnen, die ihre Hausgenossen nicht versorgen. Also sagt er auch von den vorwitzigen Weibern, daß sie den Glauben fahren lassen.

69] Percurrimus aliquot nostras rationes et obiter diluimus ea, quae adversarii obiiciunt. Et haec collegimus non solum propter adversarios, sed multo magis propter pias mentes, ut habeant in conspectu causas, quare improbare debeant hypocrisin et fictos cultus monasticos, quos quidem totos haec una vox Christi abrogat, quum ait Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.* Quare vota ipsa et observationes ciborum, lectionum, cantuum, vestitus, calceorum, cingulorum inutiles cultus sunt coram Deo. Et certo sciant omnes piae mentes simpliciter pharisaicam et damnatam opinionem esse, quod illae [R. 292 observationes mereantur remissionem peccatorum, quod propter eas iusti reputemur, quod propter eas consequamur vitam aeternam, non **70**] per misericordiam propter Christum. Et necesse est sanctos viros, qui in his vitae generibus vixerunt, abiecta fiducia talium observationum didicisse, quod remissionem peccatorum propter Christum gratis haberent, quod propter Christum per misericordiam consecuturi essent vitam aeternam, non propter illos cultus, quod Deus tantum approbet cultus suo Verbo institutos, qui valeant in fide.

Wir haben etliche Ursachen angezeigt und verlegt [widerlegt], was die Widersacher vorgebracht. Dieses haben wir nicht allein um der Widersacher willen erzählt, sondern vielmehr um etlicher christlicher Herzen und Gewissen willen, daß sie mögen klar vor Augen haben, warum die Klostergelübde und die mancherlei Möncherei nicht recht oder christlich sind, welche auch alle miteinander das einige Wort Christi möchte zu Boden stoßen, da er sagt: „Sie dienen mir vergeblich mit Menschengeboten." Denn aus dem Wort allein hat man kurz, daß die ganze Möncherei, Kappen, Strick, Gürtel und alle eigenerdichtete Heiligkeit vor Gott unnütz, vergebliche Gottesdienste seien, und alle christlichen, frommen Herzen sollen das ganz für gewiß halten, daß dies gewiß ein pharisäischer, verdammter, häßlicher Irrtum ist, daß wir sollten durch solche Möncherei Vergebung der Sünden oder das ewige Leben verdienen und nicht vielmehr erlangen durch den Glauben an Christum. Darum fromme Leute, so im Klosterleben selig geworden und erhalten sind, die haben endlich müssen dahin kommen, daß sie an allem ihrem Klosterleben verzagt, alle ihre Werke wie Kot verachtet, alle ihre heuchlerischen Gottesdienste verdammt und sich an die Zusage der Gnade in Christo fest gehalten haben, wie man des denn von St. Bernhard ein Exempel hat, daß er gesagt: Perdite vixi, „Ich habe sündlich gelebt". Denn Gott will keine andern Gottesdienste haben, denn welche er selbst hat aufgerichtet durch sein Wort.

Art. XXVIII. (XIV.)

De Potestate Ecclesiastica.

1] Vehementer hic vociferantur adversarii de privilegiis et immunitatibus ecclesiastici status et addunt epilogum: *Irrita sunt omnia, quae in praesenti articulo contra immunitatem ecclesiarum et sacerdotum in-*
2] *feruntur.* Haec est mera calumnia; nos enim de rebus aliis in hoc articulo disputavimus. Ceterum saepe testati sumus nos politicas ordinationes et donationes Principum et privilegia non reprehendere.

3] Sed utinam vicissim audirent adversarii, querelas ecclesiarum et piarum mentium! Dignitates et opes suas fortiter tuentur adversarii, interim statum ecclesiarum negligunt, non curant recte doceri ecclesias et sacramenta rite tractari. Ad sacerdotium admittunt quoslibet sine discrimine. Postea

Artikel XXVIII. (XIV.)

Von der Potestate Ecclesiastica.

Die Widersacher machen hier ein groß Geschrei von den Freiheiten und Privilegien der Geistlichen (wie sie es nennen) und setzen danach einen solchen Beschluß: „Es ist", sagen sie, „alles nichts und untüchtig, was in diesem Artikel wider die Freiheit und Privilegien der Kirchen und Priester wird vorgebracht." Hier handeln die Meister der Konfutation aber als Buben, uns zu verunglimpfen. Denn in unserer Konfession ist nichts geredet wider der Kirchen oder Priester Freiheiten, damit sie von weltlicher Obrigkeit, Kaisern, Königen und Fürsten begnadet sind. Denn wir lehren ja, man soll weltliche Ordnungen und Rechte halten.

Aber wollte Gott, daß die Widersacher doch auch einmal hörten die unsägliche, erbärmliche, große Klage aller Kirchen, das große Schreien und Seufzen so viel frommer Herzen und Gewissen! Der Kirchen Freiheit, und was Geld und Gut belangt, vergessen die Widersacher nicht, aber wie die nötigsten, nützlichsten Ämter in der Kirche bestellt sind,

provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith. For he speaks otherwise of faith than the sophists. He does not ascribe faith to those who have mortal sin. He, accordingly, says that those cast off faith who do not care for their relatives. And in the same way he says that wanton women cast off faith.

We have recounted some of our reasons, and, in passing, have explained away the objections urged by the adversaries. And we have collected these matters, not only on account of the adversaries, but much more on account of godly minds, that they may have in view the reasons why they ought to disapprove of hypocrisy and fictitious monastic services, all of which indeed this one saying of Christ annuls, which reads, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* Therefore the vows themselves and the observances of meats, lessons, chants, vestments, sandals, girdles, are useless services in God's sight. And all godly minds should certainly know that the opinion is simply pharisaic and condemned that these observances merit the remission of sins; that on account of them we are accounted righteous; that on account of them, and not through mercy on account of Christ, we obtain eternal life. And the holy men who have lived in these kinds of life must necessarily have learned, confidence in such observance having been rejected, that they had the remission of sins freely; that for Christ's sake through mercy they would obtain eternal life, and not for the sake of these services [therefore godly persons who were saved and continued to live in monastic life had finally come to this, namely, that they despaired of their monastic life, despised all their works as dung, condemned all their hypocritical service of God, and held fast to the promise of grace in Christ, as in the example of St. Bernard, saying, *Perdite vixi*, I have lived in a sinful way]; because God only approves services instituted by His Word, which services avail when used in faith.

Article XXVIII (XIV):

Of Ecclesiastical Power.

Here the adversaries cry out violently concerning the privileges and immunities of the ecclesiastical estate, and they add the peroration: *All things are vain which are presented in the present article against the immunity of the churches and priests.* This is mere calumny; for in this article we have disputed concerning other things. Besides, we have frequently testified that we do not find fault with political ordinances, and the gifts and privileges granted by princes.

But would that the adversaries would hear, on the other hand, the complaints of the churches and of godly minds! The adversaries courageously guard their own dignities and wealth; meanwhile, they neglect the condition of the churches; they do not care that the churches are rightly taught, and that the Sacraments are duly administered. To the

imponunt onera intolerabilia, quasi delectentur exitio aliorum, suas traditiones longe accuratius servari postulant quam evangelium. 4] Nunc in gravissimis et difficillimis controversiis, de quibus populus misere cupit doceri, ut habeat aliquid certi, quod sequatur, non expediunt mentes, quas dubitatio acerbissime cruciat, tantum conclamant ad arma. [R. 293 Praeterea in rebus manifestis decreta sanguine scripta proponunt, quae minantur horrenda supplicia hominibus, nisi manifeste 5] contra mandata Dei faciant. Hic vicissim oportebat vos videre lacrimas miserorum et audire miserabiles querelas multorum bonorum hominum, quas haud dubie respicit et exaudit Deus, cui aliquando rationem procurationis vestrae reddituri estis.

da sorgen sie nichts. Sie fragen gar nichts danach, wie man lehre oder predige; sie fragen nicht danach, wie christlicher Gebrauch der Sakramente erhalten werde; sie ordinieren grobe Esel. Damit ist [die] christliche Lehre untergegangen, daß die Kirchen nicht mit tüchtigen Predigern bestellt sind. Sie machen Traditiones und un[er]trägliche Bürden, die Seelen zu verderben, und ob solchen ihren Traditionen halten sie viel fester denn ob Gottes Geboten. Viel arme Seelen stecken jetzund im Zweifel, wissen nicht, was sie halten sollen. Da gebührt den Prälaten, zu hören, was recht, was unrecht wäre, und die Mißbräuche zu ändern, den armen Leuten aus dem Zweifel zu helfen und die Last von den beschwerten Gewissen zu nehmen. Was sie aber tun, ist am Tage. Sie machen Edikte wider [die] öffentliche Wahrheit, erzeigen unerhörte Tyrannei wider fromme Leute zur Erhaltung etlicher ihrer Traditionen, die öffentlich wider Gott sind. So sie nun ihre Privilegia rühmen, sollten sie billig auch ihr Amt bedenken und vieler frommen Christen Seufzen und Klagen hören, die ohne Zweifel Gott hört, und [er] wird einmal Rechenschaft von den Prälaten fordern.

6] Quum autem nos in Confessione, in hoc articulo, varios locos complexi simus, adversarii nihil respondent nisi episcopos habere potestatem regiminis et coercitivae correctionis, ad dirigendum subditos in finem beatitudinis aeternae et ad potestatem regiminis requiri potestatem iudicandi, definiendi, discernendi et statuendi ea, quae ad praefatum finem expediunt aut conducunt. Haec sunt verba Confutationis, in quibus docent nos adversarii, quod episcopi habeant auctoritatem condendi leges utiles ad consequendam vitam aeternam. De hoc articulo controversia est.

Auch antwortet die Konfutation nicht auf unsere Gründe, sondern stellt sich recht päpstlich, sagt von großer Gewalt der Bischöfe und beweist sie nicht, spricht also, daß die Bischöfe Gewalt haben zu herrschen, zu richten, zu strafen, zu zwingen, Gesetze zu machen, dienlich zum ewigen Leben. Also rühmt die Konfutatio der Bischöfe Gewalt und beweist sie doch nicht. Von diesem Artikel ist nun der Streit: ob die Bischöfe Macht haben, Gesetze zu machen außer dem Evangelio und zu gebieten, dieselben zu halten als Gottesdienste, dadurch ewiges Leben zu verdienen.

7] Oportet autem in ecclesia retinere hanc doctrinam, quod gratis propter Christum fide accipiamus remissionem peccatorum. Oportet et hanc doctrinam retineri, quod humanae traditiones sint inutiles cultus, quare nec peccatum nec iustitia in cibo, potu, vestitu et similibus rebus collocanda est, quarum usum voluit Christus liberum relinqui, quum ait Matth. 15, 11: *Quod intrat in os, non coinquinat hominem*, et Paulus Rom. 14, 17: *Regnum* 8] *Dei non est esca aut potus.* Itaque nullum habent ius episcopi condendi traditiones extra evangelium, ut mereantur remissionem peccatorum, ut sint cultus, quos approbet Deus tamquam iustitiam, et qui gravent conscientias, ita ut peccatum sit eos omittere. Haec omnia docet vel unus locus in Actis, 15, 9 sq., ubi apostoli dicunt: *Fide purificari corda.* Et deinde prohibent imponere iugum, et ostendunt, quantum periculi sit, exaggerant peccatum istorum, qui onerant ecclesiam. [R. 294 *Quid tentatis Deum?* inquiunt. Hoc fulmine nihil terrentur adversarii nostri, qui vi defendunt traditiones et impias opiniones.

Darauf tun wir diesen Bericht: Man muß in der Kirche diese Lehre behalten, daß wir ohne Verdienst, um Christus' willen, durch den Glauben Vergebung der Sünden erlangen; so muß man auch die Lehre behalten, daß alle Menschensatzungen nicht nütze sind, Gott zu versöhnen. Darum in Speise, Trank, Kleidern und dergleichen ist weder Sünde noch Gerechtigkeit zu setzen. Denn Paulus spricht: „Das Reich Gottes ist nicht Essen und Trinken." Darum haben die Bischöfe nicht Macht, Satzungen zu machen außer dem Evangelio, also daß man dadurch Vergebung der Sünden erlangen wollte, oder daß es sollten Gottesdienste sein, um welcher willen uns Gott gerecht schätze, und zu welchen sie die Gewissen verpflichten bei einer Todsünde. Das alles lehrt der einige Spruch in Geschichten der Apostel [am] 15. Kapitel, da Petrus sagt, „daß die Herzen werden durch den Glauben gereinigt". Und danach verbieten sie, ein Joch oder Bürde auf die Jünger zu legen, und sagen, wie [ge]fährlich das sei. Auch geben sie zu verstehen, daß die schrecklich sündigen und wider Gott handeln und Gott versuchen, die also die Kirche beschweren. Denn sie sagen: „Was versucht ihr Gott?" Dies harte, ernste Wort der Apostel, welches sie billig als ein Donnerschlag schrecken sollte, lassen ihnen die Widersacher gar nicht zu Herzen gehen, sondern wollen noch mit aller Tyrannei und Gewalt ihre erdichteten Gottesdienste verteidigen.

Nam et supra damnaverunt articulum XV., 9] in quo posuimus, quod traditiones non mereantur remissionem peccatorum, et hic dicunt traditiones conducere ad vitam aeternam. Num mereantur remissionem peccatorum? Num sunt cultus, quos approbat Deus

Denn den XV. Artikel, darin wir gesetzt haben, daß wir durch Menschensatzungen nicht verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, verdammen sie und sagen hier: Die Menschensatzungen sind nütz und dienstlich, das ewige Leben zu verdienen. Dagegen ist ja öffentlich, daß sie das Herz inwendig nicht

priesthood they admit all kinds of persons indiscriminately. [They ordain rude asses; thus the Christian doctrine perished, because the Church was not supplied with efficient preachers.] Afterwards they impose intolerable burdens; as though they were delighted with the destruction of their fellowmen, they demand that their traditions be observed far more accurately than the Gospel. Now, in the most important and difficult controversies, concerning which the people urgently desire to be taught, in order that they may have something certain which they may follow, they do not release the minds which are most severely tortured with doubt; they only call to arms. Besides, in manifest matters [against manifest truth] they present decrees written in blood, which threaten horrible punishments to men unless they act clearly contrary to God's command. Here, on the other hand, you ought to see the tears of the poor, and hear the pitiable complaints of many good men, which God undoubtedly considers and regards, to whom one day you will render an account of your stewardship.

But although in the Confession we have in this article embraced various topics, the adversaries make no reply [act in true popish fashion], except that the bishops have the power of rule and coercive correction, in order to direct their subjects to the goal of eternal blessedness; and that the power of ruling requires the power to judge, to define, to distinguish and fix those things which are serviceable or conduce to the aforementioned end. These are the words of the Confutation, in which the adversaries teach us [but do not prove] that the bishops have the authority to frame laws [without the authority of the Gospel] useful for obtaining eternal life. The controversy is concerning this article.

[Regarding this matter we submit the following:] But we must retain in the Church this doctrine, namely, that we receive the remission of sins freely for Christ's sake, by faith. We must also retain this doctrine, namely, that human traditions are useless services, and therefore neither sin nor righteousness should be placed in meat, drink, clothing, and like things, the use of which Christ wished to be left free, since He says, Matt. 15, 11: *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth the man;* and Paul, Rom. 14, 17: *The kingdom of God is not meat and drink.* Therefore the bishops have no right to frame traditions in addition to the Gospel, that they may merit the remission of sins, that they may be services which God is to approve as righteousness, and which burden consciences, as though it were a sin to omit them. All this is taught by that one passage in Acts, 15, 9 ff., where the apostles say [Peter says] *that hearts are purified by faith.* And then they prohibit the imposing of a yoke, and show how great a danger this is, and enlarge upon the sin of those who burden the Church. *Why tempt ye God?* they say. By this thunderbolt our adversaries are in no way terrified, who defend by violence traditions and godless opinions.

For above they have also condemned Article XV, in which we have stated that traditions do not merit the remission of sins, and they here say that traditions conduce to eternal life. Do they merit the remission of sins? Are they services which God approves as righteousness? Do they quicken hearts?

tamquam iustitiam? Num vivificant corda? **10**] Paulus ad Colossenses, 2, 20 sqq., ideo negat prodesse traditiones ad iustitiam aeternam et vitam aeternam, quia cibus, potus, vestitus et similia sint *res usu pereuntes.* At vita aeterna in corde rebus aeternis, hoc est, Verbo Dei et Spiritu Sancto, efficitur. Expediant igitur adversarii, quomodo conducant traditiones ad vitam aeternam.

tröſten; ſo bringen ſie auch kein neu Licht oder Leben in das Herz; wie denn Paulus zu den Koloſſern ſagt, daß darum die Satzungen nichts helfen, ewige Gerechtigkeit oder ewiges Leben zu erlangen, denn die Satzungen lehren vom Unterſchied der Speiſen, Kleider und der Dinge, welche ſich unter'n Händen verzehren. Das ewige Leben aber, welches inwendig durch Glauben in dieſem Leben anfängt, wirkt der Heilige Geiſt im Herzen durch das Evangelium. Darum werden die Widerſacher nimmermehr beweiſen, daß man durch Menſchenſatzungen das ewige Leben verdiene.

11] Quum autem evangelium clare testetur, quod non debeant imponi ecclesiae traditiones, ut mereantur remissionem peccatorum, ut sint cultus, quos approbet Deus tamquam iustitiam, ut gravent conscientias, ita ut omittere eas iudicetur esse peccatum: nunquam poterunt adversarii ostendere, quod episcopi habeant potestatem tales cultus instituendi.

So nun das Evangelium klar verbietet, daß mit ſolchen Satzungen die Kirchen und Gewiſſen nicht ſollen beſchwert werden, alſo daß man dadurch Vergebung der Sünden erlangen müſſe, oder müſſe ſie halten als nötige Gottesdienſte, ohne welche chriſtliche Heiligkeit nicht ſein könne, oder daß man ſie bei einer Todſünde zu halten ſoll ſchuldig ſein, ſo werden die Widerſacher nimmermehr beweiſen, daß die Biſchöfe ſolche Gottesdienſte anzurichten Macht haben.

12] Ceterum quam potestatem tribuat evangelium episcopis, diximus in Confessione. Qui nunc sunt episcopi, non faciunt episcoporum officia iuxta evangelium; sed sint sane episcopi iuxta politiam canonicam, quam non reprehendimus. Verum nos de episcopo loqui-**13**] mur iuxta evangelium. Et placet nobis vetus partitio potestatis in potestatem *ordinis* et potestatem *iurisdictionis.* Habet igitur episcopus potestatem ordinis, hoc est, ministerium Verbi et sacramentorum, habet et potestatem iurisdictionis, hoc est, auctoritatem excommunicandi obnoxios publicis criminibus et rursus absolvendi eos, si conversi **14**] petant absolutionem. Neque vero habent potestatem tyrannicam, hoc est, sine [R. 295 certa lege, neque regiam, hoc est, supra legem, sed habent certum mandatum, certum verbum Dei, quod docere, iuxta quod exercere suam iurisdictionem debent. Quare non sequitur, etiamsi habeant aliquam iurisdictionem, quod possint novos cultus instituere. Nam cultus nihil pertinent ad iurisdictionem. Et habent Verbum, habent mandatum, quatenus exercere iurisdictionem debeant, scilicet, si quis commiserit adversus illud Verbum, quod acceperunt a Christo.

Was aber die Biſchöfe für ein Amt oder Gewalt haben in der Kirche, haben wir in der Konfeſſion geſagt. Die Biſchöfe, ſo jetzund den Biſchofsnamen tragen in der Kirche, tun gar nicht ihr biſchöflich Amt nach dem Evangelio. Aber laß ſie gleich Biſchöfe ſein der canonica politia nach, welche wir in ihrem Wert laſſen. Wir reden aber von rechten, chriſtlichen Biſchöfen, und es gefällt mir die alte Diviſion oder Teilung nicht übel, da ſie geſagt haben, biſchöfliche Gewalt ſtehe in dieſen zweien, potestate *ordinis* und potestate *iurisdictionis*, das iſt, in Reichung der Sakramente und geiſtlichem Gerichtszwang. So hat ein jeder chriſtlicher Biſchof potestatem ordinis, das iſt, das Evangelium zu predigen, Sakramente zu reichen; auch hat er Gewalt eines geiſtlichen Gerichtszwangs in der Kirche, das iſt, Macht und Gewalt, aus der chriſtlichen Gemeinde zu ſchließen diejenigen, ſo in öffentlichen Laſtern gefunden werden, und dieſelben, wenn ſie ſich bekehren, wieder anzunehmen und ihnen die Abſolution mitzuteilen. Sie haben aber nicht eine tyranniſche Gewalt, das iſt, ohne gewiſſes Geſetz zu urteilen. So haben ſie auch keine königliche Gewalt, das iſt, über die gegebenen [hinaus] Geſetze zu ſchaffen, ſondern haben ein gewiß Gottesgebot und gemeſſenen Befehl, unter welchem ſie ſind, nach welchem ſie ihre geiſtliche Gewalt und Gerichtszwang brauchen ſollen. Ob ſie ſchon ſolche Jurisdiktion über öffentliche Laſter haben, ſo folgt doch nicht, daß ſie darum Macht haben, neue Gottesdienſte anzurichten. Denn iurisdictio und neue Gottesdienſte machen, ſind weit voneinander. Item, es ſtreckt ſich auch die iurisdictio nicht auf Sünden wider ihre neuen Geſetze, ſondern allein auf ſolche Sünden, die wider Gottes Gebot ſind. Denn das Evangelium richtet ihnen nicht ein Regiment an außer dem Evangelio, das iſt ja klar und gewiß.

15] Quamquam nos in Confessione addidimus etiam, quatenus liceat eis condere traditiones, videlicet non tamquam necessarios cultus, sed ut sit ordo in ecclesia propter tranquillitatem. Et hae non debent laqueos iniicere conscientiis, tamquam praecipiant necessarios cultus, sicut Paulus docet, quum ait Gal. 5, 1: *In libertate, qua Christus vos liberavit, state, nec iterum iugo servitutis sub-***16**] *iiciamini.* Oportet igitur liberum usum talium ordinationum relinqui, modo ut scandala vitentur, ne iudicentur esse cultus necessarii; sicut pleraque ordinaverunt ipsi apo-

Wiewohl wir nun in der Konfeſſion dazugeſetzt haben, wiefern die Biſchöfe mögen Satzungen machen, nämlich daß ſie die nicht als nötige Gottesdienſte aufrichten und lehren, ſondern daß [es] ſtill und ordentlich in der Kirche zugehe. Aber damit ſollen die Gewiſſen nicht gefangen ſein, als ſeien's nötige Gottesdienſte. Denn Paulus zu'n Galatern ſagt am 5. Kapitel: „So ſtehet nun in der Freiheit, wie euch Chriſtus hat freigemacht, und laßt euch nicht wieder unter das Joch der Knechtſchaft bringen!“ So muß man nun freilaſſen, ſolche äußerliche Satzungen zu brauchen oder nicht zu brauchen, daß ſie nicht für ſolche

Paul to the Colossians, 2, 20 ff., says that traditions do not profit with respect to eternal righteousness and eternal life; for the reason that food, drink, clothing and the like are things *that perish with the using.* But eternal life [which begins in this life inwardly by faith] is wrought in the heart by eternal things, *i. e.*, by the Word of God and the Holy Ghost. Therefore let the adversaries explain how traditions conduce to eternal life.

Since, however, the Gospel clearly testifies that traditions ought not to be imposed upon the Church in order to merit the remission of sins; in order to be services which God shall approve as righteousness; in order to burden consciences, so that to omit them is to be accounted a sin, the adversaries will never be able to show that the bishops have the power to institute such services.

Besides, we have declared in the Confession what power the Gospel ascribes to bishops. Those who are now bishops do not perform the duties of bishops according to the Gospel; although, indeed, they may be bishops according to canonical polity, which we do not censure. But we are speaking of a bishop according to the Gospel. And we are pleased with the ancient division of power into power of the *order* and power of *jurisdiction* [that is, the administration of the Sacraments and the exercise of spiritual jurisdiction]. Therefore the bishop has the power of the order, *i. e.*, the ministry of the Word and Sacraments; he has also the power of jurisdiction, *i. e.*, the authority to excommunicate those guilty of open crimes, and again to absolve them if they are converted and seek absolution. But their power is not to be tyrannical, *i. e.*, without a fixed law; nor regal, *i. e.*, above law; but they have a fixed command and a fixed Word of God, according to which they ought to teach, and according to which they ought to exercise their jurisdiction. Therefore, even though they should have some jurisdiction, it does not follow that they are able to institute new services. For services pertain in no way to jurisdiction. And they have the Word, they have the command, how far they ought to exercise jurisdiction, namely, if any one would do anything contrary to that Word which they have received from Christ. [For the Gospel does not set up a rule independently of the Gospel; that is quite clear and certain.]

Although in the Confession we also have added how far it is lawful for them to frame traditions, namely, not as necessary services, but so that there may be order in the Church, for the sake of tranquillity. And these traditions ought not to cast snares upon consciences, as though to enjoin necessary services; as Paul teaches when he says, Gal. 5, 1: *Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage.* The use of such ordinances ought therefore to be left free, provided that offenses be avoided, and that they be not judged to be necessary services; just as the apostles them-

stoli, quae tempore mutata sunt. Neque ita tradiderunt, ut mutare non liceret. Non enim dissentiebant a suis scriptis, in quibus magnopere laborant, ne ecclesiam opprimat opinio, quod ritus humani sint necessarii cultus.

Gottesdienste geachtet oder gehalten werden, welche nötig sollten sein zur Seligkeit. Doch ist man schuldig, Ärgernis zu meiden. Also haben die Apostel viel Dings um guter Zucht willen in der Kirche geordnet, das mit der Zeit geändert ist, und haben nicht Satzungen also gemacht, daß sie sollten nötig sein oder ewig bleiben. Denn sie haben wider ihre eigene Schrift und Lehre nicht gehandelt, darin sie das gar heftig streiten [verfechten], daß man die Kirche nicht solle mit Satzungen also beschweren oder verpflichten, als wären sie nötig zur Seligkeit.

17] Haec est simplex ratio traditionum interpretandarum, videlicet ut sciamus eas non esse necessarios cultus, et tamen propter vitanda scandala in loco sine superstitione 18] observemus. Et sic multi docti et magni viri in ecclesia senserunt. Nec videmus, quod opponi possit. Certum est enim, sententiam illam, Luc. 10, 16: *Qui vos audit, me audit,* non loqui de traditionibus, sed maxime contra traditiones facere. Non est enim mandatum cum libera, ut vocant, sed cautio de rato, de speciali mandato, hoc est, testimonium datum apostolis, ut eis de alieno verbo, non de proprio, credamus. Vult enim Christus nos confirmare, quemadmodum opus erat, ut [R. 296 sciremus verbum traditum per homines efficax esse, nec quaerendum esse aliud verbum 19] de coelo. De traditionibus non potest accipi: *Qui vos audit, me audit.* Requirit enim Christus, ut ita doceant, ut ipse audiatur, quia dicit: *Me audit.* Igitur suam vocem, suum verbum vult audiri, non traditiones humanas. Ita dictum, quod maxime pro nobis facit et gravissimam consolationem et doctrinam continet, detorquent isti asini ad res nugacissimas, discrimina ciborum, vestitus et similia.

Das ist ein einfältiger, klarer Unterricht von Menschensatzungen, nämlich daß wir wissen, daß es nicht nötige Gottesdienste sind, und daß man sie dennoch nach Gelegenheit, Ärgernis zu meiden, halten soll. Und also haben viel gelehrte, große Leute in der Kirche gehalten und gelehrt, und ist gewiß, daß die Widersacher dawider nichts können aufbringen. So ist es auch gewiß, daß dieses Wort des HErrn Christi Luk. 10: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich", nicht von Menschensatzungen redet, sondern ist stracks dawider. Denn die Apostel empfangen da nicht ein mandatum cum libera, das ist, einen ganz freien, ungemessenen Befehl und Gewalt, sondern haben einen gemessenen Befehl, nämlich, nicht ihr eigen Wort, sondern Gottes Wort und das Evangelium zu predigen. Und der HErr Christus will in den Worten: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich" alle Welt stärken, wie auch vonnöten war, daß wir sollten ganz gewiß sein, daß das leibliche Wort Gottes Kraft wäre, und daß niemand vom Himmel ein ander Wort dürfte suchen oder gewarten. Darum kann dies Wort: „Wer euch höret, der höret mich" von Satzungen nicht verstanden werden. Denn Christus will da, daß sie also lehren sollen, daß man durch ihren Mund Christum selbst höre. So müssen sie ja nicht ihr eigen Wort predigen, sondern sein Wort, seine Stimme und Evangelium, soll man Christum hören. Dies tröstliche Wort, welches aufs allerstärkste unsere Lehre bestätigt und viel nötige Lehre und Trost für die christlichen Gewissen in sich hat, das deuten die groben Esel auf ihre närrischen Satzungen, auf ihre Speisen, Trank, Kleider und dergleichen Kinderwerk.

20] Citant et hoc, Ebr. 13, 17: *Obedite praepositis vestris.* Haec sententia requirit obedientiam erga evangelium. Non enim constituit regnum episcopis extra evangelium. Nec debent episcopi traditiones contra evangelium condere, aut traditiones suas contra evangelium interpretari. Idque quum faciunt, obedientia prohibetur, iuxta illud, Gal. 1, 8: *Si quis aliud evangelium docet, anathema sit.*

Auch ziehen sie diesen Spruch an zu den Hebräern am 13.: „Gehorchet denen, die euch vorgehen" usw. Dieser Spruch fordert, daß man soll gehorsam sein dem Evangelio; denn er gibt den Bischöfen nicht eine eigene Herrschaft oder Herrengewalt außer dem Evangelio; so sollen auch die Bischöfe nicht wider das Evangelium Satzungen machen, noch ihre Satzungen wider das Evangelium auslegen. Denn wenn sie das tun, so verbietet uns das Evangelium, ihnen gehorsam zu sein, wie Paulus zu den Galatern sagt: „So euch jemand würde ein ander Evangelium predigen, der sei verflucht!"

21] Idem respondemus ad hunc locum, Matth. 24, 3: *Quidquid dixerint, facite,* quod constet non universaliter praecipi, ut omnia recipiamus, quia alibi, Act. 5, 29, iubet Scriptura *plus obedire Deo quam hominibus.* Quando igitur impia docent, non sunt audiendi. Haec autem impia sunt, quod traditiones humanae sint cultus Dei, quod sint necessarii cultus, quod mereantur remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam.

Gleich dasselbe antworten wir auch auf den Spruch Matth. am 23.: „Auf Mosis Stuhl sitzen die Schriftgelehrten usw.; alles nun, was sie euch sagen, das ihr halten sollt, das haltet und tut's." Das ist gewiß, daß damit nicht geboten wird universaliter, insgemein, daß wir alles sollen halten, was sie gebieten, auch wider Gottes Gebot und Wort. Denn an einem andern Ort sagt die Schrift: „Man muß Gott mehr gehorchen denn den Menschen." Darum, wenn sie unchristlich und wider die Schrift lehren, soll man sie nicht hören. So richtet dieser Spruch auch nicht ein Regiment an außer dem Evangelio; darum können sie ihre Gewalt, die sie außer dem Evangelio aufgerichtet haben, nicht durchs Evangelium beweisen. Denn das Evangelium redet nicht de traditionibus, sondern von Gottes Wort zu lehren.

selves ordained [for the sake of good discipline] very many things which have been changed with time. Neither did they hand them down in such a way that it would not be permitted to change them. For they did not dissent from their own writings, in which they greatly labor lest the Church be burdened with the opinion that human rites are necessary services.

This is the simple mode of interpreting traditions, namely, that we understand them not as necessary services, and nevertheless, for the sake of avoiding offenses, we should observe them in the proper place. And thus many learned and great men in the Church have held. Nor do we see what can be said against this. For it is certain that the expression Luke 10, 16: *He that heareth you heareth Me,* does not speak of traditions, but is chiefly directed against traditions. For it is not a *mandatum cum libera* (a bestowal of unlimited authority), as they call it, but it is a *cautio de rato* (a caution concerning something prescribed), namely, concerning the special command [not a free, unlimited order and power, but a limited order, namely, not to preach their own word, but God's Word and the Gospel], *i. e.*, the testimony given to the apostles, that we believe them with respect to the word of another, not their own. For Christ wishes to assure us, as was necessary, that we should know that the Word delivered by men is efficacious, and that no other word from heaven ought to be sought. *He that heareth you heareth Me,* cannot be understood of traditions. For Christ requires that they teach in such a way that [by their mouth] He Himself be heard, because He says: *He heareth Me.* Therefore He wishes His own voice, His own Word, to be heard, not human traditions. Thus a saying which is most especially in our favor, and contains the most important consolation and doctrine, these stupid men pervert to the most trifling matters, the distinctions of food, vestments, and the like.

They quote also Heb. 13, 17: *Obey them that have the rule over you.* This passage requires obedience to the Gospel. For it does not establish a dominion for the bishops apart from the Gospel. Neither should the bishops frame traditions contrary to the Gospel, or interpret their traditions contrary to the Gospel. And when they do this, obedience is prohibited, according to Gal. 1, 9: *If any man preach any other gospel, let him be accursed.*

We make the same reply to Matt. 23, 3: *Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe,* because evidently a universal command is not given that we should receive all things [even contrary to God's command and Word], since Scripture elsewhere, Acts 5, 29, bids us *obey God rather than men.* When, therefore, they teach wicked things, they are not to be heard. But these are wicked things, namely, that human traditions are services of God, that they are necessary services, that they merit the remission of sins and eternal life.

22] Obiiciunt et scandala publica et motus, qui exorti sunt praetextu nostrae doctrinae. Ad 23] haec breviter respondemus. Si in unum conferantur omnia scandala, tamen unus articulus de remissione peccatorum, quod propter Christum gratis consequamur remissionem peccato- 24] rum per fidem, tantum affert boni, ut omnia incommoda obruat. Et hic initio conciliavit Luthero non tantum nostrum favorem, sed etiam multorum, qui nunc nos oppugnant.

Παλαιὰ γὰρ εὖδει
Χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί,

inquit Pindarus. Nos tamen neque deserere veritatem necessariam ecclesiae volumus, [R. 297 25] neque assentiri adversariis condemnantibus eam possumus. *Oportet enim Deo magis obedire quam hominibus.* Isti rationem schismatis excitati reddent, qui manifestam veritatem initio condemnaverunt et nunc summa crudelitate persequuntur. Deinde nullane scandala 26] haerent apud adversarios? Quantum mali est in sacrilega profanatione missae ad quaestum collatae! quanta turpitudo in coelibatu! Sed omittamus comparationem. Haec pro 27] tempore respondimus ad Confutationem. Nunc iudicium permittimus omnibus piis, an adversarii recte glorientur se Confessionem nostram Scripturis vere confutasse.

ΤΕΛΟΣ.

Daß aber die Widersacher zu Ende der Konfutation uns verunglimpfen und beschweren, daß diese Lehre zu Ungehorsam und andern mehr Ärgernissen Ursache gebe, solches wird dieser unserer Lehre unbillig aufgelegt. Denn es ist öffentlich, daß [die] Obrigkeit aufs höchste durch diese Lehre gepreiset ist. So weiß man, daß an den Orten, da diese Lehre gepredigt wird, durch Gottes Gnade bisanher die Obrigkeit in allen Ehren von Untertanen gehalten ist.

Daß aber Uneinigkeit und Spaltung in der Kirche ist, weiß man, wie sich diese Händel erstlich zugetragen haben, und wer Ursache zur Trennung gegeben, nämlich die Indulgenzkrämer, die unleidliche Lügen unverschämt predigten und nachmals den Luther verdammten, daß er dieselben Lügen nicht billigte, dazu erregten für und für mehr Händel, daß Luther andere, mehr Irrtümer anzufechten verursacht ward. Dieweil aber unser Gegenteil die Wahrheit nicht hat dulden wollen und sich untersteht, öffentliche Irrtümer noch mit Gewalt zu handhaben, ist leichtlich zu richten, wer an der Trennung schuldig ist. Es sollte ja billig alle Welt, alle Weisheit, alle Gewalt Christo und seinem heiligen Wort weichen; aber der Teufel ist Gottes Feind, darum erregt er alle seine Macht wider Christum, Gottes Wort zu dämpfen und [zu] unterdrücken. Also ist der Teufel mit seinen Gliedern, so sich wider Gottes Wort legt, Ursache der Spaltung und Uneinigkeit; denn wir zum höchsten Frieden gesucht haben, des wir noch zum höchsten begehren, so fern, daß wir nicht gedrungen werden, Christum zu lästern und zu verleugnen. Denn Gott weiß, der aller Herzen Richter ist, daß wir an dieser schrecklichen Uneinigkeit nicht Lust oder Freude haben. So hat der Gegenteil bisanher keinen Frieden machen wollen, darin nicht gesucht sei, daß wir die heilsame Lehre von Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum ohne unser Verdienst sollten fallen lassen, dadurch doch Christus zum höchsten gelästert würde.

Und wiewohl nicht ohne ist, daß, wie die Welt pflegt, in dieser Spaltung dennoch Ärgernisse durch frevele und ungeschickte Leute etwa vorgefallen, denn der Teufel richtet solche Ärgernisse an zu Schmach dem Evangelio: so sind sie doch alle nicht zu achten gegen den hohen Trost, den diese Lehre mit sich gebracht hat, die lehrt, daß wir um Christus' willen ohne unser Verdienst Vergebung der Sünden und einen gnädigen Gott haben; item, daß sie unterrichtet, daß Gottesdienst nicht sei, verlassen weltliche Stände und Obrigkeit, sondern daß solche Stände und Obrigkeit Gott gefallen und rechte heilige Werke und Gottesdienste seien.

So wir auch des Gegenteils Ärgernisse erzählen sollten, dazu wir wahrlich nicht Lust haben, würde es gar ein schrecklich Register werden: wie die Messe zu einem schändlichen, lästerlichen Jahrmarkt durch den Gegenteil gemacht; wie ein unzüchtig Leben durch ihren Zölibat angerichtet ist; wie die Päpste nun länger denn vierhundert Jahre mit den Kaisern gekriegt haben und des Evangelii vergessen und allein danach getrachtet, daß sie selbst Kaiser wären und ganz Italien unter sich brächten; wie sie mit den Kirchengütern gespielt haben; wie durch ihren Unfleiß viel falsche Lehre und falsche Gottesdienste durch die Mönche aufgerichtet sind. Ist doch ihr Heiligendienst eine öffentliche heidnische Abgötterei. Alle ihre Skribenten sagen nicht ein Wort von diesem Glauben an Christum, dadurch man Vergebung der Sünden erlangt. Die höchste Heiligkeit setzen sie in Menschensatzungen; davon schreiben und predigen sie vornehmlich. So ist das billig auch unter ihre Ärgernisse zu zählen, daß sie sich öffentlich erzeigen, was Geist sie haben, daß sie so viel unschuldige, fromme Leute jetzund um christlicher Lehre willen ermorden. Doch wollen wir hiervon jetzund nicht reden; denn diese Sachen soll man nach Gottes Wort richten und die Ärgernisse beider Seiten dieweil nicht ansehen.

Wir hoffen, es sollen alle Gottesfürchtigen in dieser unserer Schrift genugsam sehen, daß unsere Lehre christlich und allen Frommen tröstlich und heilsam sei. Darum bitten wir Gott, daß er Gnade verleihe, daß sein heiliges Evangelium bei allen erkannt und geehrt werde, zu seinem Lobe und zu Friede, Einigkeit und Seligkeit unser aller; und erbieten uns hiemit, wo es not ist, von allen Artikeln weiter Bericht zu tun.

They present, as an objection, the public offenses and commotions which have arisen under pretext of our doctrine. To these we briefly reply. If all the scandals be brought together, still the one article concerning the remission of sins, that for Christ's sake through faith we freely obtain the remission of sins, brings so much good as to hide all evils. And this, in the beginning, gained for Luther not only our favor, but also that of many who are now contending against us. "For former favor ceases, and mortals are forgetful," says Pindar. Nevertheless, we neither desire to desert truth that is necessary to the Church, nor can we assent to the adversaries in condemning it. *For we ought to obey God rather than men.* Those who in the beginning condemned manifest truth, and are now persecuting it with the greatest cruelty, will give an account for the schism that has been occasioned. Then, too, are there no scandals among the adversaries? How much evil is there in the sacrilegious profanation of the Mass applied to gain! How great disgrace in celibacy! But let us omit a comparison. This is what we have replied to the Confutation for the time being. Now we leave it to the judgment of all the godly whether the adversaries are right in boasting that they have actually refuted our Confession from the Scriptures.

THE END.

[As regards the slander and complaint of the adversaries at the end of the Confutation, namely, that this doctrine is causing disobedience and other scandals, this is unjustly imputed to our doctrine. For it is evident that by this doctrine the authority of magistrates is most highly praised. Moreover, it is well known that in those localities where this doctrine is preached, the magistrates have hitherto, by the grace of God, been treated with all respect by the subjects.

But as to the want of unity and dissension in the Church, it is well known how these matters first happened, and who have caused the division, namely, the sellers of indulgences, who shamelessly preached intolerable lies, and afterwards condemned Luther for not approving of those lies, and besides, they again and again excited more controversies, so that Luther was induced to attack many other errors. But since our opponents would not tolerate the truth, and dared to promote manifest errors by force, it is easy to judge who is guilty of the schism. Surely, all the world, all wisdom, all power ought to yield to Christ and His holy Word. But the devil is the enemy of God, and therefore rouses all his might against Christ, to extinguish and suppress the Word of God. Therefore the devil with his members, setting himself against the Word of God, is the cause of the schism and want of unity. For we have most zealously sought peace, and still most eagerly desire it, provided only we are not forced to blaspheme and deny Christ. For God, the discerner of all men's hearts, is our witness that we do not delight and have no joy in this awful disunion. On the other hand, our adversaries have so far not been willing to conclude peace without stipulating that we must abandon the saving doctrine of the forgiveness of sin by Christ without our merit, though Christ would be most foully blasphemed thereby.

And although, as is the custom of the world, it cannot be but that offenses have occurred in this schism through malice and by imprudent people; for the devil causes such offenses, to disgrace the Gospel; yet all this is of no account in view of the great comfort which this teaching has brought men, that for Christ's sake, without our merit, we have forgiveness of sins and a gracious God. Again, that men have been instructed that forsaking secular estates and magistracies is not a divine worship, but that such estates and magistracies are pleasing to God, and to be engaged in them is a real holy work and divine service.

If we also were to narrate the offenses of the adversaries, which, indeed, we have no desire to do, it would be a terrible list: what an abominable, blasphemous fair the adversaries have made of the Mass; what unchaste living has been instituted by their celibacy; how the Popes have for more than 400 years been engaged in wars against the emperors, have forgotten the Gospel, and only sought to be emperors themselves, and to bring all Italy into their power; how they have juggled the possessions of the Church; how through their neglect many false teachings and forms of worship have been set up by the monks. Is not their worship of the saints manifest pagan idolatry? All their writers do not say one word concerning faith in Christ, by which forgiveness of sin is obtained; the highest degree of holiness they ascribe to human traditions; it is chiefly of these that they write and preach. Moreover, this, too, ought to be numbered with their offenses, that they clearly reveal what sort of a spirit is in them, because they are now putting to death so many innocent, pious people on account of Christian doctrine. But we do not now wish to say more concerning this; for these matters should be decided in accordance with God's Word, regardless of the offenses on either side.

We hope that all God-fearing men will sufficiently see from this writing of ours that ours is the Christian doctrine and comforting and salutary to all godly men. Accordingly, we pray God to extend His grace to the end that His holy Gospel may be known and honored by all, for His glory, and for the peace, unity, and salvation of all of us. Regarding all these articles we offer to make further statements, if required.]

IV.

[Die Schmalkaldiſchen Artikel.]

Artikel chriſtlicher Lehre,

ſo da hätten ſollen aufs Konzilium zu Mantua, oder wo es ſonſt worden wäre, überantwortet werden von unſers Teils wegen, und was wir annehmen oder nachgeben könnten oder nicht uſw.,

durch D. Martin Luthern geſchrieben

Anno 1537.

[ARTICULI SMALCALDICI.]

Articuli Christianae Doctrinae,

qui a nostris concilio, si quod vel Mantuae vel alibi congregandum fuisset, exhibendi fuerant, indicantes, quid recipere vel concedere possemus et quid non,

scripti a *D. Martino Luthero*

Anno 1537.

[THE SMALCALD ARTICLES.]

Articles of Christian Doctrine,

which were to have been presented on our part to the Council, if any had been assembled at Mantua or elsewhere, indicating what we could accept or yield, and what we could not.

Written by *Dr. Martin Luther*

in the Year 1537.

Vorrede Doktor Martin Luthers.

Da der Papst Paulus, des Namens der dritte, ein Konzilium ausschrieb im vergangenen Jahr auf die Pfingsten, zu Mantua zu halten, und hernach von Mantua wegrückte, daß man noch nicht weiß, wohin er's legen will oder kann, und wir uns auf unsern Teil versehen sollten, daß wir entweder auch zum Konzilio berufen oder unberufen verdammt würden: ward mir befohlen, Artikel unserer Lehre zu stellen und zusammen[zu]bringen, ob's zur Handlung [wenn es zur Verhandlung] käme, was und wiefern wir wollten oder könnten den Papisten weichen, und auf welchen wir gedächten endlich zu beharren und zu bleiben.

Demnach habe ich diese Artikel zusammen[ge]bracht und unserm Teil überantwortet. Die sind auch von den Unsern angenommen und einträchtiglich bekannt, und beschlossen, daß man sie solle (wo der Papst mit den Seinen einmal so kühn wollte werden, ohne Lügen und Trügen, mit Ernst und wahrhaftig ein recht frei, christlich Konzilium zu halten, wie er wohl schuldig wäre) öffentlich überantworten und unsers Glaubens Bekenntnis vorbringen.

Aber weil sich der römische Hof so greulich vor einem freien christlichen Konzilio fürchtet und das Licht so schändlich fleucht, daß er auch denen, die seines Teils sind, die Hoffnung genommen hat, als werde er nimmermehr ein frei, christlich Konzilium leiden, viel weniger selbst halten; daran sie sich denn, wie billig, fast [sehr] ärgern und nicht geringe Beschwerungen darüber haben, als die daran merken, daß der Papst lieber wollte die ganze Christenheit verloren und alle Seelen verdammt sehen, ehe er sich oder die Seinen wollte ein wenig reformieren und seiner Tyrannei ein Maß setzen lassen: so hab' ich gleichwohl diese Artikel indes wollen durch öffentlichen Druck an den Tag geben, ob ich ja eher sterben sollte, denn ein Konzilium würde (wie ich mich ganz versehe und verhoffe), weil die lichtflüchtigen und tagscheuenden Schelme so jämmerlich Mühe haben, das Konzilium zu verziehen und zu verhindern, damit die, so nach mir leben und bleiben werden, mein Zeugnis und Bekenntnis haben vorzuwenden [anzuführen] über das [außer dem] Bekenntnis, das ich zuvor [im Jahre 1528] habe lassen ausgehen, darauf ich auch noch bisher [ge]blieben bin und bleiben will mit Gottes Gnade.

Denn was soll ich sagen? Wie soll ich klagen? Ich bin noch im Leben, schreibe, predige und lese täglich, noch [dennoch] finden sich solche giftige Leute, nicht allein unter den Widersachern, sondern auch falsche Brüder, die unsers Teils sein wollen, die sich unterstehen, meine Schrift und Lehre stracks wider mich zu führen, lassen mich zusehen und zuhören, ob sie wohl wissen, daß ich anders lehre, und wollen ihr Gift mit meiner Arbeit schmücken und die armen Leute unter mei-

Praefatio D. Martini Lutheri.

1] Quum papa Paulus, huius nominis tertius, concilium indiceret anno superiori circa Pentecosten Mantuae congregandum, et [R. 298 paulo post ab urbe Mantua alio transferret (unde nondum constat, quo illud convocare vel velit vel possit) et nobis quoque sperandum esset, ut ad concilium ipsi etiam vocaremur, vel metuendum, ne non vocati damnaremur, iniungebatur mihi, ut articulos doctrinae nostrae conscriberem et colligerem, si forte res procederet, ut constaret, quid et quatenus pontificiis cedere, et in quibus capitibus constanter perseverare et vellemus et possemus.

2] Conscripsi igitur hosce articulos et nostrae parti tradidi. A nostris illi recepti et unanimi confessione approbati sunt et decretum est, ut concilio (si quod a papa et pontificiis tandem sine mendaciis et fraudibus vero, legitimo et Christiano modo institueretur, sicut omnino deberet) publice offerrentur, et fidei nostrae confessionem explicarent.

Quum autem Romana ista aula seu [R. 299 3] curia adeo formidet Christianum liberumque concilium et lucem turpissime fugiat, ita ut etiam ipsis pontificiis spes concilii Christiani non tantum convocandi, sed etiam ferendi et concedendi prorsus adempta sit, unde sane offenduntur merito multi pontificii et aegre ferunt negligentiam istam papae, ac inde facile colligunt malle papam interitum totius Christianitatis et damnationem omnium animarum quam sui et suorum vel exiguam saltem reformationem, et quam tyrannidi suae modum praescribi patiatur: ideo et nihilominus articulos hos in publicum emittere volui, ut si citius ex hac vita evocarer, quam concilium congregaretur (quod ita eventurum esse omnino confido et spero, quum lucifugi isti nebulones nimium in protrahendo et impediendo concilio laborent), ut, inquam, ii, qui post me vivent et remanebunt, testimonium et confessionem meam haberent et proponere possent adiunctam confessioni, quam antea publicavi, in qua hactenus constanter permansi et permanebo deinceps per Dei gratiam.

4] Quid enim dicam? Quomodo querelam instituam? Adhuc superstes sum, scribo, conciones habeo et praelego publice et quotidie, et tamen virulenti homines non tantum ex adversariis, sed etiam falsi fratres, qui nobiscum se sentire aiunt, mea scripta et doctrinam meam simpliciter contra me afferre et allegare audent, me vivente, vidente et audiente, etiamsi sciant me aliter docere, et volunt virus suum meo labore exornare et miseros

Preface of Dr. Martin Luther.

Since Pope Paul III convoked a Council last year, to assemble at Mantua about Whitsuntide, and afterwards transferred it from Mantua, so that it is not yet known where he will or can fix it, and we on our part either had to expect that we would be summoned also to the Council or [to fear that we would] be condemned unsummoned, I was directed to compile and collect the articles of our doctrine [in order that it might be plain] in case of deliberation as to what and how far we would be both willing and able to yield to the Papists, and in what points we intended to persevere and abide to the end.

I have accordingly compiled these articles and presented them to our side. They have also been accepted and unanimously confessed by our side, and it has been resolved that, in case the Pope with his adherents should ever be so bold as seriously and in good faith, without lying and cheating, to hold a truly free [legitimate] Christian Council (as, indeed, he would be in duty bound to do), they be publicly delivered in order to set forth the Confession of our Faith.

But though the Romish court is so dreadfully afraid of a free Christian Council, and shuns the light so shamefully, that it has [entirely] removed, even from those who are on its side, the hope that it will ever permit a free Council, much less that it will itself hold one, whereat, as is just, they [many Papists] are greatly offended and have no little trouble on that account [are disgusted with this negligence of the Pope], since they notice thereby that the Pope would rather see all Christendom perish and all souls damned than suffer either himself or his adherents to be reformed even a little, and his [their] tyranny to be limited, nevertheless I have determined meanwhile to publish these articles in plain print, so that, should I die before there would be a Council (as I fully expect and hope, because the knaves who flee the light and shun the day take such wretched pains to delay and hinder the Council), those who live and remain after me may have my testimony and confession to produce, in addition to the Confession which I have issued previously, whereby up to this time I have abided, and, by God's grace, will abide.

For what shall I say? How shall I complain? I am still living, writing, preaching, and lecturing daily; [and] yet there are found such spiteful men, not only among the adversaries, but also false brethren that profess to be on our side, as dare to cite my writings and doctrine directly against myself, and let me look on and listen, although they know well that I teach otherwise, and

nem Namen verführen. Was will doch immermehr nach meinem Tode werden?

Ja, ich sollte billig alles verantworten, weil [solange] ich noch lebe. Ja wiederum, wie kann ich allein alle Mäuler des Teufels stopfen? sonderlich denen (wie sie alle vergiftet sind), die nicht hören noch merken wollen, was wir schreiben, sondern allein an dem sich üben mit allem Fleiß, wie sie unsere Worte in allen Buchstaben aufs schändlichste verkehren und verderben mögen. Solchen lasse ich den Teufel antworten oder zuletzt Gottes Zorn, wie sie verdienen. Ich denke oft an den guten Gerson, der zweifelte, ob man etwas Gutes sollte öffentlich schreiben. Tut man's nicht, so werden viel Seelen versäumt, die man könnte erretten; tut man's aber, so ist der Teufel da mit unzähligen giftigen, bösen Mäulern, die alles vergiften und verkehren, daß doch die Frucht verhindert wird. Doch was sie daran gewinnen, sieht man am Tage. Denn sintemal sie so schändlich wider uns gelogen und die Leute mit Lügen haben wollen behalten, hat Gott sein Werk immer fort [voran] getrieben, ihren Haufen immer kleiner und unsern größer gemacht und sie mit ihren Lügen zuschanden lassen werden, und noch immerfort.

Ich muß eine Historia sagen. Es ist hie zu Wittenberg gewesen aus Frankreich ein Doktor gesandt, der vor uns öffentlich sagte, daß sein König gewiß und übergewiß wäre, daß bei uns keine Kirche, keine Obrigkeit, kein Ehestand sei, sondern ginge alles untereinander wie das Vieh und täte jedermann, was er wollte. Nun rat, wie werden uns an jenem Tage vor dem Richt[er]stuhl Christi ansehen die, so solche grobe Lügen dem Könige und andern Landen durch ihre Schrift eingebildet [eingeprägt, weisgemacht] haben für eitel Wahrheit? Christus, unser aller HErr und Richter, weiß ja wohl, daß sie lügen und gelogen haben; des Urteil werden sie wiederum müssen hören; das weiß ich fürwahr. Gott bekehre, die zu bekehren sind, zur Buße! Den andern wird's heißen: Weh und Ach ewiglich!

Und daß ich wieder komme zur Sache, möchte ich fürwahr wohl gern ein recht christlich Konzilium sehen, damit doch viel Sachen und Leuten geholfen würde. Nicht daß wir's bedürfen; denn unsere Kirchen sind nun durch Gottes Gnade mit dem reinen Wort und rechtem Brauch der Sakramente, mit Erkenntnis allerlei Stände und rechten Werken also erleuchtet und beschickt [versorgt], daß wir unserthalben nach keinem Konzilio fragen und in solchen Stücken vom Konzilio nichts Besseres zu hoffen noch zu gewarten wissen. Sondern da sehen wir in den Bistümern allenthalben viel Pfarren ledig und wüst, daß einem das Herz möchte brechen, und fragen doch weder Bischöfe noch Tumherren [Domherren] danach, wie die armen Leute leben oder sterben, für welche doch Christus ist gestorben, und sollen denselben nicht hören mit ihnen reden als den rechten Hirten mit seinen Schafen, daß mir graut und bange ist, er möchte einmal einst ein Engelkonzilium lassen gehen über Deutschland, das uns alle in Grund verderbte wie Sodom und Gomorra, weil wir sein so freventlich mit dem Konzilio spotten.

homines meo sub nomine decipere et seducere. Quid ergo, bone Deus, post obitum meum fiet?

5] Deberem quidem ad omnia respondere, dum adhuc vivo. Sed quaeso, quomodo [R. 300 omnia diaboli ora obstruere solus possum? praesertim eorum (utpote venenatorum omnium), qui nec audire nec attendere volunt, quid scribamus, sed in eo toti sunt, ut verba nostra etiam in minutissimis literis scelerate pervertant et depravent. His ergo diabolus respondeat et tandem ira Dei, quemadmodum 6] merentur. Saepe recordor boni Gersonis dubitantis, num quid boni publice scribendum et proferendum sit. Si scriptio omittitur, multae animae negliguntur, quae liberari potuissent. Si vero illa praestatur, statim diabolus praesto est cum linguis pestiferis et calumniarum plenis, quae omnia corrumpunt et veneno inficiunt, ut utilitas scriptorum 7] impediatur. Quid tamen ex ista malitia sua commodi recipiant, manifestum est. Quia enim nos mendaciis perdite onerarunt et simpliciores per ista mendacia in suo coetu retinere voluerunt, Deus opus suum subinde promovit et ipsorum coetum reddidit minorem, nostrum vero maiorem, ac ipsos ob mendacia confudit et confundit etiamnum.

8] Recitabo historiam. Fuit Wittebergae Doctor quidam ex Galliis missus, qui nobis palam indicabat, regi suo certo certius persuasum esse apud nos nullam esse ecclesiam, nullum magistratum, nullum coniugium, sed promiscue omnes pecudum more vivere pro 9] arbitrio. Dic iam, quo vultu nos coram tribunali Christi in ultimo iudicio sint aspecturi ii, qui tam crassa et prodigiosa mendacia regi et aliis regnis per sua scripta inculcarunt ceu veritatem? Christus, omnium nostrum Dominus et iudex, scit ipse istos mentiri et semper mentitos esse. Huius sententiam vicissim audire cogentur, quod certo [R. 301 scio. Deus convertat convertendos, ut agant poenitentiam! Ceteros obruet vae et ah in aeternum.

10] Ut autem redeam ad rem, optarim ex animo concilium Christianum et liberum aliquando congregari, ut multis et rebus et hominibus consuleretur; non quod nos concilio indigeamus (nostrae enim ecclesiae per Dei gratiam puritate Verbi et vero usu sacramentorum ac cognitione vocationum et verorum operum ita sunt illustratae et constitutae, ut concilio opus nobis non sit, nec a concilio de his rebus quidquam melius sperare et exspectare possimus), sed quod in episcopatibus videamus passim multas parochias plane desertas et vacuas, ita ut prae dolore cor hominis pii exstingui facile possit. Et tamen nec episcopi nec canonici curant, quomodo miseri homines vel vivant vel moriantur, pro quibus tamen Christus est mortuus, quem miseri homines ut verum pastorem cum ovibus suis loquentem audire non pos-11] sunt. Et hoc me movet, ut exhorrescens vehementer metuam, ne Christus ipse aliquando convocet concilium angelicum contra Germaniam, quo funditus deleamur, sicut Sodoma et Gomorrha, quandoquidem tam temere ipsi illudimus nomine et praetextu concilii.

as wish to adorn their venom with my labor, and under my name to [deceive and] mislead the poor people. [Good God!] Alas! what first will happen when I am dead?

Indeed, I ought to reply to everything while I am still living. But, again, how can I alone stop all the mouths of the devil? especially of those (as they all are poisoned) who will not hear or notice what we write, but solely exercise themselves with all diligence how they may most shamefully pervert and corrupt our word in every letter. These I let the devil answer, or at last God's wrath, as they deserve. I often think of the good Gerson, who doubts whether anything good should be [written and] published. If it is not done, many souls are neglected who could be delivered; but if it is done, the devil is there, with malignant, villainous tongues without number which envenom and pervert everything, so that nevertheless the fruit [the usefulness of the writings] is prevented. Yet, what they gain thereby is manifest. For while they have lied so shamefully against us, and by means of lies wished to retain the people, God has constantly advanced His work, and been making their following ever smaller and ours greater, and by their lies has caused and still causes them to be brought to shame.

I must tell a story. There was a doctor sent here to Wittenberg from France, who said publicly before us that his king was sure, and more than sure, that among us there is no church, no magistrate, no married life, but all live promiscuously as cattle, and each one does as he pleases. Imagine now, how will those who by their writings have instilled such gross lies into the king and other countries as the pure truth, look at us on that day before the judgment-seat of Christ? Christ, the Lord and Judge of us all, knows well that they lie and have [always] lied; His sentence they, in turn, must hear; that I know certainly. God convert to repentance those who can be converted! Regarding the rest it will be said, Woe, and, alas! eternally.

But to return to the subject. I verily desire to see a truly Christian Council [assembled some time], in order that many matters and persons might be helped. Not that we need it, for our churches are now, through God's grace, so enlightened and equipped with the pure Word and right use of the Sacraments, with knowledge of the various callings and of right works, that we on our part ask for no Council, and on such points have nothing better to hope or expect from a Council. But we see in the bishoprics everywhere so many parishes vacant and desolate that one's heart would break, and yet neither the bishops nor canons care how the poor people live or die, for whom nevertheless Christ has died, and who are not permitted to hear Him speak with them as the true Shepherd with His sheep. This causes me to shudder and fear that at some time He may send a council of angels upon Germany utterly destroying us, like Sodom and Gomorrah, because we so wantonly mock Him with the Council.

Über solche nötige Kirchensachen wären auch in weltlichem Stande unzählige große Stücke zu bessern. Da ist Uneinigkeit der Fürsten und Stände, Wucher und Geiz sind wie eine Sündflut eingerissen und eitel Recht geworden, Mutwille, Unzucht, Übermut mit Kleidern, Fressen, Spielen, Prangen mit allerlei Untugend und Bosheit, Ungehorsam der Untertanen, Gesinde und Arbeiter aller Handwerke, auch der Bauern Übersetzung [Übervorteilung] (und wer kann's alles erzählen?) haben also überhandgenommen, daß man's mit zehn Konziliis und zwanzig Reichstagen nicht wieder wird zurechtbringen. Wenn man solche Hauptstücke des geistlichen und weltlichen Standes, die wider Gott sind, im Konzilio würde handeln, so würde man wohl zu tun kriegen alle Hände voll, daß man dieweil wohl würde vergessen des Kinderspiels und Narrenwerks von langen Röcken, großen Platten [Tonsuren], breiten Gürteln, Bischofs- und Kardinalshüten oder Stäben und dergleichen Gaukelei. Wenn wir zuvor hätten Gottes Gebot und Befehl ausgerichtet im geistlichen und weltlichen Stande, so wollten wir Zeit genug finden, die Speisen, Kleider, Platten und Kaseln [Meßkleider] zu reformieren. Wenn wir aber solche Kamele verschlingen und dafür Mücken seigen, die Balken lassen stehen und die Splitter richten wollen, so möchten wir wohl auch mit dem Konzilio zufrieden sein.

Darum hab' ich wenig Artikel gestellt; denn wir ohnedas von Gott so viel Befehl haben in der Kirche, in der Obrigkeit, im Hause zu tun, daß wir sie nimmermehr ausrichten können. Was soll's denn, oder wozu hilft's, daß man drüber viel Dekrete und Satzungen im Konzilio macht, sonderlich so man diese Hauptstücke, von Gott geboten, nicht achtet noch hält? Gerade als müßte er unser Gaukelspiel feiern [ehren] dafür, daß wir seine ernsten Gebote mit Füßen treten. Aber unsere Sünden drücken uns und lassen Gott nicht gnädig über uns sein; denn wir büßen auch nicht [tun keine Buße], wollen dazu noch allen Greuel verteidigen.

Ach lieber HErr JEsu Christe, halt du selber Konzilium und erlöse die Deinen durch deine herrliche Zukunft! Es ist mit dem Papst und den Seinen verloren; sie wollen dein nicht. So hilf du uns Armen und Elenden, die wir zu dir seufzen und dich suchen mit Ernst, nach der Gnade, die du uns gegeben hast, durch deinen Heiligen Geist, der mit dir und dem Vater lebet und regieret, ewiglich gelobet! Amen.

12] Praeter haec tam necessaria negotia ecclesiastica essent quoque res magnae in statu politico corrigendae, ut discordia principum et statuum. Usura et avaritia ceu diluvium inundarunt et specie iuris defenduntur. Petulantia, lascivia, superbia et luxus ac fastus in vestitu, crapula, alea, pompa, vitiorum et scelerum concursus, malitia, contumacia subditorum, familiae, opificum, mercenariorum, rusticorum aucupia et iniquissima in venditionibus aestimatio (et quis recitare potest omnia?) adeo accreverunt, ut decem conciliis et viginti comitiis politicis corrigi nequeant. Si haec principalia [R. 302 in ecclesiastico et politico statu, quae contra 13] Deum fiunt, in concilio tractarentur, satis superque esset, de quibus ageretur, nec opus esset ludicris et iocularibus confabulationibus de veste talari, de insignibus verticalibus, rasuris et tonsuris, de cingulis latis seu balteis, de episcoporum et cardinalium infulis, galeris, pileis et baculis et similibus vanitatibus. Si antea Dei mandatum et voluntatem in ecclesiastico et politico ordine expedivissemus, satis postea otii et temporis nobis relinqueretur ad reformationem ciborum, vestium, cereorum, rasurarum, casularum etc. At, quia camelos deglutimus et interea culices excolamus, trabes relinquimus et festucas inquirimus et iudicamus, supersedere concilio possumus.

14] Paucos igitur articulos conscripsi. Habemus enim iam antea satis mandatorum Dei in ecclesia, in politia, in oeconomia, quibus satisfacere nunquam possumus. Ad quid ergo prodest copia ista decretorum, traditionum et legum in concilio, quum praecipua capita a Deo mandata nec curentur nec serventur? Quasi vero Deus in ludicris fabulis nostris acquiescere, et interea sua divina mandata pedibus ut conculcentur, ferre cogatur. Peccata autem nostra nos aggravant, nec sinunt Deum nobis esse propitium, quia poenitentiam non agimus et insuper omnem abominationem defendere volumus.

15] O Domine Iesu Christe, indicito et celebra tu ipse concilium, et libera tuos adventu tuo glorioso. Actum est de papa et pontificiis. Hi te non curant. Iuva ergo nos miseros et inopes, qui ad te gemimus et te ex corde quaerimus secundum gratiam, quam nobis dedisti, per Spiritum Sanctum tuum, qui tecum et cum Patre vivit et regnat, benedictus in saecula! Amen.

Besides such necessary ecclesiastical affairs, there would be also in the political estate innumerable matters of great importance to improve. There is the disagreement between the princes and the states; usury and avarice have burst in like a flood, and have become lawful [are defended with a show of right]; wantonness, lewdness, extravagance in dress, gluttony, gambling, idle display, with all kinds of bad habits and wickedness, insubordination of subjects, of domestics and laborers, of every trade, also the exactions [and most exorbitant selling prices] of the peasants (and who can enumerate all?) have so increased that they cannot be rectified by ten Councils and twenty Diets. If such chief matters of the spiritual and worldly estates as are contrary to God would be considered in the Council, they would have all hands so full that the child's play and absurdity of long gowns [official insignia], large tonsures, broad cinctures [or sashes], bishops' or cardinals' hats or maces, and like jugglery would in the mean time be forgotten. If we first had performed God's command and order in the spiritual and secular estate, we would find time enough to reform food, clothing, tonsures, and surplices. But if we want to swallow such camels, and, instead, strain at gnats, let the beams stand and judge the motes, we also might indeed be satisfied with the Council.

Therefore I have presented few articles; for we have without this so many commands of God to observe in the Church, the state, and the family that we can never fulfil them. What, then, is the use, or what does it profit that many decrees and statutes thereon are made in the Council, especially when these chief matters commanded of God are neither regarded nor observed? Just as though He were bound to honor our jugglery as a reward of our treading His solemn commandments under foot. But our sins weigh upon us and cause God not to be gracious to us; for we do not repent, and, besides, wish to defend every abomination.

O Lord Jesus Christ, do Thou Thyself convoke a Council, and deliver Thy servants by Thy glorious advent! The Pope and his adherents are done for; they will have none of Thee. Do Thou, then, help us, who are poor and needy, who sigh to Thee, and beseech Thee earnestly, according to the grace which Thou hast given us, through Thy Holy Ghost, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Father, blessed forever. Amen.

Das erste Teil

ist von den hohen Artikeln der göttlichen Majestät, als:

I.

Daß Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist, in einem göttlichen Wesen und Natur, drei unterschiedliche Personen, ein einiger Gott ist, der Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat;

II.

Daß der Vater von niemand, der Sohn vom Vater geboren, der Heilige Geist vom Vater und Sohn ausgehend;

III.

Daß nicht der Vater noch Heiliger Geist, sondern der Sohn sei Mensch [ge]worden;

IV.

Daß der Sohn sei also Mensch [ge]worden, daß er vom Heiligen Geist ohne männlich Zutun empfangen und von der reinen, heiligen Jungfrau Maria geboren sei; danach gelitten, gestorben, begraben, zur Hölle gefahren, auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, künftig zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten usw. Wie der Apostel, item St. Athanasii Symbolum und der gemeine Kinderkatechismus lehrt.

Diese Artikel sind in keinem Zank noch Streit, weil wir zu beiden Teilen dieselben bekennen. Darum [ist] nicht vonnöten, jetzt davon weiter zu handeln.

Das andere Teil

ist von den Artikeln, so das Amt und Werk JEsu Christi oder unsere Erlösung betreffen.

Hier ist der erste und Hauptartikel:

Daß JEsus Christus, unser Gott und HErr, sei um unserer Sünden willen gestorben und um unserer Gerechtigkeit willen auferstanden, Röm. 4.

Und er allein das Lamm Gottes ist, das der Welt Sünde trägt, Joh. 1. **Und Gott unser aller Sünde auf ihn gelegt hat,** Jesaia 53.

Item: Sie sind allzumal Sünder und werden ohne Verdienst gerecht aus seiner Gnade durch die Erlösung JEsu Christi in seinem Blut usw. Röm. 3.

Dieweil nun solches muß geglaubt werden und sonst mit keinem Werk, Gesetz noch Verdienst mag [kann] erlangt oder gefaßt werden, so ist es klar und gewiß, daß allein solcher Glaube uns gerecht mache, wie Röm. 3 St. Paulus spricht: „Wir halten, daß der Mensch gerecht werde ohne Werke des Gesetzes durch den Glauben"; item: „Auf daß er allein gerecht sei und gerecht mache den, der da ist des Glaubens an JEsu."

Von diesem Artikel kann man nichts weichen oder nachgeben, es falle Himmel und Erde, oder was nicht bleiben will. „Denn es ist kein anderer Name den Menschen gegeben, dadurch wir können

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de summis articulis divinae Maiestatis.

I.

Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, in una divina essentia et natura, tres distinctae personae, sunt unus Deus, qui creavit coelum et terram;

II.

Pater a nullo, Filius a Patre genitus est, Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio procedit;

III.

Non Pater, non Spiritus Sanctus, sed Filius homo factus est;

IV.

Filius ita factus est homo, ut a Spiritu Sancto sine virili opera conciperetur, et ex Maria, pura, sancta sempervirgine nasceretur. Postea passus et mortuus est, sepultus, descendit ad inferna, resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei, venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos etc., sicut de his Symbolum Apostolicum et Athanasianum et Catechismus noster puerilis nos edocent.

De his articulis nulla est inter nos et adversarios controversia, quum illos utrinque confiteamur; quamobrem non est necesse, ut pluribus iam de illis agamus.

SECUNDA PARS [R. 304

est de articulis, qui officium et opus Iesu Christi sive redemptionem nostram concernunt.

Hic primus et principalis articulus est:

1] *Quod Iesus Christus, Deus et Dominus noster, sit propter peccata nostra mortuus et propter iustitiam nostram resurrexerit,* Rom. 4, 24.

2] *Et quod ipse solus sit Agnus Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi,* Ioh. 1, 29, *et quod Deus omnium nostrum iniquitates in ipsum posuerit,* Esaiae 53, 6.

3] *Omnes peccaverunt et iustificantur gratis absque operibus seu meritis propriis, ex ipsius gratia, per redemptionem, quae est in Christo Iesu, in sanguine eius,* Rom. 3, 23 sq.

4] Hoc quum credere necesse sit, et nullo opere, lege aut merito acquiri et apprehendi possit, certum est et manifestum solam hanc fidem nos iustificare, sicut Paulus Rom. 3, 28 inquit: *Statuimus iustificari hominem per fidem absque operibus legis;* item v. 26: *Ut sit ipse iustus et iustificans eum, qui est ex fide Iesu Christi.*

5] De hoc articulo cedere aut aliquid [R. 305 contra illum largiri aut permittere nemo piorum potest, etiamsi coelum et terra ac omnia corruant. *Non enim est aliud nomen homini-*

THE FIRST PART

Treats of the Sublime Articles Concerning the Divine Majesty, as:

I.

That Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three distinct persons in one divine essence and nature, are one God, who has created heaven and earth.

II.

That the Father is begotten of no one; the Son of the Father; the Holy Ghost proceeds from Father and Son.

III.

That not the Father nor the Holy Ghost, but the Son became man.

IV.

That the Son became man in this manner, that He was conceived, without the cooperation of man, by the Holy Ghost, and was born of the pure, holy [and always] Virgin Mary. Afterwards He suffered, died, was buried, descended to hell, rose from the dead, ascended to heaven, sits at the right hand of God, will come to judge the quick and the dead, etc., as the Creed of the Apostles, as well as that of St. Athanasius, and the Catechism in common use for children, teach.

Concerning these articles there is no contention or dispute, since we on both sides confess them. Therefore it is not necessary now to treat further of them.

THE SECOND PART

Treats of the Articles which Refer to the Office and Work of Jesus Christ, or Our Redemption.

The first and chief article is this,

That Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for our sins, and was raised again for our justification, Rom. 4, 25.

And He alone is the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world, John 1, 29; *and God has laid upon Him the iniquities of us all,* Is. 53, 6.

Likewise: All have sinned and are justified without merit [freely, and without their own works or merits] by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, in His blood, Rom. 3, 23 f.

Now, since it is necessary to believe this, and it cannot be otherwise acquired or apprehended by any work, law, or merit, it is clear and certain that this faith alone justifies us, as St. Paul says, Rom. 3, 28: *For we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the Law.* Likewise v. 26: *That He might be just, and the Justifier of him which believeth in Christ.*

Of this article nothing can be yielded or surrendered [nor can anything be granted or permitted contrary to the same], even though heaven and earth, and whatever will not abide, should sink to ruin. *For there is none*

selig werden", spricht Petrus Act. 4. „Und durch seine Wunden sind wir geheilet", Jes. 53. Und auf diesem Artikel steht alles, was wir wider den Papst, Teufel und Welt lehren und leben. Darum müssen wir des gar gewiß sein und nicht zweifeln, sonst ist es alles verloren und behält Papst und Teufel und alles wider uns den Sieg und Recht.

Der II. Artikel. Von der Messe.

Daß die Messe im Papsttum muß der größte und schrecklichste Greuel sein, als die stracks und gewaltiglich wider diesen Hauptartikel strebt und doch über und vor allen andern päpstlichen Abgöttereien die höchste und schönste gewesen ist. Denn es ist gehalten [sie halten dafür], daß solch Opfer oder Werk der Messe (auch durch einen bösen Buben getan) helfe dem Menschen von Sünden, beide hier im Leben und dort im Fegfeuer, welches doch allein soll und muß tun das Lamm Gottes, wie droben gesagt. Von diesem Artikel ist auch nicht zu weichen oder nachzulassen; denn der erste Artikel leidet's nicht.

Und wo etwa vernünftige Papisten wären, möchte man dermaßen [gemäßigt] und freundlicherweise mit ihnen reden: Erstlich, warum sie doch so hart an der Messe hielten? Ist's doch ein lauter Menschenfündlein, von Gott nicht geboten. Und alle Menschenfündlein mögen wir fallen lassen, wie Christus spricht Matth. 15: „Sie dienen mir vergeblich mit Menschengeboten."

Zum andern ist's ein unnötig Ding, das man ohne Sünde und [Ge]fahr wohl lassen kann.

Zum dritten kann man das Sakrament viel besser und seliger[er] Weise (ja allein seliger Weise) nach Christus' Einsetzung kriegen. Was ist's denn, daß man um einer erdichteten, unnötigen Sache willen, da man's sonst wohl und seliger haben kann, die Welt in Jammer und Not wollte zwingen?

Man lasse den Leuten öffentlich predigen, wie die Messe als ein Menschentand möge ohne Sünde nachbleiben und niemand verdammt werde, wer sie nicht achte, sondern möge wohl ohne Messe, durch bessere Weise selig werden: was gilt's, ob die Messe alsdann nicht von ihr selbst fallen wird, nicht allein bei dem tollen Pöbel, sondern auch bei allen frommen, christlichen, vernünftigen, gottesfürchtigen Herzen; viel mehr, wo sie hören würden, daß es ein [ge]fährlich Ding, ohne Gottes Wort und willen erdichtet und erfunden ist.

Zum vierten, weil solche unzählige, unaussprechliche Mißbräuche in aller Welt mit Kaufen und Verkaufen der Messen entstanden [sind], sollte man sie billig lassen fahren, auch allein [um] solchen Mißbräuchen zu wehren, wenn sie gleich an ihr selbst etwas Nützliches und Gutes hätte. Wieviel mehr soll man sie fahren lassen, solche Mißbräuche ewiglich zu verhüten, weil sie doch gar unnötig, unnütz und [ge]fährlich ist und man alles nötiger, nützlicher und gewisser ohne die Messe haben kann!

Zum fünften. Nun aber die Messe nichts anderes ist noch sein kann (wie der Kanon und alle Bücher sagen) denn ein Werk der Menschen (auch

bus datum, per quod salvari possimus, inquit Petrus Act. 4, 12. Et *per vulnera eius sanati sumus,* Esa. 53, 3. Et in hoc articulo sita sunt et consistunt omnia, quae contra papam, diabolum et universum mundum in vita nostra docemus, testamur et agimus. Quare oportet nos de hac doctrina esse certos, et minime dubitare, alioquïn actum est prorsus, et papa et diabolus et omnia adversa ius et victoriam contra nos obtinent.

II. Articulus de Missa docet:

1] Quod missa in papatu sit maxima et horrenda abominatio, simpliciter et hostiliter e diametro pugnans contra articulum primum, quae tamen prae omnibus aliis pontificiis idololatriis summa et speciosissima fuit. Statuerunt enim, quod sacrificium istud seu opus missae, etiam ab impio ac perdito nebulone praestitum, liberet hominem a peccatis cum in hac vita, tum in purgatorio, quum tamen solus agnus Dei nos liberet, ut supra dictum est. Hic nihil permittendum nec cedendum est, quia prior articulus id non fert.

2] Cum sanioribus pontificiis placide hoc modo conferri posset: Primum, quare tam rigide missae patrocinium suscipiant, quum illa tantummodo sit hominum inventum et a Deo non mandata sit? Hominum vero inventiones tuto omittere possumus, ut Christus testatur Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me mandatis hominum.*

3] Secundo. Res est non necessaria, quae sine peccato et periculo omitti potest.

4] Tertio. Sacramentum meliori et Deo magis accepto, imo hoc solo accepto, [R. 306 salutari et beato modo secundum Christi institutionem sumi potest. Cur igitur propter figmentum humanum et non necessarium, quum aliter et rectius res ipsa haberi possit, ad extremas miserias homines cogerentur et adigerentur?

5] Curetur, ut publice hominibus ostendatur missam ut rem commentitiam seu humanum figmentum posse sine peccato omitti, et neminem damnari, qui missam non curat, sed etiam sine missa meliore ratione homines salvari posse. Sic fiet, ut missa sit sponte corruitura, non tantum in vulgo rudi, sed etiam in animis omnium piorum, Christianorum et sanorum, idque multo magis, quum audierint missam esse quiddam valde periculosum, sine Dei Verbo et voluntate confictum atque inventum.

6] Quarto. Quum fere innumeri et inenarrabiles abusus in universo mundo ex negotiatione missarum exstiterint, abroganda merito missa est, ut abusus isti removeantur, etiamsi quid utilitatis et boni in se contineret. Quanto magis autem, quum plane inutilis, non necessaria et periculosa sit, et omnia utilius atque certius absque missa haberi possint, eam missam facere debemus, ut abusus istos tetros perpetuo fugiamus!

7] Quinto. Quum missa nihil sit aliud nec aliud esse possit (sicut canon et omnes libri pronuntiant) quam opus hominum (etiam

other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved, says Peter, Acts 4, 12. *And with His stripes we are healed*, Is. 53, 5. And upon this article all things depend which we teach and practise in opposition to the Pope, the devil, and the [whole] world. Therefore, we must be sure concerning this doctrine, and not doubt; for otherwise all is lost, and the Pope and devil and all things gain the victory and suit over us.

Article II: Of the Mass.

That the Mass in the Papacy must be the greatest and most horrible abomination, as it directly and powerfully conflicts with this chief article, and yet above and before all other popish idolatries it has been the chief and most specious. For it has been held that this sacrifice or work of the Mass, even though it be rendered by a wicked [and abandoned] scoundrel, frees men from sins, both in this life and also in purgatory, while only the Lamb of God shall and must do this, as has been said above. Of this article nothing is to be surrendered or conceded, because the first article does not allow it.

If, perchance, there were reasonable Papists we might speak moderately and in a friendly way, thus: first, why they so rigidly uphold the Mass. For it is but a pure invention of men, and has not been commanded by God; and every invention of man we may [safely] discard, as Christ declares, Matt. 15, 9: *In vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*

Secondly. It is an unnecessary thing, which can be omitted without sin and danger.

Thirdly. The Sacrament can be received in a better and more blessed way [more acceptable to God], (yea, the only blessed way), according to the institution of Christ. Why, then, do they drive the world to woe and [extreme] misery on account of a fictitious, unnecessary matter, which can be well obtained in another and more blessed way?

Let [care be taken that] it be publicly preached to the people that the Mass as men's twaddle [commentitious affair or human figment] can be omitted without sin, and that no one will be condemned who does not observe it, but that he can be saved in a better way without the Mass. I wager [Thus it will come to pass] that the Mass will then collapse of itself, not only among the insane [rude] common people, but also among all pious, Christian, reasonable, God-fearing hearts; and that the more, when they would hear that the Mass is a [very] dangerous thing, fabricated and invented without the will and Word of God.

Fourthly. Since such innumerable and unspeakable abuses have arisen in the whole world from the buying and selling of masses, the Mass should by right be relinquished, if for no other purpose than to prevent abuses, even though in itself it had something advantageous and good. How much more ought we to relinquish it, so as to prevent [escape] forever these horrible abuses, since it is altogether unnecessary, useless, and dangerous, and we can obtain everything by a more necessary, profitable, and certain way without the Mass.

Fifthly. But since the Mass is nothing else, and can be nothing else (as the Canon and all books declare), than a work of men (even of wicked scoundrels), by which one attempts

böser Buben), damit einer sich selbst und andere mit sich gegen Gott versöhnen, Vergebung der Sünden und Gnade erwerben und verdienen will (denn also wird sie gehalten, wenn sie aufs allerbeste wird gehalten; was sollte sie sonst?), so soll und muß man sie verdammen und verwerfen. Denn das ist stracks wider den Hauptartikel, der da sagt, daß nicht ein böser oder frommer Meßknecht mit seinem Werk, sondern das Lamm Gottes und Sohn Gottes unsere Sünde trägt.

Und ob einer zum guten Schein wollte vorgeben, er wollte zur Andacht sich selbst berichten [mit dem Sakrament versehen] oder kommunizieren, das ist nicht Ernst. Denn wo [wenn] er mit Ernst will kommunizieren, so hat er's gewiß und aufs beste im Sakrament, nach der Einsetzung Christi gereicht. Aber sich selbst kommunizieren ist ein Menschendünkel [eine menschliche Meinung], ungewiß und unnötig, dazu verboten. Und er weiß auch nicht, was er macht, weil er ohne Gottes Wort falschem Menschendünkel und Fündlein [Erfindung] folgt. So ist's auch nicht Recht (wenn alles sonst schlecht [richtig] wäre), daß einer das gemeine Sakrament der Kirche nach seiner eigenen Andacht will brauchen und damit seines Gefallens ohne Gottes Wort außer der Kirche Gemeinschaft spielen.

Dieser Artikel von der Messe wird's ganz und gar sein im Konzilio. Denn wo es möglich wäre, daß sie uns alle andern Artikel nachgäben, so können sie doch diesen Artikel nicht nachgeben. Wie der Campegius zu Augsburg gesagt, er wollte sich eher auf [in] Stücke zerreißen lassen, ehe er wollte die Messe fahren lassen. So werde ich mich auch mit Gottes Hilfe eher lassen zu Asche machen, ehe ich einen Meßknecht mit seinem Werke, er sei gut oder böse, lasse meinem HErrn und Heiland JEsu Christo gleich oder höher sein. Also sind und bleiben wir ewiglich geschieden und widereinander. Sie fühlen's wohl, wo die Messe fällt, so liegt das Papsttum; ehe sie das lassen geschehen, so töten sie uns alle, wo sie es vermögen.

über das alles hat dieser Drachenschwanz, die Messe, viel Ungeziefer und Geschmeiß, mancherlei Abgötterei gezeugt.

Erstlich das Fegfeuer. Da hat man mit Seelenmessen, Vigilien, dem Siebenten, dem Dreißigsten und jährlichen Begängnissen, zuletzt mit der Gemeinwoche und aller Seelen Tag und Seelbad [Freibad für Arme, zum Seelenheil des Stifters gespendet] ins Fegfeuer gehandelt, daß die Messe schier allein für die Toten gebraucht ist, so doch Christus das Sakrament allein für die Lebendigen gestiftet hat. Darum ist das Fegfeuer mit allem seinem Gepränge, Gottesdienst und Gewerbe für ein lauter Teufelsgespenst zu achten. Denn es ist auch wider den Hauptartikel, daß allein Christus und nicht Menschenwerk den Seelen helfen soll; ohne daß sonst auch uns nichts von den Toten befohlen noch geboten ist. Derhalben mag man es wohl lassen, wenn es schon kein Irrtum noch Abgötterei wäre.

Die Papisten führen hier Augustinum und etliche Väter [an], die vom Fegfeuer sollen geschrieben haben, und meinen, wir sehen nicht,

impiorum nebulonum), quo opere aliquis se ipsum et alios una cum se ipso cum Deo reconciliare, remissionem peccatorum et gratiam impetrare et mereri conatur (sic enim aestimatur missa, quum maxime praedicatur; ad quid enim alioqui prodesset?), ideo certe damnanda et reiicienda est. Hoc enim directe pugnat cum primario articulo, qui affirmat non missificum sacerdotem, vel bonum vel malum, suo opere, sed Agnum Dei et Filium Dei tollere peccata nostra.

8] Quodsi quis fucum facere et praetendere vellet, se ex devotione sibi ipsi communionem exhibere velle, is longe erraret, nec [R. 307 serio et ex animo loqueretur. Communio enim vera et certa est in sacramento, quae fit secundum institutionem Christi. Se ipsum autem communicare humana persuasio est, incerta et non necessaria, imo prohibita. Nescit enim ille, quid faciat, quum absque Verbo Dei opinioni et figmento humano obsequatur. Non **9]** etiam recte facit is (etiamsi res alioqui plana esset), qui sacramentum proprium ecclesiae, extra ecclesiae communionem, sine Verbo Dei, ex propria quadam devotione et affectione usurpare vult.

10] In hoc articulo de missa concilium potissimum sudabit et consummabitur. Etsi enim possibile esset, ut omnes reliquos articulos nobis concederent, tamen hunc concedere non poterunt, quemadmodum Campegius Augustae dixit, se prius omnia tormenta, membrorum dilaniationem et mortem passurum, quam missam missam facturum esse. Et ego etiam per Dei opem in cineres corpus meum redigi et concremari patiar prius, quam ut missarium ventrem, vel bonum vel malum, aequiparari Christo Iesu, Domino et Servatori meo, aut eo superiorem esse feram. Sic scilicet in aeternum disiungimur et contrarii invicem sumus. Sentiunt quidem optime, cadente missa cadere papatum. Hoc priusquam fieri patiantur, omnes nos trucidabunt, si poterunt.

11] *Ceterum draconis cauda ista (missam intelligo) peperit multiplices abominationes et idololatrias.*

12] Primo purgatorium. Missis enim pro animabus, item vigiliis, septimis, et tricesimis, anniversariis, exsequiis, postremo vulgari septimana et omnium animarum die, balneis, et quae his affinia sunt, innumeris aliis phantasiis, irruerunt in purgatorium. Sic missa propemodum pro solis defunctis fuit celebrata, quum tamen Christus sacramentum pro [R. 308 solis viventibus instituerit. Quapropter purgatorium, et quidquid ei solennitatis, cultus et quaestus adhaeret, mera diaboli larva est. Pugnat enim cum primo articulo, qui docet Christum solum, et non hominum opera, animas liberare. Et constat etiam de mortuis nihil nobis divinitus mandatum esse. Idcirco tuto omitti illud omne potest, etiamsi nihil erroris et idololatriae ei inesset.

13] Pontificii allegant Augustinum et quosdam patres, qui de purgatorio scripserint, et non putant nos intelligere, ad quid et quare

to reconcile himself and others to God, and to obtain and merit the remission of sins and grace (for thus the Mass is observed when it is observed at the very best; otherwise what purpose would it serve?), for this very reason it must and should [certainly] be condemned and rejected. For this directly conflicts with the chief article, which says that it is not a wicked or a godly hireling of the Mass with his own work, but the Lamb of God and the Son of God, that taketh away our sins.

But if any one should advance the pretext that as an act of devotion he wishes to administer the Sacrament, or Communion, to himself, he is not in earnest [he would commit a great mistake, and would not be speaking seriously and sincerely]. For if he wishes to commune in sincerity, the surest and best way for him is in the Sacrament administered according to Christ's institution. But that one administer communion to himself is a human notion, uncertain, unnecessary, yea, even prohibited. And he does not know what he is doing, because without the Word of God he obeys a false human opinion and invention. So, too, it is not right (even though the matter were otherwise correct) for one to use the common Sacrament of [belonging to] the Church according to his own private devotion, and without God's Word and apart from the communion of the Church to trifle therewith.

This article concerning the Mass will be the whole business of the Council. [The Council will perspire most over, and be occupied with, this article concerning the Mass.] For if it were [although it would be] possible for them to concede to us all the other articles, yet they could not concede this. As Campegius said at Augsburg that he would be torn to pieces before he would relinquish the Mass, so, by the help of God, I, too, would suffer myself to be reduced to ashes before I would allow a hireling of the Mass, be he good or bad, to be made equal to Christ Jesus, my Lord and Savior, or to be exalted above Him. Thus we are and remain eternally separated and opposed to one another. They feel well enough that when the Mass falls, the Papacy lies in ruins. Before they will permit this to occur, they will put us all to death if they can.

In addition to all this, this dragon's tail, [I mean] the Mass, has begotten a numerous vermin-brood of manifold idolatries.

First, purgatory. Here they carried their trade into purgatory by masses for souls, and vigils, and weekly, monthly, and yearly celebrations of obsequies, and finally by the Common Week and All Souls' Day, by soul-baths so that the Mass is used almost alone for the dead, although Christ has instituted the Sacrament alone for the living. Therefore purgatory, and every solemnity, rite, and commerce connected with it, is to be regarded as nothing but a specter of the devil. For it conflicts with the chief article [which teaches] that only Christ, and not the works of men, are to help [set free] souls. Not to mention the fact that nothing has been [divinely] commanded or enjoined upon us concerning the dead. Therefore all this may be safely omitted, even if it were no error and idolatry.

The Papists quote here Augustine and some of the Fathers who are said to have written concerning purgatory, and they think that we do not understand for what purpose and to what end they spoke as they did. St. Augus-

wozu und wohin sie solche Sprüche führen. St. Augustinus schreibt nicht, daß ein Fegfeuer sei, hat auch keine Schrift, die ihn dazu zwinge, sondern läßt es in Zweifel hangen, ob eins sei, und sagt, seine Mutter habe begehrt, daß man ihrer sollte gedenken bei dem Altar oder Sakrament. Nun, solches alles ist ja nichts denn Menschenandacht gewesen einzelner Personen, die keine Artikel des Glaubens (welches allein Gott zugehört) stiften.

Aber unsere Papisten führen solch Menschenwort dahin, daß man solle glauben ihrem schändlichen, lästerlichen, verfluchten Jahrmarkt von Seelmessen ins Fegfeuer zu opfern usw. Solches werden sie noch lange nicht aus St. Augustino beweisen. Wenn sie nun den fegfeuerischen Messenjahrmarkt abgetan haben, davon St. Augustinus nie geträumt hat, alsdann wollen wir mit ihnen reden, ob St. Augustinus' Wort ohne Schrift möge zu dulden sein und der Toten gedacht werden bei dem Sakrament. Es gilt nicht, daß man aus der heiligen Väter Werken oder Worten Artikel des Glaubens macht, sonst müßte auch ein Artikel des Glaubens werden, was sie für Speise, Kleider, Häuser usw. gehabt hätten, wie man mit dem Heiligtum [Reliquien] getan hat. Es heißt, Gottes Wort soll Artikel des Glaubens stellen und sonst niemand, auch kein Engel.

Zum andern ist das daraus gefolgt, daß die bösen Geister haben viel Büberei angerichtet, daß sie als Menschenseelen erschienen sind, Messen, Vigilien, Wallfahrten und andere Almosen geheischt mit unsäglichen Lügen und Schalkheiten. Welches wir alle haben für Artikel des Glaubens halten und danach leben müssen, und der Papst [hat] solches bestätigt, wie auch die Messe und alle andern Greuel. Hier ist auch kein Weichen oder Nachlassen.

Zum dritten die Wallfahrten. Da hat man auch gesucht Messen, Vergebung der Sünden und Gottes Gnade; denn die Messe hat's alles regiert. Nun ist das ja gewiß, daß solche Wallfahrten ohne Gottes Wort uns nicht geboten, auch nicht vonnöten [sind], weil wir's wohl besser haben mögen und sie ohne alle Sünde und [Ge]fahr lassen mögen. Warum läßt man denn daheim eigene Pfarren, Gottes Wort, Weib und Kind usw., die nötig und geboten sind, und läuft den unnötigen, ungewissen, schädlichen Teufelsirrwischen nach? Ohne daß der Teufel den Papst geritten hat, solches zu preisen und [zu] bestätigen, damit die Leute ja häufig von Christo auf ihre eigenen Werke fielen und abgöttisch würden, welches das Ärgste dran ist, über das, daß es unnötig, ungeboten, ungeraten und ungewiß, dazu schädlich Ding ist. Darum ist hier auch kein Weichen oder Nachgeben usw. Und man lasse solches predigen, daß es unnötig, dazu [ge]fährlich sei; danach [wird man] sehen, wo Wallfahrten bleiben.

Zum vierten die Brüderschaften, da sich die Klöster, Stifte, auch Vikaristen haben verschrieben und mitgeteilt (rechtes und redliches Kaufs) alle Messen, gute Werke usw., beide für Lebendige und

sic illi locuti sint. Augustinus non scribit esse purgatorium, nec etiam habet testimonium Scripturae, quo nitatur, sed in dubio relinquit, num sit, et inquit matrem suam petisse, ut sui commemoratio fieret ad altare sive sacramentum. At hoc in universum nihil nisi hominum, et quidem unius atque alterius, devotio fuit, non constituens articulum fidei, id quod solius Dei est.

14] Nostri autem pontificii sententias istas hominum citant, ut fides habeatur tetris, blasphemis et maledictis nundinationibus de missis pro animabus in purgatorio, seu de inferiis et oblationibus etc. Sed ex Augustino nunquam ista probabunt. Et quum nundinationes istas et missas purgatorio destinatas aboleverint, quae ne per somnium quidem Augustino in mentem venerunt, colloquemur tandem cum illis, an Augustini dicta, destituta Verbo, sint admittenda, et an mortuorum commemoratio ad eucharistiam sit facienda.
15] Ex patrum enim verbis et factis non sunt exstruendi articuli fidei, alioquin etiam articulus fidei fieret victus ipsorum, vestimentorum ratio, domus etc., quemadmodum cum reliquiis sanctorum luserunt. Regulam autem aliam habemus, ut videlicet Verbum Dei condat articulos fidei, et praeterea nemo, ne angelus quidem.

16] Secundo. Hoc etiam inde evenit, ut cacodaemones malitiam suam exercerent, et ceu animae defunctorum apparerent, [R. 309 missas, vigilias, peregrinationes et eleemosynas exigerent, horrendis mendaciis et ludi-
17] briis. Quae omnia oportuit nos pro articulis fidei recipere et vitam secundum illa instituere, atque haec papa confirmavit, sicut et missam et alias abominationes omnes. In his ergo cedere aut aliquid concedere nec possumus nec debemus.

18] Tertio. Ortae inde sunt peregrinationes. Ad has etiam postulatae sunt missae, remissio peccatorum et gratia Dei. Missa enim omnia gubernavit. Constat autem certo, peregrinationes istius modi carentes Verbo Dei nobis mandatas non esse, nec esse necessarias, quum melius ad animae curam pervenire, et sine peccato et periculo peregrinationes illas omittere possimus. Cur domi vocationes, parochiae, Verbum Dei, uxores et liberi etc. deseruntur, quorum cura necessaria et mandata est, et non necessarii, incerti, periculosi et diabolici ignes vere fatui seu errores
19] illis praeferuntur? Sic scilicet Satanas papam dementavit, ut ista laudaret et stabiliret, et multi magno numero a Christo ad propria sua opera desciscerent et idolatrae [idololatrae] fierent, quod omnium pessimum est, quum alioqui res ipsa per se nec necessaria nec praecepta sit, sed consilio et certitudine destituatur et plane noxia sit. Quamobrem hic cedere aut concedere aliquid non
20] licet etc. Atque hoc pro concione doceatur peregrinationes istas esse non necessarias, sed perniciosas, et postea videatur, ubinam peregrinationes maneant. Sic enim sponte corruent.

21] Quarto. Fraternitates seu societates. Coenobia enim, canonicatus et vicaristae scriptis se obligarunt et communicaverunt (contractu certo et emptione confirmata) missas

tine does not write that there is a purgatory, nor has he a testimony of Scripture to constrain him thereto, but he leaves it in doubt whether there is one, and says that his mother asked to be remembered at the altar or Sacrament. Now, all this is indeed nothing but the devotion of men, and that, too, of individuals, and does not establish an article of faith, which is the prerogative of God alone.

Our Papists, however, cite such statements [opinions] of men in order that men should believe in their horrible, blasphemous, and cursed traffic in masses for souls in purgatory [or in sacrifices for the dead and oblations], etc. But they will never prove these things from Augustine. Now, when they have abolished the traffic in masses for purgatory, of which Augustine never dreamt, we will then discuss with them whether the expressions of Augustine without Scripture [being without the warrant of the Word] are to be admitted, and whether the dead should be remembered at the Eucharist. For it will not do to frame articles of faith from the works or words of the holy Fathers; otherwise their kind of fare, of garments, of house, etc., would have to become an article of faith, as was done with relics. [We have, however, another rule, namely] The rule is: The Word of God shall establish articles of faith, and no one else, not even an angel.

Secondly. From this it has followed that evil spirits have perpetrated much knavery [exercised their malice] by appearing as the souls of the departed, and with unspeakable [horrible] lies and tricks demanded masses, vigils, pilgrimages, and other alms. All of which we had to receive as articles of faith, and to live accordingly; and the Pope confirmed these things, as also the Mass and all other abominations. Here, too, there is no [cannot and must not be any] yielding or surrendering.

Thirdly. [Hence arose] the pilgrimages. Here, too, masses, the remission of sins and the grace of God were sought, for the Mass controlled everything. Now it is indeed certain that such pilgrimages, without the Word of God, have not been commanded us, neither are they necessary, since we can have these things [the soul can be cared for] in a better way, and can omit these pilgrimages without any sin and danger. Why, therefore, do they leave at home [desert] their own parish [their called ministers, their parishes], the Word of God, wives, children, etc., who are ordained and [attention to whom is necessary and has been] commanded, and run after these unnecessary, uncertain, pernicious will-o'-the-wisps of the devil [and errors]? Unless the devil was riding [made insane] the Pope, causing him to praise and establish these practises, whereby the people again and again revolted from Christ to their own works, and became idolaters, which is worst of all; moreover, it is neither necessary nor commanded, but is senseless and doubtful, and besides harmful. Hence here, too, there can be no yielding or surrendering [to yield or concede anything here is not lawful], etc. And let this be preached, that such pilgrimages are not necessary, but dangerous; and then see what will become of them. [For thus they will perish of their own accord.]

Fourthly. Fraternities [or societies], in which cloisters, chapters, vicars have assigned and communicated (by a legal contract and sale) all masses and good works, etc., both

Tote; welches nicht allein eitel Menschentand, ohne Gottes Wort, ganz unnötig und ungeboten, sondern auch wider den ersten Artikel der Erlösung ist, darum keineswegs zu leiden.

Zum fünften das Heiligtum, darin so manche öffentliche Lügen und Narrenwerk erfunden, von Hunds- und Roßknochen, das auch um solcher Büberei willen, des der Teufel gelacht hat, längst sollte verdammt worden sein, wenngleich etwas Gutes dran wäre; dazu [kommt, daß es] auch ohne Gottes Wort, weder geboten noch geraten, ganz unnötig und unnütz Ding ist. Aber das Ärgste [ist], daß es auch hat müssen Ablaß und Vergebung der Sünden wirken, als ein gut Werk und Gottesdienst, wie die Messe usw.

Zum sechsten, hier gehört her der liebe Ablaß, so beide den Lebendigen und Toten ist gegeben (doch um Geld), und der leidige Judas oder Papst das Verdienst Christi samt den übrigen Verdiensten aller Heiligen und der ganzen Kirche darin verkauft usw. Welches alles nicht zu leiden ist und auch nicht allein ohne Gottes Wort, ohne Not, ungeboten, sondern zuwider ist dem ersten Artikel. Denn Christus' Verdienst nicht durch unser Werk oder Pfennig, sondern durch den Glauben aus Gnaden erlangt wird, ohne alles Geld und Verdienst, nicht durch's Papsts Gewalt, sondern durch die Predigt oder Gottes Wort vorgetragen.

Von Anrufung der Heiligen.

Anrufung der Heiligen ist auch der endechristischen [antichristischen] Mißbräuche einer und streitet wider den ersten Hauptartikel und tilgt die Erkenntnis Christi, ist auch nicht geboten noch geraten, hat auch kein Exempel der Schrift, und haben's alles tausendmal besser an Christo, wenn jenes gleich köstlich Gut wäre, als doch nicht ist.

Und wiewohl die Engel im Himmel für uns bitten (wie Christus selber auch tut), also auch die Heiligen auf Erden oder vielleicht auch im Himmel, so folgt daraus nicht, daß wir die Engel und Heiligen anrufen, anbeten, ihnen fasten, feiern, Messe halten, opfern, Kirchen, Altar, Gottesdienst stiften und [auf] andere Weise mehr dienen und sie für Nothelfer halten und allerlei Hilfe unter sie teilen und jeglichem eine sonderliche zueignen sollten, wie die Papisten lehren und tun. Denn das ist Abgötterei, und solche Ehre gehört Gott allein zu. Denn du kannst als ein Christ und Heiliger auf Erden für mich bitten, nicht in einerlei, sondern in allen Nöten. Aber darum soll ich dich nicht anbeten, anrufen, feiern, fasten, opfern, Messe halten dir zu Ehren und auf dich meinen Glauben zur Seligkeit setzen. Ich kann dich sonst [auf andere Weise] wohl ehren, lieben und dir danken in Christo. Wenn nun solche abgöttische Ehre von den Engeln und toten Heiligen weggetan wird, so wird die andere Ehre ohne Schaden sein, ja bald vergessen werden. Denn wo der Nutz und Hilfe, beide leiblich und geistlich, nicht mehr zu hoffen ist, werden sie die Heiligen wohl mit Frieden lassen, beide im Grabe und im Himomnes et bona opera etc. pro vivis et mortuis. Hoc non tantum prorsus humanum figmentum est, sine Verbo Dei, non necessarium, non mandatum, sed etiam contra prima- [R. 310
rium articulum redemptionis. Quare nec admittendum nec ferendum.

22] Quinto. Reliquiae sanctorum refertae multis mendaciis, ineptiis et fatuitatibus. Canum et equorum ossa ibi saepe reperta sunt. Et licet aliquid forte laudandum fuisset, tamen propter imposturas istas, quae diabolo risum excitarunt, iamdudum damnari debuissent, quum praesertim careant Verbo Dei, et non necessariae et inutiles sint. Est-
23] que hoc omnium teterrimum, quod finxerunt istas reliquias indulgentiam et remissionem peccatorum operari, et loco cultus Dei et boni operis, sicut missam, illas venerati sunt etc.

24] Sexto. Huc pertinent indulgentiae vivis et defunctis pro pecunia attributae, quibus sacrilegus et damnatus ille Iudas seu papa meritum Christi et merita superflua omnium sanctorum et totius ecclesiae vendidit etc., quae omnia et singula nequaquam ferenda sunt, quia carent Verbo Dei, non sunt mandata, non sunt necessaria, sed pugnant cum articulo primo. Meritum enim Christi non nostris operibus aut nummis, sed per fidem ex gratia apprehenditur et obtinetur sine pecunia et merito, non per papae potestatem, sed per praedicationem Verbi Dei oblatum et propositum.

De Invocatione Sanctorum.

25] Invocatio sanctorum est etiam pars abusuum et errorum antichristi, pugnans cum primo principali articulo et delens agnitionem Christi. Non etiam est mandata, nec consilio nec exemplo nec testimonio Scripturae nititur. Omnia in Christo melius et certius nobis sunt proposita, ut non egeamus invocatione sanctorum, etiamsi res pretiosa esset, quum tamen sit res maxime perniciosa.

Etsi angeli in coelo pro nobis orent [R. 311
26] (sicut ipse quoque Christus facit) et sancti in terris et fortassis etiam in coelis, tamen inde non sequitur angelos et sanctos a nobis esse invocandos, adorandos, ieiuniis, feriis, missis, oblationibus, templorum, altarium, cultuum fundationibus et aliis modis honorandos, ut patronos et intercessores, et unicuique eorum certa auxilia esse tribuenda, ut papistae docent et faciunt. Hoc enim idololatricum est, et hic honos soli Deo tribuendus est.
27] Potes quidem ut Christianus et sanctus in terris pro me orare, non in una tantum, sed in omni necessitate, propterea autem non debeo te adorare, invocare, ferias, ieiunia, oblationes, missas in tui honorem et cultum celebrare et fidem ad salutem meam tibi mancipare, quum aliis modis te honorare, diligere et tibi gratias agere in Christo possim. Hic
28] ergo idololatricus cultus de angelis et defunctis sanctis si sublatus fuerit, reliqua veneratio periculo carebit et cito oblivioni tradetur. Ubi enim spes commodi et subsidii corporalis et spiritualis adempta fuerit, ibi cultus sanctorum facile evanescet, sive illi sint

for the living and the dead. This is not only altogether a human bauble, without the Word of God, entirely unnecessary and not commanded, but also contrary to the chief article, Of Redemption. Therefore it is in no way to be tolerated.

Fifthly. The relics, in which there are found so many falsehoods and tomfooleries concerning the bones of dogs and horses, that even the devil has laughed at such rascalities, ought long ago to have been condemned, even though there were some good in them; and so much the more because they are without the Word of God; being neither commanded nor counseled, they are an entirely unnecessary and useless thing. But the worst is that [they have imagined that] these relics had to work indulgence and the forgiveness of sins [and have revered them] as a good work and service of God, like the Mass, etc.

Sixthly. Here belong the precious indulgences granted (but only for money) both to the living and the dead, by which the miserable [sacrilegious and accursed] Judas, or Pope, has sold the merit of Christ, together with the superfluous merits of all saints and of the entire Church, etc. All these things [and every single one of them] are not to be borne, and are not only without the Word of God, without necessity, not commanded, but are against the chief article. For the merit of Christ is [apprehended and] obtained not by our works or pence, but from grace through faith, without money and merit; and is offered [and presented] not through the power of the Pope, but through the preaching of God's Word.

Of the Invocation of Saints.

The invocation of saints is also one of the abuses of Antichrist conflicting with the chief article, and destroys the knowledge of Christ. Neither is it commanded nor counseled, nor has it any example [or testimony] in Scripture, and even though it were a precious thing, as it is not [while, on the contrary, it is a most harmful thing], in Christ we have everything a thousandfold better [and surer, so that we are not in need of calling upon the saints].

And although the angels in heaven pray for us (as Christ Himself also does), as also do the saints on earth, and perhaps also in heaven, yet it does not follow thence that we should invoke and adore the angels and saints, and fast, hold festivals, celebrate Mass in their honor, make offerings, and establish churches, altars, divine worship, and in still other ways serve them, and regard them as helpers in need [as patrons and intercessors], and divide among them all kinds of help, and ascribe to each one a particular form of assistance, as the Papists teach and do. For this is idolatry, and such honor belongs alone to God. For as a Christian and saint upon earth you can pray for me, not only in one, but in many necessities. But for this reason I am not obliged to adore and invoke you, and celebrate festivals, fast, make oblations, hold masses for your honor [and worship], and put my faith in you for my salvation. I can in other ways indeed honor, love, and thank you in Christ. If now such idolatrous honor were withdrawn from angels and departed saints, the remaining honor would be without harm and would quickly be forgotten. For when advantage and assistance, both bodily and spiritual, are no more to be expected, the saints will not be troubled [the worship of the saints will soon vanish], neither in their graves nor in heaven. For without a reward

mel. Denn umsonst oder aus Liebe wird ihrer niemand viel gedenken, achten noch [sie] ehren.

Und die Summa: Was die Messe ist, was daraus [ge]kommen ist, was daran hanget, das können wir nicht leiden und müssen's verdammen, damit wir das heilige Sakrament rein und gewiß, nach der Einsetzung Christi, durch den Glauben gebraucht und empfangen, behalten mögen.

Der III. Artikel. Von Stiften und Klöstern.

Daß die **Stifte** und **Klöster,** vorzeiten guter Meinung gestiftet, zu erziehen gelehrte Leute und züchtige Weibsbilder, sollten wiederum in solchem [Ge]Brauch geordnet werden, damit man Pfarrherren, Prediger und andere Kirchendiener haben möge, auch sonst nötige Personen zu weltlichem Regiment in Städten und Ländern, auch wohlgezogene Jungfrauen zu Hausmüttern und Haushälterinnen usw.

Wo sie dazu nicht dienen wollen, ist's besser, man lasse sie wüste liegen oder reiße sie ein, denn daß sie sollten mit ihrem lästerlichen Gottesdienst, durch Menschen erdichtet, als etwas Besseres denn der gemeine Christenstand und von Gott gestiftete Ämter und Orden [Berufe] gehalten werden. Denn das ist alles auch wider den ersten Hauptartikel von der Erlösung JEsu Christi. Zudem, daß sie auch (wie alle andern Menschenfündlein) nicht geboten, nicht vonnöten, nicht nütze, dazu [ge]fährliche und vergebliche Mühe machen, wie die Propheten solche Gottesdienste Aven, das ist, Mühe, heißen.

Der IV. Artikel. Vom Papsttum.

Daß der Papst nicht sei iure divino oder aus Gottes Wort das Haupt der ganzen Christenheit (denn das gehört einem allein zu, der heißt JEsus Christus), sondern allein Bischof oder Pfarrherr der Kirche zu Rom und derjenigen, so sich williglich oder durch menschliche Kreatur (das ist, weltliche Obrigkeit), zu ihm begeben haben, nicht unter ihm als einem Herrn, sondern neben ihm als Brüder und Gesellen, Christen zu sein, wie solches auch die alten Konzilia und die Zeit St. Cypriani weisen [zeigen].

Jetzt aber darf kein Bischof den Papst Bruder heißen wie zu der Zeit, sondern muß ihn seinen allergnädigsten Herrn heißen, wenn's auch ein König oder Kaiser wäre. Das wollen, sollen und können wir nicht auf unser Gewissen nehmen; wer es aber tun will, der tue es ohne uns.

Hieraus folgt, daß alle dasjenige, so der Papst aus solcher falscher, freveler, lästerlicher, angemaßter Gewalt getan und vorgenommen hat, eitel teuflisch Geschichte und Geschäft gewesen und noch sei (ohne was das leibliche Regiment belangt, darin Gott auch wohl durch einen Tyrannen und Buben läßt einem Volk viel Gutes geschehen), zu Verderbung der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirche

in sepulcris sive in coelis. Frustra enim aut ex mera caritate nemo ipsorum facile recordabitur, nec eos colet et honore divino afficiet.

29] Summatim: Quidquid missa pontificia est, et quidquid habet, quod ex ea natum est, et quidquid ei adhaeret, id universum ferre non possumus, sed damnare cogimur, ut venerandum sacramentum, purum et certum, secundum institutionem Christi, per fidem usurpatum et acceptum, retinere possimus.

III. Articulus. De Collegiis Canonicorum, Cathedralibus et Monasteriis.

1] *Collegia canonicorum* et *coenobia* [R. 312 olim optima intentione maiorum fundata ad educandos viros doctos et castas ac modestas feminas, debebant rursum converti in talem usum, ut pastores, concionatores et alii ecclesiarum ministri haberi possent, item alii idonei ad politicam administrationem sive ad rempublicam, in civitatibus et regionibus, ac pie educatae virgines ad oeconomiam et liberorum educationem etc.

2] Hunc usum si non retineant, consultum est, ut vasta deserantur aut diruantur potius, quam ut idololatricis cultibus et figmentis hominum propagata praeferantur Christianae vitae et a Deo mandatis officiis et vocationibus. Haec enim omnia pugnant cum primo principali articulo de redemptione, facta per Iesum Christum. Quid, quod, sicut alia hominum somnia, non sunt praecepta, non necessaria, non utilia, sed periculosa, et causam praebent vano labori, molestiis periculosis et cultui infrugifero, quem prophetae appellant Aven, id est, dolorem et laborem.

IV. Articulus de Papatu docet,

1] Quod *papa non sit iure divino seu secundum Verbum Dei caput totius Christianitatis* (hoc enim nomen uni et soli Iesu Christo debetur), sed tantum episcopus et pastor ecclesiae, quae est Romae, et eorum, qui voluntarie et sponte vel per humanam creaturam, id est, politicum magistratum, se ad eum conferunt, non ut sub ipso tamquam sub domino vivant, sed ut cum eo tamquam fratres, collegae, sodales et Christiani sint, quemadmodum hoc ipsum vetera concilia et aetas Cypriani ostendunt.

2] Hodie vero nullus episcoporum audet papam nominare fratrem, ut aetate Cypriani factum est, sed oportet, ut episcopi, imo Caesares et reges papam appellent omnium gratiosissimum dominum. Hanc arrogantiam bona conscientia nec volumus nec possumus nec debemus probare. Qui vero se ei subiicere voluerit, faciat id suo periculo sine nobis.

3] Hinc sequitur, omnia, quae papa [R. 313 ex tam arrogante, temeraria, mendace, blasphema et furto arrepta potestate suscepit et fecit et adhuc facit, fuisse et esse mere diabolica acta et instituta (excepta politici regni administratione, ubi Deus saepe etiam per tyrannos et perfidos nebulones populo alicui benefacit) ad perditionem totius sanctae ec-

or out of pure love no one will much remember, or esteem, or honor them [bestow on them divine honor].

In short, the Mass itself and anything that proceeds from it, and anything that is attached to it, we cannot tolerate, but must condemn, in order that we may retain the holy Sacrament pure and certain, according to the institution of Christ, employed and received through faith.

Article III: Of Chapters and Cloisters.

That *chapters* and *cloisters* [colleges of canons and communistic dwellings], which were formerly founded with the good intention [of our forefathers] to educate learned men and chaste [and modest] women, ought again to be turned to such use, in order that pastors, preachers, and other ministers of the churches may be had, and likewise other necessary persons [fitted] for [the political administration of] the secular government [or for the commonwealth] in cities and countries, and well-educated maidens for mothers and housekeepers, etc.

If they will not serve this purpose, it is better that they be abandoned or razed, rather than [continued and], with their blasphemous services invented by men, regarded as something better than the ordinary Christian life and the offices and callings ordained by God. For all this also is contrary to the first chief article concerning the redemption made through Jesus Christ. Add to this that (like all other human inventions) these have neither been commanded; they are needless and useless, and, besides, afford occasion for dangerous and vain labor [dangerous annoyances and fruitless worship], such services as the prophets call *Aven, i. e.*, pain and labor.

Article IV: Of the Papacy.

That *the Pope is not, according to divine law or according to the Word of God the head of all Christendom* (for this [name] belongs to One only, whose name is Jesus Christ), but is only the bishop and pastor of the Church at Rome, and of those who voluntarily or through a human creature (that is, a political magistrate) have attached themselves to him, to be Christians, not under him as a lord, but with him as brethren [colleagues] and comrades, as the ancient councils and the age of St. Cyprian show.

But to-day none of the bishops dare to address the Pope as brother as was done at that time [in the age of Cyprian]; but they must call him most gracious lord, even though they be kings or emperors. This [Such arrogance] we will not, cannot, must not take upon our conscience [with a good conscience approve]. Let him, however, who will do it, do so without us [at his own risk].

Hence it follows that all things which the Pope, from a power so false, mischievous, blasphemous, and arrogant, has done and undertaken, have been and still are purely diabolical affairs and transactions (with the exception of such things as pertain to the secular government, where God often permits much good to be effected for a people, even through a tyrant and [faithless] scoundrel) for the ruin of the entire holy [catholic or]

(soviel an ihm gelegen) und zu verstören den ersten Hauptartikel von der Erlösung JEsu Christi.

Denn da stehen alle seine Bullen und Bücher, darin er brüllt wie ein Löwe (als der Engel Apok. 12 bildet), daß kein Christ könne selig werden, er sei denn ihm gehorsam und untertan in allen Dingen, was er will, was er sagt, was er tut. Welches alles nichts anderes ist, denn also viel gesagt: Wenn du gleich an Christum glaubst und alles an ihm hast, was zur Seligkeit not ist, so ist's doch nichts und alles umsonst, wo du mich nicht für deinen Gott hältst, mir untertan und gehorsam bist, so es doch offenbarlich ist, daß die heilige Kirche ohne Papst gewesen zum wenigsten über fünfhundert Jahre, und bis auf diesen Tag die griechische und viel anderer Sprachen Kirchen noch nie unter dem Papst gewesen und noch nicht sind. So ist's, wie oft gesagt, ein Menschengedicht, das nicht geboten, ohne Not und vergeblich [ist]; denn die heilige christliche Kirche ohne solch Haupt wohl bleiben kann und wohl besser geblieben wäre, wo solch Haupt durch den Teufel nicht aufgeworfen wäre. Und ist auch das Papsttum kein nütze in der Kirche, denn es übt kein christlich Amt, und muß also die Kirche bleiben und bestehen ohne den Papst.

Und ich setze, daß der Papst wollte sich des begeben, daß er nicht iure divino oder aus Gottes Gebot der Oberste wäre, sondern, damit die Einigkeit der Christen wider die Rotten und Ketzerei desto baß [besser] erhalten würde, müßte man ein Haupt haben, daran sich die andern alle hielten; solches Haupt würde nun durch Menschen erwählt und stünde in menschlicher Wahl und Gewalt, dasselbe Haupt zu ändern, zu entsetzen, wie zu Konstanz das Konzilium fast die [ungefähr diese] Weise hielt mit den Päpsten, setzten der dreie ab und wählten den vierten; ich setze nun, sage ich, daß sich der Papst und der Stuhl zu Rom solches begeben und annehmen wollte (welches doch unmöglich ist; denn er müßte sein ganz Regiment und Stand lassen umkehren und zerstören mit allen seinen Rechten und Büchern; Summa, er kann's nicht tun): dennoch wäre damit der Christenheit nichts geholfen, und würden viel mehr Rotten werden denn zuvor.

Denn weil man solchem Haupt nicht müßte untertan sein aus Gottes Befehl, sondern aus menschlichem guten Willen, würde es gar leichtlich und bald verachtet, zuletzt kein Glied behalten, müßte auch nicht immerdar zu Rom oder anderm Ort sein, sondern wo und in welcher Kirche Gott einen solchen Mann hätte gegeben, der tüchtig dazu wäre. O, das wollte ein weitläuftig, wüstes Wesen werden!

Darum kann die Kirche nimmermehr baß [besser] regiert und erhalten werden, denn daß wir alle unter einem Haupt, Christo, leben, und die Bischöfe alle, gleich nach dem Amt (ob sie wohl ungleich nach den Gaben), fleißig zusammenhalten in einträchtiger Lehre, Glauben, Sakramenten, Gebeten und Werken der Liebe usw.; wie St. Hieronymus schreibt, daß die Priester zu

clesiae catholicae seu Christianae (quantum in ipso est) et ad destructionem primi et praecipui articuli de redemptione facta per Iesum Christum.

4] Prostant enim omnes ipsius bullae et libri, in quibus rugit ut leo (ut angelus Apoc. 12, 1 sqq. significat), clamitans neminem Christianorum posse salvari, nisi ei obediat et subiectus sit in omnibus, quaecunque vult, quaecunque dicit, quaecunque facit. Hoc totum quid aliud dictum est nisi: Licet in Christum credas et omnia, quae ad salutem necessaria sunt, in ipso solo habeas, tamen te nihil proficere, nisi papam habeas et eolas ut Deum tuum et ei subditus sis et obedias? Quum tamen manifestum sit sanctam ecclesiam sine papa fuisse ad minimum ultra quingentos annos, et adhuc hodie Graecorum et multarum aliarum linguarum ecclesias nec fuisse hactenus, nec adhuc esse sub papa. 5] Taceo, quod, ut saepe dictum est, hominum hoc figmentum sit, non mandatum, non necessarium, non utile. Sancta enim Christiana sive catholica ecclesia consistere absque isto capite optime potest, et constitisset certe rectius, ac melius cum ea ageretur, nisi diabolus illud caput in medium proiecisset et 6] exaltasset. Et certum est papatum nullius esse usus in ecclesia, quia nullum ecclesiasticum officium exercet. Et necesse est, ecclesiam permanere et consistere sine papa.

7] Pono autem, papam fateri se non iure divino sive ex mandato Dei esse supremum, sed, ut concordia et unitas Christianorum adversus sectarios et haereticos commodius conservari possit, caput certum esse eligendum, cui ceteri omnes quasi innitantur, [R. 314 atque tale caput per homines eligi, et in hominum quoque electione et potestate situm esse, illud caput ut mutet et semoveat, sicut Constantiense concilium hac propemodum ratione tres papas removit et quartum elegit; pono, inquam, haec a papa et sede Romana ita dici et accipi (quod tamen impossibile est, sic enim universum suum regnum et statum immutari, everti et destrui pateretur omniaque iura et volumina sua, id quod, ut paucis dicam, nunquam faciet): tamen neque hoc modo consuleretur ecclesiae Christianae, sed plures quam antea sectae oriturae essent.

8] Si enim non ex mandato Dei, verum ex hominis libera voluntate capiti isti obedientia praestanda esset, facile et brevi tempore contemptum, tandem nullum membrum retineret, nec etiam perpetuo Romae aut quovis alio in loco illud esse oporteret, sed ubicunque et in quacunque ecclesia Deus virum talem, qui ad tantum munus obeundum idoneus esset, largiretur. Haec res perplexa et confusionis plena futura esset.

9] Quapropter ecclesia nunquam melius gubernari et conservari potest, quam si omnes sub uno capite, quod est Christus, vivamus, et episcopi omnes pares officio (licet dispares sint quoad dona) summa cum diligentia coniuncti sint unanimitate doctrinae, fidei, sacramentorum, orationis et operum caritatis etc., sicut S. Hieronymus scribit sacerdotes Alex-

Christian Church (so far as it is in his power) and for the destruction of the first and chief article concerning the redemption made through Jesus Christ.

For all his bulls and books are extant, in which he roars like a lion (as the angel in Rev. 12 depicts him, [crying out] that no Christian can be saved unless he obeys him and is subject to him in all things that he wishes, that he says, and that he does. All of which amounts to nothing less than saying: Although you believe in Christ, and have in Him [alone] everything that is necessary to salvation, yet it is nothing and all in vain unless you regard [have and worship] me as your god, and be subject and obedient to me. And yet it is manifest that the holy Church has been without the Pope for at least more than five hundred years, and that even to the present day the churches of the Greeks and of many other languages neither have been nor are yet under the Pope. Besides, as often remarked, it is a human figment which is not commanded, and is unnecessary and useless; for the holy Christian [or catholic] Church can exist very well without such a head, and it would certainly have remained better [purer, and its career would have been more prosperous] if such a head had not been raised up by the devil. And the Papacy is also of no use in the Church, because it exercises no Christian office; and therefore it is necessary for the Church to continue and to exist without the Pope.

And supposing that the Pope would yield this point, so as not to be supreme by divine right or from God's command, but that we must have [there must be elected] a [certain] head, to whom all the rest adhere [as their support] in order that the [concord and] unity of Christians may be preserved against sects and heretics, and that such a head were chosen by men, and that it were placed within the choice and power of men to change or remove this head, just as the Council of Constance adopted nearly this course with reference to the Popes, deposing three and electing a fourth; supposing, I say, that the Pope and See at Rome would yield and accept this (which, nevertheless, is impossible; for thus he would have to suffer his entire realm and estate to be overthrown and destroyed, with all his rights and books, a thing which, to speak in few words, he cannot do), nevertheless, even in this way Christianity would not be helped, but many more sects would arise than before.

For since men would have to be subject to this head, not from God's command, but from their personal good pleasure, it would easily and in a short time be despised, and at last retain no member; neither would it have to be forever confined to Rome or any other place, but it might be wherever and in whatever church God would grant a man fit for the [taking upon him such a great] office. Oh, the complicated and confused state of affairs [perplexity] that would result!

Therefore the Church can never be better governed and preserved than if we all live under one head, Christ, and all the bishops, equal in office (although they be unequal in gifts), be diligently joined in unity of doctrine, faith, Sacraments, prayer, and works of love, etc., as St. Jerome writes that the priests at Alexandria together and in common gov-

Alexandria sämtlich und insgemein die Kirche regierten, und [wie] die Apostel auch getan und hernach alle Bischöfe in der ganzen Christenheit, bis der Papst seinen Kopf über alle erhob.

Dies Stück zeigt gewaltiglich, daß er der rechte Endechrist oder Widerchrist sei, der sich über und wider Christum gesetzt und erhöht hat, weil er will die Christen nicht lassen selig sein ohne seine Gewalt, welche doch nichts ist, von Gott nicht geordnet noch geboten. Das heißt eigentlich „über Gott und wider Gott sich setzen", wie St. Paulus sagt 2 Thess. 2. Solches tut dennoch der Türke noch Tatter [Tatar] nicht, wie große Feinde sie der Christen sind, sondern lassen glauben an Christum, wer da will, und nehmen leiblichen Zins und Gehorsam von den Christen.

Aber der Papst will nicht lassen glauben, sondern spricht, man solle ihm gehorsam sein, so werde man selig. Das wollen wir nicht tun, oder drüber sterben in Gottes Namen. Das kommt alles daher, daß er iure divino der Oberste hat sollen heißen über die christliche Kirche. Darum hat er sich müssen Christo gleich und über Christum setzen, sich das Haupt, hernach einen Herrn der Kirche, zuletzt auch der ganzen Welt und schlecht [schlechthin] einen irdischen Gott rühmen lassen, bis er auch den Engeln im Himmelreich zu gebieten sich unterstand. Und wenn man unterscheidet des Papstes Lehre von der Heiligen Schrift oder sie dagegen stellt und hält, so findet sich's, daß des Papstes Lehre, wo sie am allerbesten ist, so ist sie aus dem kaiserlichen, heidnischen Recht genommen und lehrt weltliche Händel und Gerichte, wie seine Dekretales zeugen. Danach lehrt sie Zeremonien von Kirchen, Kleidern, Speisen, Personen und des Kinderspiels, Larven [Scheinwesens] und Narrenwerks ohne Maßen, aber in diesem allem gar nichts von Christo, Glauben und Gottes Geboten. Zuletzt ist's nichts denn eitel Teufel, da er seine Lügen von Messen, Fegfeuer, Klösterei, eigenem Werk und Gottesdienst (welches denn das rechte Papsttum ist) treibet über und wider Gott, verdammt, tötet und plagt alle Christen, so solchen seinen Greuel nicht über alles heben und ehren. Darum, sowenig wir den Teufel selbst für einen Herrn oder Gott anbeten können, so wenig können wir auch seinen Apostel, den Papst oder Endechrist, in seinem Regiment zum Haupt oder Herrn leiden. Denn Lügen und Mord, Leib und Seele zu verderben ewiglich, das ist sein päpstlich Regiment eigentlich, wie ich dasselbe in vielen Büchern bewiesen habe.

An diesen vier Artikeln werden sie genugsam zu verdammen haben im Konzilio; denn sie nicht das geringste Gliedlein von der Artikel einem uns lassen können noch wollen. Des müssen wir gewiß sein und uns erwägen [vertrauend hingeben] der Hoffnung, Christus, unser HErr, habe seinen Widersacher angegriffen und werde nachdrücken beide mit seinem Geist und Zukunft. Amen.

Denn im Konzilio werden wir nicht vor dem Kaiser oder weltlicher Obrigkeit wie zu Augsburg (der ganz ein gnädiges Ausschreiben tat und in der Güte ließ die Sachen verhören), sondern vor

andriae communi opera gubernasse ecclesias. Et apostoli idem fecerunt ac postea omnes episcopi in toto orbe Christiano, donec papa caput suum super omnes attolleret.

10] Haec doctrina praeclare ostendit papam esse ipsum verum antichristum, qui supra et contra Christum sese extulit et exvit, quandoquidem Christianos non vult esse salvos [R. 315 sine sua potestate, quae tamen nihil est et 11] a Deo nec ordinata nec mandata est. Hoc proprie loquendo est *se efferre supra et contra Deum*, sicut Paulus 2 Thess. 2, 4 loquitur. Et hoc profecto nec Turcae nec Tartari faciunt, quantumvis sint Christianorum atroces hostes, sed permittunt, ut credat in Christum, quicunque voluerit, et accipiunt tributum et obedientiam externam sive corporalem a Christianis.

12] Papa vero prohibet hanc fidem, aiens sibi obediendum esse, si quis salvari velit. Hoc autem facere nolumus, etiamsi nobis propterea moriendum sit in nomine Domini. Et 13] id in universum inde oritur, quod papa iure divino voluit esse summum caput Christianae ecclesiae. Ideo se ipsum Christo aequiparavit et supra Christum tandem extulit et se caput, deinde dominum ecclesiae, postea totius mundi et simpliciter terrestrem deum praedicare voluit, donec etiam ipsis angelis in coelo praecipere haec et illa cona-
14] retur. Et quum instituitur discrimen inter dogma papae et Sacram Scripturam et utriusque fit collatio, manifeste patet papae dogma, etiam optimum, ex civili, Caesareo et ethnico iure concinnatum esse, et politica negotia et iudicia seu iura tractare, sicut ostendunt decretales; deinde proponere ceremonias de templis, vestibus, cibis, personis et similibus ludicris, larvis et iocularibus supra modum, et inter haec omnia nihil plane de Christo, fide et mandatis Dei; postremo repraesentare ipsum diabolum, dum mendacia papalia de missis, purgatorio, monastica vita, operibus propriis et cultibus fictitiis (in quibus singulis merus papatus fundatur et consistit) supra et contra Deum urget et disseminat, et omnes Christianos, qui has papae abominationes, super omnia praedicare et honorare nolunt, damnat, trucidat, excruciat. Quare sicut diabolum ipsum non possumus adorare et pro Domino et Deo colere, [R. 316 ita nec eius apostolum, papam seu antichristum, in regno eius ut caput et dominum ferre possumus. Mentiri enim et occidere, animas et corpora in aeternum perdere pontificii regni proprium est, sicut hoc ipsum multis libris evidentissime ad oculum demonstravi.

15] Hi articuli quatuor sufficiunt, quos in concilio sibi damnandos proponant. Non enim vel minimum punctulum in his articulis nobis concedent. Et de hoc certos nos esse oportet et praemonitos ac obfirmatos firma spe, Christum, Dominum nostrum, irruisse in adversarium suum, quem et insecuturus et confecturus est Spiritu et adventu suo. Amen.

16] Nam in concilio stabimus non coram Caesare aut politico magistratu, sicut Augustae Vindelicorum (ubi Caesar clementissimum edictum promulgans, benigne et placide

erned the churches, as did also the apostles, and afterwards all bishops throughout all Christendom, until the Pope raised his head above all.

This teaching shows forcefully that the Pope is the very Antichrist, who has exalted himself above, and opposed himself against Christ, because he will not permit Christians to be saved without his power, which, nevertheless, is nothing, and is neither ordained nor commanded by God. This is, properly speaking, to *exalt himself above all that is called God*, as Paul says, 2 Thess. 2, 4. Even the Turks or the Tartars, great enemies of Christians as they are, do not do this, but they allow whoever wishes to believe in Christ, and take bodily tribute and obedience from Christians.

The Pope, however, prohibits this faith, saying that to be saved a person must obey him. This we are unwilling to do, even though on this account we must die in God's name. This all proceeds from the fact that the Pope has wished to be called the supreme head of the Christian Church by divine right. Accordingly he had to make himself equal and superior to Christ, and had to cause himself to be proclaimed the head and then the lord of the Church, and finally of the whole world, and simply God on earth, until he has dared to issue commands even to the angels in heaven. And when we distinguish the Pope's teaching from, or measure and hold it against, Holy Scripture, it is found [it appears plainly] that the Pope's teaching, where it is best, has been taken from the imperial and heathen law, and treats of political matters and decisions or rights, as the Decretals show; furthermore, it teaches of ceremonies concerning churches, garments, food, persons and [similar] puerile, theatrical and comical things without measure, but in all these things nothing at all of Christ, faith, and the commandments of God. Lastly, it is nothing else than the devil himself, because above and against God he urges [and disseminates] his [papal] falsehoods concerning masses, purgatory, the monastic life, one's own works and [fictitious] divine worship (for this is the very Papacy [upon each of which the Papacy is altogether founded and is standing]), and condemns, murders, and tortures all Christians who do not exalt and honor these abominations [of the Pope] above all things. Therefore, just as little as we can worship the devil himself as Lord and God, we can endure his apostle, the Pope, or Antichrist, in his rule as head or lord. For to lie and to kill, and to destroy body and soul eternally, that is wherein his papal government really consists, as I have very clearly shown in many books.

In these four articles they will have enough to condemn in the Council. For they cannot and will not concede us even the least point in one of these articles. Of this we should be certain, and animate ourselves with [be forewarned and made firm in] the hope that Christ, our Lord, has attacked His adversary, and he will press the attack home [pursue and destroy him] both by His Spirit and coming. Amen.

For in the Council we will stand not before the Emperor or the political magistrate, as at Augsburg (where the Emperor published a most gracious edict, and caused matters to be heard kindly [and dispassionately]), but

dem Papst und dem Teufel selbst werden wir dastehen, der nichts gedenkt zu hören, sondern schlechts [zu] verdammen, [zu] morden und zur Abgötterei zu zwingen. Darum müssen wir hier nicht seine Füße küssen oder sagen: Ihr seid mein gnädiger Herr! sondern wie im Zacharia [Sacharja] der Engel zum Teufel sprach: „Strafe dich Gott, Satan!"

Das dritte Teil der Artikel.

Folgende Stücke oder Artikel mögen wir mit Gelehrten, Vernünftigen oder unter uns selbst handeln. Der Papst und sein Reich achten derselben nicht viel; denn conscientia ist bei ihnen nichts, sondern Geld, Ehr' und Gewalt ist's gar.

I. Von der Sünde.

Hier müssen wir bekennen, wie St. Paulus Röm. 5 sagt, **daß die Sünde sei von Adam, dem einigen Menschen, hergekommen, durch welches Ungehorsam alle Menschen sind Sünder** [geworden], dem Tode und dem Teufel unterworfen. Dies heißt die Erbsünde oder Hauptsünde.

Solcher Sünde Früchte sind danach die bösen Werke, so in den zehn Geboten verboten sind, als Unglaube, falscher Glaube, Abgötterei, ohne Gottesfurcht sein, Vermessenheit, Verzweifeln, Blindheit und Summa, Gott nicht kennen oder achten; danach: lügen, bei Gottes Namen schwören, nicht beten, nicht anrufen, Gottes Wort nicht achten, Eltern ungehorsam sein, morden, Unkeuschheit, stehlen, trügen usw.

Solche Erbsünde ist so gar eine tiefe, böse Verderbung der Natur, daß sie keine Vernunft nicht kennt, sondern muß aus der Schrift Offenbarung geglaubt werden, Ps. 51; Röm. 5; Ex. 33; Gen. 3. Darum sind das eitel Irrtümer und Blindheit wider diesen Artikel, das die Schultheologen [Scholastiker] gelehrt haben, nämlich:

Daß nach dem Erbfall Adams des Menschen natürliche Kräfte sind ganz und unverderbt [ge]blieben und der Mensch habe von Natur eine rechte Vernunft und guten Willen, wie die Philosophi solches lehren.

Item, **daß der Mensch habe einen freien Willen, Gutes zu tun und Böses zu lassen, und wiederum, Gutes zu lassen und Böses zu tun.**

Item, **daß der Mensch möge [könne] aus natürlichen Kräften alle Gebote Gottes tun und halten.**

Item, **er möge [könne] aus natürlichen Kräften Gott lieben über alles und seinen Nächsten als sich selbst.**

Item, **wenn ein Mensch tut, soviel an ihm ist, so gibt ihm Gott gewißlich seine Gnade.**

Item, **wenn er zum Sakrament will gehen, ist nicht not ein guter Vorsatz, Gutes zu tun, sondern sei genug, daß er nicht einen bösen Vorsatz, Sünde zu tun, habe; so gar gut ist die Natur und das Sakrament so kräftig.**

Es sei nicht in der Schrift gegründet, daß

causam et rem ipsam audiri volebat), sed coram papa ac ipso diabolo comparebimus, qui nihil audire vult, sed simpliciter indicta causa damnare, occidere et ad idololatriam vi cogere. Quare hic non sunt nobis exosculandi pedes eius nec dicendum: Gratiosissimus Dominus es! sed quemadmodum in Zacharia [3, 2] angelus ad Satanam dicebat: *Increpet Dominus te, Satana!*

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TERTIA PARS ARTICULORUM.

De sequentibus articulis agere poterimus cum doctis et prudentibus viris, vel etiam inter nos ipsos. Papa et regnum pontificum illos non magnopere curant. Conscientia enim apud eos nihil est, sed pecunia, gloria, honores, potentia ipsis sunt omnia.

I. De Peccato.

1] Hic confitendum nobis est, ut Paulus Rom. 5, 11 affirmat, *peccatum ab uno homine Adamo ortum esse et introiisse in mundum, per cuius inobedientiam omnes homines facti sunt peccatores,* morti et diabolo obnoxii. Hoc nominatur originale, hereditarium, principale et capitale peccatum.

2] Huius peccati fructus postea sunt mala opera in Decalogo prohibita, ut sunt diffidentia, incredulitas, falsa fides sive *κακοπιστία*, idololatria, sine Dei timore esse, praesumptio seu temeritas, desperatio, coecitas seu excoecatio, et ut summatim dicam, Deum non agnoscere, non curare; deinde mentiri, nomine Dei abuti, peierare, non orare, non invocare, Verbum Dei contemnere vel negligere, parentibus immorigerum esse, occidere, lascivire, furari, decipere etc.

3] Hoc peccatum hereditarium tam profunda et tetra est corruptio naturae, ut nullius hominis ratione intelligi possit, sed ex Scripturae patefactione agnoscenda et credenda sit, Ps. 51, 7; Rom. 5, 12 sqq.; Exod. 33, 3; Gen. 3, 7 sqq. Quapropter meri sunt errores et caligines contra hunc articulum scholasticorum doctorum dogmata, quibus docetur:

Post Adae lapsum hominis naturales [R. 318

4] *vires mansisse integras et incorruptas et hominem naturaliter habere rationem rectam et bonam voluntatem, sicut philosophi docent.*

5] Et, *hominem habere liberum arbitrium faciendi bonum et omittendi malum, et econtra omittendi bonum et faciendi malum.*

6] Item, *hominem posse naturalibus viribus omnia mandata Dei servare et facere.*

7] Et, *posse naturalibus viribus Deum super omnia diligere et proximum sicut se ipsum.*

8] Item, *si faciat homo, quantum in se est, Deum largiri ei certo suam gratiam.*

9] Et, *si accedere velit homo ad eucharistiam, non opus esse bono proposito recte faciendi, sed sufficere, si non adsit malum propositum peccandi; tam bonam scilicet esse naturam, et tantam esse vim sacramenti.*

10] Item, *non posse ex Scriptura probari*

[we will appear] before the Pope and devil himself, who intends to listen to nothing, but merely [when the case has been publicly announced] to condemn, to murder and to force us to idolatry. Therefore we ought not here to kiss his feet, or to say: "Thou art my gracious lord," but as the angel in Zechariah 3, 2 said to Satan: *The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan.*

THE THIRD PART OF THE ARTICLES.

Concerning the following articles we may [will be able to] treat with learned and reasonable men, or among ourselves. The Pope and his [the Papal] government do not care much about these. For with them conscience is nothing, but money, [glory] honors, power are [to them] everything.

I. Of Sin.

Here we must confess, as Paul says in Rom. 5, 11, that *sin originated [and entered the world] from one man Adam, by whose disobedience all men were made sinners,* [and] subject to death and the devil. This is called original or capital sin.

The fruits of this sin are afterwards the evil deeds which are forbidden in the Ten Commandments, such as [distrust] unbelief, false faith, idolatry, to be without the fear of God, presumption [recklessness], despair, blindness [or complete *loss of sight*], and, in short, not to know or regard God; furthermore, to lie, to swear by [to abuse] God's name [to swear falsely], not to pray, not to call upon God, not to regard [to despise or neglect] God's Word, to be disobedient to parents, to murder, to be unchaste, to steal, to deceive, etc.

This hereditary sin is so deep and [horrible] a corruption of nature that no reason can understand it, but it must be [learned and] believed from the revelation of Scriptures, Ps. 51, 5; Rom. 5, 12 ff.; Ex. 33, 3; Gen. 3, 7 ff. Hence, it is nothing but error and blindness in regard to this article what the scholastic doctors have taught, namely:

That since the fall of Adam the natural powers of man have remained entire and incorrupt, and that man by nature has a right reason and a good will; which things the philosophers teach.

Again, *that man has a free will to do good and omit evil, and, conversely, to omit good and do evil.*

Again, *that man by his natural powers can observe and keep* [*do*] *all the commands of God.*

Again, *that, by his natural powers, man can love God above all things and his neighbor as himself.*

Again, *if a man does as much as is in him, God certainly grants him His grace.*

Again, *if he wishes to go to the Sacrament, there is no need of a good intention to do good, but it is sufficient if he has not a wicked purpose to commit sin; so entirely good is his nature and so efficacious the Sacrament.*

[Again,] *that it is not founded upon Scrip-*

zum guten Werk vonnöten sei der Heilige Geist mit seiner Gnade.

Solche und dergleichen viel Stücke sind aus Unverstand und Unwissenheit beide der Sünde und Christi, unsers Heilands, gekommen, rechte heidnische Lehre, die wir nicht leiden können. Denn wo diese Lehre recht sollte sein, so ist Christus vergeblich gestorben, weil kein Schade noch Sünde im Menschen ist, dafür er sterben müßte; oder [er] wäre allein für den Leib, nicht für die Seele auch gestorben, weil die Seele gesund und allein der Leib des Todes ist.

II. Vom Gesetz.

Hier halten wir, daß das Gesetz gegeben sei von Gott, erstlich, der Sünde zu steuern mit Dräuen und Schrecken der Strafe und mit Verheißen und Anbieten der Gnade und Wohltat. Aber solches alles ist der Bosheit halben, so die Sünde im Menschen gewirkt, übel geraten. Denn eines Teils sind davon ärger [ge]worden, als die dem Gesetze feind sind, darum, daß es verbeut [verbietet], was sie gerne tun, und gebeut, was sie ungern tun. Derhalben, wo sie vor der Strafe können, tun sie nun mehr wider das Gesetz denn zuvor. Das sind denn die rohen, bösen Leute, die Böses tun, wo sie Stätte und Raum haben.

Die andern werden blind und vermessen, lassen sich dünken, sie halten und können das Gesetz halten aus ihren Kräften, wie jetzt droben gesagt ist von den Schultheologen; daher kommen die Heuchler und falschen Heiligen.

Aber das vornehmste Amt oder Kraft des Gesetzes ist, daß es die Erbsünde mit den Früchten und allem offenbare und dem Menschen zeige, wie gar tief seine Natur gefallen und grundlos verderbt ist, als dem das Gesetz sagen muß, daß er keinen Gott habe noch achte und bete fremde Götter an, welches er zuvor und ohne das Gesetz nicht geglaubt hätte. Damit wird er erschreckt, gedemütigt, verzagt, verzweifelt, wollte gern, daß ihm geholfen würde, und weiß nicht wo aus, fängt an, Gott feind zu werden und zu murren usw. Das heißt denn Röm. 4: „Das Gesetz erreget Zorn" und Röm. 5: „Die Sünde wird größer durchs Gesetz."

III. Von der Buße.

Solch Amt [* des Gesetzes] behält das Neue Testament und treibet's auch, wie St. Paulus Röm. 1 tut und spricht: „Gottes Zorn wird vom Himmel offenbart über alle Menschen"; item 3: „Alle Welt ist vor Gott schuldig" und: „Kein Mensch ist vor ihm gerecht." Und Christus Joh. 16: „Der Heilige Geist wird die Welt strafen um die Sünde."

Das ist nun die Donneraxt [der Blitzstrahl] Gottes, damit er beide die offenbarlichen Sünder und falschen Heiligen in einen Haufen schlägt und läßt keinen recht haben, treibt sie allesamt in das Schrecken und Verzagen. Das ist der Hammer (wie Jeremias spricht): „Mein Wort ist ein Hammer, der die Felsen zerschmettert." Das ist nicht activa contritio, eine gemachte Reue, sondern passiva contritio, das rechte Herzeleid, Leiden und Fühlen des Todes.

ad bonum opus necessario requiri Spiritum Sanctum et eius gratiam.

11] Talia et similia portenta orta sunt ex inscitia et ignorantia peccati et Christi, Servatoris nostri, suntque vere et mere ethnica dogmata, quae tolerare non possumus. Si enim ista approbantur, Christus frustra mortuus est, quum nullum peccatum et damnum sit in homine, pro quo mori eum oportuerit; aut solummodo pro corpore mortuus diceretur, non pro anima, quandoquidem anima prorsus sana et solum corpus morti obnoxium perhiberetur.

II. De Lege.

1] Sentimus legem a Deo datam esse, primum ut peccatum prohiberetur comminationibus et metu poenarum, item promissione et annuntiatione gratiae et beneficiorum. [R. 319 Sed haec omnia propter malitiam, quam peccatum in homine effecit, male cesserunt. Qui-
2] dam enim inde deteriores redditi fuerunt, qui scilicet legem oderunt prohibentem ea, quae facere ipsi mallent, et praecipientem, quae gravatim praestant. Quare, nisi poena coerceantur, plura patrant contra legem quam antea. Atque hi sunt mali, effrenes et securi homines, qui perpetrant mala, quoties occasionem aliquam offerri sibi animadvertunt.

3] Quidam vero arrogantia et coecitate percutiuntur et insolenti opinione tenentur, se servare et posse servare legem viribus suis, sicut iam paulo ante de scholasticis doctoribus dictum est. Hinc hypocritae et iustitiarii seu in speciem sancti proveniunt.

4] Praecipuum autem officium et *ἐνέργεια* legis est, ut peccatum originale et omnes fructus eius revelet et homini ostendat, quam horrendum in modum natura eius lapsa sit et funditus ac totaliter depravata, ita ut lex ei dicat, hominem nec habere nec curare Deum et adorare alienos deos, id quod antea et sine lege homo non credidisset. Hac ratione perterrefit, humiliatur, prosternitur, desperat de se ipso et anxie desiderat auxilium, nec scit, quo fugiat, incipit irasci Deo et obmurmu-
5] rare prae impatientia. Hoc est, quod Paulus inquit Rom. 4, 15: *Lex iram operatur*, et Rom. 5, 20: *Lex auget peccatum. Lex subintravit, ut abundaret delictum.*

III. De Poenitentia.

1] Hoc officium legis retinetur in Novo Testamento, et in eo exercetur, ut Paulus Rom. 1, 18 facit, inquiens: *Ira Dei de coelo revelatur super omnes homines.* Et 3, 12: *Omnes sunt rei coram Deo. Nemo* [R. 320 *hominum iustus est coram eo.* Et Christus Ioh. 16, 8 inquit: *Spiritus Sanctus arguet mundum de peccato.*

2] Hoc igitur fulmen est Dei, quo et manifestos peccatores et hypocritas prosternit et nullum iustum pronuntiat, sed omnes ad terrorem et desperationem adigit. Hic malleus est, ut Hieremias inquit 23, 29: *Verbum meum quasi malleus conterens petras.* Haec non est activa contritio seu factitia et accersita, sed passiva contritio, conscientiae cruciatus, vera cordis passio et sensus mortis.

ture that for a good work the Holy Ghost with His grace is necessary.

Such and many similar things have arisen from want of understanding and ignorance as regards both this sin and Christ, our Savior, and they are truly heathen dogmas, which we cannot endure. For if this teaching were right [approved], then Christ has died in vain, since there is in man no defect nor sin for which he should have died; or He would have died only for the body, not for the soul, inasmuch as the soul is [entirely] sound, and the body only is subject to death.

II. Of the Law.

Here we hold that the Law was given by God, first, to restrain sin by threats and the dread of punishment, and by the promise and offer of grace and benefit. But all this miscarried on account of the wickedness which sin has wrought in man. For thereby a part [some] were rendered worse, those, namely, who are hostile to [hate] the Law, because it forbids what they like to do, and enjoins what they do not like to do. Therefore, wherever they can escape [if they were not restrained by] punishment, they [would] do more against the Law than before. These, then, are the rude and wicked [unbridled and secure] men, who do evil wherever they [notice that they] have the opportunity.

The rest become blind and arrogant [are smitten with arrogance and blindness], and [insolently] conceive the opinion that they observe and can observe the Law by their own powers, as has been said above concerning the scholastic theologians; thence come the hypocrites and [self-righteous or] false saints.

But the chief office or force of the Law is that it reveal original sin with all its fruits, and show man how very low his nature has fallen, and has become [fundamentally and] utterly corrupted; as the Law must tell man that he has no God nor regards [cares for] God, and worships other gods, a matter which before and without the Law he would not have believed. In this way he becomes terrified, is humbled, desponds, despairs, and anxiously desires aid, but sees no escape; he begins to be an enemy of [enraged at] God, and to murmur, etc. This is what Paul says, Rom. 4, 15: *The Law worketh wrath.* And Rom. 5, 20: *Sin is increased by the Law.* [*The Law entered that the offense might abound.*]

III. Of Repentance.

This office [of the Law] the New Testament retains and urges, as St. Paul, Rom. 1, 18, does, saying: *The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.* Again, 3, 19: *All the world is guilty before God. No man is righteous before Him.* And Christ says, John 16, 8: *The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin.*

This, then, is the thunderbolt of God by which He strikes in a heap [hurls to the ground] both manifest sinners and false saints [hypocrites], and suffers no one to be in the right [declares no one righteous], but drives them all together to terror and despair. This is the hammer, as Jeremiah says, 23, 29: *Is not My Word like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces?* This is not *activa contritio* or manufactured repentance, but *passiva contritio* [torture of conscience], true sorrow of heart, suffering and sensation of death.

Und das heißt denn die rechte Buße anfangen, und muß der Mensch hier hören solch Urteil: Es ist nichts mit euch allen; ihr seid öffentliche Sünder oder Heilige, ihr müßt alle anders werden und anders tun, weder [als] ihr jetzt seid und tut, ihr seid, wer und wie groß, weise, mächtig und heilig, als ihr wollt; hier ist niemand fromm.

Aber zu solchem Amt tut das Neue Testament flugs die tröstliche Verheißung der Gnade durchs Evangelium, der man glauben solle, wie Christus spricht Marci 1: „Tut Buße und glaubet dem Evangelio", das ist, werdet und macht's anders und glaubt meiner Verheißung. Und vor ihm her Johannes wird genannt ein Prediger der Buße, doch zur Vergebung der Sünden, das ist, er sollte sie alle strafen und zu Sündern machen, auf daß sie wüßten, was sie vor Gott wären, und sich erkennten als verlorne Menschen und also dem HErrn bereitet würden, die Gnade zu empfangen und der Sünden Vergebung von ihm [zu] gewarten und an[zu]nehmen. Also sagt auch Christus Luk. am 24. selbst: „Man muß in meinem Namen in alle Welt predigen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden."

Wo aber das Gesetz solch sein Amt allein treibt ohne Zutun des Evangelii, da ist der Tod und die Hölle, und muß der Mensch verzweifeln wie Saul und Judas, wie St. Paulus sagt: „Das Gesetz tötet durch die Sünde." Wiederum gibt das Evangelium nicht einerlei Weise Trost und Vergebung, sondern durchs Wort, Sakramente und dergleichen, wie wir hören werden, auf daß die Erlösung ja reichlich sei bei Gott, wie der 130. Psalm sagt, wider das große Gefängnis der Sünden.

Aber jetzt müssen wir die falsche Buße der Sophisten gegen die rechte Buße halten, damit sie beide desto baß [besser] verstanden werden.

Von der falschen Buße der Papisten.

Unmöglich ist's gewesen, daß sie sollten recht von der Buße lehren, weil sie die rechten Sünden nicht erkannten. Denn (wie droben gesagt) sie halten von der Erbsünde nicht recht, sondern sagen, die natürlichen Kräfte des Menschen seien ganz und unverderbt [ge]blieben, die Vernunft könne recht lehren, und der Wille könne recht danach tun, daß Gott gewißlich seine Gnade gibt, wenn ein Mensch tut, soviel an ihm ist, nach seinem freien Willen.

Hieraus mußte nun folgen, daß sie allein die wirklichen Sünden büßten, als: böse bewilligte Gedanken (denn böse Bewegung, Lust, Reizung war nicht Sünde), böse Worte, böse Werke, die der freie Wille wohl hätte können lassen.

Und zu solcher Buße setzen sie drei Teile: Reue, Beichte, Genugtun, mit solcher Vertröstung und Zusage, wo der Mensch recht reute, beichtete, genugtäte, so hätte er damit Vergebung verdient und die Sünde vor Gott bezahlt. Weiseten [wiesen] also die Leute in der Buße auf Zuversicht

3] Sic scilicet incipit vera poenitentia. Et hic homo audit sententiam promulgari dicentem: Quotquot estis, nihil estis, sive manifesti peccatores sive opinione vestra sancti sitis, omnes vos alios fieri oportet et aliter operari, quam quales nunc estis et sicut iam operamini, qualescunque sane sitis, magni, sapientes, potentes, sancti. In summa, hic nemo iustus, sanctus, pius est.

4] Huic officio Novum Testamentum statim adiungit consolationem et promissionem gratiae evangelii, cui credendum est, sicut Christus inquit Marc. 1, 15: *Agite poenitentiam et credite evangelio*, id est, fiatis alii et faciatis 5] aliter et credatis meae promissioni. Et ante Christum Iohannes nominatur praeco poenitentiae, sed ad remissionem peccatorum, hoc est, Iohannes omnes arguit et peccatores esse evicit, ut scirent, quid coram Deo essent, et se ipsos agnoscerent ut perditos homines, atque ita Deo appararentur ad gratiam amplectendam et remissionem peccatorum ab eo sperandam et accipiendam. Sic etiam Chri- 6] stus Luc. 24, 47 ipse inquit: *In nomine meo ubique praedicanda est poenitentia et remissio peccatorum inter omnes gentes.*

7] Quando autem lex hoc officium suum sola exercet sine evangelio, nihil aliud nisi mors et infernus hominem opprimunt, prorsus desperantem, ut Saulem et Iudam, sicut [R. 321 Paulus [Rom. 7, 10] testatur *legem per pec-* 8] *catum hominem morti tradere.* Econtra evangelium affert consolationem et remissionem non uno tantum modo, sed per Verbum, sacramenta et similiter, quemadmodum audiemus paulo post, ut ita *redemptio apud Deum sit copiosa*, ut in 130. Psalmo, v. 7, scriptum est, contra horrendam captivitatem peccati.

9] Nunc porro falsam poenitentiam sophistarum cum vera poenitentia conferemus, ut utraque melius intelligi possit.

De Falsa Poenitentia Pontificiorum.

10] Impossibile fuit pontificios recte docere de poenitentia, quum verum peccatum non recte agnoverint. Nam, ut supra ostensum est, de peccato originali non recte sentiunt, qui aiunt naturales vires hominis mansisse omnino integras et incorruptas, et rationem recte posse docere ac voluntatem posse ea, quae docentur, praestare, et Deum certo donare suam gratiam, quum homo tantum facit, quantum in se est, secundum liberum suum arbitrium.

11] Ex hoc dogmate sequitur, tantum ob actualia peccata agendam esse poenitentiam, ut sunt malae cogitationes, quibus homo obtemperat (concupiscentia enim, vitiosi affectus, inclinatio, libido et affectio prava secundum illos non sunt peccata), sermones mali, mala opera, quae voluntas libera omittere potuisset.

Huic poenitentiae adiungunt tres partes: 12] contritionem, confessionem et satisfactionem, addita grandi consolatione et pollicitatione remissionis peccatorum, meriti, expiationis peccatorum ac plenariae redemptionis coram Deo, si homo vere doleat, confiteatur

This, then, is what it means to begin true repentance; and here man must hear such a sentence as this: You are all of no account, whether you be manifest sinners or saints [in your own opinion]; you all must become different and do otherwise than you now are and are doing [no matter what sort of people you are], whether you are as great, wise, powerful, and holy as you may. Here no one is [righteous, holy], godly, etc.

But to this office the New Testament immediately adds the consolatory promise of grace through the Gospel, which must be believed, as Christ declares, Mark 1, 15: *Repent and believe the Gospel, i. e.,* become different and do otherwise, and believe My promise. And John, preceding Him, is called a preacher of repentance, however, for the remission of sins, *i. e.,* John was to accuse all, and convict them of being sinners, that they might know what they were before God, and might acknowledge that they were lost men, and might thus be prepared for the Lord, to receive grace, and to expect and accept from Him the remission of sins. Thus also Christ Himself says, Luke 24, 47: *Repentance and remission of sins must be preached in My name among all nations.*

But whenever the Law alone, without the Gospel being added, exercises this its office, there is [nothing else than] death and hell, and man must despair, like Saul and Judas; as St. Paul, Rom. 7, 10, says: *Through sin the Law killeth.* On the other hand, the Gospel brings consolation and remission, not only in one way, but through the Word and Sacraments, and the like, as we shall hear afterward in order that [thus] there is *with the Lord plenteous redemption,* as Ps. 130, 7 says, against the dreadful captivity of sin.

However, we must now contrast the false repentance of the sophists with true repentance, in order that both may be the better understood.

Of the False Repentance of the Papists.

It was impossible that they should teach correctly concerning repentance, since they did not [rightly] know the real sins [the real sin]. For, as has been shown above, they do not believe aright concerning original sin, but say that the natural powers of man have remained [entirely] unimpaired and incorrupt; that reason can teach aright, and the will can in accordance therewith do aright [perform those things which are taught]; that God certainly bestows His grace when a man does as much as is in him, according to his free will.

It had to follow thence [from this dogma] that they did [must do] penance only for actual sins, such as wicked thoughts to which a person yields (for wicked emotion [concupiscence, vicious feelings, and inclinations], lust and improper dispositions [according to them] are not sins), and for wicked words and wicked deeds, which free will could readily have omitted.

And of such repentance they fix three parts, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, with this [magnificent] consolation and promise added: If man truly repent, [feel remorse,] confess, render satisfaction, he thereby would have merited forgiveness, and paid for his sins before God [atoned for his sins and obtained a plenary redemption]. Thus in re-

eigener Werke. Daher kam das Wort auf der Kanzel, wenn man die gemeine Beichte dem Volke vorsprach: „Friste mir, HErr Gott, mein Leben, bis ich meine Sünde büße und mein Leben bessere!“

Hier war kein Christus und nichts vom Glauben gedacht, sondern man hoffte mit eigenen Werken die Sünde vor Gott zu überwinden und zu tilgen; der Meinung [mit dieser Absicht] wurden wir auch Pfaffen und Mönche, daß wir uns selbst wider die Sünde legen wollten.

Mit der Reue war es also getan: Weil niemand alle seine Sünden konnte bedenken (sonderlich das ganze Jahr begangen), flickten sie den Pelz also: wenn die verborgenen Sünden hernach ins Gedächtnis kämen, müßte man sie auch bereuen und beichten usw. Indes [bis dahin] waren sie Gottes Gnade befohlen.

Zudem, weil auch niemand wußte, wie groß die Reue sein sollte, damit sie ja genugsam wäre vor Gott, gaben sie solchen Trost: wer nicht könnte contritionem, das ist, Reue, haben, der sollte attritionem haben, welches ich mag eine halbe oder Anfang der Reue nennen; denn sie haben selbst alles beides nicht verstanden, wissen auch noch nicht, was es gesagt sei, so wenig als ich. Solche attritio ward denn contritio gerechnet, wenn man zur Beichte ging.

Und wenn sich's begab, daß etwa einer sprach, er könnte nicht reuen noch Leid haben für seine Sünden, als möchte geschehen sein in der Hurenliebe oder Rachgier usw., fragten sie, ob er denn nicht wünschte oder gern wollte, daß er Reue möchte haben. Sprach er dann: Ja (denn wer wollte hier nein sagen, ohne der Teufel selbst?), so nahmen sie es für die Reue an und vergaben ihm seine Sünden auf solch sein gut Werk. Hier zogen sie St. Bernhard zum Exempel an usw.

Hier sieht man, wie die blinde Vernunft tappt [unsicher tastet] in Gottes Sachen und Trost sucht in eigenen Werken nach ihrem Dünkel und an Christum oder den Glauben nicht denken kann. Wenn man's nun beim Licht besieht, ist solche Reue ein gemachter und gedichteter Gedanke aus eigenen Kräften ohne Glauben, ohne Erkenntnis Christi, darin zuweilen der arme Sünder, wenn er an die Lust oder Rache gedacht, lieber gelacht denn geweint hätte, ausgenommen, die entweder mit dem Gesetze recht [ge]troffen oder von dem Teufel vergeblich sind mit traurigem Geist geplagt gewesen; sonst ist gewiß solche Reue lauter Heuchelei gewesen und hat der Sünden Lust nicht getötet. Denn sie mußten reuen, hätten lieber mehr gesündigt, wenn es frei gewesen wäre.

Mit der Beichte stand es also: Ein jeglicher mußte alle seine Sünden erzählen (welches ein unmöglich Ding ist); das war eine große Marter. Welche er aber vergessen hatte, wurden ihm so fern vergeben, wenn sie ihm würden einfallen, daß er sie noch müßte beichten. Damit [infolgedessen] konnte er nimmer wissen, wann er rein genug gebeichtet oder wann das Beichten einmal ein Ende haben sollte. Ward gleichwohl auf seine Werke et satisfaciat. Sic in poenitentia homo ad fiduciam propriorum operum ducitur. [R. 322 **13**] Hinc orta est vox, quae in suggestis, quum praelegeretur vulgo publica absolutio, usurpata fuit: *Prolonga, Deus, vitam meam, donec pro meis peccatis satisfecero et vitam meam emendavero.*

14] Hic altum fuit silentium de Christo et fide, et tantum opinio et spes fuit de propriis operibus, quibus peccata coram Deo delerentur. Et hanc ob causam facti sumus sacrifici et monachi, ut nos ipsos peccato opponeremus.

15] Quod ad contritionem attinet, quum nemo posset omnia peccata sua in memoria retinere, praesertim per integrum annum commissa, centones hos assuebant, si memoria peccati absconditi forte recurreret, etiam illud sufficiente contritione deflendum et confitendum esse etc. Interea Dei gratiae homo committebatur.

16] Quum etiam nemo sciret, quanta contritio esse deberet, quae coram Deo sufficeret, dicebant, si quis contritionem non haberet, eum saltem attritionem habere oportere, id est, dimidiam quasi contritionem vel initium contritionis. Haec vocabula ipsi nec intellexerunt nec intelligunt, minus quam ego. Et attritio reputabatur pro contritione venientibus ad confessionem.

17] Et quum quis diceret se non posse habere contritionem, seu non dolere posse ob peccata sua (ut fieri potuit in illicito amore aut vindictae cupiditate et ceteris), interrogabant, an is non optaret et cuperet dolere. Respondenti cupere se (quis enim, nisi ipse diabolus, negaret se cupere?) accipiebant hoc pro contritione et remittebant peccata propter hoc bonum ipsius opus, quod nomine contritionis ornabant. Hic allegabant exemplum Bernhardi etc.

18] Videmus autem, quam palpet et titubet coeca ratio in rebus divinis et consolationem quaerat in propriis operibus pro sua opinione et Christi et fidei prorsus obliviscatur. Quodsi res ipsa perspicue consideretur, contritio ista est factitia et fictitia cogitatio seu imaginatio ex propriis viribus absque fide, absque agnitione Christi. Et in ista [R. 323 contritione miser peccator forte recordans suae flammae et cupiditatis vindictae vel ridere, vel lacrimare potius potuit, quam aliud cogitare, exceptis iis, qui vel legis fulmine tacti, vel a diabolo spiritu tristitiae afflicti fuerunt. His, inquam, exceptis contritio ista fuit mera hypocrisis et peccati flammas non mortificavit. Oportuit enim homines dolere, quum libentius peccassent, si liberum ipsis fuisset.

19] Confessio sic instituebatur, ut homines iuberentur omnia sua peccata enumerare (quod factu impossibile est); haec ingens carnificina fuit. Et si quis quorundam peccatorum oblitus esset, is eatenus absolvebatur, ut, si in memoriam illa recurrerent, ea postea confiteretur. Nemo igitur scire potuit, num unquam sufficienter, pure et recte confessus esset et quando confessionis finis futu-

pentance they instructed men to repose confidence in their own works. Hence the expression originated, which was employed in the pulpit when public absolution was announced to the people: *Prolong, O God, my life, until I shall make satisfaction for my sins and amend my life.*

There was here [profound silence and] no mention of Christ nor faith; but men hoped by their own works to overcome and blot out sins before God. And with this intention we became priests and monks, that we might array ourselves against sin.

As to contrition, this is the way it was done: Since no one could remember all his sins (especially as committed through an entire year), they inserted this provision, namely, that if an unknown sin should be remembered later [if the remembrance of a concealed sin should perhaps return], this also must be repented of and confessed, etc. Meanwhile they were [the person was] commended to the grace of God.

Moreover, since no one could know how great the contrition ought to be in order to be sufficient before God, they gave this consolation: He who could not have contrition, at least ought to have attrition, which I may call half a contrition or the beginning of contrition; for they have themselves understood neither of these terms, nor do they understand them now, as little as I. Such attrition was reckoned as contrition when a person went to confession.

And when it happened that any one said that he could not have contrition nor lament his sins (as might have occurred in illicit love or the desire for revenge, etc.), they asked whether he did not wish or desire to have contrition [lament]. When one would reply Yes (for who, save the devil himself, would here say No?), they accepted this as contrition, and forgave him his sins on account of this good work of his [which they adorned with the name of contrition]. Here they cited the example of St. Bernard, etc.

Here we see how blind reason, in matters pertaining to God, gropes about, and, according to its own imagination, seeks for consolation in its own works, and cannot think of [entirely forgets] Christ and faith. But if it be [clearly] viewed in the light, this contrition is a manufactured and fictitious thought [or imagination], derived from man's own powers, without faith and without the knowledge of Christ. And in it the poor sinner, when he reflected upon his own lust and desire for revenge, would sometimes [perhaps] have laughed rather than wept [either laughed or wept, rather than to think of something else], except such as either had been truly struck by [the lightning of] the Law, or had been vainly vexed by the devil with a sorrowful spirit. Otherwise [with the exception of these persons] such contrition was certainly mere hypocrisy, and did not mortify the lust for sins [flames of sin]; for they had to grieve, while they would rather have continued to sin, if it had been free to them.

As regards confession, the procedure was this: Every one had [was enjoined] to enumerate all his sins (which is an impossible thing). This was a great torment. From such as he had forgotten [But if any one had forgotten some sins] he would be absolved on the condition that, if they would occur to him, he must still confess them. In this way he could never know whether he had made a sufficiently pure confession [perfectly and correctly], or when confessing would ever have

gewiesen und so getröstet: je reiner er beichtete und je mehr er sich schämte [zuschanden machte] und sich selbst also vor dem Priester schändete, je eher und besser er genugtäte für die Sünde; denn solche Demut erwürbe gewißlich Gnade bei Gott.

Hier war auch kein Glaube noch Christus, und die Kraft der Absolution ward ihm nicht gesagt, sondern auf Sündenzählen und Schämen stand sein Trost. Es ist aber nicht zu erzählen, was Marter, Büberei und Abgötterei solch Beichten angerichtet hat.

Die Genugtuung ist noch das Allerweitläuftigste. Denn kein Mensch konnte wissen, wieviel er tun sollte für eine einige Sünde, [ge]schweige denn für alle. Hier fanden sie nun einen Rat, nämlich daß sie wenig Genugtuns aufsetzten [auflegten], die man wohl halten konnte, als fünf Paternoster, einen Tag fasten usw.; mit der übrigen Buße weisete [wies] man sie ins Fegfeuer.

Hier war nun auch ein eitel Jammer und Not. Etliche meinten, sie würden nimmer aus dem Fegfeuer kommen, dieweil nach den alten Kanonen sieben Jahre Buße auf eine Todsünde gehörte. Noch [dennoch] stand die Zuversicht auch auf unserm Werk der Genugtuung, und wo die Genugtuung hätte mögen vollkommen sein, so hätte die Zuversicht gar darauf gestanden, und wäre weder Glaube noch Christus nütze gewesen; aber sie war unmöglich. Wenn nun einer hundert Jahre also gebüßt hätte, so hätte er doch nicht gewußt, wann er ausgebüßt hätte. Das hieß immerdar gebüßt und nimmermehr zur Buße kommen.

Hier kam nun der heilige Stuhl zu Rom der armen Kirche zu Hilfe und erfand den Ablaß; damit vergab und hob er auf die Genugtuung, erstlich einzeln, sieben Jahre, hundert Jahre usw., und teilte es aus unter die Kardinäle und Bischöfe, daß einer konnte hundert Jahre, einer hundert Tage Ablaß geben; aber die ganze Genugtuung aufzuheben, behielt er ihm [sich] allein zuvor.

Da nun solches begann Geld zu tragen und der Bullenmarkt gut ward, erdachte er das Güldenjahr und legte es gen Rom; das hieß er Vergebung aller Pein und Schuld. Da liefen die Leute zu; denn es wäre jedermann gern der schweren, un[er]träglichen Last losgemacht [* los gewesen]. Das hieß die Schätze der Erde finden und erheben. Flugs eilte der Papst weiter und machte viel Güldenjahr aufeinander; aber je mehr er Geld verschlang, je weiter ihm der Schlund ward.

Darum schickte er's danach durch Legaten heraus in die Länder, bis alle Kirchen und Häuser voll Güldenjahre wurden. Zuletzt rumpelte er auch ins Fegfeuer unter die Toten, erstlich mit Messen und Vigilien stiften, danach mit dem Ablaß und dem Güldenjahr, und wurden endlich die

rus esset. Et tamen nihilominus ducebantur homines ad propria sua opera, et haec consolatio ipsis proponebatur: quo confessio esset purior, magis ingenua et aperta, pudore et ignominia coram sacerdote suffusa, eo satisfactionem pro peccato esse pleniorem, et humilitate illa certo ac merito gratiam Dei impetrari.

20] Nulla hic fides, nullus Christus erat. Et virtus absolutionis non explicabatur confitenti, sed consolatio eius in enumeratione peccatorum et pudefactione consistebat. Nemo autem recitare potest miserias, carnificinas, fraudes et idololatrias, ex confessione ista natas.

21] Ceterum satisfactio longe perplexior est. Nemo enim scire poterat, quantum faciendum esset pro uno tantum peccato, nedum pro omnibus. Hic arte utebantur et parum satisfactionum imponebant, quae etiam facile servari poterant, ut quinque orationes dominicas, ieiunium unius diei etc.; cetera, quae in poenitentia desiderari dicebant, relegabant ad purgatorium.

22] Hic quoque magna calamitas oriebatur. Quidam enim metuebant, se in aeternum ex purgatorio non liberari posse, quum [R. 324 secundum veteres canones pro uno peccato mortali poenitentia septennis seu septem an-**23**] norum constituta esset. Et tamen fiducia semper collocata erat in nostro opere satisfactionis, ac si satisfactio potuisset esse perfecta, tota fiducia in eam coniecta fuisset, nec opus fuisset Christo et fide. At impossibilis illa erat. Et si quis centum annos poenitentiam ista ratione exercuisset, nondum certus tamen de sufficientia, perfectione et fine poenitentiae suae fuisset. Hoc scilicet erat perpetuo poenitere et nunquam ad poenitentiam pervenire.

24] Hac de causa sedes ista Romana sancta miserae ecclesiae subveniebat et indulgentias effingebat, quibus remittebatur et abolebatur expiatio seu satisfactio, primum particulatim, ad annos septem, centum etc., et eas distribuebat inter cardinales et episcopos, ita ut quidam annos centum, quidam ad dies centum indulgentiam conferrent. Totam autem satisfactionem relaxandi potestatem sibi reservabat.

25] Hac ratione quum accresceret pecunia et nundinatio bullarum esset fructuosa, excogitavit annum aureum iubilaeum, vere auriferum (Iubeliahr, Gueldeniahr), quem Romae celebrari voluit. Hunc appellabat remissionem omnis culpae et poenae. Accurrebant igitur plurimi, quia ab onere molestissimo liberari unusquisque cupiebat. Hoc erat effodere et conquirere thesauros terrae. Mox papa annos aureos mutiplicabat et alium super alium accumulabat, et quo plus auri devorabat, eo plus fauces ipsius appetebant.

Ideoque per legatos suos mittebat annos istos passim in provincias, quoad omnia templa et domus annis aureis opplerentur. Tan-**26**] dem irruebat etiam in purgatorium ad defunctos, primum missarum et vigiliarum fundatione, deinde indulgentiis et anno aureo,

an end. Yet he was pointed to his own works, and comforted thus: The more fully [sincerely and frankly] one confesses, and the more he humiliates himself and debases himself before the priest, the sooner and better he renders satisfaction for his sins; for such humility certainly would earn grace before God.

Here, too, there was no faith nor Christ, and the virtue of the absolution was not declared to him, but upon his enumeration of sins and his self-abasement depended his consolation. What torture, rascality, and idolatry such confession has produced is more than can be related.

As to satisfaction, this is by far the most involved [perplexing] part of all. For no man could know how much to render for a single sin, not to say how much for all. Here they have resorted to the device of imposing a small satisfaction, which could indeed be rendered, as five Paternosters, a day's fast, etc.; for the rest [that was lacking] of the [in their] repentance they were directed to purgatory.

Here, too, there was nothing but anguish and [extreme] misery. [For] some thought that they would never get out of purgatory, because, according to the old canons, seven years' repentance is required for a single mortal sin. Nevertheless, confidence was placed upon our work of satisfaction, and if the satisfaction could have been perfect, confidence would have been placed in it entirely, and neither faith nor Christ would have been of use. But this confidence was impossible. For, although any one had done penance in that way for a hundred years, he would still not have known whether he had finished his penance. That meant forever to do penance and never to come to repentance.

Here now the Holy See at Rome, coming to the aid of the poor Church, invented indulgences, whereby it forgave and remitted [expiation or] satisfaction, first, for a single instance, for seven years, for a hundred years, and distributed them among the cardinals and bishops, so that one could grant indulgence for a hundred years and another for a hundred days. But he reserved to himself alone the power to remit the entire satisfaction.

Now, since this began to yield money, and the traffic in bulls became profitable, he devised the golden jubilee year [a truly gold-bearing year], and fixed it at Rome. He called this the remission of all punishment and guilt. Then the people came running, because every one would fain have been freed from this grievous, unbearable burden. This meant to find [dig up] and raise the treasures of the earth. Immediately the Pope pressed still further, and multiplied the golden years one upon another. But the more he devoured money, the wider grew his maw.

Later, therefore, he issued them [those golden years of his] by his legates [everywhere] to the countries, until all churches and houses were full of the Golden Year. At last he also made an inroad into purgatory

Seelen so wohlfeil, daß er eine um einen Schwertgroschen [kursächsische kleine Münze] losgab.

Noch half das auch alles nicht. Denn der Papst, wiewohl er die Leute auf solchen Ablaß lehrte sich verlassen und vertrauen, so machte er's doch selbst wiederum auch ungewiß; denn er setzte in seine Bullen: wer des Ablasses oder Güldenjahrs wollte teilhaftig sein, der sollte bereut und gebeichtet sein [bereut und gebeichtet haben] und Geld geben. Nun haben wir droben gehört, daß solche Reue und Beichte bei ihnen ungewiß und Heuchelei ist. Desgleichen wußte auch niemand, welche Seele im Fegfeuer wäre, und so etliche drinnen wären, wußte niemand, welche recht gereut und gebeichtet hätten. Also nahm er das liebe Geld und vertröstete sie dieweil auf seine Gewalt und Ablaß und weisete sie doch wiederum auf ihr ungewiß Werk.

Wo nun etliche waren, die nicht solcher wirklichen Sünden mit Gedanken, Worten und Werken sich schuldig dauchten [dünkten], wie ich und meinesgleichen in Klöstern und Stiften, Mönche und Pfaffen sein wollten, die wir mit Fasten, Wachen, Beten, Messehalten, harten Kleidern und Lager usw. uns wehrten wider böse Gedanken und mit Ernst und Gewalt wollten heilig sein und doch das erbliche, angeborne Übel etwa [zuweilen] im Schlaf tat (wie auch St. Augustinus und Hieronymus mit andern bekennen), was seine Art ist, so hielt doch ein jeglicher vom andern, daß etliche so heilig wären, wie wir lehrten, die ohne Sünde, voll guter Werke wären, also, daß wir darauf unsere guten Werke andern, als uns überflüssig zum Himmel, mitteilten und verkauften. Das ist ja wahr, und sind Siegel, Briefe und Exempel vorhanden.

Diese [be]durften der Buße nicht. Denn was wollten sie bereuen, weil sie in böse Gedanken nicht bewilligten? Was wollten sie beichten, weil sie [* böse] Worte vermieden? Wofür wollten sie genugtun, weil sie der Tat unschuldig waren, also daß sie auch andern armen Sündern ihre übrige Gerechtigkeit verkaufen konnten? Solche Heilige waren auch die Pharisäer und Schriftgelehrten zur Zeit Christi.

Hier kommt der feurige Engel St. Johannes, der rechte Bußprediger, und schlägt mit einem Donner alle beide in einen Haufen, spricht: „Tut Buße!" So denken jene: Haben wir doch gebüßt. Diese denken: Wir [be]dürfen keiner Buße. Spricht Johannes: Tut alle beide Buße, denn ihr seid falsche Büßer, so sind diese falsche Heilige, und [be]dürft alle beide Vergebung der Sünden, weil ihr alle beide noch nicht wißt, was die rechte Sünde sei, schweige [geschweige denn], daß ihr sie büßen oder meiden solltet. Es ist euer keiner gut, seid voller Unglaubens, Unverstands und Unwissenheit Gottes und seines Willens. Denn da ist er vorhanden, „von des Fülle wir alle müssen nehmen Gnade um Gnade"; und kein Mensch ohne ihn vor Gott kann gerecht sein. Darum, wollt ihr büßen, so büßt recht; eure Buße tut's nicht.

et animas tam vili pretio aestimabat, ut unam pro sex nummis liberam pronuntians dimitteret.

27] Neque tamen hoc quoque sufficiebat. Papa enim, etsi iubebat homines indulgentiis istis tuto fidere ad salutem, tamen ipse [R. 325 rem universam denuo incertam, in dubium vocabat. Nam in bullis suis scribit, eum, qui indulgentiarum seu iubilaei anni particeps fieri velit, oportere contritum et confessum esse, ac pecuniam numerare. Audivimus autem supra contritionem et confessionem illorum esse incertam et hypocriticam. Nemo etiam sciebat, quae anima in purgatorio esset, ac si quae in eo esse dicebantur, nemo sciebat, quae recte et contritae et confessae fuissent. Sic papa sanctum denarium corradebat et interea ducebat homines ad fiduciam potestatis et indulgentiarum suarum et rursum inde abducebat ac remittebat ad incerta ipsorum opera et merita.

28] Quumque nonnulli essent, qui se actualium peccatorum istorum vel cogitationibus vel verbis vel factis commissorum non agnoscebant reos, quemadmodum ego et mei similes in monasteriis et fundationibus, seu sacerdotum sodalitiis seu collegiis monachi et flamines ieiuniis, vigiliis, orationibus, missarum celebrationibus, duris lectisterniis et vestibus etc. resistere conabamur malis cogitationibus et violenter sancti esse volebamus, et licet innatum malum saepe etiam inter dormiendum (sicut Augustinus et Hieronymus et alii quoque conqueruntur) naturam suam exsereret: tamen nos mutuo sanctos esse aestimabamus, sicut docebamus, sine peccato et plenos operum bonorum, usque adeo, ut bona opera nostra etiam aliis, quasi superflua in nobis ad salutem consequendam, communicaremus et venderemus, id quod ita factum esse testantur sigilla, literae, exempla, quae exstant.

29] Quum igitur, inquam, tales essent, hi poenitentia non indigebant. Quae enim contritio poterat esse in iis, qui malis cogitationibus non assentirentur? Quae confessio de verbis non prolatis? Quae satisfactio [R. 326 pro non factis seu pro innocentia, qua aliis miseris peccatoribus superabundans iustitia vendi poterat? Tales hypocritae et sancti erant tempore Christi etiam Pharisaei et scribae.

30] Hic exsurgit angelus ille igneus, B. Iohannes, Apoc. 10, praeco verus verae poenitentiae, et tonitru ac fulmine uno ferit ambos (vendentes et ementes opera) inquiens **31**] Matth. 3, 2: *Agite poenitentiam.* Attamen egimus poenitentiam, aiunt miseri illi. Ceteri vero dicunt: Non indigemus poeni-**32**] tentia. Iohannes autem inquit: Ambo *agite poenitentiam*, quia falsi estis poenitentiarii, et ceteri sunt falsi sancti seu hypocritae, et ambo indigetis remissione peccatorum, quum nondum sciatis, quid sit vere peccatum, nedum, ut de eo poenitere et fugere illud possitis. Nullus vestrum bonus est, pleni estis incredulitate, ruditate et ignorantia Dei et voluntatis Dei. Praesens enim hic coram adest, *de cuius plenitudine nos omnes accipere*

among the dead, first, by founding masses and vigils, afterwards, by indulgences and the Golden Year, and finally souls became so cheap that he released one for a farthing.

But all this, too, was of no avail. For although the Pope taught men to depend upon, and trust in, these indulgences [for salvation], yet he rendered the [whole] matter again uncertain. For in his bulls he declares: Whoever would share in the indulgences or a Golden Year must be contrite, and have confessed, and pay money. Now, we have heard above that this contrition and confession are with them uncertain and hypocrisy. Likewise, also no one knew what soul was in purgatory, and if some were therein, no one knew which had properly repented and confessed. Thus he took the precious money [the Pope snatched up the holy pence], and comforted them meanwhile with [led them to confidence in] his power and indulgence, and [then again led them away from that and] directed them again to their uncertain work.

If, now [although], there were some who did not believe [acknowledge] themselves guilty of such actual sins in [committed by] thoughts, words, and works, — as I, and such as I, in monasteries and chapters [fraternities or colleges of priests], wished to be monks and priests, and by fasting, watching, praying, saying Mass, coarse garments, and hard beds, etc., fought against [strove to resist] evil thoughts, and in full earnest and with force wanted to be holy, and yet the hereditary, inborn evil sometimes did in sleep what it is wont to do (as also St. Augustine and Jerome among others confess), — still each one held the other in esteem, so that some, according to our teaching, were regarded as holy, without sin and full of good works, so much so that with this mind we would communicate and sell our good works to others, as being superfluous to us for heaven. This is indeed true, and seals, letters, and instances [that this happened] are at hand.

[When there were such, I say] These did not need repentance. For of what would they repent, since they had not indulged wicked thoughts? What would they confess [concerning words not uttered], since they had avoided words? For what should they render satisfaction, since they were so guiltless of any deed that they could even sell their superfluous righteousness to other poor sinners? Such saints were also the Pharisees and scribes in the time of Christ.

Here comes the fiery angel, St. John [Rev. 10], the true preacher of [true] repentance, and with one [thunderclap and] bolt hurls both [those selling and those buying works] on one heap, and says: *Repent!* Matt. 3, 2. Now, the former [the poor wretches] imagine: Why, we have repented! The latter [the rest] say: We need no repentance. John says: Repent ye, both of you, for ye are false penitents; so are these [the rest] false saints [or hypocrites], and all of you on either side need the forgiveness of sins, because neither of you know what true sin is, not to say anything about your duty to repent of it and shun it. For no one of you is good; you are full of unbelief, stupidity, and ignorance of God and God's will. For here He is present *of whose fulness have all we received, and grace for grace,* John 1, 16, and without Him no man can be just before God.

Und ihr Heuchler, die ihr keiner Buße bedürft, ihr Schlangen[ge]zieser, wer hat euch versichert, daß ihr dem künftigen Zorn entrinnen werdet usw.?

Also predigt auch St. Paulus Röm. 3 und spricht: „Es ist keiner verständig, keiner gerecht, keiner achtet Gottes, keiner tut Gutes, auch nicht e i n e r; allzumal sind sie untüchtig und abtrünnig.“ Und Act. 17: „Nun aber gebeut [gebietet] Gott allen Menschen an allen Enden, Buße zu tun.“ Allen Menschen, spricht er, niemand ausgenommen, der ein Mensch ist. Diese Buße lehrt uns die Sünde erkennen, nämlich daß [es] mit uns allen verloren, Haut und Haar nicht gut ist, und müssen schlechts neue und andere Menschen werden.

Diese Buße ist nicht stücklich und bettelisch wie jene, so die wirklichen Sünden büßt, und ist auch nicht ungewiß wie jene. Denn sie disputiert nicht, welches [Werk] Sünde oder nicht Sünde sei, sondern stößt alles in Haufen, spricht: es sei alles und eitel Sünde mit uns. Was wollen wir lange suchen, teilen und unterscheiden? Darum so ist auch hier die Reue nicht ungewiß. Denn es bleibt nichts da, damit wir möchten etwas Gutes gedenken, die Sünde zu bezahlen, sondern ein bloß, gewiß Verzagen an allem, das wir sind, gedenken, reden oder tun usw.

Desgleichen kann die Beichte auch nicht falsch, ungewiß oder stücklich sein. Denn wer bekennt, daß alles mit ihm eitel Sünde sei, der begreift alle Sünden, läßt keine außen und vergißt auch keine. Also kann die Genugtuung auch nicht ungewiß sein, denn sie ist nicht unsere ungewissen, sündlichen Werke, sondern das Leiden und Blut des unschuldigen Lämmleins Gottes, das der Welt Sünde trägt.

Von dieser Buße predigt Johannes und hernach Christus im Evangelio und wir auch. Mit dieser Buße stoßen wir Papst und alles, was auf unsere guten Werke gebaut ist, zu Boden. Denn es ist alles auf einen faulen, nichtigen Grund gebaut, welcher heißt gute Werke oder Gesetze, so doch kein gut Werk da ist, sondern eitel böse Werke, und niemand das Gesetz tut (wie Christus Joh. 7 sagt), sondern allzumal [es] übertreten. Darum ist das Gebäu eitel Lüge und Heuchelei, wo es am allerheiligsten und allerschönsten ist.

Und diese Buße währt bei den Christen bis in den Tod; denn sie beißt sich [sie streitet] mit der übrigen Sünde im Fleisch durchs ganze Leben, wie St. Paulus Röm. 7 zeugt, daß **er kämpfe mit dem Gesetze seiner Glieder** usw., und das nicht durch eigene Kräfte, sondern durch die Gabe des Heiligen Geistes, welche folgt auf die Vergebung der Sünden. Dieselbe Gabe reinigt und fegt täglich die übrigen Sünden aus und arbeitet, den Menschen recht rein und heilig zu machen.

oportet gratiam pro gratia [Ioh. 1, 16], et nemo hominum sine ipso coram Deo iustus esse potest. Quare si poenitentiam agere volueritis, recte illam agite, vestra poenitentia nulla est. Et, vos hypocritae, qui non egetis poenitentia, vos genimina viperarum, quis vos certos reddidit, ut fugeretis a ventura ira etc.? Matth. 3, 7 [Luc. 3, 7].

33] Eodem modo etiam Paulus Rom. 3, 12 concionatur: *Non est iustus quisquam, non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum, non est, qui faciat bonum, ne unus quidem; omnes* **34**] *declinaverunt et inutiles facti sunt.* Et Act. 17, 30: *Nunc Deus annuntiat hominibus, ut omnes ubique poenitentiam agant.* Omnes, dicit, nemine excepto, qui modo homo est. **35**] Haec poenitentia docet nos agnoscere peccatum, videlicet de nobis omnibus plane actum esse, et intus et in cute nihil boni in nobis esse, et simpliciter fieri nos alios et novos homines oportere.

36] Haec poenitentia non est partialis et mutilata, qualis est ista actualium [R. 327 peccatorum, nec etiam est incerta, qualis ista est. Non enim disputat, utrum sit peccatum vel non peccatum, sed totum prosternit et affirmat universum et merum esse peccatum quoad nos (et nihil esse in nobis, quod non sit peccatum sive reum). Quid enim diu quaerere, partiri et distinguere volumus? Quamobrem etiam contritio hic non est dubia aut incerta. Nihil enim remanet, quo aliquid boni cogitare possimus ad expiandum peccatum, sed abiicienda nobis est omnis spes de omnibus, quidquid sumus, quidquid cogitamus, loquimur et facimus etc.

37] Similiter confessio quoque non potest esse falsa, incerta, manca aut mutila. Qui enim confitetur totum in se esse merum peccatum, is comprehendit omnia peccata, nul- **38**] lum excludit, nullius oblivisci tur. Sic et satisfactio non potest esse incerta, quia non est nostrum incertum et peccato contaminatum opus, sed est passio et sanguis immaculati et innocentis Agni Dei, qui tollit peccata mundi.

39] De hac poenitentia concionatur Iohannes, deinde Christus in evangelio et nos etiam. Et hac poenitentiae concione destruimus papam et omnia, quae nituntur nostris bonis operibus. Omnia enim fundamento putri et vano insistunt, quod appellatur bonum opus sive lex, quum tamen nullum bonum opus adsit, sed tantum mala opera, et nemo faciat legem (ut Christus Ioh. 7, 19 testatur), sed omnes eam transgrediantur. Quare aedificium, quod superstruitur, tantummodo mendacium et hypocrisis est, etiam qua in parte sanctissimum et formosissimum est.

40] Haec poenitentia in Christianis durat usque ad mortem, quia luctatur cum peccato residuo in carne per totam vitam, sicut Paulus Rom. 7, 14—25 ostendit, *se belligerari cum lege membrorum suorum* etc., idque non propriis viribus, sed dono Spiritus Sancti, [R. 328 quod remissionem peccatorum sequitur, et quotidie reliquias peccati purgat et expellit, et in eo est, ut hominem purificet, rectificet, sanctificet.

Therefore, if you wish to repent, repent aright; your penance will not accomplish anything [is nothing]. And you hypocrites, who do not need repentance, you serpents' brood, who has assured you that you will escape the wrath to come? etc. Matt. 3, 7; Luke 3, 7.

In the same way Paul also preaches, Rom. 3, 10—12: *There is none righteous, there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God, there is none that doeth good, no not one; they are all gone out of the way; they are together become unprofitable.* And Acts 17, 30: *God now commandeth all men everywhere to repent.* "All men," he says; no one excepted who is a man. This repentance teaches us to discern sin, namely, that we are altogether lost, and that there is nothing good in us from head to foot [both within and without], and that we must absolutely become new and other men.

This repentance is not piecemeal [partial] and beggarly [fragmentary], like that which does penance for actual sins, nor is it uncertain like that. For it does not debate what is or is not sin, but hurls everything on a heap, and says: All in us is nothing but sin [affirms that, with respect to us, all is simply sin (and there is nothing in us that is not sin and guilt)]. What is the use of [For why do we wish] investigating, dividing, or distinguishing a long time? For this reason, too, this contrition is not [doubtful or] uncertain. For there is nothing left with which we can think of any good thing to pay for sin, but there is only a sure despairing concerning all that we are, think, speak, or do [all hope must be cast aside in respect of everything], etc.

In like manner confession, too, cannot be false, uncertain, or piecemeal [mutilated or fragmentary]. For he who confesses that all in him is nothing but sin comprehends all sins, excludes none, forgets none. Neither can the satisfaction be uncertain, because it is not our uncertain, sinful work, but it is the suffering and blood of the [spotless and] innocent Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world.

Of this repentance John preaches, and afterwards Christ in the Gospel, and we also. By this [preaching of] repentance we dash to the ground the Pope and everything that is built upon our good works. For all is built upon a rotten and vain foundation, which is called a good work or law, even though no good work is there, but only wicked works, and no one does the Law (as Christ, John 7, 19, says), but all transgress it. Therefore the building [that is raised upon it] is nothing but falsehood and hypocrisy, even [in the part] where it is most holy and beautiful.

And in Christians this repentance continues until death, because, through the entire life it contends with sin remaining in the flesh, as Paul, Rom. 7, 14—25, [shows] testifies that he *wars with the law in his members*, etc.; and that, not by his own powers, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost that follows the remission of sins. This gift daily cleanses and sweeps out the remaining sins, and works so as to render man truly pure and holy.

Hiervon weiß Papst, Theologen, Juristen noch kein Mensch nichts, sondern ist eine Lehre vom Himmel, durchs Evangelium offenbart, und muß Ketzerei heißen bei den gottlosen Heiligen.

Wiederum, ob etliche Rottengeister kommen würden, wie vielleicht etliche bereits da vorhanden sind und zur Zeit des Aufruhrs mir selbst vor Augen kamen, die da halten, daß alle die, so einmal den Geist der Vergebung der Sünden empfangen hätten oder gläubig [ge]worden wären, wenn dieselben hernach sündigten, so blieben sie gleichwohl im Glauben und schadete ihnen solche Sünde nicht, und schrien also: Tu, was du willst, glaubst du, so ist's alles nichts, der Glaube vertilgt alle Sünden usw. Sagen dazu: wo jemand nach dem Glauben und Geist sündigte, so habe er den Geist und Glauben nie recht gehabt. Solcher unsinnigen Menschen habe ich viel vor mir gehabt und [ich] sorge, daß noch in etlichen solcher Teufel stecke.

Darum so ist vonnöten zu wissen und zu lehren, daß, wo die heiligen Leute über das, so sie die Erbsünde noch haben und fühlen, dawider auch täglich büßen und streiten, etwa in öffentliche Sünde fallen, als David in Ehebruch, Mord und Gotteslästerung, daß alsdann der Glaube und Geist ist weg gewesen. Denn der Heilige Geist läßt die Sünde nicht walten und überhand gewinnen, daß sie vollbracht werde, sondern steuert und wehrt, daß sie nicht muß [darf] tun, was sie will. Tut sie aber, was sie will, so ist der Heilige Geist und Glaube nicht dabei; denn es heißt, wie St. Johannes sagt: „Wer aus Gott geboren ist, der sündigt nicht und kann nicht sündigen." Und ist doch auch die Wahrheit (wie derselbe St. Johannes schreibt): „So wir sagen, daß wir nicht Sünde haben, so lügen wir, und Gottes Wahrheit ist nicht in uns."

IV. Vom Evangelium.

Wir wollen nun wieder zum Evangelio kommen, welches gibt nicht einerlei Weise Rat und Hilfe wider die Sünde; denn Gott ist überschwenglich reich in seiner Gnade: erstlich durchs mündliche Wort, darin gepredigt wird Vergebung der Sünden in aller Welt, welches ist das eigentliche Amt des Evangelii; zum andern durch die Taufe; zum dritten durchs heilige Sakrament des Altars; zum vierten durch die Kraft der Schlüssel und auch per mutuum colloquium et consolationem fratrum, Matth. 18: *Ubi duo fuerint congregati* etc.

V. Von der Taufe.

Die Taufe ist nichts anderes denn Gottes Wort im Wasser, durch seine Einsetzung befohlen, oder wie St. Paulus sagt Eph. 5: lavacrum in verbo; wie auch Augustinus sagt: Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum. Und darum halten wir's nicht mit Thomas [Aquinas] und den Predigermönchen, die des Wortes (Gottes Einsetzung) vergessen und sagen, Gott habe eine geistliche Kraft ins Wasser gelegt, welche die Sünde durchs Wasser abwasche; auch nicht mit Scotus und den Barfüßermönchen, die da lehren, daß die

41] De tantis rebus papa, theologi, iuristae aliique homines ex ratione sua nihil norunt, sed haec doctrina est e coelo per evangelium patefacta et ab impiis sanctis seu hypocritis pro haeresi proclamatur.

42] Ceterum si sectarii quidam orientur, quorum nonnulli iam forsan adsunt et tempore seditionis rusticanae mihi ipsi in conspectum veniebant, sentientes, omnes eos, qui semel Spiritum aut remissionem peccatorum accepissent et credentes facti essent, etsi deinde peccarent, manere tamen in fide, et peccatum ipsis nihil obesse. Hinc voces ipsorum: Fac quidquid lubet, modo credas, nihil tibi nocet, fides omnia peccata delet etc. Addunt praeterea, si quis post fidem et Spiritum acceptum peccet, eum nunquam Spiritum et fidem vere habuisse. Et tam insanos homines vidi et audivi multos, et vereor, ne adhuc in nonnullis daemon iste latitans habitet.

43] Si igitur, inquam, tales in posterum etiam orirentur, sciendum et docendum est, quod si sancti, qui originale peccatum adhuc habere se sentiunt et quotidie de eo poenitent et cum eo luctantur, insuper ruant in manifesta peccata, ut David in adulterium, homicidium et blasphemiam, eos excutere fidem et Spiritum Sanctum, et abesse tum ab ipsis 44] fidem et Spiritum Sanctum. Spiritus enim Sanctus non sinit peccatum dominari, invalescere et victoriam obtinere ac consummari, sed reprimit et coercet, ne facere possit, quod vult. Si vero facit, quod vult, certe Spiritus Sanctus et fides amittuntur nec simul adsunt. Sic enim inquit Iohannes [1 Ioh. 3, 9]: *Qui ex Deo natus est, non peccat et peccare non potest.* Et tamen etiam hoc verum est, quod idem Iohannes dicit [1 ep. 1, 8]: *Si dicimus nos peccatum non habere, mentimur, et veritas Dei non est in nobis.*

IV. De Evangelio.

Nunc ad evangelium redibimus, quod [R. 329 non uno modo consulit et auxiliatur nobis contra peccatum; Deus enim superabundanter dives et liberalis est gratia et bonitate sua: primum per verbum vocale, quo iubet praedicari remissionem peccatorum in universo mundo, et hoc est proprium officium evangelii; secundo per baptismum; tertio per venerandum sacramentum altaris; quarto per potestatem clavium, atque etiam per mutuum colloquium et consolationem fratrum, Matth. 18, 20: *Ubi duo aut tres fuerint congregati* etc.

V. De Baptismo.

1] Baptismus nihil est aliud quam verbum Dei cum mersione in aquam, secundum ipsius institutionem et mandatum, sive, ut Paulus inquit Eph. 5, 26, *lavacrum in verbo;* sicut et Augustinus ait: *Accedat verbum ad elemen-* 2] *tum, et fit sacramentum.* Quare non sentimus cum Thoma et monachis praedicatoribus seu Dominicanis, qui verbi et institutionis Dei obliti dicunt, *Deum spiritualem virtutem aquae contulisse et indidisse, quae peccatum* 3] *per aquam abluat.* Non etiam facimus

The Pope, the theologians, the jurists, and every other man know nothing of this [from their own reason], but it is a doctrine from heaven, revealed through the Gospel, and must suffer to be called heresy by the godless saints [or hypocrites].

On the other hand, if certain sectarists would arise, some of whom are perhaps already extant, and in the time of the insurrection [of the peasants] came to my own view, holding that all those who had once received the Spirit or the forgiveness of sins, or had become believers, even though they should afterwards sin, would still remain in the faith, and such sin would not harm them, and [hence] crying thus: "Do whatever you please; if you believe, it all amounts to nothing; faith blots out all sins," etc. — they say, besides, that if any one sins after he has received faith and the Spirit, he never truly had the Spirit and faith: I have had before me [seen and heard] many such insane men, and I fear that in some such a devil is still remaining [hiding and dwelling].

It is, accordingly, necessary to know and to teach that when holy men, still having and feeling original sin, also daily repenting of and striving with it, happen to fall into manifest sins, as David into adultery, murder, and blasphemy, that then faith and the Holy Ghost has departed from them [they cast out faith and the Holy Ghost]. For the Holy Ghost does not permit sin to have dominion, to gain the upper hand so as to be accomplished, but represses and restrains it so that it must not do what it wishes. But if it does what it wishes, the Holy Ghost and faith are [certainly] not present. For St. John says, 1 Ep. 3, 9: *Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin, . . . and he cannot sin.* And yet it is also the truth when the same St. John says, 1 Ep. 1, 8: *If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us.*

IV. Of the Gospel.

We will now return to the Gospel, which not merely in one way gives us counsel and aid against sin; for God is superabundantly rich [and liberal] in His grace [and goodness]. First, through the spoken Word by which the forgiveness of sins is preached [He commands to be preached] in the whole world; which is the peculiar office of the Gospel. Secondly, through Baptism. Thirdly, through the holy Sacrament of the Altar. Fourthly, through the power of the keys, and also through the mutual conversation and consolation of brethren, Matt. 18, 20: *Where two or three are gathered together,* etc.

V. Of Baptism.

Baptism is nothing else than the Word of God in the water, commanded by His institution, or, as Paul says, *a washing in the Word;* as also Augustine says: *Let the Word come to the element, and it becomes a Sacrament.* And for this reason we do not hold with Thomas and the monastic preachers [or Dominicans] who forget the Word (God's institution) and say that God has imparted to the water a spiritual power, which through the water washes away sin. Nor [do we agree] with Scotus and the Barefooted monks [Minorites or Franciscan monks], who teach

Taufe die Sünde abwasche aus Beistehen göttliches Willens, also daß diese Abwaschung geschieht allein durch Gottes Willen, gar nicht durchs Wort oder Wasser.

Von der Kintertaufe halten wir, daß man die Kinder taufen solle; denn sie gehören auch zu der verheißenen Erlösung, durch Christum geschehen, und die Kirche soll sie [die Taufe] ihnen reichen.

VI. Vom Sakrament des Altars.

Vom Sakrament des Altars halten wir, daß Brot und Wein im Abendmahl sei der wahrhaftige Leib und Blut Christi und werde nicht allein gereicht und empfangen von frommen, sondern auch von bösen Christen.

Und daß man nicht soll einerlei Gestalt allein geben. Und wir bedürfen der hohen Kunst nicht, die uns lehre, daß unter einer Gestalt so viel sei als unter beiden, wie uns die Sophisten und das Konzilium zu Konstanz lehren. Denn ob's gleich wahr wäre, daß unter einer so viel sei als unter beiden, so ist doch die einige Gestalt nicht die ganze Ordnung und Einsetzung, durch Christum gestiftet und befohlen. Und sonderlich verdammen und verfluchen wir in Gottes Namen diejenigen, so nicht allein beide[rlei] Gestalt lassen anstehen, sondern auch gar herrlich [selbstherrlich] daher verbieten, verdammen, lästern als Ketzerei und setzen sich damit wider und über Christum, unsern HErrn und Gott usw.

Von der Transsubstantiation achten wir der spitzigen Sophisterei gar nichts, da sie lehren, daß Brot und Wein verlassen oder verlieren ihr natürlich Wesen, und bleibe allein Gestalt und Farbe des Brots und nicht rechtes Brot. Denn es reimt sich mit der Schrift aufs beste, daß Brot da sei und bleibe, wie es St. Paulus selbst nennt: „Das Brot, das wir brechen", und: „Also esse er von dem Brot."

VII. Von [den] Schlüsseln.

Die Schlüssel sind ein Amt und Gewalt, der Kirche von Christo gegeben, zu binden und zu lösen die Sünden, nicht allein die groben und wohlbekannten Sünden, sondern auch die subtilen, heimlichen, die Gott allein erkennt. Wie geschrieben steht im 19. Psalm: „Wer kennet, wieviel er fehlet?" Und St. Paulus Röm. 7 klagt selbst, „daß er mit dem Fleisch diene dem Gesetze der Sünde". Denn es steht nicht bei uns, sondern bei Gott allein, zu urteilen, welche, wie groß und wieviel Sünden sind, wie geschrieben steht im 143. Psalm: „Gehe nicht ins Gericht mit deinem Knecht; denn vor dir ist kein lebendiger Mensch gerecht." Und Paulus 1 Kor. 4 auch sagt: „Ich bin mir wohl nichts bewußt, aber darum bin ich nicht gerecht."

VIII. Von der Beichte.

Weil die Absolution oder Kraft der Schlüssel [* des Schlüssels] auch eine Hilfe und Trost ist, wider die Sünde und böses Gewissen im Evangelio durch Christum gestiftet, so soll man die Beichte oder Absolution beileibe nicht lassen abkommen in der Kirche, sonderlich um der blöden [verzagten] Gewissen willen, auch um des jungen

cum Scoto et Minoritis seu monachis Franciscanis, qui docent, *baptismo ablui peccatum ex assistentia divinae voluntatis, et hanc ablutionem fieri tantum per Dei voluntatem, et minime per verbum et aquam.*

4] De paedobaptismo docemus infantes esse baptizandos. Pertinent enim ad promissam redemptionem per Christum factam. Et ecclesia debet illis baptismum et promissionis illius annuntiationem.

VI. De Sacramento Altaris.

1] De sacramento altaris sentimus [R. 330 panem et vinum in coena esse verum corpus et sanguinem Christi, et non tantum dari et sumi a piis, sed etiam ab impiis Christianis.

2] Et non tantum unam speciem esse dandam. Non enim indigemus doxosophia ista, quae nos doceat sub una specie tantum esse quantum sub utraque, sicut sophistae et Con-3] cilium Constantiense docent. Etsi enim verum esse forte possit, quod sub una tantum sit quantum sub utraque, tamen una species non est tota ordinatio et institutio per Chri-4] stum facta, tradita et mandata. Imprimis vero damnamus et exsecramur in nomine Domini omnes eos, qui non tantum utramque speciem omittunt, verum etiam tyrannice eam prohibent, damnant et blasphemant ut haeresin et ita se ipsos supra et contra Christum, Dominum et Deum nostrum, extollunt opponentes et praeponentes se Christo etc.

5] De transsubstantiatione subtilitatem sophisticam nihil curamus, qua fingunt panem et vinum relinquere et amittere naturalem suam substantiam, et tantum speciem et colorem panis et non verum panem remanere. Optime enim cum Sacra Scriptura congruit, quod panis adsit et maneat, sicut Paulus ipse nominat [1 Cor. 10, 16]: *Panis, quem frangimus.* Et [1 Cor. 11, 28]: *Ita edat de pane.*

VII. De Clavibus.

1] Claves sunt officium et potestas ecclesiae a Christo data, ad ligandum et solvendum peccata non tantum enormia et manifesta, sed etiam subtilia, abscondita, soli Deo nota, sicut Ps. 19, 13 scriptum est: *Delicta quis intelligit?* Et Rom. 7, 25 Paulus conqueritur, [R. 331 2] *se carne servire legi peccati.* Non enim penes nos est, sed solius Dei est iudicare, quae, quanta et quotuplicia sint peccata, ut scriptum est Ps. 143, 2: *Ne intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, quia non iustificabitur coram* 3] *te omnis vivens.* Et Paulus 1 Cor. 4, 4 inquit: *Nullius quidem mihi conscius sum, sed per hoc non iustificatus sum.*

VIII. De Confessione.

1] Quum absolutio et virtus clavium etiam sit consolatio et auxilium contra peccatum et malam conscientiam, in evangelio ab ipso Christo instituta, nequaquam in ecclesia confessio et absolutio abolenda est, praesertim propter teneras et pavidas conscientias et propter iuventutem indomitam et petulantem,

that, by the assistance of the divine will, Baptism washes away sins, and that this ablution occurs only through the will of God, and by no means through the Word or water.

Of the baptism of children we hold that children ought to be baptized. For they belong to the promised redemption made through Christ, and the Church should administer it [Baptism and the announcement of that promise] to them.

VI. Of the Sacrament of the Altar.

Of the Sacrament of the Altar we hold that bread and wine in the Supper are the true body and blood of Christ, and are given and received not only by the godly, but also by wicked Christians.

And that not only one form is to be given. [For] we do not need that high art [specious wisdom] which is to teach us that under the one form there is as much as under both, as the sophists and the Council of Constance teach. For even if it were true that there is as much under one as under both, yet the one form only is not the entire ordinance and institution [made] ordained and commanded by Christ. And we especially condemn and in God's name execrate those who not only omit both forms, but also quite autocratically [tyrannically] prohibit, condemn, and blaspheme them as heresy, and so exalt themselves against and above Christ, our Lord and God [opposing and placing themselves ahead of Christ], etc.

As regards transubstantiation, we care nothing about the sophistical subtlety by which they teach that bread and wine leave or lose their own natural substance, and that there remain only the appearance and color of bread, and not true bread. For it is in perfect agreement with Holy Scriptures that there is, and remains, bread, as Paul himself calls it, 1 Cor. 10, 16: *The bread which we break.* And 1 Cor. 11, 28: *Let him so eat of that bread.*

VII. Of the Keys.

The keys are an office and power given by Christ to the Church for binding and loosing sin, not only the gross and well-known sins, but also the subtle, hidden, which are known only to God, as it is written in Ps. 19, 13: *Who can understand his errors?* And in Rom. 7, 25 St. Paul himself complains that *with the flesh he serves the law of sin.* For it is not in our power, but belongs to God alone, to judge which, how great, and how many the sins are, as it is written in Ps. 143, 2: *Enter not into judgment with Thy servant; for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified.* And Paul, 1 Cor. 4, 4, says: *For I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified.*

VIII. Of Confession.

Since Absolution or the Power of the Keys is also an aid and consolation against sin and a bad conscience, ordained by Christ [Himself] in the Gospel, Confession or Absolution ought by no means to be abolished in the Church, especially on account of [tender and] timid consciences and on account of the untrained [and capricious] young people, in

rohen Volks willen, damit es verhört und unterrichtet werde in der christlichen Lehre.

Die Erzählung aber der Sünden soll frei sein einem jeden, was er erzählen oder nicht erzählen will; denn solange wir im Fleisch sind, werden wir nicht lügen, wenn wir sagen: Ich bin ein armer Mensch voller Sünden; Röm. 7: „Ich fühle ein ander Gesetz in meinen Gliedern“ usw. Denn dieweil die absolutio privata von dem Amt herkommt der Schlüssel, soll man sie nicht verachten, sondern hoch und wert halten wie alle andern Ämter der christlichen Kirche.

Und in diesen Stücken, so das mündliche, äußerliche Wort betreffen, ist fest darauf zu bleiben, daß Gott niemand seinen Geist oder Gnade gibt ohne durch oder mit dem vor[her]gehenden äußerlichen Wort, damit wir uns bewahren vor den Enthusiasten, das ist, Geistern, so sich rühmen, ohne und vor dem Wort den Geist zu haben, und danach die Schrift oder mündlich Wort richten, deuten und dehnen ihres Gefallens; wie der Münzer tat und noch viel tun heutigestages, die zwischen dem Geist und Buchstaben scharfe Richter sein wollen und wissen nicht, was sie sagen oder setzen. Denn das Papsttum auch ein eitel Enthusiasmus ist, darin der Papst rühmt, alle Rechte sind im Schrein seines Herzens, und was er mit seiner Kirche urteilt und heißt, das soll Geist und Recht sein, wenn's gleich über und wider die Schrift oder das mündliche Wort ist.

Das ist alles der alte Teufel und alte Schlange, der Adam und Eva auch zu Enthusiasten machte, vom äußerlichen Wort Gottes auf [Schwarm-] Geisterei und Eigendünkel führte und tat's doch auch durch andere äußerliche Worte. Gleichwie auch unsere Enthusiasten das äußerliche Wort verdammen, und doch sie selbst nicht schweigen, sondern die Welt voll plaudern und schreiben, gerade als könnte der Geist durch die Schrift oder mündlich Wort der Apostel nicht kommen, aber durch ihre Schrift und Wort müßte er kommen. Warum lassen sie auch ihre Predigt und Schrift nicht anstehen, bis der Geist selber in die Leute ohne und vor ihrer Schrift kommt, wie sie rühmen, daß er in sie [ge]kommen sei ohne Predigt der [Heiligen] Schrift? Davon hier weiter nicht Zeit ist zu disputieren; wir haben's sonst genugsam getrieben.

Denn auch die, so vor der Taufe glauben oder in der Taufe gläubig werden, haben's durchs äußerliche, vor[her]gehende Wort; als, die Alten, so zur Vernunft [ge]kommen sind, müssen zuvor gehört haben, daß, „wer da glaubt und getauft wird, der ist selig“, ob sie gleich, erst ungläubig, nach zehn Jahren den Geist und Taufe kriegen. Und Cornelius Act. am 10. hatte lange zuvor gehört bei den Juden vom künftigen Messias, dadurch er gerecht vor Gott und sein Gebet und Almosen angenehm waren in solchem Glauben (wie Lukas ihn gerecht und gottesfürchtig nennt), und nicht ohne solch vor[her]gehendes Wort oder Gehör konnte glauben noch gerecht sein. Aber St. Petrus mußte ihm offenbaren, daß der Messias (an welchen zukünftigen er bis daher geglaubt hatte) nun [ge]kommen wäre, und sein Glaube vom zukünftigen Messias ihn nicht bei den verstockten, ungläubigen Juden gefangen hielte, sonut audiatur, examinetur et instituatur in doctrina Christiana.

2] Enumeratio autem peccatorum debet esse unicuique libera, quid enumerare aut non enumerare velit. Quamdiu enim in carne sumus, non mentiemur confitentes et dicentes: Agnosco, me miserum esse peccatorem et scatere peccatis. Rom. 7, 23: *Sentio aliam legem in membris meis* etc. Et quum absolutio privata ab officio clavium oriatur, negligenda non est, sed maximi facienda, sicut et alia officia Christianae ecclesiae magni facienda sunt.

3] Et in his, quae vocale et externum Verbum concernunt, constanter tenendum est Deum nemini Spiritum vel gratiam suam largiri nisi per Verbum et cum Verbo externo et praecedente, ut ita praemuniamus nos adversum enthusiastas, id est, spiritus, qui iactitant se ante Verbum et sine Verbo Spiritum habere, et ideo Scripturam sive vocale Verbum iudicant, flectunt et reflectunt pro libito, ut faciebat Monetarius et multi adhuc hodie, qui acute discernere volunt inter spiritum et literam et neutrum norunt, nec [R. 332 4] quid statuant, sciunt. Quid, quod etiam papatus simpliciter est merus enthusiasmus, quo papa gloriatur omnia iura esse in scrinio sui pectoris, et quidquid ipse in ecclesia sua sentit et iubet, id spiritum et iustum esse, etiamsi supra et contra Scripturam et vocale Verbum aliquid statuat et praecipiat.

5] Hoc in universum antiquus est Satanas et serpens, qui etiam Adamum et Evam in enthusiasmum coniiciebat et ab externo Verbo Dei ad spiritualitates et proprias opiniones abducebat, id quod tamen et ipse per alia ex-
6] terna verba perficiebat. Perinde ac hodie nostri enthusiastae externum Verbum damnant et tamen ipsi non silent, sed mundum garrulitatibus et scriptionibus implent, quasi vero Spiritus per scripta et vocale verbum apostolorum venire nequeat, sed per ipsorum verba et scripta primum veniat. Cur ergo non ipsi etiam omittunt suas conciones et scriptiones, donec Spiritus ipse ad homines sine ipsorum scriptis et ante ea veniat, quemadmodum gloriantur Spiritum se accepisse sine praedicatione Scripturarum? Sed de his iam non vacat pluribus disputare; et satis alias de his a nobis dictum est.

7] Nam etiam ii, qui ante baptismum credunt vel in baptismo credere incipiunt, per externum praecedens Verbum credunt ut adulti. Audiunt enim [Marc. 16, 16]: *Quicunque crediderit et baptizatus fuerit salvus erit*, etiamsi primum increduli post decennium accipiant
8] Spiritum et baptismum. Cornelius Act. 10, 1 sqq. longe ante audierat apud Iudaeos de venturo Messia, per quem iustus coram Deo, preces et eleemosynas Deo gratus praestabat ex fide (sicut Lucas eum nominat iustum, pium et timentem Dei) et sine praecedente illo Verbo atque auditu credere et iustus esse non poterat. Petrus autem patefacere ei iubebatur, Messiam (in quem venturum hactenus ille crediderat) iam advenisse, ut fides [R. 333 eius de venturo Messia eum apud induratos et incredulos Iudaeos non captivum teneret, sed ut sciret se salvandum esse per praesentem

order that they may be examined, and instructed in the Christian doctrine.

But the enumeration of sins ought to be free to every one, as to what he wishes to enumerate or not to enumerate. For as long as we are in the flesh, we shall not lie when we say: "I am a poor man [I acknowledge that I am a miserable sinner], full of sin." Rom. 7, 23: *I see another law in my members*, etc. For since private absolution originates in the Office of the Keys, it should not be despised [neglected], but greatly and highly esteemed [of the greatest worth], as [also] all other offices of the Christian Church.

And in those things which concern the spoken, outward Word, we must firmly hold that God grants His Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward Word, in order that we may [thus] be protected against the enthusiasts, *i. e.*, spirits who boast that they have the Spirit without and before the Word, and accordingly judge Scripture or the spoken Word, and explain and stretch it at their pleasure, as Muenzer did, and many still do at the present day, who wish to be acute judges between the Spirit and the letter, and yet know not what they say or declare. For [indeed] the Papacy also is nothing but sheer enthusiasm, by which the Pope boasts that all rights exist in the shrine of his heart, and whatever he decides and commands with [in] his church is spirit and right, even though it is above and contrary to Scripture and the spoken Word.

All this is the old devil and old serpent, who also converted Adam and Eve into enthusiasts, and led them from the outward Word of God to spiritualizing and self-conceit, and nevertheless he accomplished this through other outward words. Just as also our enthusiasts [at the present day] condemn the outward Word, and nevertheless they themselves are not silent, but they fill the world with their pratings and writings, as though, indeed, the Spirit could not come through the writings and spoken word of the apostles, but [first] through their writings and words he must come. Why [then] do not they also omit their own sermons and writings, until the Spirit Himself come to men, without their writings and before them, as they boast that He has come into them without the preaching of the Scriptures? But of these matters there is not time now to dispute at greater length; we have elsewhere sufficiently urged this subject.

For even those who believe before Baptism, or become believing in Baptism, believe through the preceding outward Word, as the adults, who have come to reason, must first have heard: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved*, even though they are at first unbelieving, and receive the Spirit and Baptism ten years afterwards. Cornelius, Acts 10, 1 ff., had heard long before among the Jews of the coming Messiah, through whom he was righteous before God, and in such faith his prayers and alms were acceptable to God (as Luke calls him devout and God-fearing), and without such preceding Word and hearing could not have believed or been righteous. But St. Peter had to reveal to him that the Messiah (in whom, as one that was to come, he had hitherto believed) now had come, lest his faith concerning the coming Messiah hold him captive among the hardened and unbelieving Jews, but know that he was now to be

dern wüßte, daß er nun müßte selig werden durch den gegenwärtigen Messiam und denselben nicht mit den Juden verleugnen noch verfolgen usw.

Summa, der Enthusiasmus steckt in Adam und seinen Kindern von Anfang bis zum Ende der Welt, von dem alten Drachen in sie gestiftet und gegiftet, und ist aller Ketzerei, auch des Papsttums und Mahomets, Ursprung, Kraft und Macht. Darum sollen und müssen wir darauf beharren, daß Gott nicht will mit uns Menschen handeln denn durch sein äußerlich Wort und Sakrament. Alles aber, was ohne solch Wort und Sakrament vom Geist gerühmt wird, das ist der Teufel. Denn Gott wollte auch Mosi erstlich durch den feurigen Busch und mündlich Wort erscheinen; und kein Prophet, weder Elias noch Elisäus, außer oder ohne die zehn Gebote den Geist [ge]kriegt haben. Und Johannes der Täufer nicht ohne Gabriels vorgehendes Wort empfangen noch ohne Mariä Stimme in seiner Mutter Leibe sprang. Und St. Petrus spricht: „Die Propheten haben nicht aus menschlichem Willen, sondern aus dem Heiligen Geist geweissagt, doch als die heiligen Menschen Gottes." Aber ohne äußerlich Wort waren sie nicht heilig, viel weniger hätte sie als noch Unheilige der Heilige Geist zu reden getrieben; denn sie waren heilig, spricht er, da der Heilige Geist durch sie redete.

IX. Vom Bann.

Den großen Bann, wie es der Papst nennt, halten wir für eine lauter weltliche Strafe, und [derselbe] geht uns Kirchendiener nichts an. Aber der kleine, das ist, der rechte christliche Bann, ist, daß man offenbarliche, halsstarrige Sünder nicht soll lassen zum Sakrament oder anderer Gemeinschaft der Kirche kommen, bis sie sich bessern und die Sünde meiden. Und die Prediger sollen in diese geistliche Strafe oder Bann nicht mengen die weltliche Strafe.

X. Von der Weihe und Vokation.

Wenn die Bischöfe wollten rechte Bischöfe sein und sich der Kirche und des Evangelii annehmen, so möchte man ihnen das um der Liebe und Einigkeit willen, doch nicht aus Not lassen gegeben sein, daß sie uns und unsere Prediger ordinierten und konfirmierten; doch hintangesetzt alle Larven und Gespenste [Blendwerke] unchristliches Wesens und Gepränges. Nun sie aber nicht rechte Bischöfe sind oder auch nicht sein wollen, sondern weltliche Herren und Fürsten, die weder predigen noch lehren noch taufen noch kommunizieren, noch einiges Werk oder Amt der Kirche treiben wollen, dazu diejenigen, die solch Amt berufen treiben, verfolgen und verdammen, so muß [darf] dennoch um ihretwillen die Kirche nicht ohne Diener bleiben.

Darum, wie die alten Exempel der Kirche und der Väter uns lehren, wollen und sollen wir selbst ordinieren tüchtige Personen zu solchem Amt. Und das haben sie uns nicht zu verbieten noch zu wehren, auch [nicht] nach ihrem eigenen Rechte. Denn ihre Rechte sagen, daß diejenigen, so auch von Ketzern ordiniert sind, sollen geordiniert heißen und bleiben, gleichwie St. Hieronymus schreibt von der Kirche zu Alexandria, daß sie erstlich von Bischöfen [* ohne Bischöfe], durch die Priester und Prediger ingemein regiert sind worden.

Messiam, et hunc cum Iudaeorum turba non negaret, nec persequeretur etc.

9] Quid multis? Enthusiasmus insitus est Adamo et filiis eius a primo lapsu usque ad finem mundi, ab antiquo dracone ipsis veneno quodam implantatus et infusus, estque omnium haeresium et papatus et Mahometismi origo, 10] vis, vita et potentia. Quare in hoc nobis est constanter perseverandum, quod Deus non velit nobiscum aliter agere nisi per vocale Verbum et sacramenta, et quod, quidquid sine Verbo et sacramentis iactatur ut spiritus, sit 11] ipse diabolus. Nam Deus etiam Mosi voluit apparere per rubum ardentem et vocale Verbum. Et nullus propheta, sive Elias sive Elisaeus, Spiritum sine Decalogo sive Verbo 12] vocali accepit. Et Iohannes Baptista nec concipiebatur sine Gabrielis praecedente verbo, nec in matris utero saliebat sine Mariae verbo. 13] Et Petrus inquit, 2 Pet. 1, 21: *Prophetae non ex voluntate humana, sed Spiritu Sancto inspirati locuti sunt, sancti Dei homines*, qui sine Verbo externo non erant sancti, nec a Spiritu Sancto, ut non sancti seu profani, ad prophetandum impulsi; sed sancti erant, inquit Petrus, quum per eos Spiritus Sanctus loqueretur.

IX. De Excommunicatione.

Maiorem illam excommunicationem, quam papa ita nominat, non nisi civilem poenam esse ducimus, non pertinentem ad nos ministros ecclesiae. Minor autem, quam nominat, vera et Christiana est excommunicatio, quae manifestos et obstinatos peccatores non admittit ad sacramentum et communionem ecclesiae, donec emendentur et scelera vitent. Et ministri non debent confundere hanc ecclesiasticam poenam seu excommunicationem cum poenis civilibus. [R. 334

X. De Initiatione, Ordine et Vocatione.

1] Si episcopi suo officio recte fungerentur et curam ecclesiae et evangelii gererent, posset illis nomine caritatis et tranquillitatis, non ex necessitate, permitti, ut nos et nostros concionatores ordinarent et confirmarent, hac tamen conditione, ut seponerentur omnes larvae, praestigiae, deliramenta et spectra pom-2] pae ethnicae. Quia vero nec sunt nec esse volunt veri episcopi, sed politici dynastae et principes, qui nec concionantur et docent, nec baptizant, nec coenam administrant, nec ullum opus et officium ecclesiae praestant, sed eos, qui vocati munus illud subeunt, persequuntur et condemnant: profecto ipsorum culpa ecclesia non deserenda, nec ministris spolianda est.

3] Quapropter, sicut vetera exempla ecclesiae et patrum nos docent, idoneos ad hoc officium ipsi ordinare debemus et volumus. Et hoc nobis prohibere non possunt, etiam secundum sua iura, quae affirmant etiam ab haereticis ordinatos vere esse ordinatos, et illam ordinationem non debere mutari. Et Hieronymus scribit de ecclesia Alexandrina, eam primum absque episcopis, presbyteris et ministris communi opera gubernatam fuisse.

saved by the present Messiah, and must not, with the [rabble of the] Jews deny nor persecute Him.

In a word, enthusiasm inheres in Adam and his children from the beginning [from the first fall] to the end of the world, [its poison] having been implanted and infused into them by the old dragon, and is the origin, power [life], and strength of all heresy, especially of that of the Papacy and Mahomet. Therefore we ought and must constantly maintain this point, that God does not wish to deal with us otherwise than through the spoken Word and the Sacraments. It is the devil himself whatsoever is extolled as Spirit without the Word and Sacraments. For God wished to appear even to Moses through the burning bush and spoken Word; and no prophet, neither Elijah nor Elisha, received the Spirit without the Ten Commandments [or spoken Word]. Neither was John the Baptist conceived without the preceding word of Gabriel, nor did he leap in his mother's womb without the voice of Mary. And Peter says, 2. Ep. 1, 21: *The prophecy came not by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.* Without the outward Word, however, they were not holy, much less would the Holy Ghost have moved them to speak when they still were unholy [or profane]; for they were holy, says he, since the Holy Ghost spake through them.

IX. Of Excommunication.

The greater excommunication, as the Pope calls it, we regard only as a civil penalty, and it does not concern us ministers of the Church. But the lesser, that is, the true Christian excommunication, consists in this, that manifest and obstinate sinners are not admitted to the Sacrament and other communion of the Church until they amend their lives and avoid sin. And ministers ought not to mingle secular punishments with this ecclesiastical punishment, or excommunication.

X. Of Ordination and the Call.

If the bishops would be true bishops [would rightly discharge their office], and would devote themselves to the Church and the Gospel, it might be granted to them for the sake of love and unity, but not from necessity, to ordain and confirm us and our preachers; omitting, however, all comedies and spectacular display [deceptions, absurdities, and appearances] of unchristian [heathenish] parade and pomp. But because they neither are, nor wish to be, true bishops, but worldly lords and princes, who will neither preach, nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the Lord's Supper, nor perform any work or office of the Church, and, moreover, persecute and condemn those who discharge these functions, having been called to do so, the Church ought not on their account to remain without ministers [to be forsaken by or deprived of ministers].

Therefore, as the ancient examples of the Church and the Fathers teach us, we ourselves will and ought to ordain suitable persons to this office; and, even according to their own laws, they have not the right to forbid or prevent us. For their laws say that those ordained even by heretics should be declared [truly] ordained and stay ordained [and that such ordination must not be changed], as St. Jerome writes of the Church at Alexandria, that at first it was governed in common by priests and preachers, without bishops.

XI. Von der Prieſterehe.

Daß ſie die Ehe verboten und den göttlichen Stand der Prieſter mit ewiger Keuſchheit beſchwert haben, das [des] haben ſie weder Fug noch Recht gehabt, ſondern haben gehandelt als die endechriſtiſchen, tyranniſchen, verzweifelten Buben und damit Urſache gegeben allerlei erſchrecklicher, greulicher, unzähliger Sünden der Unkeuſchheit, darin ſie denn noch ſtecken. Als wenig nun uns oder ihnen Macht gegeben iſt, aus einem Männlein ein Fräulein oder aus einem Fräulein ein Männlein zu machen oder beides nichts zu machen, ſo wenig haben ſie auch Macht gehabt, ſolche Kreaturen Gottes zu ſcheiden oder [zu] verbieten, daß ſie nicht ehrlich und ehelich beieinander ſollten wohnen. Darum wollen wir in ihren leidigen Zölibat nicht willigen, auch nicht leiden, ſondern [wir wollen] die Ehe frei haben, wie ſie Gott geordnet und geſtiftet hat, und wollen ſein Werk nicht zerreißen noch hindern; denn St. Paulus ſagt 1 Tim. 4, es ſei eine „teufliſche Lehre".

XII. Von der Kirche.

Wir geſtehen ihnen nicht, daß ſie die Kirche ſeien, und [ſie] ſind's auch nicht, und [wir] wollen's auch nicht hören, was ſie unter dem Namen der Kirche gebieten oder verbieten. Denn es weiß, Gott Lob, ein Kind von ſieben Jahren, was die Kirche ſei, nämlich die heiligen Gläubigen und die Schäflein, die ihres Hirten Stimme hören. Denn alſo beten die Kinder: „Ich glaube eine heilige chriſtliche Kirche." Dieſe Heiligkeit ſteht nicht in Chorhemden, Platten, langen Röcken und andern ihren Zeremonien, durch ſie über [hinausgehend über] die Heilige Schrift erdichtet, ſondern im Wort Gottes und rechtem Glauben.

XIII. Wie man vor Gott gerecht wird, und von guten Werken.

Was ich davon bisher und ſtetiglich gelehrt habe, das weiß ich gar nicht zu ändern, nämlich daß wir durch den Glauben (wie St. Petrus ſagt) ein ander, neu, rein Herz kriegen, und Gott um Chriſtus' willen, unſers Mittlers, uns für ganz gerecht und heilig halten will und hält. Obwohl die Sünde im Fleiſch noch nicht gar weg oder tot iſt, ſo will er ſie doch nicht rächen [* rechnen (zurechnen)] noch wiſſen.

Und auf ſolchen Glauben, Verneuerung und Vergebung der Sünden folgen dann gute Werke. Und was an demſelben [denſelben] auch noch ſündlich oder Mangel iſt, ſoll nicht für Sünde oder Mangel gerechnet werden eben um desſelben Chriſti willen, ſondern der Menſch ſoll ganz, beide nach der Perſon und ſeinen Werken, gerecht und heilig heißen und ſein aus lauter Gnade und Barmherzigkeit in Chriſto, über uns ausgeſchüttet und ausgebreitet. Darum können wir nicht rühmen viel Verdienſt und Werke, wo ſie ohne Gnade und Barmherzigkeit angeſehen werden, ſondern wie geſchrieben ſteht 1 Kor. 1: „Wer ſich rühmet, der rühme ſich des HErrn", das iſt, daß er einen gnädigen Gott hat. So iſt's alles gut. Sagen auch weiter, daß, wo gute Werke nicht folgen, ſo iſt der Glaube falſch und nicht recht.

XI. De Coniugio Sacerdotum.

1] Quod coniugium prohibuerunt et diuinum ordinem sacerdotum perpetuo coelibatu onerarunt, malitiose sine omni honesta causa fecerunt, et in eo antichristi, tyrannorum et pessimorum nebulonum opus exercuerunt, ac causam praebuerunt multis horrendis, [R. 335 abominandis, innumeris peccatis tetrarum libi-
2] dinum, in quibus adhuc volutantur. Sicut autem nec nobis nec ipsis datum est, ut ex masculo feminam aut ex femella marem condamus aut utrumque annihilemus, ita etiam ipsis non est datum, ut creaturas Dei disiungant, separent, vetent, ne in coniugio honeste
3] una cohabitent et vivant. Quare ipsorum spurco coelibatui assentiri nolumus, nec etiam illum feremus, sed coniugium liberum habere volumus, sicut Deus illud ipse ordinavit et instituit, cuius opus nec rescindere nec destruere nec impedire volumus. Paulus enim dicit prohibitionem coniugii esse *doctrinam daemoniorum*, 1 Tim. 4, 1 sqq.

XII. De Ecclesia.

1] Nequaquam largimur ipsis, quod sint ecclesia, quia revera non sunt ecclesia. Non etiam audiemus ea, quae nomine ecclesiae vel
2] mandant vel vetant. Nam (Deo sit gratia) puer septem annorum novit hodie, quid sit ecclesia, nempe credentes, sancti, oviculae audientes vocem pastoris sui. Sic enim orant
3] pueri: *Credo sanctam ecclesiam catholicam* sive Christianam. Haec sanctitas non consistit in amiculo linteo, insigni verticali, veste talari et aliis ipsorum ceremoniis, contra Sacram Scripturam excogitatis, sed in Verbo Dei et vera fide.

XIII. Quomodo coram Deo Homo Iustificetur, et de Bonis Operibus.

1] Quod de iustificatione hactenus semper et assidue docui, mutare nec in minimo possum, videlicet nos per fidem, ut Petrus [R. 336 Act. 15, 9 loquitur, aliud novum et mundum cor acquirere, et Deum propter Christum, mediatorem nostrum, nos iustos et sanctos reputare. Et etsi peccatum in carne nondum plane ablatum et mortuum est, tamen Deus illud nobis non vult imputare nec meminisse.

2] Hanc fidem, renovationem et remissionem peccatorum sequuntur bona opera. Et quod in illis pollutum et imperfectum est, pro peccato et defectu non censetur, idque etiam propter Christum, atque ita totus homo, quum quoad personam suam tum quoad opera sua, iustus et sanctus est et nominatur ex mera gratia et misericordia, in Christo super nos
3] effusa, expansa et amplificata. Quare gloriari ob merita et opera non possumus, quum absque gratia et misericordia aspiciuntur, sed ut scriptum est 1 Cor. 1, 31: *Qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur*, quod scilicet habeat Deum propitium. Sic enim omnia bene se habent.
4] Dicimus praeterea, ubi non sequuntur bona opera, ibi fidem esse falsam et non veram.

XI. Of the Marriage of Priests.

To prohibit marriage, and to burden the divine order of priests with perpetual celibacy, they have had neither authority nor right [they have done out of malice, without any honest reason], but have acted like antichristian, tyrannical, desperate scoundrels [have performed the work of antichrist, of tyrants and the worst knaves], and have thereby caused all kinds of horrible, abominable, innumerable sins of unchastity [depraved lusts], in which they still wallow. Now, as little as we or they have been given the power to make a woman out of a man or a man out of a woman, or to nullify either sex, so little have they had the power to [sunder and] separate such creatures of God, or to forbid them from living [and cohabiting] honestly in marriage with one another. Therefore we are unwilling to assent to their abominable celibacy, nor will we [even] tolerate it, but we wish to have marriage free as God has instituted [and ordained] it, and we wish neither to rescind nor hinder His work; for Paul says, 1 Tim. 4, 1 ff., that this [prohibition of marriage] is *a doctrine of devils.*

XII. Of the Church.

We do not concede to them that they are the Church, and [in truth] they are not [the Church]; nor will we listen to those things which, under the name of Church, they enjoin or forbid. For, thank God, [to-day] a child seven years old knows what the Church is, namely, the holy believers and lambs who hear the voice of their Shepherd. For the children pray thus: *I believe in one holy* [catholic or] *Christian Church.* This holiness does not consist in albs, tonsures, long gowns, and other of their ceremonies devised by them beyond Holy Scripture, but in the Word of God and true faith.

XIII. How One is Justified before God, and of Good Works.

What I have hitherto and constantly taught concerning this I know not how to change in the least, namely, that by faith, as St. Peter says, we acquire a new and clean heart, and God will and does account us entirely righteous and holy for the sake of Christ, our Mediator. And although sin in the flesh has not yet been altogether removed or become dead, yet He will not punish or remember it.

And such faith, renewal, and forgiveness of sins is followed by good works. And what there is still sinful or imperfect also in them shall not be accounted as sin or defect, even [and that, too] for Christ's sake; but the entire man, both as to his person and his works, is to be called and to be righteous and holy from pure grace and mercy, shed upon us [unfolded] and spread over us in Christ. Therefore we cannot boast of many merits and works, if they are viewed apart from grace and mercy, but as it is written, 1 Cor. 1, 31: *He that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord,* namely, that he has a gracious God. For thus all is well. We say, besides, that if good works do not follow, faith is false and not true.

XIV. Von Klostergelübden.

Weil die Klostergelübde stracks wider den ersten Hauptartikel streiten, so sollen sie schlecht abe [abgetan] sein. Denn sie sind's, da Christus von sagt Matth. 24: Ego sum Christus etc. Denn wer da gelobt ein Klosterleben, der glaubt, daß er ein besser Leben führe denn der gemeine Christenmann und will durch seine Werke nicht allein ihm selber, sondern auch andern zum Himmel helfen; das heißt Christum verleugnen. Und sie rühmen aus ihrem St. Thomas [Aquinas], daß [das] Klostergelübde der Taufe gleich sei. Das ist eine Gotteslästerung.

XV. Von Menschensatzungen.

Daß die Papisten sagen, Menschensatzungen dienen zur Vergebung der Sünden oder verdienen die Seligkeit, das ist unchristlich und verdammt, wie Christus spricht: „Vergeblich dienen sie mir, weil sie lehren solche Lehren, die nichts sind denn Menschengebote." Item ad Titum 1: Aversantium veritatem. Item, daß sie sagen, es sei Todsünde, solche Satzungen brechen, ist auch nicht recht.

Dies sind die Artikel, darauf ich stehen muß und stehen will bis in meinen Tod, ob Gott will, und weiß darin nichts zu ändern noch nachzugeben. Will aber jemand etwas nachgeben, das tue er auf sein Gewissen.

Zuletzt ist noch der Gaukelsack [die Zaubertasche] des Papstes dahinten von närrischen und kindischen Artikeln, als von Kirchenweihe, von Glockentaufen, Altarsteintaufen und Gevattern dazu bitten, die dazu gaben usw. Welches Taufen ein Spott und Hohn der heiligen Taufe ist, daß man's nicht leiden soll. Danach von Lichtweihen, Palmen, Fladen, Hafer, Würzweihen usw., welches doch nicht kann geweiht heißen noch sein, sondern eitel Spott und Betrug ist. Und des Gaukelwerks unzählig viel, welche wir befehlen ihrem Gott und ihnen selbst anzubeten, bis sie es müde werden; wir wollen damit unverworren sein.

XIV. De Votis Monasticis.

1] Quia vota monastica e diametro pugnant cum primo principali articulo, ideo plane abroganda sunt. Ea enim sunt, de quibus Christus inquit Matth. 24, 5. 23 sqq.: *Ego sum* 2] *Christus* etc. Qui enim votum facit in monasterio vivendi, is credit se vitae rationem sanctiorem initurum esse, quam alii Christiani ducunt, et suis operibus non tantum sibi, sed etiam aliis coelum mereri vult. Hoc vero 3] quid aliud est quam Christum negare? Et pontificii ex suo Thoma dicere non erubescunt, votum monasticum esse aequale et par baptismo. Haec blasphemia est in Deum.

XV. De Humanis Traditionibus.

1] Quod pontificii dicunt humanas [R. 337 traditiones facere ad remissionem peccatorum et mereri salutem, plane impium et damnatum est, sicut Christus inquit [Matth. 15, 9]: *Frustra colunt me docentes doctrinas et mandata hominum.* Et Tit. 1, 14: *Aversantium* 2] *veritatem.* Item, quod dicunt, esse peccatum mortale, si quis non servet ista statuta, etiam impium est.

3] Hi sunt articuli, in quibus constantem me esse oportet, et constans ero usque ad mortem meam, Deo dante. Et nec mutare nec concedere quidquam in illis possum. Si quis alius voluerit aliquid concedere, faciat id periculo suae conscientiae.

4] Postremo restant praestigiae papales de stultis et puerilibus articulis, ut de templorum dedicationibus, campanarum baptizationibus, altarium dedicationibus et baptizationibus adhibitis patrinis seu susceptoribus, qui munera largiebantur etc. Haec baptizatio fit in contumeliam, ignominiam et dedecus sacrosancti baptismi et ideo minime toleranda est. 5] Deinde de consecrationibus cereorum, palmarum, placentarum, avenae, herbarum et aromatum etc., quae omnia non possunt dici consecrationes, sed ludibria et merae imposturae sunt. Et sunt talium praestigiarum infinitae aliae, quas committimus deo ipsorum et ipsis adorandas, donec illis defatigentur. Nobis nihil cum istis negotii esse debet.

1] *Martinus Luther D.* subscripsit.
2] *Iustus Ionas D., Rector,* subscripsit manu propria.
3] *Iohannes Bugenhagen, Pomer. D.,* subscripsit.
4] *Caspar Creutziger D.* subscripsit.
5] *Niclas Ambsdorf* subscripsit *Magdeburgensis.*
6] *Georgius Spalatinus* subscripsit *Aldenburgensis.*

Ich, **Philippus Melanchthon,** halte diese obgestalte [oben gestellten] Artikel auch für recht und christlich. Vom Papst aber halte ich, so er das Evangelium wollte zulassen, daß ihm um Friedens und gemeiner Einigkeit willen derjenigen Christen, so auch unter ihm sind und künftig sein möchten, seine Superiorität über die Bischöfe, die er sonst hat, iure humano auch von uns zugelassen sei.

7] Ego, *Philippus Melanthon,* supra positos articulos approbo ut pios et Christianos. De pontifice autem statuo, si evange- [R. 338 lium admitteret, posse ei propter pacem et communem tranquillitatem Christianorum, qui iam sub ipso sunt et in posterum sub ipso erunt, superioritatem in episcopos, quam alioqui habet, iure humano etiam a nobis permitti.

8] *Iohannes Agricola Eisleben* subscripsit.
9] *Gabriel Didymus* subscripsit.
10] Ego, *Urbanus Regius D., Ecclesiarum* in *Ducatu Luneburgensi Superintendens,* subscribo meo et fratrum meorum nomine et Ecclesiae Hannopheranae.
11] Ego, *Stephanus Agricola, Ecclesiastes Curiensis,* subscribo.
12] Et ego, *Iohannes Draconites,* subscribo, *Professor* et *Ecclesiastes Marburgensis.*

XIV. Of Monastic Vows.

As monastic vows directly conflict with the first chief article, they must be absolutely abolished. For it is of them that Christ says, Matt. 24, 5. 23 ff.: *I am Christ*, etc. For he who makes a vow to live as a monk believes that he will enter upon a mode of life holier than ordinary Christians lead, and wishes to earn heaven by his own works not only for himself, but also for others; this is to deny Christ. And they boast from their St. Thomas that a monastic vow is equal to Baptism. This is blasphemy [against God].

XV. Of Human Traditions.

The declaration of the Papists that human traditions serve for the remission of sins, or merit salvation, is [altogether] unchristian and condemned, as Christ says Matt. 15, 9: *In vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* Again, Titus 1, 14: *That turn from the truth.* Again, when they declare that it is a mortal sin if one breaks these ordinances [does not keep these statutes], this, too, is not right.

These are the articles on which I must stand, and, God willing, shall stand even to my death; and I do not know how to change or to yield anything in them. If any one wishes to yield anything, let him do it at the peril of his conscience.

Lastly, there still remains the Pope's bag of impostures concerning foolish and childish articles, as, the dedication of churches, the baptism of bells, the baptism of the altar-stone, and the inviting of sponsors to these rites, who would make donations towards them. Such baptizing is a reproach and mockery of Holy Baptism, hence should not be tolerated. Furthermore, concerning the consecration of wax-tapers, palm-branches, cakes, oats, [herbs,] spices, etc., which indeed, cannot be called consecrations, but are sheer mockery and fraud. And such deceptions there are without number, which we commend for adoration to their god and to themselves, until they weary of it. We will [ought to] have nothing to do with them.

Dr. Martin Luther subscribed.
Dr. Justus Jonas, Rector, subscribed with his own hand.
Dr. John Bugenhagen, Pomeranus, subscribed.
Dr. Caspar Creutziger subscribed.
Niclas Ambsdorf of Magdeburg subscribed.
George Spalatin of Altenburg subscribed.
I, *Philip Melanchthon*, also regard [approve] the above articles as right and Christian. But regarding the Pope I hold that, if he would allow the Gospel, his superiority over the bishops which he has otherwise, is conceded to him by human right also by us, for the sake of the peace and general unity of those Christians who are also under him, and may be under him hereafter.

John Agricola of Eisleben subscribed.
Gabriel Didymus subscribed.
I, *Dr. Urban Rhegius*, Superintendent of the churches in the Duchy of Lueneburg, subscribe in my own name and in the name of my brethren, and of the Church of Hannover.
I, *Stephen Agricola*, Minister at Hof, subscribe.
Also I, *John Draconites*, Professor and Minister at Marburg, subscribe.

13] Ego, *Chunradus Figenbotz,* pro gloria Dei subscribo, me ita credidisse, et adhuc praedico et credo firmiter uti supra.
14] *Andreas Osiander, Ecclesiastes Nurembergensis,* subscribo.
15] *M. Vitus Dieterich, Ecclesiastes Noribergensis,* subscribo.
16] *Erhardus Schnepffius, Concionator Stugardiensis,* subscribo.
17] *Conradus Otingerus, Phorcensis Ulrichi Ducis Concionator.*
18] *Simon Schnevveis, Parochus Ecclesiae* in *Crailsheim.*
19] *Iohannes Schlainhauffen, Pastor Ecclesiae Cotensis,* subscribo.
20] *M. Georgius Heltus Forchemius.*
21] *M. Adamus a Fulda,*
22] *M. Anthonius Corvinus, Concionatores Hessiaci.*
23] Rursum ego, *Iohannes Bugenhagius Pomeranus D.,* subscribo nomine Magistri *Iohannis Brentii,* quemadmodum a Schmalkaldia recedens mihi mandavit ore et literis, quas his fratribus, qui subscripserunt, ostendi.
24] Ego, *Dionysius Melander,* subscribo Confessioni, Apologiae et Concordiae in re Eucharistiae.
25] *Paulus Rhodius, Superintendens Stetinensis.* [R. 339
26] *Gerardus Oeniken, Superintendens Ecclesiae Mindensis.*
27] Ego, *Brixius Northanus, Ecclesiae Christi, quae est Susati, minister,* subscribo articulis reverendi Patris M. Lutheri et fateor me hactenus ita credidisse et docuisse et porro per Spiritum Christi ita crediturum et docturum.
28] *Michael Coelius, Concionator Mansfeldensis,* subscripsit.
29] *M. Petrus Geltnerus, Concionator Franckenfurdensis,* subscripsit.
30] *Wendalinus Faber, Parochus Seburgae* in *Mansfeldia.*
31] Ego, *Iohannes Aepinus,* subscribo.
32] Similiter et ego, *Iohannes Amsterdamus, Bremensis.*
33] Ego, *Fridericus Myconius, Gothanae Ecclesiae apud Thuringos Pastor,* meo et *Iusti Menii Isenacensis* nomine subscribo.
34] Ego, *Iohannes Langus, Doctor* et *Erphurdiensis Ecclesiae Concionator,* meo et aliorum meorum in Evangelio Cooperariorum nomine, nempe:
35] *Domini Licentiati Ludovici Platzii Melosingi.*
36] *Domini Magistri Sigismundi Kirchneri.*
37] *Domini Wolfgangi Kismetter.*
38] *Domini Melchioris Weitmann.*
39] *Domini Iohannis Tall.*
40] *Domini Iohannis Kiliani.*
41] *Domini Nicolai Fabri.*
42] *Domini Andreae Menseri,* mea manu subscribo.
43] Et ego, *Egidius Mechlerus,* mea manu subscripsi.

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DE POTESTATE ET PRIMATU PAPAE.

Tractatus per Theologos Smalcaldiae Congregatos Conscriptus.

Anno MDXXXVII.

1] Romanus pontifex arrogat sibi, quod iure divino sit supra omnes episcopos et pastores.

2] Deinde addit etiam, quod iure divino habeat utrumque gladium, hoc est, auctoritatem etiam regna conferendi et transferendi.

3] Et tertio dicit, quod haec credere sit de necessitate salutis. Et propter has causas Romanus episcopus vocat se vicarium Christi in terris.

4] Hos tres articulos sentimus falsos, impios, tyrannicos et perniciosos ecclesiae esse.

5] Ut autem intelligi nostra confirmatio possit, primum definiemus, quid vocent supra

Von der Gewalt und Oberkeit des Papsts,

durch die Gelehrten zusammengezogen zu Schmalkalden.

Anno MDXXXVII.

Der Papst rühmt sich zum ersten, daß er aus göttlichen Rechten der Oberste sei über alle andern Bischöfe und Pfarrherren in der ganzen Christenheit.

Zum andern, daß er aus göttlichen Rechten habe beide Schwerter, das ist, daß er möge [könne] Könige setzen und entsetzen, weltliche Reiche ordnen usw.

Zum dritten sagt er, daß man solches bei Verlust der ewigen Seligkeit zu glauben schuldig sei. Und dies sind die Ursachen, daß der Papst sich nennt und rühmt, er sei der Statthalter Christi auf Erden.

Diese drei Artikel halten und erkennen wir, daß sie falsch, ungöttlich, tyrannisch und der christlichen Kirche ganz schädlich sind.

Auf daß nun unser Grund und Meinung desto baß [besser] möge verstanden werden, wollen wir

I, *Conrad Figenbotz*, for the glory of God subscribe that I have thus believed, and am still preaching and firmly believing as above.

I, *Andrew Osiander* of Nuernberg, subscribe.

I, Magister *Veit Dieterich*, Minister at Nuernberg, subscribe.

I, *Erhard Schnepf*, Preacher at Stuttgart, subscribe.

Conrad Oetinger, Preacher of Duke Ulrich at Pforzheim.

Simon Schnevveis, Pastor of the Church at Crailsheim.

I, *John Schlainhauffen*, Pastor of the Church at Koethen, subscribe.

The Reverend Magister *George Helt* of Forchheim.

The Reverend Magister *Adam of Fulda*, Preacher in Hesse.

The Reverend Magister *Anthony Corvinus*, Preacher in Hesse.

I, *Doctor John Bugenhagen, Pomeranus*, again subscribe in the name of Magister *John Brentz*, as on departing from Smalcald he directed me orally and by a letter, which I have shown to these brethren who have subscribed.

I, *Dionysius Melander*, subscribe to the Confession, the Apology, and the Concordia on the subject of the Eucharist.

Paul Rhodius, Superintendent of Stettin.

Gerard Oeniken, Superintendent of the Church at Minden.

I, *Brixius Northanus*, Minister of the Church of Christ which is at Soest, subscribe to the Articles of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, and confess that hitherto I have thus believed and taught, and by the Spirit of Christ I shall continue thus to believe and teach.

Michael Coelius, Preacher at Mansfeld, subscribed.

The Reverend Magister *Peter Geltner*, Preacher at Frankfort, subscribed.

Wendal Faber, Pastor of Seeburg in Mansfeld.

I, *John Aepinus*, subscribe.

Likewise, I, *John Amsterdam* of Bremen.

I, *Frederick Myconius*, Pastor of the Church at Gotha in Thuringia, subscribe in my own name and in that of *Justus Menius* of Eisenach.

I, *Doctor John Lang*, Preacher of the Church at Erfurt, subscribe with my own hand in my own name, and in that of my other coworkers in the Gospel, namely:

The Reverend Licentiate *Ludwig Platz* of Melsungen.

The Reverend Magister *Sigismund Kirchner.*

The Reverend *Wolfgang Kismetter.*

The Reverend *Melchior Weitmann.*

The Reverend *John Tall.*

The Reverend *John Kilian.*

The Reverend *Nicholas Faber.*

The Reverend *Andrew Menser.*

And I, *Egidius Mechler*, have subscribed with my own hand.

OF THE POWER AND PRIMACY OF THE POPE.

Treatise Compiled by the Theologians Assembled at Smalcald, in the Year 1537.

The Roman Pontiff claims for himself [in the first place] that by divine right he is [supreme] above all bishops and pastors [in all Christendom].

Secondly, he adds also that by divine right he has both swords, *i. e.*, the authority also of bestowing and transferring kingdoms [enthroning and deposing kings, regulating secular dominions, etc.].

And thirdly, he says that to believe this is necessary for salvation. And for these reasons the Roman bishop calls himself [and boasts that he is] the vicar of Christ on earth.

These three articles we hold to be false, godless, tyrannical, and [quite] pernicious to the Church.

Now, in order that our proof [reason and opinion] may be [better] understood, we shall first define what they call being above all [what it means that he boasts of being supreme] by divine right. For they mean that he is universal [that the Pope is the general bishop over the entire Christian Church], or, as they say, ecumenical bishop, *i. e.*, from whom all bishops and pastors throughout the

omnes esse iure divino. Intelligunt enim esse episcopum universalem et, ut ipsi loquuntur, *αἰκουμενικόν*, id est, a quo debeant petere ordinationem et confirmationem omnes episcopi et pastores per totum orbem terrarum, qui habeat ius eligendi, ordinandi, confirmandi, 6] deponendi omnes episcopos. Ad haec arrogat sibi auctoritatem condendi leges de cultibus, de mutatione sacramentorum, de doctrina, et vult suos articulos, sua decreta, suas leges existimari pares legibus divinis, hoc est, sentit sic obligari conscientias hominum legibus pontificiis, ut peccent mortaliter, qui eas negligunt etiam sine scandalo. Et atrocius est, quod addit, quod sit de necessitate salutis haec omnia credere.

zum ersten anzeigen, was es heiße, daß er rühmt, er sei aus göttlichen Rechten der Oberste. Denn also meinen sie es, daß der Papst über die ganze christliche Kirche gemeiner Bischof und, wie sie es nennen, oecumenicus episcopus sei, das ist, von welchem alle Bischöfe und Pfarrherren durch die ganze Welt sollen ordiniert und bestätigt werden, daß er allein Recht und Macht habe, alle Bischöfe und Pfarrherren zu wählen, ordnen, bestätigen und einzusetzen [* zu entsetzen]. Neben dem maßt er sich auch dies an, daß er Macht habe, allerlei Gesetze zu machen von Gottesdiensten, Änderung der Sakramente und der Lehre, und will, daß man seine Statuta und Satzungen andern Artikeln des christlichen Glaubens und der Heiligen Schrift soll gleich halten, als die ohne Sünde nicht mögen [können] nachgelassen werden. Denn er will solche Gewalt auf das göttliche Recht und Heilige Schrift gründen; ja er will, daß man es der Heiligen Schrift und den Geboten Gottes soll vorziehen, und das noch ärger ist, setzt er noch das hinzu: Solches alles soll und muß man glauben bei Verlust der ewigen Seligkeit.

7] Primum igitur ostendamus ex evangelio, quod Romanus episcopus non sit iure [R. 341 divino supra alios episcopos et pastores.

Darum wollen wir zum ersten aus dem heiligen Evangelio anzeigen, daß der Papst gar keiner Oberkeit [Obrigkeit, Obergewalt] über andere Bischöfe und Seelsorger aus göttlichem Recht sich möge anmaßen.

8] Luc. 22, 25 Christus expresse prohibet dominationem inter apostolos. Nam haec ipsa erat quaestio: quum Christus dixisset de sua passione, disputabant, quis esset praefuturus et tamquam absentis Christi vicarius futurus. Ibi Christus hunc apostolorum errorem reprehendit et docet non futuram inter illos dominationem seu superioritatem, sed apostolos tamquam pares ad commune ministerium evangelii mittendos esse. Ideo ait: *Reges gentium dominantur eis, vos autem non sic; sed quicunque voluerit esse maior inter vos, erit minister vester.* Hic ostendit antithesis, quod dominatio improbetur.

I. Luk. 22 verbietet Christus mit klaren, hellen Worten, daß kein Apostel einige Oberkeit über die andern haben soll. Denn eben dies war die Frage unter den Jüngern, als Christus von seinem Leiden schon gesagt hatte, daß sie disputierten untereinander, wer unter ihnen Herr sein und Christum nach seinem Absterben verwesen sollte. Aber Christus straft solchen Irrtum der Apostel und lehrt sie, es werde die Weise nicht haben, daß sie wollten Herren sein und Oberkeit haben, sondern sie sollten zugleich Apostel sein und in gleichem Amt das Evangelium predigen. Darum sagt er auch: „Die weltlichen Könige herrschen, und die Gewaltigen heißt man gnädige Herren. Ihr aber nicht also; sondern der Größte unter euch soll sein wie der Geringste und der Vornehmste wie ein Diener." Hier sieht man, wenn man's gegeneinander hält, daß er keine Herrschaft unter den Aposteln haben will.

Idem docet similitudo, quum Christus in eadem disputatione de regno, Matth. 18, 2, collocat in medio puerum, significans non futurum principatum inter ministros, sicut nec puer principatum aliquem sibi sumit aut appetit.

II. Wie solches auch wohl scheint [deutlich hervorgeht] aus dem andern Gleichnis, da Christus in gleicher Disputation von der Herrschaft ein junges Kind mitten unter die Apostel stellt, auf daß er anzeige, daß, gleichwie ein Kind keiner Herrschaft begehrt noch sich unterfängt, also auch die Apostel und alle, so das Wort führen sollen, nicht Oberkeit sollen suchen noch brauchen.

9] Ioh. 20, 21. Christus pariter mittit apostolos sine discrimine, quum ait: *Sicut misit me Pater, ita et ego mitto vos.* Eodem modo ait se mittere singulos, sicut ipse missus est, quare nulli tribuit praerogativam aut dominationem prae reliquis.

III. Joh. 20 sendet Christus seine Jünger zugleich zum Predigtamt, ohne allen Unterschied, daß einer weder mehr noch weniger Gewalt soll haben denn der andere. Denn so sagt er: „Gleichwie mich mein Vater gesandt hat, so sende ich euch." Die Worte sind hell und klar, daß er einen jeden also sende, wie er ist gesendet worden. Da kann je keiner keine [be]sondere Oberkeit oder Gewalt vor und über die andern rühmen.

10] Gal. 2, 7 sq. Paulus manifeste affirmat se neque ordinatum neque confirmatum esse a Petro, nec agnoscit Petrum talem, a quo petenda sit confirmatio. Et nominatim pugnat hac de re, suam vocationem non pendere ab auctoritate Petri. Debuit autem agnoscere Petrum tamquam superiorem, si Petrus erat iure divino superior. Ideo inquit Paulus se,

IV. Gal. 2 zeigt der heilige Paulus klar an, daß er von Petro weder ordiniert noch konfirmiert und bestätigt sei, erkennt auch Petrum in keinem Wege dafür, als hätte er von ihm müssen bestätigt werden, und insonderheit streitet [verficht] er dieses, daß sein Beruf auf St. Peters Gewalt gar nicht stehe noch gegründet sei. Nun sollte er je Petrum als einen Obersten [an]erkannt haben,

entire world ought to seek ordination and confirmation, who [alone] is to have the right of electing, ordaining, confirming, deposing all bishops [and pastors]. Besides this, he arrogates to himself the authority to make [all kinds of] laws concerning acts of worship, concerning changing the Sacraments, [and] concerning doctrine, and wishes his articles, his decrees, his laws [his statutes and ordinances] to be considered equal to the divine laws [to other articles of the Christian Creed and the Holy Scriptures], *i. e.*, he holds that by the papal laws the consciences of men are so bound that those who neglect them, even without public offense, sin mortally [that they cannot be omitted without sin. For he wishes to found this power upon divine right and the Holy Scriptures; yea, he wishes to have it preferred to the Holy Scriptures and God's commands]. And what he adds is still more horrible, namely, that it is necessary to believe all these things in order to be saved [all these things shall and must be believed at the peril of forfeiting salvation].

In the first place, therefore, let us show from the [holy] Gospel that the Roman bishop is not by divine right above [cannot arrogate to himself any supremacy whatever over] other bishops and pastors.

I. Luke 22, 25. Christ expressly prohibits lordship among the apostles [that no apostle should have any supremacy over the rest]. For this was the very question, namely, that when Christ spake of His passion, they were disputing who should be at the head, and as it were the vicar of the absent Christ. There Christ reproves this error of the apostles, and teaches that there shall not be lordship or superiority among them, but that the apostles should be sent forth as equals to the common ministry of the Gospel. Accordingly, He says: *The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them, and they that exercise authority upon them are called benefactors, but ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* The antithesis here shows [By holding these matters against one another, one sees] that lordship [among the apostles] is disapproved.

II. Matt. 18, 2. The same is taught by the parable when Christ in the same dispute concerning the kingdom places a little child in the midst, signifying that among ministers there is not to be sovereignty, just as a child neither takes nor seeks sovereignty for himself.

III. John 20, 21. Christ sends forth His disciples on an equality, without any distinction [so that no one of them was to have more or less power than any other], when He says: *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.* [These words are clear and plain:] He says that He sends them individually in the same manner as He Himself was sent; hence He grants to no one a prerogative or lordship above the rest.

IV. Gal. 2, 7 f. St. Paul manifestly affirms that he was neither ordained nor confirmed [and endorsed] by Peter, nor does he acknowledge Peter to be one from whom confirmation should be sought. And he expressly contends concerning this point that his call does not depend upon the authority of Peter. But he ought to have acknowledged Peter as a superior if Peter was superior by divine right [if Peter, indeed, had received such supremacy from Christ]. Paul accordingly says that he had at once preached the Gospel [freely for a long time] without consulting Peter. Also: *Of those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person).* And: *They*

non consulto Petro, statim docuisse evangelium. Item: *Mea nihil refert, quales illi fuerint, qui aliquid esse videntur; personam enim hominis Deus non accipit.* Item: *Qui videbantur esse aliquid, nulla mihi mandata dederunt.* Quum igitur Paulus clare [R. 342 testetur se ne voluisse quidem requirere confirmationem Petri, etiam quum ad eum venisset: docet auctoritatem ministerii a Verbo Dei pendere, et Petrum non fuisse superiorem ceteris apostolis, nec unius Petri ordinationem aut confirmationem requirendam esse.

wo Petrus anders solche Oberkeit von Christo hätte empfangen, wie der Papst ohne allen Grund rühmt. Darum spricht auch Paulus, er habe das Evangelium eine lange Zeit frei gepredigt, ehe er sich mit Petro und den andern darüber besprochen habe. Item, er spricht: „es liege ihm nichts an denen, die das Ansehen haben, welcherlei sie gewesen sind. Denn Gott achtet das Ansehen der Person und Menschen nicht; mir aber haben die, so das Ansehen hatten, keinen Befehl getan". Weil nun Paulus klar zeugt, er habe bei Petro nicht wollen ansuchen, daß er ihm zu predigen erlaubte, auch dazumal, da er am letzten sei zu ihm

[ge]kommen, [so] haben wir eine gewisse Lehre, daß das Predigtamt vom gemeinen Beruf der Apostel herkommt, und ist nicht not, daß alle dieser einigen Person Petri Beruf oder Bestätigung haben.

11] 1 Cor. 3, 6. Paulus exaequat ministros et docet ecclesiam esse supra ministros. Quare Petro non tribuitur superioritas aut dominatio supra ecclesiam aut reliquos ministros. Sic enim ait: *Omnia vestra sunt, sive Paulus, sive Apollo, sive Cephas,* id est, nec ceteri ministri nec Petrus sibi sumat dominationem aut superioritatem supra ecclesiam, non onerent ecclesiam traditionibus, non valeat ullius auctoritas plus quam Verbum, non opponatur auctoritas Cephae contra auctoritatem aliorum apostolorum, sicut argumentabantur eo tempore: Cephas hoc observat, qui est superior apostolus, ergo et Paulus et ceteri debent hoc observare. Hunc praetextum Paulus detrahit Petro et negat eius auctoritatem anteferendam esse ceteris aut ecclesiae.

V. 1 Kor. 3 macht Paulus alle Kirchendiener gleich und lehrt, daß die Kirche mehr sei denn die Diener. Darum kann man mit keiner Wahrheit sagen, daß Petrus einige Oberkeit oder Gewalt vor andern Aposteln über die Kirche und alle andern Kirchendiener gehabt habe. Denn so spricht er: „Es ist alles euer, es sei Paulus oder Apollo oder Kephas"; das ist: Es darf weder Peter noch andere Diener des Worts ihnen [sich] zumessen einige Gewalt oder Oberkeit über die Kirche. Niemand soll die Kirche beschweren mit eigenen Satzungen, sondern hier soll es so heißen, daß keines Gewalt noch Ansehen mehr gelte denn das Wort Gottes. Man darf nicht Kephas' Gewalt höher machen denn der andern Apostel; wie sie denn zu der Zeit pflegten zu sagen: Kephas hält dies also, der doch der vornehmste Apostel ist, darum soll es Paulus und andere auch so halten. Nein, spricht Paulus, und zieht Petro dies Hütlein ab, daß sein Ansehen und Gewalt sollte höher sein denn der andern Apostel oder [der] Kirche.

Ex Historiis.

12] Nicaena Synodus ordinavit, ut Alexandrinus episcopus curaret ecclesias in Oriente et Romanus episcopus curaret suburbanas, hoc est, eas, quae in provinciis Romanis in Occidente erant. Hinc primum humano iure, hoc est, ordinatione synodi, crevit auctoritas Romani episcopi. Iam si Romanus episcopus habuisset iure divino superioritatem, non licuisset synodo detrahere ei aliquid iuris et in Alexandrinum transferre, imo omnes Orientis episcopi perpetuo debuissent petere ordinationem et confirmationem a Romano.

Aus den Historien.

VI. Das Konzilium zu Nizäa hat beschlossen, daß der Bischof zu Alexandrien sollte bestellen die Kirchen im Orient und der Bischof zu Rom die surburbanas, das ist, die, so zu Rom gehörten im Okzident. Hier ist des römischen Bischofs Macht zum ersten gewachsen, nicht aus göttlichen, sondern menschlichen Rechten, wie es im Concilio Nicaeno ist beschlossen worden. So nun der römische Bischof nach göttlichem Rechte wäre der Oberste gewesen, hätte das Konzilium zu Nizäa nicht Macht gehabt, ihm solche Gewalt zu nehmen und auf den Bischof zu Alexandria zu wenden [zu übertragen]; ja, alle Bischöfe im Orient sollten je und je vom Bischof zu Rom begehrt haben, daß er sie ordiniert und bestätigt hätte.

13] Item Synodus Nicaena constituit, ut episcopi eligerentur a suis ecclesiis, praesente **14**] aliquo vicino episcopo aut pluribus. Idem servatum est etiam in Occidente et in Latinis ecclesiis, sicut testatur Cyprianus et [R. 343 Augustinus. Sic enim ait Cyprianus in Epistola 4. ad Cornelium: *Propter quod diligenter de divina traditione et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque et fere in omnibus provinciis tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui praepositus ordinatur, episcopi eiusdem provinciae proximi quique conveniant, et episcopus deligatur plebe praesente, quae singulorum vitam plenissime novit, quod et apud nos factum videmus in Sabini collegae*

VII. Item, im Concilio Nicaeno ist beschlossen worden, daß eine jegliche Kirche einen Bischof für sich selbst im Beiwesen eines oder mehrerer Bischöfe, so in der Nähe wohnten, wählen sollte. Solches ist nicht allein im Orient eine lange Zeit, sondern auch in andern und lateinischen Kirchen gehalten worden, wie solches klar im Cypriano und Augustino ist ausgedrückt. Denn so spricht Cyprianus Epist. 4. ad Cornelium: „Darum soll man es fleißig nach dem Befehl Gottes und der Apostel Gebrauch halten, wie es denn bei uns und fast in allen Landen gehalten wird, daß zu der Gemeinde, da ein Bischof zu wählen ist, andere des Orts nahe gelegene Bischöfe zusammen sollen kommen, und in Gegenwart der ganzen Gemeinde, die eines jeden Wandel und Leben weiß, der

who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me. Since Paul, then, clearly testifies that he did not even wish to seek for the confirmation of Peter [for permission to preach] even when he had come to him, he teaches that the authority of the ministry depends upon the Word of God, and that Peter was not superior to the other apostles, and that it was not from this one individual Peter that ordination or confirmation was to be sought [that the office of the ministry proceeds from the general call of the apostles, and that it is not necessary for all to have the call or confirmation of this one person, Peter, alone].

V. In 1 Cor. 3, 6, Paul makes ministers equal, and teaches that the Church is above the ministers. Hence superiority or lordship over the Church or the rest of the ministers is not ascribed to Peter [in preference to other apostles]. For he says thus: *All things are yours, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, i. e.,* let neither the other ministers nor Peter assume for themselves lordship or superiority over the Church; let them not burden the Church with traditions; let not the authority of any avail more than the Word [of God]; let not the authority of Cephas be opposed to the authority of the other apostles, as they reasoned at that time: "Cephas, who is an apostle of higher rank, observes this; therefore, both Paul and the rest ought to observe this." Paul removes this pretext from Peter, and denies [Not so, says Paul, and makes Peter doff his little hat, namely, the claim] that his authority is to be preferred to the rest or to the Church.

VI. The Council of Nice resolved that the bishop of Alexandria should administer the churches in the East, and the Roman bishop the suburban, *i. e.,* those which were in the Roman provinces in the West. From this start by a human law, *i. e.,* the resolution of the Council, the authority of the Roman bishop first arose. If the Roman bishop already had the superiority by divine law, it would not have been lawful for the Council to take any right from him and transfer it to the bishop of Alexandria; nay, all the bishops of the East ought perpetually to have sought ordination and confirmation from the bishop of Rome.

VII. Again the Council of Nice determined that bishops should be elected by their own churches, in the presence of some neighboring bishop or of several. The same was observed [for a long time, not only in the East, but] also in the West and in the Latin churches, as Cyprian and Augustine testify. For Cyprian says in his fourth letter to Cornelius: *Accordingly, as regards the divine observance and apostolic practise, you must diligently keep and practise what is also observed among us and in almost all the provinces, that for celebrating ordinations properly, whatever bishops of the same province live nearest should come together with the people for whom a pastor is being appointed, and the bishop should be chosen in the presence of the people, who most fully know the life of each*

nostri ordinatione, ut de universae fraternitatis suffragio et de episcoporum, qui in praesentia convenerant, iudicio episcopatus ei deferretur et manus ei imponeretur [imponerentur].

15] Hunc morem Cyprianus vocat *divinam traditionem et apostolicam observationem* et affirmat fere in omnibus provinciis observari.

Quum igitur nec ordinatio nec confirmatio a Romano episcopo peteretur in maxima orbis parte, in Graecis et Latinis ecclesiis, satis apparet ecclesias tunc non tribuisse superioritatem et dominationem Romano episcopo.

16 Superioritas illa est impossibilis. Nam impossibile est unum episcopum esse inspectorem ecclesiarum totius orbis terrarum, aut ecclesias in ultimis terris sitas petere ab uno ordinationem. Constat enim regnum Christi dispersum esse per totum orbem terrarum, hodieque multae sunt ecclesiae in Oriente, quae non petunt a Romano episcopo ordinationem aut confirmationem. Itaque superioritas illa quum sit impossibilis, et non agnoverint eam ecclesiae in maxima parte orbis, satis apparet non institutam esse.

Bischof soll gewählt werden, wie wir denn sehen, daß es in der Wahl Sabini, unsers Mitgesellen, auch geschehen ist, daß er nach Wahl der ganzen Gemeinde und Rat etlicher Bischöfe, so vorhanden gewesen, zum Bischof erwählt und die Hände ihm aufgelegt sind" usw.

Diese Weise heißt Cyprianus eine göttliche Weise und apostolischen Gebrauch und zeugt, daß es fast in allen Landen dazumal so gehalten sei.

Weil nun weder die ordinatio noch confirmatio dazumal durch das große Teil der Welt, in allen Kirchen der Griechen und Lateinischen, beim Bischofe zu Rom ist gesucht worden, [so] ist es klar, daß die Kirche dazumal solche Oberkeit und Herrschaft dem Bischofe zu Rom nicht gegeben hat.

Solche Oberkeit und Herrschaft ist auch ganz und gar unmöglich. Denn wie könnte es möglich sein, daß ein Bischof sollte alle Kirchen der ganzen Christenheit versorgen, oder daß die Kirchen, so fern von Rom gelegen, allein von einem alle ihre Kirchendiener könnten ordinieren lassen? Denn das ist je gewiß, daß das Reich Christi durch die ganze Welt ist ausgeteilt. So sind auch noch heutigestags viele christliche Versammlungen der Kirche im Orient, welche Kirchendiener haben, so weder vom Papst noch den Seinen ordiniert noch konfirmiert sind. Weil nun solche Oberkeit, der sich der Papst wider alle Schrift anmaßt, auch ganz und gar unmöglich ist, und die Kirchen in der Welt hin und wieder den Papst für einen solchen Herrn weder [an]erkannt noch gebraucht haben, [so] sieht man wohl, daß solche Oberkeit nicht von Christo eingesetzt [ist] und nicht aus göttlichen Rechten kommt.

17] Multae veteres synodi sunt indictae et habitae, in quibus non praesedit Romanus episcopus, ut Nicaena et pleraeque aliae. Id quoque testatur, quod ecclesia tunc non agnoverit primatum seu superioritatem Romani episcopi.

VIII. Es sind vor alters viele Konzilia ausgeschrieben und gehalten worden, in welchen der Bischof zu Rom nicht als der Oberste gesessen ist, als zu Nizäa und an andern Orten mehr. Dasselbe ist je auch eine Anzeigung, daß die Kirche dazumal den Papst für einen Oberherrn über alle Kirchen und Bischöfe nicht [an]erkannt habe.

Hieronymus inquit: *Si auctoritas* [R. 344 18] *quaeritur, orbis est maior urbe. Ubicunque episcopus fuerit, sive Romae sive Eugubii sive Constantinopoli sive Rhegii sive Alexandriae, eiusdem meriti est et eiusdem sacerdotii* etc.

IX. St. Hieronymus spricht: „Wenn man will von Gewalt und Herrschaft reden, so ist je orbis mehr denn urbs, das ist, Welt ist mehr denn die Stadt Rom. Darum, es sei der Bischof zu Rom oder Eugubien, zu Konstantinopel oder Rhegio oder Alexandrien, so ist Würde und Amt gleich" usw.

19] Gregorius scribens ad Alexandrinum patriarcham, vetat se appellari universalem episcopum. Et in regestis dicit, in Synodo Chalcedonensi oblatum esse primatum Romano episcopo, nec tamen acceptum. [Gregorius, Epist., lib. 7, Ep. 33 ad Mauric. Augustum: „Ego autem fidenter dico, quia, quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua Anti-Christum praecurrit, quia superbiendo se ceteris praeponit."]

X. Item, Gregorius schreibt zum Patriarchen zu Alexandria und verbeut [verbietet] ihm, er soll ihn nicht heißen den höchsten Bischof, und in den Regesten sagt er, es sei im Konzilio zu Chalcedon dem Bischof zu Rom angeboten worden, er solle der oberste Bischof sein, aber er habe es nicht angenommen. [Gregorius, Epist., lib. 8, Ep. 30 ad Eulogium: „Nam dixi, nec mihi vos nec cuiquam alteri tale aliquid" (Eulogius hatte mit Bezug auf Gregor den Ausdruck: „Sicut iussistis" gebraucht) „scribere debere; et ecce in praefatione epistolae, quam ad me ipsum, qui prohibui, direxistis, superbae appellationis verbum universalem me Papam dicentes imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi Sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat."]

20] Postremo, quomodo potest papa iure divino esse supra totam ecclesiam, quum ecclesia habeat electionem, et paulatim mos invaluerit, ut Romani episcopi ab imperatoribus 21] confirmarentur? Item, quum diu fuissent certamina de primatu inter Romanum et inter Constantinopolitanum episcopum, tandem Phocas Imperator constituit Romano episcopo tribuendum esse primatum. Quodsi ecclesia vetus agnovisset Romani pontificis primatum, haec contentio non incidere potuisset, nec fuisset opus decreto Imperatoris.

XI. Zum letzten, wie kann der Papst nach göttlichen Rechten über die Kirche sein, weil doch die Wahl bei der Kirche steht, und dies gar mit der Zeit in die Gewohnheit gekommen ist, daß die römischen Bischöfe von den Kaisern sind bestätigt worden?

one, which we also have seen done among us at the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that by the suffrage of the entire brotherhood, and by the judgment of the bishops who had assembled in their presence, the episcopate was conferred and hands laid on him.

Cyprian calls this custom *a divine tradition and an apostolic observance*, and affirms that it is observed in almost all the provinces.

Since, therefore, neither ordination nor confirmation was sought from a bishop of Rome in the greater part of the world in the Latin and Greek churches, it is sufficiently apparent that the churches did not then accord superiority and domination to the bishop of Rome.

Such superiority is impossible. For it is impossible for one bishop to be the overseer of the churches of the whole world, or for churches situated in the most distant lands to seek ordination [for all their ministers] from one. For it is manifest that the kingdom of Christ is scattered throughout the whole world; and to-day there are many churches in the East which do not seek ordination or confirmation from the Roman bishop [which have ministers ordained neither by the Pope nor his bishops]. Therefore, since such superiority [which the Pope, contrary to all Scripture, arrogates to himself] is impossible, and the churches in the greater part of the world have not acknowledged [nor made use of] it, it is sufficiently apparent that it was not instituted [by Christ, and does not spring from divine law].

VIII. Many ancient synods have been proclaimed and held in which the bishop of Rome did not preside; as that of Nice and most others. This, too, testifies that the Church did not then acknowledge the primacy or superiority of the bishop of Rome.

IX. Jerome says: *If the question is concerning authority, the world is greater than the city. Wherever there has been a bishop, whether at Rome, or Eugubium, or Constantinople, or Rhegium, or Alexandria, he is of the same dignity and priesthood.*

X. Gregory, writing to the patriarch at Alexandria, forbids that he be called universal bishop. And in the Records he says that in the Council of Chalcedon the primacy was offered to the bishop of Rome, but was not accepted.

XI. Lastly, how can the Pope be over the entire Church by divine right when the Church has the election, and the custom gradually prevailed that bishops of Rome were confirmed by the emperors? Also, when for a long time there had been contests concerning the primacy between the bishops of Rome and Constantinople, the Emperor Phocas finally determined that the primacy should be assigned to the bishop of Rome. But if the ancient Church had acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, this contention could not have occurred, neither would there have been need of the decree of the emperor.

22] Sed obiiciunt quaedam dicta, videlicet [Matth. 16, 18 sq.]: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam;* item: *Tibi dabo claves;* item [Ioh. 21, 15]: *Pasce oves meas;* et alia quaedam. Quum autem haec tota controversia copiose et accurate tractata sit alibi in libris nostrorum, nec recenseri omnia hoc loco possint, referimus nos ad ea scripta, eaque pro repetitis habere volumus. Breviter tamen respondebimus de interpretatione.

Hier werden etliche Sprüche wider uns geführt, als Matth. 16: „Du bist Petrus, und auf diesen Fels will ich bauen meine Gemeinde oder Kirche"; item: „Dir will ich die Schlüssel geben"; item: „Weide meine Schafe", und dergleichen mehr. Weil aber dieser ganze Handel fleißig und genugsam von den Unsern zuvor ist traktiert, wollen wir dieselben Schriften hier erholt [wiederholt] haben und auf diesmal kurz antworten, wie bemeldete Sprüche im Grund zu verstehen sind.

23] In omnibus illis dictis Petrus sustinet personam communem totius coetus apostolorum, sicut ex ipso textu apparet. Nam Christus interrogat non unum Petrum, sed ait: *Vos quem me esse dicitis?* Et quod hic singulari numero dicitur: *Tibi dabo claves, quidquid ligaveris,* alibi plurali numero dicitur [Matth. 18, 18]: *Quidquid ligaveritis* etc. Et in Iohanne [20, 23]: *Quorum remiseritis peccata* etc. Haec verba testantur pariter [R. 345 omnibus apostolis tradi claves, et pariter mitti omnes apostolos.

In allen diesen Sprüchen ist Petrus eine gemeine Person und redet nicht für sich allein, sondern für alle Apostel. Dieses beweisen die Texte klar. Denn Christus fragt je Petrum allein nicht, sondern spricht: „Wer saget ihr, daß ich sei?" Und daß Christus hier zu Petro allein redet, als: „Dir will ich die Schlüssel geben"; item: „Was du binden wirst" usw., dasselbe redet er an andern Orten zu dem ganzen Haufen: „Alles, was ihr binden werdet auf Erden" usw., item im Johanne: „Welchen ihr die Sünden vergebet" usw. Diese Worte zeugen, daß die Schlüssel allen insgemein gegeben und sie alle zugleich zu predigen gesandt worden sind.

24] Ad haec necesse est fateri, quod claves non ad personam unius certi hominis, sed ad ecclesiam pertineant, ut multa clarissima et firmissima argumenta testantur. Nam Christus de clavibus dicens Matth. 18, 19 sq. addit: *Ubicunque duo vel tres consenserint super terram* etc. Tribuit igitur principaliter claves ecclesiae et immediate, sicut et ob eam causam ecclesia principaliter habet ius vocationis.

Über das muß man je bekennen, daß die Schlüssel nicht einem Menschen allein, sondern der ganzen Kirche gehören und gegeben sind, wie denn solches mit hellen und gewissen Ursachen genugsam kann erwiesen werden. Denn gleichwie die Verheißung des Evangelii gewiß und ohne Mittel der ganzen Kirche zugehört, also gehören die Schlüssel ohne Mittel der ganzen Kirche, dieweil die Schlüssel nichts anderes sind denn das Amt, dadurch solche Verheißung jedermann, wer es begehrt, wird mitgeteilt; wie es denn im Werk vor Augen ist, daß die Kirche Macht hat, Kirchendiener zu ordinieren. Und Christus spricht bei diesen Worten: „Was ihr binden werdet" usw. und deutet, wem er die Schlüssel gegeben, nämlich der Kirche: „Wo zwei oder drei versammelt sind in meinem Namen" usw. Item, Christus gibt das höchste und letzte Gericht der Kirche, da er spricht: „Sag's der Kirche!"

Itaque necesse est in illis dictis Petrum sustinere personam totius coetus apostolorum. Quare non tribuunt aliquam praerogativam seu superioritatem seu dominationem Petro.

Daraus folgt nun, daß in solchen Sprüchen nicht allein Petrus, sondern der ganze Haufe der Apostel gemeint wird. Darum kann man in keinem Wege aus solchen Sprüchen eine [be]sondere Gewalt der Oberkeit [be]gründen, die Petrus vor andern Aposteln gehabt habe oder haben hat sollen.

25] Quod vero dictum est: *Super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,* certe ecclesia non est aedificata super auctoritatem hominis, sed super ministerium illius professionis, quam Petrus fecerat, in qua praedicat Iesum esse Christum, Filium Dei. Ideo alloquitur eum tamquam ministrum: *Super hanc petram,* id est, super hoc ministerium.

Daß aber [da] steht: „Und auf diesen Fels will ich meine Kirche bauen", da muß man je bekennen, daß die Kirche nicht auf einiges Menschen Gewalt gebaut sei, sondern sie ist gebaut auf das Amt, welches das Bekenntnis führt, das Petrus tut, nämlich, daß „JEsus sei der Christ und Sohn Gottes". Darum redet er ihn auch an als einen Diener solches Amts, da dies Bekenntnis und Lehre innen gehen soll, und spricht: „Auf diesen Felsen", das ist, auf diese Predigt und Predigtamt.

26] Porro ministerium novi testamenti non est alligatum locis et personis, sicut ministerium Leviticum, sed est dispersum per totum orbem terrarum, et ibi est, ubi Deus dat dona sua, apostolos, prophetas, pastores, doctores; nec valet illud ministerium propter ullius personae auctoritatem, sed propter Verbum 27] a Christo traditum. Et hoc modo, non de persona Petri, interpretantur plurimi ex sanctis patribus hanc sententiam (*super hanc petram*), ut Origenes, Cyprianus, Augustinus, 28] Hilarius et Beda. Sic ait Chrysostomus:

Nun ist je das Predigtamt an keinen gewissen Ort noch Person gebunden, wie der Leviten Amt im Gesetz gebunden war, sondern es ist durch die ganze Welt ausgestreut und ist an dem Ort, da Gott seine Gaben gibt: Apostel, Propheten, Hirten, Lehrer usw. Und tut die Person gar nichts zu solchem Wort und Amt, von Christo befohlen; es predige und lehre es, wer da wolle, wo Herzen sind, die es glauben und sich daran halten, denen widerfährt, wie sie es hören und glauben. Auf diese Weise legen solchen Spruch viel alte Lehrer aus, nicht von der Person Petri, sondern vom

But they cite against us certain passages, namely, Matt. 16, 18 f.: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church;* also: *I will give unto thee the keys;* also John 21, 15: *Feed My sheep,* and some others. But since this entire controversy has been fully and accurately treated elsewhere in the books of our theologians, and everything cannot be reviewed in this place, we refer to those writings, and wish them to be regarded as repeated. Yet we shall reply briefly concerning the interpretation [of the passages quoted].

In all these passages Peter is the representative of the entire assembly of apostles [and does not speak for himself alone, but for all the apostles], as appears from the text itself. For Christ asks not Peter alone, but says: *Whom do ye say that I am?* And what is here said [to Peter alone] in the singular number: *I will give unto thee the keys; and whatsoever thou shalt bind,* etc., is elsewhere expressed [to their entire number], in the plural Matt. 18, 18: *Whatsoever ye shall bind,* etc. And in John 20, 23: *Whosesoever sins ye remit,* etc. These words testify that the keys are given alike to all the apostles, and that all the apostles are alike sent forth [to preach].

In addition to this, it is necessary to acknowledge that the keys belong not to the person of one particular man, but to the Church, as many most clear and firm arguments testify. For Christ, speaking concerning the keys, Matt. 18, 19, adds: *If two or three of you shall agree on earth,* etc. Therefore he grants the keys principally and immediately to the Church, just as also for this reason the Church has principally the right of calling. [For just as the promise of the Gospel belongs certainly and immediately to the entire Church, so the keys belong immediately to the entire Church, because the keys are nothing else than the office whereby this promise is communicated to every one who desires it, just as it is actually manifest that the Church has the power to ordain ministers of the Church. And Christ speaks in these words: *Whatsoever ye shall bind,* etc., and indicates to whom He has given the keys, namely, to the Church: *Where two or three are gathered together in My name.* Likewise Christ gives supreme and final jurisdiction to the Church, when He says: *Tell it unto the Church.*]

Therefore it is necessary that in these passages Peter is the representative of the entire assembly of the apostles, and for this reason they do not accord to Peter any prerogative, or superiority, or lordship [which he had, or was to have had, in preference to the other apostles].

However, as to the declaration: *Upon this rock I will build My Church,* certainly the Church has not been built upon the authority of man, but upon the ministry of the confession which Peter made, in which he proclaims that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God. He accordingly addresses him as a minister: *Upon this rock, i. e.,* upon this ministry. [Therefore he addresses him as a minister of this office in which this confession and doctrine is to be in operation, and says: *Upon this rock, i. e.,* this preaching and ministry.]

Furthermore, the ministry of the New Testament is not bound to places and persons as the Levitical ministry, but it is dispersed throughout the whole world, and is there where God gives His gifts, apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers; neither does this ministry avail on account of the authority of any person, but on account of the Word given by Christ. [Nor does the person of a teacher add anything to this word and office; it matters not who is preaching and teaching it; if there are hearts who receive and cling to it, to them it is done as they hear and believe.] And in this way, not as referring to the person of Peter, most of the holy Fathers, as Origen, Cyprian, Augustine, Hilary, and Bede, interpret this passage: *Upon this rock.* Chrysostom says thus: *"Upon this rock," not upon Peter. For He built His Church not upon man, but upon the faith of Peter. But what was his faith? "Thou art the Christ, the Son*

Super hanc petram, non super Petrum. Non enim super hominem, sed super fidem Petri aedificavit ecclesiam suam. Quae autem erat
29] *fides? Tu es Christus, Filius Dei vivi.* Et Hilarius: *Petro revelavit Pater, ut diceret: Tu es Filius Dei vivi. Super hanc igitur confessionis petram ecclesiae aedificatio est; haec fides ecclesiae fundamentum est.*

30] Et hoc, quod dicitur [Ioh. 21, 15 sqq.]: *Pasce oves meas,* item: *Diligis me plus* [R. 346 *his?* hinc nondum sequitur peculiarem superioritatem Petro traditam esse. Iubet eum pascere, hoc est, docere Verbum seu ecclesiam Verbo regere, quod habet Petrus commune cum ceteris apostolis.

31] Secundus articulus magis etiam perspicuus est, quod Christus dederit apostolis tantum potestatem spiritualem, hoc est, mandatum docendi evangelii, annuntiandi remissionem peccatorum, administrandi sacramenta, excommunicandi impios sine vi corporali, nec dederit potestatem gladii aut ius constituendi, occupandi aut conferendi regna mundi. Christus enim ait [Matth. 28, 18 sq.]: *Ite docentes servare ea, quae praecepi vobis.* Item [Ioh. 20, 21]: *Sicut misit me Pater, ita et ego mitto vos.*

Constat autem Christum non esse missum, ut gladium gereret aut teneret regnum mundanum, sicut ipse inquit [Ioh. 18, 36]: *Regnum non est de hoc mundo.* Et Paulus ait [2 Cor. 1, 24]: *Non dominamur fidei vestrae;* item [2 Cor. 10, 4]: *Arma militiae nostrae non sunt carnalia* etc.

32] Quod igitur Christus in passione spinis coronatur et producitur deridendus in regia purpura, significatum est fore, ut spreto regno spirituali, hoc est, oppresso evangelio, constituatur aliud mundanum regnum, praetextu
33] potestatis ecclesiasticae. Quare Bonifacii Octavi Constitutio et cap. *Omnes,* distinct. 22, et similes sententiae sunt falsae et impiae, quae contendunt iure divino papam esse domi-
34] num regnorum mundi. Ex qua persuasione tenebrae in ecclesiam horribiles invectae sunt, deinde etiam magni in Europa motus orti. Neglectum est enim ministerium evangelii, exstincta est notitia fidei et regni spiritualis, Christiana iustitia putabatur esse illa externa politia, quam papa constituisset. [Bonifacius VIII., Constitutio *Unam sanctam* in extrav. Commun. lib. 1, tit. 8, c. 1: „Porro subesse Romano pontifici, omni humanae creaturae declaramus, dicimus, definimus et pronuntiamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.“ Hier deutet auch Bonifacius den Ausdruck *spiritualis homo,* 1 Kor. 2, 15, auf den Klerus und dessen Oberhaupt, den Papst.]

35] Deinde papae rapere ad se imperia coeperunt, transtulerunt regna, vexarunt iniustis excommunicationibus et bellis fere omnium nationum reges in Europa, sed maxime [R. 347 Imperatores Germanicos, alias ut occuparent Italicas civitates, alias ut episcopos Germaniae redigerent in suam servitutem, et eriperent imperatoribus collationem. Imo etiam in Clementina scriptum est: *Vacante imperio papam esse legitimum successorem.*

Amt und Bekenntnis, als: Origenes, Ambrosius, Cyprianus, Hilarius, Beda.

Daß nun an andern Orten steht: „Weide meine Schafe“, item: „Petre, hast du mich auch lieber denn diese?“ [daraus] folgt noch nicht, daß Petrus mehr Gewalt sollte haben denn andere Apostel, sondern er heißt ihn weiden, das ist, das Evangelium predigen oder die Kirche durchs Evangelium regieren; das geht je ebensowohl auf andere Apostel als auf Petrum.

Der andere Artikel ist noch klarer denn der erste. Denn Christus hat seinen Jüngern allein geistliche Gewalt gegeben, das ist, er hat ihnen befohlen, das Evangelium zu predigen, Vergebung der Sünden zu verkündigen, die Sakramente zu reichen und die Gottlosen zu bannen, ohne leibliche Gewalt durchs Wort, und hat ihnen gar nicht befohlen, das Schwert zu führen, noch weltliche Regimente zu bestellen, einzunehmen, Könige zu setzen oder zu entsetzen. Denn so spricht Christus: „Gehet hin und lehret, daß man das halte, was ich euch geboten habe“; item: „Wie mich mein Vater gesandt hat, so sende ich euch.“

Nun ist es je am Tag, daß Christus nicht dazu gesandt ist, daß er das Schwert sollte führen oder auf weltliche Weise regieren, wie er denn selbst sagt: „Mein Reich ist nicht von dieser Welt.“ Und Paulus spricht: „Wir herrschen nicht über euren Glauben“; item: „Unsere Kriegsrüstung und Waffen sind nicht fleischlich“ usw.

Daß nun Christus in seinem Leiden mit Dornen gekrönt und im Purpurkleid hervorgeführt und so verspottet ist worden, ist alles eine [Be-] Deutung gewesen, daß mit der Zeit das rechte geistliche Reich Christi sollte verachtet und sein Evangelium unterdrückt und ein ander äußerlich Reich anstatt desselben unter dem Schein geistlicher Gewalt aufgerichtet werden. Darum ist die Constitutio Bonifacii VIII. und das cap. *Omnes,* dist. 22, und dergleichen andere Sprüche mehr ganz und gar falsch und gottlos, damit sie erhalten wollen, daß der Papst vermöge göttliches Rechts ein Herr sei über die Königreiche der Welt; wie denn aus solchem falschen Wahn zum ersten schreckliche Finsternis in der Kirche, und danach greuliche Zerrüttung und Rumor in Europa erfolgt sind. Denn da hat man das Predigtamt lassen fallen, und ist die Lehre vom Glauben und geistlichen Reich Christi gar verloschen, und man hat des Papstes äußerliches Wesen und Satzungen für christliche Gerechtigkeit gehalten.

Danach sind die Päpste auch zugefahren, haben Fürstentümer und Königreiche zu [an] sich gerissen, Könige gesetzt und entsetzt und mit unbilligem Bann und Kriegen fast alle Könige in Europa geplagt, sonderlich aber die deutschen Kaiser, bisweilen darum, daß sie die Städte in Welschland [Italien] an sich brächten, bisweilen, daß sie die Bischöfe in Deutschland ihnen [sich] untertan machten und die Bistümer selbst verleihen möchten, die der Kaiser allein zu verleihen hat. Ja, das mehr ist, in der Clementina steht also: „wenn das Kaisertum ledig stehe, so sei der Papst der rechte Erbe dazu“.

of the living God." And Hilary says: *To Peter the Father revealed that he should say, "Thou art the Son of the living God." Therefore the building of the Church is upon this rock of confession; this faith is the foundation of the Church.*

And as to that which is said John 21, 15 ff.: *Feed My sheep,* and, *Lovest thou Me more than these?* it does not as yet follow hence that a peculiar superiority was given Peter. He bids him "feed," *i. e.*, teach the Word [the Gospel], or rule the Church with the Word [the Gospel], which Peter has in common with the other apostles.

The second article is still clearer, that Christ gave to the apostles only spiritual power, *i. e.*, the command to teach the Gospel, to announce the forgiveness of sins, to administer the Sacraments, to excommunicate the godless without bodily force [by the Word], and that He did not give the power of the sword, or the right to establish, occupy, or confer kingdoms of the world [to set up or depose kings]. For Christ says, Matt. 28, 19. 20: *Go ye, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you;* also John 20, 21: *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you.*

Now, it is manifest that Christ was not sent to bear the sword or possess a worldly kingdom [rule in a worldly fashion], as He Himself says, John 18, 36: *My kingdom is not of this world.* And Paul says, 2 Cor. 1, 24: *Not for that we have dominion over your faith;* and 2 Cor. 10, 4: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal,* etc.

Accordingly, that Christ in His passion is crowned with thorns and led forth to be derided in royal purple, this signified that in the future, after His spiritual kingdom was despised, *i. e.*, the Gospel was suppressed, another kingdom of a worldly kind would be set up [in its place] with the pretext of ecclesiastical power. Therefore the Constitution of Boniface VIII and the chapter *Omnes,* Dist. 22, and similar opinions which contend that the Pope is by divine right the ruler of the kingdoms of the world, are [utterly] false and godless. From this persuasion horrible darkness has been brought into the Church, and after that also great commotions have arisen in Europe. For the ministry of the Gospel was neglected, the knowledge of faith and the spiritual kingdom became extinct, Christian righteousness was supposed to be that external government which the Pope had established.

Next, the Popes began to seize upon kingdoms for themselves; they transferred kingdoms, they vexed with unjust excommunications and wars the kings of almost all nations in Europe, but especially the German emperors, sometimes for the purpose of occupying cities of Italy, at other times for the purpose of reducing to subjection the bishops of Germany, and wresting from the emperors the conferring of episcopates. Yea, in the Clementines it is even written: *When the empire is vacant, the Pope is the legitimate successor.*

36] Ita papa non solum dominationem contra mandatum Christi invasit, sed etiam tyrannice praetulit se omnibus regibus. Nec tantum in hac re factum ipsum reprehendendum est, quantum illud detestandum, quod praetexit auctoritatem Christi, quod claves ad regnum mundanum transfert, quod salutem alligat ad has impias et nefarias opiniones, quum ait de necessitate salutis esse, ut credant homines iure divino hanc dominationem competere.

37] Hi tanti errores, quum obscurent fidem et regnum Christi, nullo modo dissimulandi sunt. Eventus enim ostendit eos fuisse magnas pestes ecclesiae.

38] Tertio loco hoc addendum est. Etiamsi Romanus episcopus divino iure primatum et superioritatem haberet, tamen non debetur obedientia his pontificibus, qui defendunt impios cultus, idololatriam et doctrinam pugnantem cum evangelio. Imo tales pontifices et tale regnum haberi debent tamquam anathema, sicut Paulus [Gal. 1, 8] clare docet: *Si angelus de coelo aliud evangelium doceret, praeter id, quod vos docui, anathema sit.* Et in Actis [5, 29]: *Oportet Deo magis obedire quam hominibus.* Idem et canones clare docent, *haeretico papae non esse obediendum.*

Leviticus pontifex iure divino erat summus sacerdos, et tamen impiis pontificibus non erat obediendum, ut Ieremias et alii prophetae dissentiebant a pontificibus, apostoli dissentiebant a Caipha, nec debebant ei obedire.

39] Constat autem Romanos pontifices cum suis membris defendere impiam doctrinam et impios cultus. Ac plane notae antichristi competunt in regnum papae et sua membra. Paulus enim ad Thessalonicenses [2. ep. [R. 348 2, 3 sq.], describens antichristum, vocat eum *adversarium Christi, extollentem se super omne, quod dicitur aut colitur Deus, sedentem in templo Dei tamquam Deum.* Loquitur igitur de aliquo regnante in ecclesia, non de regibus ethnicis, et hunc vocat adversarium Christi, quia doctrinam pugnantem cum evangelio excogitaturus sit, et is arrogabit sibi auctoritatem divinam.

40] Primum autem constat papam regnare in ecclesia et praetextu ecclesiasticae auctoritatis et ministerii sibi hoc regnum constituisse. Praetexit enim haec verba: *Tibi dabo claves.* Deinde doctrina papae multipliciter pugnat cum evangelio, et arrogat sibi papa auctoritatem divinam tripliciter. Primum, quia sumit sibi ius mutandi doctrinam Christi et cultus a Deo institutos, et suam doctrinam et suos cultus vult observari tamquam divina. Secundo, quia sumit sibi potestatem non

Also hat sich der Papst nicht allein weltlicher Herrschaft wider Gottes klaren Befehl unbillig unterfangen, sondern hat wie ein Tyrann über alle Könige sein wollen. Wiewohl nun solches Tun der Päpste an ihm selbst ganz und gar sträflich, so ist doch dies das Ärgste daran, daß er solchen Mutwillen und Frevel mit dem Befehl Christi deckt und die Schlüssel deutet auf weltliche Herrschaft und hängt an solche ungöttliche und schändliche Opinion der Seelen Seligkeit, da er sagt, es sollen es die Leute bei ihrer Seelen Seligkeit also glauben, daß der Papst solche Macht habe aus göttlichen Rechten.

Weil nun solche greuliche Irrtümer die Lehre vom Glauben und Reich Christi ganz verfinstert haben, will es sich in keinem Weg leiden, daß man dazu sollte stillschweigen; denn man sieht's im Werk vor Augen, was großer Schade der Kirche daraus erwachsen ist.

Zum dritten muß man auch dies wissen: obschon der Papst den Primat und Oberkeit aus göttlichem Recht hätte, daß man denjenigen Päpsten, so falsche Gottesdienste, Abgötterei und falsche Lehre wider das Evangelium vorgeben, keinen Gehorsam schuldig ist. Ja, das mehr ist, man solle auch solche Päpste und solch Reich für ein anathema und verfluchtes Wesen halten, wie Paulus klar sagt: „Wenn ein Engel vom Himmel käme und ein ander Evangelium predigte, anders, denn wir euch gepredigt haben, der sei verflucht!" Und in Actis steht: „Man soll Gott mehr gehorchen denn den Menschen." Wie die geistlichen Rechte selbst sagen: „Einem Papst, der ein Ketzer ist, soll man nicht gehorsam sein."

Der Hohepriester im Gesetze Mosis hatte das Amt aus den göttlichen Rechten, gleichwohl war niemand verpflichtet zum Gehorsam, wenn sie wider Gottes Wort handelten, wie man sieht, daß Jeremias und andere Propheten sich von den Priestern sonderten. Also sonderten sich die Apostel von Kaiphas und waren ihm keinen Gehorsam schuldig.

Nun ist es je am Tage, daß die Päpste samt ihrem Anhang gottlose Lehre und falsche Gottesdienste erhalten wollen und handhaben. So reimen sich auch alle Untugenden, so in der Heiligen Schrift vom Antichrist sind weisgesagt [geweissagt], mit des Papstes Reich und seinen Gliedern. Denn Paulus, da er den Antichrist malt 2 Thess. 2, nennt er ihn einen „Widersacher Christi, der sich über alles erhebe, das Gott oder Gottesdienst heißt, also daß er sich setzt in den Tempel Gottes als ein Gott und gibt vor, er sei ein Gott" usw. Hier redet Paulus von einem, der in der Kirche regiert, und nicht von weltlichen Königen, und nennt ihn einen Widerwärtigen Christi, weil er eine andere Lehre werde erdenken, und daß er sich solches alles werde anmaßen, als täte er's aus göttlichen Rechten.

Nun ist am ersten dies wahr, daß der Papst in der Kirche regiert und unter dem Schein geistlicher Gewalt solche Herrschaft hat an sich [ge]bracht; denn er gründet sich auf diese Worte: „Ich will dir die Schlüssel des Himmelreichs geben." Zum andern ist je des Papstes Lehre in alle Wege wider das Evangelium. Zum dritten, daß er vorgibt, er sei Gott, ist in dreien Stücken zu merken: Zum ersten, daß er sich des anmaßt, er möge die Lehre Christi und rechte Gottesdienste, von Gott selbst eingesetzt, ändern; und will seine Lehre und

Thus the Pope has not only usurped dominion, contrary to Christ's command, but has also tyrannically exalted himself above all kings. And in this matter the deed itself is not to be reprehended as much as it is to be detested, that he assigns as a pretext the authority of Christ; that he transfers the keys to a worldly government; that he binds salvation to these godless and execrable opinions, when he says it is necessary to salvation for men to believe that this dominion belongs to him by divine right.

Since these great errors obscure [the doctrine of] faith and [of] the kingdom of Christ, they are in no way to be concealed. For the result shows that they have been great pests to the Church.

In the third place, this must be added: Even though the bishop of Rome had the primacy and superiority by divine right, nevertheless obedience would not be due those pontiffs who defend godless services, idolatry, and doctrine conflicting with the Gospel. Nay; such pontiffs and such a government ought to be held accursed, as Paul clearly teaches, Gal. 1, 8: *Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.* And in Acts 5, 29: *We ought to obey God rather than men.* Likewise the canons also clearly teach that *a heretical Pope is not to be obeyed.*

The Levitical high priest was the chief priest by divine right, and yet godless high priests were not to be obeyed, as Jeremiah and other prophets dissented from the high priests, the apostles dissented from Caiaphas, and did not have to obey them.

Now, it is manifest that the Roman pontiffs, with their adherents, defend [and practise] godless doctrines and godless services. And the marks [all the vices] of Antichrist plainly agree with the kingdom of the Pope and his adherents. For Paul, 2 Ep. 2, 3, in describing to the Thessalonians Antichrist, calls him *an adversary of Christ, who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshiped, so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God.* He speaks therefore of one ruling in the Church, not of heathen kings, and he calls this one the adversary of Christ, because he will devise doctrine conflicting with the Gospel, and will assume to himself divine authority.

Moreover, it is manifest, in the first place, that the Pope rules in the Church, and by the pretext of ecclesiastical authority and of the ministry has established for himself this kingdom. For he assigns as a pretext these words: *I will give to thee the keys.* Secondly, the doctrine of the Pope conflicts in many ways with the Gospel, and [thirdly] the Pope assumes to himself divine authority in a threefold manner. First, because he takes to himself the right to change the doctrine of Christ and services instituted by God,

solum ligandi et solvendi in hac vita, sed etiam sumit sibi ius de animabus post hanc vitam. Tertio, quia papa non vult ab ecclesia aut ab ullo iudicari, et antefert suam auctoritatem iudicio conciliorum et totius ecclesiae. Hoc autem est se Deum facere, nolle ab ecclesia aut ab ullo iudicari. Postremo hos tam horribiles errores et hanc impietatem defendit summa saevitia et interficit dissentientes.

41] Haec quum ita sint, cavere omnes Christiani debent, ne fiant participes impiae doctrinae, blasphemiarum et iniustae crudelitatis papae. Ideo papam cum suis membris tamquam regnum antichristi deserere et exsecrari debent, sicut Christus iussit [Matth. 7, 15]: *Cavete a pseudoprophetis!* Et Paulus iubet, impios doctores vitandos et exsecrandos esse tamquam anathemata [Gal. 1, 8; Tit. 3, 10]. Et 2 Cor. 6, 14 ait: *Ne sitis consortes infidelium; quae est enim societas lucis et tenebrarum?*

42] Dissidere a consensu tot gentium [R. 349 et dici schismaticos grave est. Sed auctoritas divina mandat omnibus, ne sint socii et propugnatores impietatis et iniustae saevitae.

Ideo satis excusatae sunt conscientiae nostrae; sunt enim manifesti errores regni papae. Et Scriptura tota voce clamitat, errores illos esse *doctrinam daemoniorum* et 43] antichristi. Manifesta est idololatria in profanatione missarum, quae quum alia vitia habent, tum ad turpissimum quaestum impu-44] denter collatae sunt. Doctrina de poenitentia prorsus depravata est a papa et a suis membris. Docent enim remitti peccata propter dignitatem nostrorum operum. Deinde iubent dubitare, an contingat remissio. Nusquam docent, quod gratis propter Christum remittantur peccata, et quod hac fide consequamur remissionem peccatorum.

Ita gloriam Christi obscurant et conscientiis firmam consolationem eripiunt et abolent veros cultus, videlicet exercitia fidei luctantis cum desperatione.

45] Obscuraverunt doctrinam de peccato et finxerunt traditionem de enumeratione delictorum, parientem multos errores et desperationem.

Affinxerunt satisfactiones, quibus etiam obscuraverunt beneficium Christi.

46] Ex his natae sunt indulgentiae, quae sunt mera mendacia, quaestus causa excogitata.

47] Deinde invocatio sanctorum quantos ab-

eigenen erdichteten Gottesdienste gehalten haben, als hätte sie Gott selbst geboten. Zum andern, daß er sich der Gewalt anmaßt zu binden und [zu] entbinden nicht allein in diesem zeitlichen Leben hier, sondern auch in jenem Leben. Zum dritten, daß der Papst nicht will leiden, daß die Kirche oder sonst jemand ihn richte, sondern seine Gewalt soll über alle Konzilia und die ganze Kirche gehen; das heißt aber sich selbst zum Gott machen, wenn man weder [der] Kirche noch jemandes Urteil leiden will. Zum letzten hat der Papst solche Irrtümer und gottlos Wesen auch mit unrechter Gewalt und Morden verteidigt, daß er alle, so es nicht allermaßen mit ihm gehalten, hat umbringen lassen.

Weil nun dem also ist, sollen alle Christen auf das fleißigste sich hüten, daß sie solcher gottlosen Lehre, Gotteslästerung und unbilligen Wüterei sich nicht teilhaftig machen, sondern sollen vom Papst und seinen Gliedern oder Anhang als von des Antichrists Reich weichen und es verfluchen, wie Christus befohlen hat: „Hütet euch vor den falschen Propheten!“ Und Paulus gebietet, daß man falsche Prediger meiden und als einen Greuel verfluchen soll. Und 2 Kor. 6 spricht er: „Ziehet nicht am fremden Joch mit den Ungläubigen; denn was hat das Licht für Gemeinschaft mit der Finsternis?“ usw.

Schwer ist es, daß man von so viel Landen und Leuten sich trennen und eine [be]sondere Lehre führen will. Aber hier steht Gottes Befehl, daß jedermann sich soll hüten und nicht mit denen einhellig sein, so unrechte Lehre führen oder mit Wüterei zu erhalten gedenken.

Darum sind unsere Gewissen deshalben wohl entschuldigt und versichert. Denn man sieht je vor Augen die großen Irrtümer, so in des Papstes Reich gehen, und die Schrift schreit mit aller Macht, daß solche Irrtümer des Teufels und Antichrists Lehre seien. Die Abgötterei im Mißbrauch der Messen ist offenbar, welche neben dem, daß sie sonst nichts tügen [taugen], zum schändlichen Genieß und Krämerei mißbraucht sind. Die Lehre von der Buße ist vom Papst und den Seinen ganz gefälscht und verderbt worden. Denn so lehren sie: Sünde werde vergeben um unserer eigenen Werke willen; und hängen dies dran, man solle dennoch zweifeln, ob die Sünden vergeben sind. Dazu lehren sie nicht, daß um Christus' willen die Sünde ohne Verdienst vergeben, und solche Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben an Christum erlangt werde.

Mit solcher Lehre nehmen sie Christo seine Ehre und berauben die Gewissen des rechten und gewissen Trostes und tun ab die rechten Gottesdienste, nämlich die Übung des Glaubens, welcher mit dem Unglauben und Verzweiflung über der Verheißung des Evangelii kämpft.

Dergleichen haben sie auch die Lehre verdunkelt von der Sünde und eigene Satzungen erdichtet, wie man alle Sünden erzählen und beichten müsse, daraus mancherlei Irrtum, auch endlich Verzweiflung gefolgt ist.

Danach haben sie eigene Genugtuung erdacht, dadurch die Wohltat und das Verdienst Christi auch verfinstert ist.

Aus diesem ist der Ablaß gefolgt, welcher lauter Lügen und allein um des Geldes willen erdacht ist.

Was ist denn danach für Mißbrauch und greu-

and wants his own doctrine and his own services to be observed as divine; secondly, because he takes to himself the power not only of binding and loosing in this life, but also the jurisdiction over souls after this life; thirdly, because the Pope does not want to be judged by the Church or by any one, and puts his own authority ahead of the decision of Councils and the entire Church. But to be unwilling to be judged by the Church or by any one is to make oneself God. Lastly, these errors so horrible, and this impiety, he defends with the greatest cruelty, and puts to death those dissenting.

This being the case, all Christians ought to beware of becoming partakers of the godless doctrine, blasphemies, and unjust cruelty of the Pope. On this account they ought to desert and execrate the Pope with his adherents as the kingdom of Antichrist; just as Christ has commanded, Matt. 7, 15: *Beware of false prophets.* And Paul commands that godless teachers should be avoided and execrated as cursed, Gal. 1, 8; Titus 3, 10. And 2 Cor. 6, 14 he says: *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what communion hath light with darkness?*

To dissent from the agreement of so many nations and to be called schismatics is a grave matter. But divine authority commands all not to be allies and defenders of impiety and unjust cruelty.

On this account our consciences are sufficiently excused; for the errors of the kingdom of the Pope are manifest. And Scripture with its entire voice exclaims that these errors are a *teaching of demons* and of Antichrist. The idolatry in the profanation of the masses is manifest, which, besides other faults [besides being altogether useless] are shamelessly applied to most shameful gain [and trafficking]. The doctrine of repentance has been utterly corrupted by the Pope and his adherents. For they teach that sins are remitted because of the worth of our works. Then they bid us doubt whether the remission takes place. They nowhere teach that sins are remitted freely for Christ's sake, and that by this faith we obtain remission of sins.

Thus they obscure the glory of Christ, and deprive consciences of firm consolation, and abolish true divine services, namely, the exercises of faith struggling with [unbelief and] despair [concerning the promise of the Gospel].

They have obscured the doctrine concerning sin, and have invented a tradition concerning the enumeration of offenses, producing many errors and despair.

They have devised, in addition, satisfactions, whereby they have also obscured the benefit [and merit] of Christ.

From these, indulgences have been born, which are pure lies, fabricated for the sake of gain.

Then, how many abuses and what horrible

usus et quam horrendam idolatriam [idololatriam] peperit!

48] Quanta flagitia orta sunt ex traditione de coelibatu!

Quantas tenebras offudit evangelio doctrina de votis! Ibi finxerunt vota esse iustitiam coram Deo et mereri remissionem peccatorum. Ita transtulerunt beneficium Christi in humanas traditiones et penitus exstinxerunt doctrinam de fide. Finxerunt nugacissimas traditiones esse cultus Dei et perfectionem, et praetulerunt eas operibus vocationum, quas Deus requirit et ordinavit. Neque hi errores sunt existimandi leves; laedunt enim gloriam Christi et afferunt perniciem animabus, nec possunt dissimulari.

Deinde ad hos errores accedunt duo [R. 350 49] ingentia peccata: primum, quod defendit errores illos iniusta saevitia et suppliciis; alterum, quod iudicium eripit ecclesiae, nec sinit rite iudicari ecclesiasticas controversias, imo contendit se supra concilium esse et decreta conciliorum rescindere posse, sicut interdum impudenter loquuntur canones. Sed multo impudentius hoc factum esse a pontificibus, exempla testantur.

50] 9. Quaestione 3. ait canon: *Nemo iudicabit primam sedem; neque enim ab Augusto, neque ab omni clero, neque a regibus, neque a populo iudex iudicatur.*

51] Duplicem tyrannidem exercet papa: defendit errores suos vi et homicidiis et vetat cognitionem. Hoc posterius etiam plus nocet quam ulla supplicia. Quia sublato vero iudicio ecclesiae non possunt tolli impia dogmata et impii cultus, et multis saeculis infinitas animas perdunt.

52] Considerent igitur pii tantos errores regni papae et tyrannidem et cogitent primum abiiciendos esse errores et amplectendam esse veram doctrinam propter gloriam Dei et 53] ad salutem animarum. Deinde cogitent etiam, quantum scelus sit adiuvare iniustam crudelitatem in interficiendis sanctis, quorum sanguinem Deus haud dubie ulciscetur.

54] Imprimis autem oportet praecipua membra ecclesiae, reges et principes, consulere ecclesiae et curare, ut errores tollantur et conscientiae sanentur, sicut Deus nominatim reges hortatur [Ps. 2, 10]: *Et nunc, reges, intelligite; erudimini, qui iudicatis terram.* Prima enim cura regum esse debet, ut ornent gloriam Dei. Quare indignissimum fuerit eos conferre auctoritatem et potentiam suam ad confirmandam idololatriam et cetera infinita flagitia et ad faciendas caedes sanctorum.

liche Abgötterei aus dem Anrufen der Heiligen gefolgt!

Was für Schande und Laster sind gekommen aus dem Verbot der Ehe!

Wie ist nur das Evangelium durch die Lehre von [den] Gelübden so verdunkelt worden! Da hat man gelehrt, daß solche Gelübde sind vor Gott eine Gerechtigkeit und verdienen Vergebung der Sünden, daß also das Verdienst Christi auf Menschensatzungen gezogen und die Lehre vom Glauben ganz vertilgt ist. Und haben ihre närrischen und leichtfertigen Satzungen für den rechten Gottesdienst und Vollkommenheit gerühmt und den Werken, welche Gott von einem jeden in seinem Beruf fordert und geordnet hat, vorgezogen. Nun darf man's nicht dafür achten, daß solches geringe Irrtümer sind, denn sie nehmen Christo seine Ehre und verdammen die Seelen; darum soll man sie nicht ungestraft lassen hingehen.

Zu diesen Irrtümern kommen nun zwei große, greuliche Sünden: die eine, daß der Papst solche Irrtümer mit unbilliger Wüterei und grausamer Tyrannei, mit Gewalt verteidigen und erhalten will; die andere, daß er der Kirche das Urteil nimmt und will solche Religionssachen ordentlicherweise nicht richten lassen; ja, er will mehr denn alle Konzilia sein und die Macht haben, daß er alles, so in Konzilien beschlossen, möge zerreißen und aufheben; wie zuweilen die Kanones solches unverschämt heraussagen, und haben solches die Päpste noch unverschämter getrieben, wie viele Exempel bezeugen.

9. Quaest. 3. spricht der Kanon: „Niemand soll den höchsten Stuhl richten; denn den Richter richtet weder Kaiser noch die Priester, weder König noch das Volk."

Also handelt der Papst auf beiden Seiten wie ein Tyrann, daß er solche Irrtümer mit Gewalt und Wüterei verteidigt und will keine Richter leiden. Und dies andere Stück tut mehr Schaden denn alle Wüterei. Denn alsbald der Kirche das rechte Urteil und Erkenntnis genommen ist, kann nicht möglich sein, daß man falscher Lehre oder unrechtem Gottesdienst könnte steuern, und müssen derhalben viele Seelen verloren werden.

Darum sollen gottesfürchtige Leute solche greuliche Irrtümer des Papstes und seine Tyrannei wohl bedenken und zum ersten wissen, daß solche Irrtümer zu fliehen und die rechte Lehre der Ehre Gottes und der Seelen Seligkeit halben anzunehmen sei. Danach, daß man doch bedenke, wie eine greuliche, große Sünde es sei, solche unbillige Wüterei des Papstes helfen fördern, da so viel fromme Christen so jämmerlich ermordet werden, welcher Blut ohne Zweifel Gott nicht wird ungerochen [ungerächt] lassen.

Vornehmlich aber sollen Könige und Fürsten als vornehmste Glieder der Kirche helfen und schauen, daß allerlei Irrtümer weggetan und die Gewissen recht unterrichtet werden, wie denn Gott zu solchem Amt die Könige und Fürsten sonderlich vermahnt im 2. Psalm: „Ihr Könige, laßt euch weisen, und ihr Richter auf Erden, laßt euch züchtigen!" Denn dies soll bei den Königen und großen Herren die vornehmste Sorge sein, daß sie Gottes Ehre fleißig fördern. Darum wäre es je unbillig, wenn sie ihre Macht und Gewalt dahin wollten wenden, daß solche greuliche Abgötterei und andere unzählige Laster erhalten und die frommen Christen so jämmerlich ermordet würden.

idolatry the invocation of saints has produced!

What shameful acts have arisen from the tradition concerning celibacy!

What darkness the doctrine concerning vows has spread over the Gospel! There they feigned that vows are righteousness before God, and merit the remission of sins. Thus they have transferred the benefit of Christ to human traditions, and have altogether extinguished the doctrine concerning faith. They have feigned that the most trifling traditions are services of God and perfection, and have preferred these to the works of callings which God requires and has ordained. Neither are these errors to be regarded as light; for they detract from the glory of Christ and bring destruction to souls, neither can they be passed by unnoticed.

Then to these errors two great sins are added: The first, that he defends these errors by unjust cruelty and death-penalties. The second, that he wrests the decision from the Church, and does not permit ecclesiastical controversies [such matters of religion] to be judged according to the prescribed mode; yea, he contends that he is above the Council, and can rescind the decrees of Councils, as the canons sometimes impudently speak. But that this was much more impudently done by the pontiffs, examples testify.

Quest. 9, canon 3, says: *No one shall judge the first seat; for the judge is judged neither by the emperor, nor by all the clergy, nor by the kings, nor by the people.*

The Pope exercises a twofold tyranny: he defends his errors by force and by murders, and forbids judicial examination. The latter does even more injury than any executions, because, when the true judgment of the Church is removed, godless dogmas and godless services cannot be removed, and for many ages they destroy innumerable souls.

Therefore let the godly consider the great errors of the kingdom of the Pope and his tyranny, and let them ponder, first, that the errors must be rejected and the true doctrine embraced, for the glory of God and to the salvation of souls. Then let them ponder also how great a crime it is to aid unjust cruelty in killing saints, whose blood God will undoubtedly avenge.

But especially the chief members of the Church, kings and princes, ought to guard the interests of the Church, and to see to it that errors be removed and consciences be healed [rightly instructed], as God expressly exhorts kings, Ps. 2, 10: *Be wise, now, therefore, O ye kings; be instructed, ye judges of the earth.* For it should be the first care of kings [and great lords] to advance the glory of God. Therefore it would be very shameful for them to lend their influence and power to confirm idolatry and infinite other crimes, and to slaughter saints.

55] Et ut papa synodos habeat, quomodo sanari ecclesia potest, si papa nihil decerni contra arbitrium suum patiatur, si nemini concedat dicere sententiam nisi suis [R. 351 membris, quae habet obligata horrendis iuramentis et maledictionibus ad defensionem suae tyrannidis et impietatis sine ulla exceptione Verbi Dei?

56] Quum autem iudicia synodorum sint ecclesiae iudicia, non pontificum, praecipue regibus convenit coercere pontificum licentiam et efficere, ne ecclesiae eripiatur facultas iudicandi et decernendi ex Verbo Dei. Et ut reliquos errores papae taxare ceteri Christiani debent, ita etiam reprehendere debent pontificem defugientem et impedientem veram cognitionem et verum iudicium ecclesiae.

57] Itaque etiamsi Romanus episcopus iure divino haberet primatum, tamen posteaquam defendit impios cultus et doctrinam pugnantem cum evangelio, non debetur ei obedientia, imo necesse est ei tamquam antichristo adversari. Errores papae manifesti sunt et non leves.

58] Manifesta est etiam crudelitas, quam exercet. Et constat mandatum Dei esse, ut fugiamus idololatriam, impiam doctrinam et iniustam saevitiam. Ideo magnas, necessarias et manifestas causas habent omnes pii, ne obtemperent papae. Et hae necessariae causae pios consolantur adversus omnia convicia, quae de scandalis, de schismate, de discordia obiici solent.

59] Qui vero sentiunt cum papa et defendunt eius doctrinam et cultus, polluunt se idololatria et blasphemis opinionibus, fiunt rei sanguinis piorum, quos papa persequitur, laedunt gloriam Dei et impediunt salutem ecclesiae, quia confirmant errores et flagitia ad omnem posteritatem.

De Potestate et Iurisdictione Episcoporum.

60] Evangelium tribuit his, qui praesunt ecclesiis, mandatum docendi evangelii, [R. 352 remittendi peccata, administrandi sacramenta, praeterea iurisdictionem, videlicet mandatum excommunicandi eos, quorum nota sunt crimina, et resipiscentes rursum absolvendi.

61] Ac omnium confessione, etiam adversariorum, liquet hanc potestatem iure divino communem esse omnibus, qui praesunt ecclesiis, sive vocentur pastores sive presbyteri sive 62] episcopi. Ideoque Hieronymus aperte docet in literis apostolicis, omnes, qui praesunt ecclesiis, et episcopos et presbyteros esse, et citat ex Tito [Tit. 1, 5 sq.]: *Propterea te reliqui in Creta, ut constituas presbyteros per civitates.* Et deinde addit: *Oportet episco-*

Und im Fall, daß der Papst gleich ein Konzilium halten wollte, wie kann der Kirche wider solche Stücke geholfen werden, so der Papst nicht leiden will, daß man etwas wider ihn [be]schließe, oder andere, denn so ihm zuvor durch schreckliche Eidespflichten, auch Gottes Wort unausgenommen, zugetan, in Kirchensachen richten sollen?

Weil aber die Urteile in Konzilien der Kirche und nicht des Papstes Urteile sind, will es je den Königen und Fürsten gebühren, daß sie dem Papst solchen Mutwillen nicht einräumen, sondern schaffen, daß der Kirche die Macht zu richten nicht genommen und alles nach der Heiligen Schrift und Wort Gottes geurteilt werde. Und gleichwie die Christen alle andern Irrtümer des Papstes zu strafen schuldig sind, also sind sie auch schuldig, den Papst selbst zu strafen, wenn er fliehen oder wehren will das rechte Urteil und wahre Erkenntnis der Kirche.

Darum, obschon der Papst aus göttlichen Rechten den Primat oder Oberkeit hätte, soll man ihm dennoch keinen Gehorsam leisten, weil er falsche Gottesdienste und eine andere Lehre wider das Evangelium erhalten will. Ja, man soll sich aus Not wider ihn als den rechten Antichrist setzen. Man sieht's je am Tage, was des Papstes Irrtümer und wie groß sie sind.

So sieht man auch die Wüterei, welche er wider die frommen Christen vornimmt. So steht Gottes Befehl und Wort da, daß wir Abgötterei, falsche Lehre und unbillige Wüterei fliehen sollen. Darum hat ein jeder frommer Christ wichtige, nötige und helle Ursachen genug, daß er dem Papst nicht Gehorsam leiste, und sind solche nötige Ursachen allen Christen ein großer Trost wider allerlei Schmach und Schande, die sie uns auflegen, daß wir Ärgernis geben, Zertrennung und Uneinigkeit anrichten.

Die es aber mit dem Papst halten und seine Lehre und falschen Gottesdienste verteidigen, die beflecken sich mit Abgötterei und gotteslästerlicher Lehre und laden auf sich alles Blut der frommen Christen, die der Papst und die Seinen verfolgen; die verhindern auch Gottes Ehre und der Kirche Seligkeit, weil sie solche Irrtümer und Laster vor aller Welt und allen Nachkommen zu Schaden verteidigen.

Von der Bischöfe Gewalt und Jurisdiktion.

In unserer **Konfession** und **Apologia** haben wir ingemein erzählt, was von Kirchengewalt zu sagen gewesen ist. Denn das Evangelium gebeut [gebietet] denen, so den Kirchen sollen vorstehen; daß sie das Evangelium predigen, Sünden vergeben und Sakramente reichen sollen. Und über das gibt es ihnen die Jurisdiktion, daß man die, so in öffentlichen Lastern liegen, bannen, und die sich bessern wollen, entbinden und absolvieren soll.

Nun muß es jedermann, auch unsere Widersacher, bekennen, daß diesen Befehl zugleich alle haben, die den Kirchen vorstehen, sie heißen gleich pastores oder presbyteri oder Bischöfe. Darum spricht auch Hieronymus mit hellen Worten, daß episcopi und presbyteri nicht unterschieden sind, sondern daß alle Pfarrherren zugleich Bischöfe und Priester sind, und allegiert den Text Pauli ad Tit. 1, da er zu Tito schreibt: „Ich ließ dich derhalben zu Kreta, daß du bestelletest die Städte hin

And even though the Pope should hold Synods [a Council], how can the Church be healed if the Pope suffers nothing to be decreed contrary to his will, if he allows no one to express his opinion except his adherents, whom he has bound by dreadful oaths and curses to the defense of his tyranny and wickedness without any exception concerning God's Word [not even the Word of God being excepted]?

But since the decisions of Synods are the decisions of the Church, and not of the Popes, it is especially incumbent on kings to check the license of the Popes [not allow such wantonness], and to act so that the power of judging and decreeing from the Word of God is not wrested from the Church. And as the rest of the Christians must censure all other errors of the Pope, so they must also rebuke the Pope when he evades and impedes the true investigation and true decision of the Church.

Therefore, even though the bishop of Rome had the primacy by divine right, yet since he defends godless services and doctrine conflicting with the Gospel, obedience is not due him; yea, it is necessary to resist him as Antichrist. The errors of the Pope are manifest and not trifling.

Manifest also is the cruelty [against godly Christians] which he exercises. And it is clear that it is God's command that we flee idolatry, godless doctrine, and unjust cruelty. On this account all the godly have great, compelling, and manifest reasons for not obeying the Pope. And these compelling reasons comfort the godly against all the reproaches which are usually cast against them concerning offenses, schism, and discord [which they are said to cause].

But those who agree with the Pope, and defend his doctrine and [false] services, defile themselves with idolatry and blasphemous opinions, become guilty of the blood of the godly, whom the Pope [and his adherents] persecutes, detract from the glory of God, and hinder the welfare of the Church, because they strengthen errors and crimes to all posterity [in the sight of all the world and to the injury of all descendants].

Of the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops.

[In our Confession and the Apology we have in general recounted what we have had to say concerning ecclesiastical power. For] The Gospel assigns to those who preside over churches the command to teach the Gospel, to remit sins, to administer the Sacraments, and besides jurisdiction, namely, the command to excommunicate those whose crimes are known, and again to absolve those who repent.

And by the confession of all, even of the adversaries, it is clear that this power by divine right is common to all who preside over churches, whether they are called pastors, or elders, or bishops. And accordingly Jerome openly teaches in the apostolic letters that all who preside over churches are both bishops and elders, and cites from Titus 1, 5 f.: *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou*

pum esse unius uxoris virum. Item Petrus et Iohannes vocant se presbyteros [1 Petr. 5, 1; 2 Ioh. 1]. Et deinde addit: *Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui ceteris praeponeretur, in remedium schismatis factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens ecclesiam Christi rumperet. Nam et Alexandriae a Marco Evangelista usque ad Esdram* [* Heraclam] *et Dionysium episcopos presbyteri semper ex se unum eligebant et in excelsiore loco collocabant, quem episcopum nominabant, quomodo si exercitus imperatorem sibi faciat. Diaconi autem eligant ex se, quem industrium noverint et archidiaconum nuncupent. Quid enim facit episcopus excepta ordinatione, quod presbyter non facit?*

63] Docet igitur Hieronymus, humana auctoritate distinctos gradus esse episcopi et presbyteri seu pastoris. Idque res ipsa loquitur, quia potestas est eadem, quam supra **64**] dixit. Sed una res postea fecit discrimen episcoporum et pastorum, videlicet ordinatio, quia institutum est, ut unus episcopus ordinaret ministros in pluribus ecclesiis.

65] Sed quum iure divino non sint diversi gradus episcopi et pastoris, manifestum est ordinationem a pastore in sua ecclesia factam iure divino ratam esse.

66] Itaque quum episcopi ordinarii fiunt hostes ecclesiae aut nolunt impertire ordinationem, ecclesiae retinent ius suum.

67] Nam ubicunque est ecclesia, ibi [R. 353 est ius administrandi evangelii. Quare necesse est ecclesiam retinere ius vocandi, eligendi et ordinandi ministros. Et hoc ius est donum proprie datum ecclesiae, quod nulla humana auctoritas ecclesiae eripere potest, sicut et Paulus testatur ad Ephesios [4, 8], quum ait: *Ascendit, dedit dona hominibus.* Et numerat inter dona propria ecclesiae *pastores et doctores* et addit, dari tales ad ministerium, *ad aedificationem corporis Christi.* Ubi est igitur vera ecclesia, ibi necesse est esse ius eligendi et ordinandi ministros. Sicut in casu necessitatis absolvit etiam laicus et fit minister ac pastor alterius; sicut narrat Augustinus historiam de duobus Christianis in navi, quorum alter baptizaverit *κατηχούμενον*, et is baptizatus deinde absolverit alterum.

68] Huc pertinent sententiae Christi, quae testantur claves ecclesiae datas esse, non tantum certis personis [Matth. 18, 20]: *Ubicunque erunt duo vel tres congregati in nomine meo* etc.

69] Postremo etiam hoc confirmat sententia Petri [1. ep. 2, 9]: *Vos estis regale sacerdotium.* Quae verba ad veram ecclesiam perti-

und her mit Priestern", und nennt solche hernach Bischöfe: „Es soll ein Bischof e i n e s Weibes Mann sein." So nennen sich selbst Petrus und Johannes presbyteros oder Priester. Danach sagt Hieronymus weiter: „Daß aber einer allein erwählt wird, der andere unter ihm habe, ist geschehen, daß man damit die [der] Zertrennung wehrte, daß nicht einer hier, der andere dort eine Kirche an sich zöge, und die Gemeinde also zerrissen würde. Denn zu Alexandria", sagt er, „von Marko dem Evangelisten an bis auf Esdram [Heraclam] und Dionysium, haben allezeit die Presbyteri einen aus ihnen [sich] erwählt und höher gehalten und episcopum (einen Bischof) genannt, gleichwie ein Kriegsvolk einen zum Hauptmann erwählt; wie auch die Diaconi einen aus ihnen [sich], der geschickt dazu ist, wählen und Archidiakon nennen. Denn, sage mir, was tut ein Bischof mehr denn ein jeglicher Presbyter, ohne daß er andere zum Kirchenamt ordnet" usw.?

Hier lehrt Hieronymus, daß solcher Unterschied der Bischöfe und Pfarrherren allein aus menschlicher Ordnung gekommen sei, wie man denn auch im Werk sieht. Denn das Amt und Befehl ist gar einerlei, und hat hernach allein die ordinatio den Unterschied zwischen Bischöfen und Pfarrherren gemacht. Denn so hat man's danach geordnet, daß ein Bischof auch in andern Kirchen Leute zum Predigtamt ordnete.

Weil aber nach göttlichem Recht kein Unterschied ist zwischen Bischöfen und Pastoren oder Pfarrherren, [so] ist's ohne Zweifel, wenn ein Pfarrherr in seiner Kirche etliche tüchtige Personen zu den Kirchenämtern ordnet, daß solche ordinatio nach göttlichen Rechten kräftig und recht ist.

Darum, weil doch die verordneten Bischöfe das Evangelium verfolgen und tüchtige Personen zu ordinieren sich weigern, hat eine jegliche Kirche in diesem Fall gut Fug und Recht, ihr selbst Kirchendiener zu ordinieren.

Denn wo die Kirche ist, da ist je der Befehl, das Evangelium zu predigen. Darum müssen die Kirchen die Gewalt behalten, daß sie Kirchendiener fordern, wählen und ordinieren. Und solche Gewalt ist ein Geschenk, welches der Kirche eigentlich von Gott gegeben und von keiner menschlichen Gewalt der Kirche kann genommen werden, wie St. Paulus zeugt Eph. 4, da er sagt: „Er ist in die Höhe gefahren und hat Gaben gegeben den Menschen." Und unter solchen Gaben, die der Kirche eigen sind, zählt er „Pfarrherren und Lehrer" und hängt daran, daß solche gegeben werden „zur Erbauung des Leibes Christi". Darum folgt, wo eine rechte Kirche ist, daß da auch die Macht sei, Kirchendiener zu wählen und [zu] ordinieren. Wie denn in der Not auch ein schlechter [gewöhnlicher] Laie einen andern absolvieren und sein Pfarrherr werden kann, wie St. Augustin eine Historie schreibt, daß zwei Christen in einem Schiffe beisammen gewesen, deren einer den andern getauft und danach von ihm absolviert sei.

Hierher gehören die Sprüche Christi, welche zeugen, daß die Schlüssel der ganzen Kirche und nicht etlichen [be]sonderen Personen gegeben sind, wie der Text sagt: „Wo zwei oder drei in meinem Namen versammelt sind, bin ich mitten unter ihnen" usw.

Zum letzten wird solches auch durch den Spruch Petri bekräftigt, da er spricht: „Ihr seid das königliche Priestertum." Diese Worte betreffen

shouldest ordain elders in every city [and afterwards calls these persons bishops]. Then he adds: *A bishop must be the husband of one wife.* Likewise Peter and John call themselves elders [or priests], 1 Pet. 5, 1; 2 John 1. And he then adds: *But that afterwards one was chosen to be placed over the rest, this was done as a remedy for schism, lest each one by attracting [a congregation here or there] to himself might rend the Church of Christ. For at Alexandria, from Mark the evangelist to the bishops Heracles and Dionysius, the elders always elected one from among themselves, and placed him in a higher station, whom they called bishop; just as an army would make a commander for itself. The deacons, moreover, may elect from among themselves one whom they know to be active, and name him archdeacon. For with the exception of ordination, what does the bishop that the elder does not?*

Jerome, therefore, teaches that it is by human authority that the grades of bishop and elder or pastor are distinct. And the subject itself declares this, because the power [the office and command] is the same, as he has said above. But one matter afterwards made a distinction between bishops and pastors, namely, ordination, because it was [so] arranged that one bishop should ordain ministers in a number of churches.

But since by divine authority the grades of bishop and pastor are not diverse, it is manifest that ordination administered by a pastor in his own church is valid by divine law [if a pastor in his own church ordains certain suitable persons to the ministry, such ordination is, according to divine law, undoubtedly effective and right].

Therefore, when the regular bishops become enemies of the Church, or are unwilling to administer ordination, the churches retain their own right. [Because the regular bishops persecute the Gospel and refuse to ordain suitable persons, every church has in this case full authority to ordain its own ministers.]

For wherever the Church is, there is the authority [command] to administer the Gospel. Therefore it is necessary for the Church to retain the authority to call, elect, and ordain ministers. And this authority is a gift which in reality is given to the Church, which no human power can wrest from the Church, as Paul also testifies to the Ephesians, 4, 8, when he says: *He ascended, He gave gifts to men.* And he enumerates among the gifts specially belonging to the Church *pastors and teachers,* and adds that such are given for the ministry, *for the edifying of the body of Christ.* Hence, wherever there is a true church, the right to elect and ordain ministers necessarily exists. Just as in a case of necessity even a layman absolves, and becomes the minister and pastor of another; as Augustine narrates the story of two Christians in a ship, one of whom baptized the catechumen, who after Baptism then absolved the baptizer.

Here belong the statements of Christ which testify that the keys have been given to the Church, and not merely to certain persons, Matt. 18, 20: *Where two or three are gathered together in My name,* etc.

Lastly, the statement of Peter also confirms this, 1 Ep. 2, 9: *Ye are a royal priesthood.*

nent, quae quum sola habeat sacerdotium, certe habet ius eligendi et ordinandi ministros.

70] Idque etiam communissima ecclesiae consuetudo testatur. Nam olim populus eligebat pastores et episcopos. Deinde accedebat episcopus seu eius ecclesiae seu vicinus, qui confirmabat electum impositione manuum, nec aliud fuit ordinatio nisi talis comprobatio. **71**] Postea accesserunt novae ceremoniae, quales multas describit Dionysius. Sed est auctor novus et fictitius, quisquis est, sicut et Clementis scripta sunt suppositicia. Deinde recentiores addiderunt: *Do tibi potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis.* Sed ne illud quidem apud Dionysium est.

72] Ex his omnibus liquet ecclesiam retinere ius eligendi et ordinandi ministros. Et causam schismati et discordiae praebent impietas et tyrannis episcoporum, quia Paulus [R. 354 [Gal. 1, 7 sqq.] praecipit, ut episcopi docentes et defendentes impiam doctrinam et impios cultus habeantur tamquam anathemata.

eigentlich die rechte Kirche, welche, weil sie allein das Priestertum hat, muß sie auch die Macht haben, Kirchendiener zu wählen und [zu] ordinieren.

Solches zeugt auch der gemeine Brauch der Kirche. Denn vorzeiten wählte das Volk Pfarrherren und Bischöfe; dazu kam der Bischof, am selben Ort oder in der Nähe gesessen, und bestätigte den gewählten Bischof durch Auflegen der Hände, und ist dazumal die ordinatio nichts anderes gewesen denn solche Bestätigung. Danach sind andere Zeremonien mehr dazugekommen, wie Dionysius deren etliche erzählt. Aber dasselbe Buch Dionysii ist ein neu Gedicht unter falschem Titel, wie auch das Buch Clementis einen falschen Titel hat und lange nach Clemente von einem bösen Buben gemacht ist. Danach ist auf die letzt [ist zuletzt] auch dies hinangehängt worden, daß der Bischof gesagt hat zu denen, die er weihte: „Ich gebe dir Macht, zu opfern für die Lebendigen und die Toten"; aber das steht auch im Dionysio nicht.

Hieraus sieht man, daß die Kirche Macht hat, Kirchendiener zu wählen und [zu] ordinieren. Darum wenn die Bischöfe entweder Ketzer sind oder tüchtige Personen nicht wollen ordinieren, sind die Kirchen vor Gott nach göttlichem Recht schuldig, ihnen selbst Pfarrherren und Kirchendiener zu ordinieren. Ob man nun dies wollte eine Unordnung oder Zertrennung heißen, [so] soll man wissen, daß die gottlose Lehre und Tyrannei der Bischöfe daran schuldig ist. Denn so gebietet Paulus, daß alle Bischöfe, so entweder selbst unrecht lehren oder unrechte Lehre und falschen Gottesdienst verteidigen, für sträfliche Leute sollen gehalten werden.

73] Diximus de ordinatione, quae una, ut Hieronymus ait, discernebat episcopos a reliquis presbyteris. Itaque nulla disputatione opus est de ceteris episcoporum officiis. Nec vero opus est dicere de confirmatione, item de campanarum consecratione, quae propemodum sola retinuerunt. De iurisdictione aliquid dicendum est.

Bisanher haben wir von der Ordination gesagt, welche allein etwa [ehemals] Unterschied gemacht hat zwischen Bischöfen und den Priestern, wie Hieronymus spricht. Darum ist nicht not, von übrigen bischöflichen Ämtern viel zu disputieren, man wollte denn von der Firmelung, Glockentaufen und anderm solchen Gaukelspiel reden, welches fast allein die Bischöfe sonderlich gebraucht; aber von der Jurisdiktion ist noch zu handeln.

74] Constat iurisdictionem illam communem excommunicandi reos manifestorum criminum pertinere ad omnes pastores. Hanc tyrannice ad se solos transtulerunt et ad quaestum contulerunt. Constat enim officiales, ut vocantur, non toleranda licentia usos esse, et vel avaritia vel propter alias cupiditates vexasse homines et excommunicasse sine ullo ordine iudiciorum. Quae est autem tyrannis, officiales in civitatibus habere potestatem suo arbitratu, sine ordine iudiciorum damnandi **75**] et excommunicandi homines? Et hac potestate qualibus in rebus abusi sunt, videlicet non in puniendis veris delictis, sed in ieiuniis aut feriis violatis aut similibus nugis! Tantum adulteria interdum puniebant; et in hac re saepe vexabant innocentes et honestos homines. Porro quum hoc crimen sit gravissimum, certe sine ordine iudiciali nemo damnandus est.

Dies ist gewiß, daß die gemeine iurisdictio, die, so in öffentlichen Lastern liegen, zu bannen, alle Pfarrherren haben sollen, und daß die Bischöfe als Tyrannen sie zu sich gezogen und zu ihrem Genieß schändlich mißbraucht haben. Denn die Offiziale haben unleidlichen Mutwillen damit getrieben und die Leute entweder aus Geiz oder anderm Mutwillen wohl geplagt und ohne alles vor[her]gehendes rechtliches Erkenntnis gebannt. Was ist aber dies für eine Tyrannei, daß ein Offizial in einer Stadt die Macht soll haben, allein seinem Mutwillen nach ohne rechtliches Erkenntnis die Leute mit dem Bann so zu plagen und zu zwingen usw.? Nun haben sie solchen Zwang in allerlei Sachen gebraucht und nicht allein die rechten Laster damit nicht gestraft, da der Bann auf folgen sollte, sondern auch in andern, geringen Stücken, wo man nicht recht gefastet oder gefeiert hat, ohne daß sie zuweilen den Ehebruch gestraft und dann auch oft unschuldige Leute geschmäht und infamiert haben. Denn weil solche Beschuldigung sehr wichtig und schwer ist, soll je ohne rechtliches und ordentliches Erkenntnis in dem Fall niemand verdammt werden.

76] Quum igitur hanc iurisdictionem episcopi tyrannice ad se solos transtulerint eaque turpiter abusi sint, nihil opus est propter

Weil nun die Bischöfe solche Jurisdiktion als Tyrannen an sich gebracht und schändlich mißbraucht haben, dazu sonst gute Ursachen sind,

These words pertain to the true Church, which certainly has the right to elect and ordain ministers since it alone has the priesthood.

And this also a most common custom of the Church testifies. For formerly the people elected pastors and bishops. Then came a bishop, either of that church or a neighboring one, who confirmed the one elected by the laying on of hands; and ordination was nothing else than such a ratification. Afterwards new ceremonies were added, many of which Dionysius describes. But he is a recent and fictitious author, whoever he may be [this book of Dionysius is a new fiction under a false title], just as the writings of Clement also are spurious [have a false title and have been manufactured by a wicked scoundrel long after Clement]. Then more modern writers added [that the bishop said to those whom he was ordaining]: *I give thee the power to sacrifice for the living and the dead.* But not even this is in Dionysius.

From all these things it is clear that the Church retains the right to elect and ordain ministers. And the wickedness and tyranny of bishops afford cause for schism and discord [therefore, if the bishops either are heretics, or will not ordain suitable persons, the churches are in duty bound before God, according to divine law, to ordain for themselves pastors and ministers. Even though this be now called an irregularity or schism, it should be known that the godless doctrine and tyranny of the bishops is chargeable with it], because Paul, Gal. 1, 7 f., enjoins that bishops who teach and defend a godless doctrine and godless services should be regarded as accursed.

We have spoken of ordination, which alone, as Jerome says, distinguished bishops from other elders. Therefore there is need of no discussion concerning the other duties of bishops. Nor is it indeed necessary to speak of confirmation, nor of the consecration of bells [nor other tomfoolery of this kind], which are almost the only things which they have retained. Something must be said concerning jurisdiction.

It is certain that the common jurisdiction of excommunicating those guilty of manifest crimes belongs to all pastors. This they have tyrannically transferred to themselves alone, and have applied it to the acquisition of gain. For it is certain that the officials, as they are called, employed a license not to be tolerated, and either on account of avarice or because of other wanton desires tormented men and excommunicated them without any due process of law. But what tyranny is it for the officials in the states to have arbitrary power to condemn and excommunicate men without due process of law! And in what kind of affairs did they abuse this power? Indeed, not in punishing true offenses, but in regard to the violation of fasts or festivals, or like trifles! Only, they sometimes punished adulteries; and in this matter they often vexed [abused and defamed] innocent and honorable men. Besides, since this is a most grievous offense, nobody certainly is to be condemned without due process of law.

Since, therefore, bishops have tyrannically transferred this jurisdiction to themselves alone, and have basely abused it, there is no need, because of this jurisdiction, to obey

hanc iurisdictionem obedire episcopis. Sed quum sint iustae causae, cur non obtemperemus, rectum est et hanc iurisdictionem reddere piis pastoribus et curare, ut legitime exerceatur ad morum emendationem et gloriam Dei.

77] Reliqua est iurisdictio in iis causis, quae iure canonico ad forum, ut vocant, ecclesiasticum pertinent, ac praecipue in [R. 355 causis matrimonialibus. Haec quoque habent episcopi humano iure, et quidem non admodum veteri, sicut ex codice et novellis Iustiniani apparet iudicia matrimoniorum tunc fuisse apud magistratus. Et iure divino coguntur magistratus mundani haec iudicia exercere, si episcopi sint negligentes. Idem concedunt et canones. Quare etiam propter hanc iurisdictionem non necesse est obedire **78**] episcopis. Et quidem quum leges quasdam condiderint iniustas de coniugiis et in suis iudiciis observent, etiam propter hanc causam opus est alia iudicia constitui. Quia traditiones de cognatione spirituali sunt iniustae. Iniusta etiam traditio est, quae prohibet coniugium personae innocenti post factum divortium. Etiam iniusta lex est, quae in genere omnes clandestinas et dolosas desponsationes contra ius parentum approbat. Est et iniusta lex de coelibatu sacerdotum. Sunt et alii laquei conscientiarum in eorum legibus, quos omnes recitare nihil attinet. Illud satis est recitasse, quod multae sunt iniustae leges papae de negotiis matrimonialibus, propter quas magistratus debent alia iudicia constituere.

Danach ist eine iurisdictio in den Sachen, welche nach päpstlichem Recht in das forum ecclesiasticum oder Kirchengericht gehören, wie sonderlich die Ehesachen sind. Solche Jurisdiktion haben die Bischöfe auch nur aus menschlicher Ordnung an sich gebracht, die dennoch nicht sehr alt ist, wie man ex codice und novellis Justiniani sieht, daß die Ehesachen dazumal gar von weltlicher Obrigkeit gehandelt sind, und ist weltliche Obrigkeit schuldig, die Ehesachen zu richten, besonders, wo die Bischöfe unrecht richten oder nachläßig sind, wie auch die Canones zeugen. Darum ist man auch solcher Jurisdiktion halben den Bischöfen keinen Gehorsam schuldig. Und dieweil sie etliche unbillige Satzungen von Ehesachen gemacht und in Gerichten, die sie besitzen, brauchen, ist weltliche Obrigkeit auch dieser Ursache halben schuldig, solche Gerichte anders zu bestellen. Denn je das Verbot von der Ehe zwischen Gevattern unrecht ist; so ist dies auch unrecht, daß, wo zwei geschieden werden, der unschuldige Teil nicht wiederum heiraten soll; item, daß ingemein alle Heiraten, so heimlich und mit Betrug, ohne der Eltern Vorwissen und Bewilligung geschehen, gelten und kräftig sein sollen. Item, so ist das Verbot von der Priesterehe auch unrecht. Dergleichen sind in ihren Satzungen andere Stücke mehr, damit die Gewissen verwirrt und beschwert sind worden, die ohne Not ist, hier alle zu erzählen, und ist an dem genug, daß man weiß, daß in Ehesachen viel unrechtes und unbilliges Dings vom Papst ist geboten worden, daraus weltliche Obrigkeit Ursache genug hat, solche Gerichte für sich selbst anders zu bestellen.

79] Quum igitur episcopi, qui sunt addicti papae, defendant impiam doctrinam et impios cultus, nec ordinent pios doctores, imo adiuvent saevitiam papae, praeterea iurisdictionem eripuerint pastoribus et hanc tantum tyrannice exerceant, postremo quum in causis matrimonialibus multas iniustas leges observent, satis multae et necessariae causae sunt, quare ecclesiae non agnoscant eos tamquam episcopos.

Weil denn nun die Bischöfe, so dem Papst sind zugetan, gottlose Lehre und falsche Gottesdienste mit Gewalt verteidigen und fromme Prediger nicht ordinieren wollen, sondern helfen dem Papst dieselben ermorden und darüber den Pfarrherren die Jurisdiktion entzogen und allein wie Tyrannen zu ihrem Nutz sie gebraucht haben, zum letzten weil sie auch in Ehesachen so unbillig und unrecht handeln, [so] haben die Kirchen großer und notwendiger Ursachen genug, daß sie solche nicht als Bischöfe [an]erkennen sollen.

80] Ipsi autem meminerint opes datas esse episcopis tamquam eleemosynas propter administrationem et utilitatem ecclesiarum, sicut inquit regula: *Beneficium datur propter officium.* Quare non possunt bona conscientia possidere illas eleemosynas et ecclesiam interim defraudant, cui opus est illis facultatibus ad ministros alendos et iuvanda studia et suppeditandum certis pauperibus et constituenda iudicia, praesertim matrimo-**81**] nialia. Tanta enim varietas et magnitudo est controversiarum matrimonialium, ut his opus sit peculiari foro, ad quod constituendum opus est ecclesiae facultatibus. [R. 356 **82**] Petrus [2. ep. 2, 13] praedixit futuros impios episcopos, qui eleemosynis ecclesiarum abuterentur ad luxum, neglecto ministerio. Sciant ergo illi, qui ecclesiam defraudant, etiam eius sceleris poenas Deo se daturos esse.

Sie aber, die Bischöfe, sollen bedenken, daß ihre Güter und Einkommen gestiftet sind als Almosen, daß sie der Kirche dienen und ihr Amt desto stattlicher ausrichten mögen, wie die regula heißt: Beneficium datur propter officium. Darum können sie solche Almosen mit gutem Gewissen nicht gebrauchen und berauben damit die Kirche, welche solche Güter bedarf zur Unterhaltung der Kirchendiener und gelehrte Leute aufzuziehen und etliche Arme zu versorgen, und sonderlich zur Bestellung der Ehegerichte. Denn da tragen sich so mancherlei und seltsame Fälle zu, daß es wohl eines eigenen Gerichts bedürfte; solches aber kann ohne Hilfe derselben Güter nicht bestellt werden. St. Peter spricht: „Es werden die falschen Bischöfe der Kirche Güter und Almosen zu ihrer Wollust brauchen und das Amt verlassen." Dieweil nun der Heilige Geist denselben dabei schrecklich dräuet, sollen die Bischöfe wissen, daß sie auch für diesen Raub Gott müssen Rechenschaft geben.

bishops. But since there are just reasons why we do not obey, it is right also to restore this jurisdiction to godly pastors [to whom, by Christ's command, it belongs], and to see to it that it is legitimately exercised for the reformation of morals and the glory of God.

There remains the jurisdiction in those cases which, according to canonical law, pertain to the ecclesiastical court, as they call it, and especially in cases of matrimony. This, too, the bishops have only by human right, and that, not a very old one, as appears from the *Codex* and *Novellae* of Justinian that decisions concerning marriage at that time belonged to the magistrates. And by divine right worldly magistrates are compelled to make these decisions if the bishops [judge unjustly or] are negligent. The canons also concede the same. Therefore, also on account of this jurisdiction it is not necessary to obey bishops. And, indeed, since they have framed certain unjust laws concerning marriages, and observe them in their courts, there is need also for this reason to establish other courts. For the traditions concerning spiritual relationship [the prohibition of marriage between sponsors] are unjust. Unjust also is the tradition which forbids an innocent person to marry after divorce. Unjust also is the law which in general approves all clandestine and underhanded betrothals in violation of the right of parents. Unjust also is the law concerning the celibacy of priests. There are also other snares of consciences in their laws, to recite all of which is of no profit. It is sufficient to have recited this, that there are many unjust laws of the Pope concerning matrimonial subjects on account of which the magistrates ought to establish other courts.

Since, therefore, the bishops, who are devoted to the Pope, defend godless doctrine and godless services, and do not ordain godly teachers, yea, aid the cruelty of the Pope, and, besides, have wrested the jurisdiction from pastors, and exercise it only tyrannically [for their own profit]; and lastly, since in matrimonial cases they observe many unjust laws, there are reasons sufficiently numerous and necessary why the churches should not recognize these as bishops.

But they themselves should remember that riches [estates and revenues] have been given to bishops as alms for the administration and advantage of the churches [that they may serve the Church, and perform their office the more efficiently], as the rule says: *The benefice is given because of the office.* Therefore they cannot with a good conscience possess these alms, and meanwhile defraud the Church, which has need of these means for supporting ministers, and aiding studies [educating learned men], and caring for the poor, and establishing courts, especially matrimonial. For so great is the variety and extent of matrimonial controversies that there is need of a special tribunal for these, and for establishing this, the endowments of the Church are needed. Peter predicted, 2 Ep. 2, 13, that there would be godless bishops, who would abuse the alms of the Church for luxury and neglect the ministry. Therefore [since the Holy Spirit in that connection utters dire threats] let those who defraud the Church know that they will pay God the penalty for this crime.

Verzeichnis der Doktoren und Prediger, so sich zur Konfession und Apologia unterschrieben haben.

Anno MDXXXVII.

DOCTORES ET CONCIONATORES, qui Confessioni Augustanae et Apologiae subscripserunt.

Anno MDXXXVII.

De mandato illustrissimorum Principum et Ordinum ac Civitatum, evangelii doctrinam profitentium, relegimus articulos Confessionis exhibitae Imperatori in Conventu Augustano, et Dei beneficio omnes Concionatores, qui in hoc Smalcaldensi Conventu interfuerunt, consentientes profitentur se iuxta articulos Confessionis et Apologiae sentire et docere in suis ecclesiis. Profitentur etiam se articulum de primatu papae et eius potestate et de potestate et iurisdictione episcoporum, qui hic Principibus in hoc conventu exhibitus est Smalcaldiae, approbare. Ideo nomina sua subscribunt:

1] Ego, *Iohannes Bugenhagius Pomeranus D.*, subscribo articulis Confessionis Augustanae, Apologiae et articulo de papatu Smalcaldiae Principibus oblato.
2] Et ego, *Urbanus Regius D., Ecclesiarum* in *Ducatu Luneburgensi Superintendens*, subscribo.
3] *Nicolaus Ambsdorff Magdeburgensis* subscripsit.
4] *Georgius Spalatinus Aldenburgensis* subscripsit.
5] *Andreas Osiander* subscribo.
6] *M. Vitus Dietrich Noribergensis* subscripsit.
7] *Stephanus Agricola, Ecclesiastes Curiensis*, manu propria subscripsit.
8] *Iohannes Draconites Marburgensis* subscripsit.
9] *Chunradus Figenbotz* subscripsit per omnia.
10] *Martinus Bucerus.*
11] *Erhardus Schnepfius* subscribo. [R. 357
12] *Paulus Rhodius, Concionator* in *Stettin.*
13] *Gerardus Oeniken, Ecclesiae Mindensis Minister.*
14] *Brixius Northanus, Susatiensis Concionator.*
15] *Simon Schnevveis, Parochus Crailsheim.*
16] Rursum ego, *Pomeranus*, subscribo nomine magistri *Iohannis Brentii*, quemadmodum mihi mandavit.
17] *Philippus Melanthon* subscribit manu propria.
18] *Anthonius Corvinus* subscribit tam suo quam *Adami a Fulda* nomine, manu propria.
19] *Iohannes Schlainhauffen* subscribit manu propria.
20] *M. Georgius Heltus Forchemius.*
21] *Michael Caelius, Concionator Mansfeldensis.*
22] *Petrus Geltnerus, Concionator Ecclesiae Frankenfurdensis.*
23] *Dionysius Melander* subscripsit.
24] *Paulus Fagius Argentinensis.*
25] *Wendalinus Faber, Parochus Seburgae* in *Mansfeldia.*
26] *Conradus Otingerus Phorcensis, Udalrici Ducis Wirt. Concionator.*
27] *Bonifacius Wolfart, Verbi Minister Ecclesiae Augustanae.*
28] *Iohannes Aepinus, Hamburgensis Superintendens*, subscripsit propria manu.
29] Id ipsum facit *Iohannes Amsterdamus Bremensis.*
30] *Iohannes Fontanus, inferioris Hassiae Superintendens*, subscripsit.
31] *Fridericus Myconius* pro se et *Iusto Menio* subscripsit.
32] *Ambrosius Blaurerus.*

Legi et iterum atque iterum relegi Confessionem et Apologiam ab illustrissimo Principe Electore Saxoniae et aliis Principibus ac Statibus Romani Imperii Caesareae Maiestati Augustae oblatam. Legi item Formulam Concordiae in re Sacramentaria Witebergae cum [R. 358 D. Bucero et aliis institutam. Legi etiam articulos a D. Martino Luthero, Praeceptore nostro observandissimo, in Smalcaldensi Conventu Germanica lingua conscriptos, et libellum de papatu et de potestate ac iurisdictione episcoporum. Ac pro mediocritate mea iudico haec omnia convenire cum Sacra Scriptura et cum sententia verae *καὶ γνησίης* catholicae ecclesiae. Quamquam autem in tanto numero doctissimorum virorum, qui nunc Smalcaldiae convenerunt, minimum omnium me agnoscam, tamen quia mihi non licet exitum huius conventus exspectare, obsecro te, clarissime vir, D. Iohannes Bugenhagi, Pater in Christo observande, ut humanitas tua nomen meum, si opus fuerit, omnibus illis, quae supra commemoravi, adscribat. Me enim ita sentire, confiteri et perpetuo docturum esse per Iesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, hoc meo chirographo testor. Actum Smalcaldiae, XXIII. Februarii, Anno MDXXXVII.

Iohannes Brentius, *Ecclesiastes Hallensis.*

DOCTORS AND PREACHERS

Who Subscribed the Augsburg Confession and Apology, A. D. 1537.

According to the command of the most illustrious princes and of the orders and states professing the doctrine of the Gospel, we have reread the articles of the Confession presented to the Emperor in the Assembly at Augsburg, and by the favor of God all the preachers who have been present in this Assembly at Smalcald harmoniously declare that they believe and teach in their churches according to the articles of the Confession and Apology. They also declare that they approve the article concerning the primacy of the Pope and his power, and the power and jurisdiction of bishops, which was presented to the princes in this Assembly at Smalcald. Accordingly, they subscribe their names.

I, *Dr. John Bugenhagen, Pomeranus,* subscribe the Articles of the Augsburg Confession, the Apology, and the Article presented to the princes at Smalcald concerning the Papacy.

I also, *Dr. Urban Rhegius,* Superintendent of the churches in the Duchy of Luneburg, subscribe.

Nicolaus Amsdorf of Magdeburg subscribed.

George Spalatin of Altenburg subscribed.

I, *Andrew Osiander,* subscribe.

Magister *Veit Dieterich* of Nuernberg subscribed.

Stephen Agricola, Minister at Hof, subscribed with his own hand.

John Draconites of Marburg subscribed.

Conrad Figenbotz subscribed to all throughout.

Martin Bucer.

I, *Erhard Schnepf,* subscribe.

Paul Rhodius, Preacher in Stettin.

Gerhard Oeniken, Minister of the Church at Minden.

Brixius Northanus, Minister at Soest.

Simon Schnevveis, Pastor of Crailsheim.

I, *Pomeranus,* again subscribe in the name of Magister *John Brentz,* as he ordered me.

Philip Melanchthon subscribes with his own hand.

Anthony Corvinus subscribes with his own hand, as well as in the name of *Adam a Fulda.*

John Schlainhauffen subscribes with his own hand.

Magister *George Helt* of Forchheim.

Michael Coelius, Preacher at Mansfeld.

Peter Geltner, Preacher of the Church of Frankfort.

Dionysius Melander subscribed.

Paul Fagius of Strassburg.

Wendel Faber, Pastor of Seeburg in Mansfeld.

Conrad Oettinger of Pforzheim, Preacher of Ulric, Duke of Wuerttemberg.

Boniface Wolfart, Minister of the Word of the Church at Augsburg.

John Aepinus, Superintendent of Hamburg, subscribed with his own hand.

John Amsterdam of Bremen does the same.

John Fontanus, Superintendent of Lower Hesse, subscribed.

Frederick Myconius subscribed for himself and *Justus Menius.*

Ambrose Blaurer.

I have read, and again and again reread, the Confession and Apology presented at Augsburg by the Most Illustrious Prince, the Elector of Saxony, and by the other princes and estates of the Roman Empire, to his Imperial Majesty. I have also read the Formula of Concord concerning the Sacrament, made at Wittenberg with Dr. Bucer and others. I have also read the articles written at the Assembly at Smalcald in the German language by Dr. Martin Luther, our most revered preceptor, and the tract concerning the Papacy and the Power and Jurisdiction of Bishops. And in my humble opinion I judge that all these agree with Holy Scripture, and with the belief of the true and genuine catholic Church. But although in so great a number of most learned men who have now assembled at Smalcald I acknowledge that I am of all the least, yet, as I am not permitted to await the end of the assembly, I ask you, most renowned man, Dr. John Bugenhagen, most revered Father in Christ, that your courtesy may add my name, if it be necessary, to all that I have above mentioned. For I testify in this my own handwriting that I thus hold, confess, and constantly will teach, through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

John Brentz, Minister of Hall.

Done at Smalcald,
February 23, 1537.

V.

Enchiridion.

Der Kleine Katechismus

D. Martini Lutheri

für die gemeinen Pfarrherren und Prediger.

ENCHIRIDION.

CATECHISMUS MINOR

D. Martini Lutheri

pro Parochis et Concionatoribus.

ENCHIRIDION.

THE SMALL CATECHISM

of Dr. Martin Luther

for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers.

Vorrede D. Martini Lutheri.

Martinus Luther allen treuen, frommen Pfarrherren und Predigern Gnade, Barmherzigkeit und Friede in JEsu Christo, unserm HErrn!

Diesen Katechismum oder christliche Lehre in solche kleine, schlechte [schlichte], einfältige Form zu stellen, hat mich gezwungen und gedrungen die klägliche, elende Not, so ich neulich erfahren habe, da ich auch ein Visitator war. Hilf, lieber Gott! wie manchen Jammer habe ich gesehen, daß der gemeine Mann doch so gar nichts weiß von der christlichen Lehre, sonderlich auf den Dörfern, und leider viel Pfarrherren fast ungeschickt und untüchtig sind zu lehren, und sollen doch alle Christen heißen, getauft sein und der heiligen Sakramente genießen, können weder Vaterunser noch den Glauben oder zehn Gebote, leben dahin wie das liebe Vieh und unvernünftige Säue, und nun das Evangelium [ge]kommen ist, dennoch fein gelehrt [* gelernt] haben, aller Freiheit meisterlich zu mißbrauchen!

O ihr Bischöfe, was wollt ihr doch Christo immermehr antworten, daß ihr das Volk so schändlich habt lassen hingehen und euer Amt nicht einen Augenblick je beweiset [bewiesen]? Daß euch alles Unglück fliehe! Verbietet [gebietet] einerlei Gestalt und treibt auf eure Menschengesetze, fragt aber dieweil nichts danach, ob sie das Vaterunser, Glauben, zehn Gebote oder einiges Gottes Wort können. Ach und wehe über euren Hals ewiglich!

Darum bitte ich um Gottes willen euch alle, meine lieben Herren und Brüder, so Pfarrherren oder Prediger sind, wollet euch eures Amts von Herzen annehmen, euch erbarmen über euer Volk, das euch befohlen ist, und uns helfen den Katechismus in die Leute, sonderlich in das junge Volk, bringen, und welche es nicht besser vermögen, diese Tafeln und Formen vor sich nehmen und dem Volk von Wort zu Wort vorbilden; und nämlich also:

Aufs erste, daß der Prediger vor allen Dingen sich hüte und meide mancherlei oder anderlei Text und Form der zehn Gebote, [des] Vaterunsers, Glaubens, der Sakramente usw., sondern nehme einerlei Form vor sich, darauf er bleibe und dieselbe immer treibe, ein Jahr wie das andere. Denn das junge und alberne [schlichte, einfältige] Volk muß man mit einerlei gewissem Text und Form lehren; sonst werden sie gar leicht irre, wenn man heute sonst und über ein Jahr so lehrt, als wollte man es bessern, und wird damit alle Mühe und Arbeit verloren.

Das haben die lieben Väter auch wohl gesehen, die das Vaterunser, Glauben, zehn Gebote alle

Praefatio D. Martini Lutheri.

Martinus Lutherus omnibus fidelibus, piis Parochis et Concionatoribus gratiam, misericordiam et pacem in Christo Iesu, Domino nostro, pr. [praemittit].

1] Miserabilis illa facies, quam proxime cum visitatorem agerem, vidi, me ad edendum hunc Catechismum, simplicissime et brevis-
2] sime tractatum, coegit. Deum immortalem! quantum calamitatem ibi vidi! Vulgus, praesertim autem illud, quod in agris vivit, item plerique parochi, adeo nullam Christianae doctrinae cognitionem habent, ut dicere
3] etiam pudeat. Et tamen omnes sancto illo Christi nomine appellantur et nobiscum communibus utuntur sacramentis, cum Orationem Dominicam, Symbolum Apostolicum et Decalogum non modo non intelligant, sed ne verba quidem referre possint. Quid multis moror? nihil omnino a bestiis differunt. Iam autem, cum evangelium passim doceatur, illi [R. 360 vel maxime Christianorum libertate fruuntur.

4] Quid hic Christo respondebitis, episcopi, quibus illa cura est divinitus demandata? Vos enim estis, quibus vel solis illa Christianae religionis calamitas debetur. Vos permisistis ita turpiter errare homines, vestra ea est culpa, qui nihil minus unquam fecistis quam hoc, quod vestri officii erat facere.
5] Nolo hic quidquam mali vobis imprecari. Ea autem an non est summa impietas cum maxima impudentia coniuncta, quod unicam tantum speciem sacramenti ac vestras traditiones urgetis: hoc prorsus contemnitis et negligitis, an illi, qui vestrae fidei et curae commendati sunt, Orationem Dominicam, Symbolum Apostolicum aut Decalogum teneant necne. Vae, vae vobis!

6] Per Deum igitur omnes vos parochos et concionatores rogo atque obtestor, ut serio vestrum faciatis officium, et ut divinitus vobis commendatae plebis agatis curam, quod tum rectissime feceritis, si una nobiscum hunc Catechismum vulgo, praesertim autem iunioribus, inculcetis. Quodsi qui ex vobis adeo sunt indocti, ut omnino nullam harum rerum cognitionem habeant, illos non pudeat suis auditoribus praelegere de verbo ad verbum a nobis praescriptam hanc formam, in hunc modum:

7] *Primo* omnium hoc cavebunt concionatores, ne subinde alio atque alio modo vel Decalogum vel Dominicam Orationem vel Symbolum Apostolicum vel etiam sacramenta proponant, sed ut perpetuo eadem utantur forma in his proponendis et explicandis vulgo. Ideo autem hoc do consilium, quod sciam non posse feliciter doceri simpliciores homines et qui natu minores sunt, quam una atque eadem forma saepius proposita ac repetita. Quodsi iam isto, iam alio modo eadem proponas, facile perturbantur simpliciores animi, et fiet, ut pereat omnis opera, quam in docendo ponis.

8] Atque hoc viderunt sancti patres, [R. 361 qui voluerunt Decalogi, Symboli et Dominicae

Preface of Dr. Martin Luther.

Martin Luther to All Faithful and Godly Pastors and Preachers: Grace, Mercy, and Peace in Jesus Christ, our Lord.

The deplorable, miserable condition which I discovered lately when I, too, was a visitor, has forced and urged me to prepare [publish] this Catechism, or Christian doctrine, in this small, plain, simple form. Mercy! Good God! what manifold misery I beheld! The common people, especially in the villages, have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and, alas! many pastors are altogether incapable and incompetent to teach [so much so, that one is ashamed to speak of it]. Nevertheless, all maintain that they are Christians, have been baptized and receive the [common] holy Sacraments. Yet they [*do not* understand and] cannot [*even*] recite either the Lord's Prayer, or the Creed, or the Ten Commandments; they live like dumb brutes and irrational hogs; and yet, now that the Gospel has come, they have nicely learned to abuse all liberty like experts.

O ye bishops! [to whom this charge has been committed by God,] what will ye ever answer to Christ for having so shamefully neglected the people and never for a moment discharged your office? [You are the persons to whom alone this ruin of the Christian religion is due. You have permitted men to err so shamefully; yours is the guilt; for you have ever done anything rather than what your office required you to do.] May all misfortune flee you! [I do not wish at this place to invoke evil on your heads.] You command the Sacrament in one form [but is not this the highest ungodliness coupled with the greatest impudence that you are insisting on the administration of the Sacrament in one form only, and on your traditions] and insist on your human laws, and yet at the same time you do not care in the least [while you are utterly without scruple and concern] whether the people know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or any part of the Word of God. Woe, woe, unto you forever!

Therefore I entreat [and adjure] you all for God's sake, my dear sirs and brethren, who are pastors or preachers, to devote yourselves heartily to your office, to have pity on the people who are entrusted to you, and to help us inculcate the Catechism upon the people, and especially upon the young. And let those of you who cannot do better [If any of you are so unskilled that you have absolutely no knowledge of these matters, let them not be ashamed to] take these tables and forms and impress them, word for word, on the people, as follows: —

In the first place, let the preacher above all be careful to avoid many kinds of or various texts and forms of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Sacraments, etc., but choose one form to which he adheres, and which he inculcates all the time, year after year. For [I give this advice, however, because I know that] young and simple people must be taught by uniform, settled texts and forms, otherwise they easily become confused when the teacher to-day teaches them thus, and in a year some other way, as if he wished to make improvements, and thus all effort and labor [which has been expended in teaching] is lost.

Also our blessed fathers understood this well; for they all used the same form of the

auf eine Weise haben gebraucht. Darum sollen wir auch bei dem jungen und einfältigen Volk solche Stücke also lehren, daß wir nicht eine Silbe verrücken oder ein Jahr anders denn das andere vorhalten oder vorsprechen.

Orationis unam eandemque certis verbis descriptam formam in ecclesia esse. Illorum diligentiam nos imitari convenit, et danda opera est, ut simplicioribus et iunioribus sic illa proponamus, ut ne una quidem syllaba immutetur, quotiescunque tandem Catechismum doceas, et ut perpetuo sui similis sit tractatio.

Darum erwähle dir, welche Form du willst, und bleibe dabei ewiglich. Wenn du aber bei den Gelehrten und Verständigen predigst, da magst du deine Kunst beweisen und diese Stücke so buntkraus machen und so meisterlich drehen, als du kannst. Aber bei dem jungen Volk bleibe auf einer gewissen ewigen Form und Weise und lehre sie für das allererste die [diese] Stücke, nämlich die zehn Gebote, Glauben, Vaterunser usw. nach dem Text hin von Wort zu Wort, daß sie es auch so nachsagen können und auswendig lernen.

9] Quamcunque igitur tibi delegeris praedicandi Catechismi formam, eam perpetuo retinebis neque unquam ab ea discedes. Alia autem ratio est, si in turba doctorum hominum evangelium doceas; ibi enim eruditionis tuae specimen edere potes, neque prohibeo, si apud illos tractationem varies et subinde alium atque alium vultum dicendo fingas. Apud simpliciores autem perpetuo eadem cer-
10] tis verbis descripta forma uteris. Et debet is primus esse labor, ut Decalogum, Symbolum, item Orationem Dominicam de verbo ad verbum nude et simplicissime doceas, ut eadem saepius audita ipsi quoque auditores referre discant.

Welche es aber nicht lernen wollen, daß man denselben sage, wie sie Christum verleugnen und keine Christen sind, sollen auch nicht zu dem Sakrament gelassen werden, kein Kind aus der Taufe heben, auch kein Stück der christlichen Freiheit [ge]brauchen, sondern schlechts dem Papst und seinen Offizialen, dazu dem Teufel selbst heimgewiesen sein. Dazu sollen ihnen die Eltern und Hausherren Essen und Trinken versagen und ihnen anzeigen, daß solche rohe Leute der Fürst aus dem Lande jagen wolle usw.

11] Quodsi qui adeo religionem contemnunt, ut discere haec nolint, illi monendi sunt, quod Christum negent, et quod nihil minus sint quam Christiani. Atque illi neque admittendi sunt ad sacramentum altaris neque ad catechistarum officium, qui pueris baptizandis adsunt, et si Christianae libertatis iure uti velint, ubi eis est commodum, non est illud eis concedendum, sed potius ad papam atque eos, quos vocant officiales, et ad ipsum quoque Satanam sunt ablegandi. Parentum autem
12] et patrumfamilias officium erit negare talibus hominibus victum, et pulchre quoque fecerint, si efferatis illis hominibus indicent, eam principis esse sententiam, ut in exilium aliquo delegentur et eiiciantur e patria.

Denn wiewohl man niemand zwingen kann noch soll zum Glauben, so soll man doch den Haufen dahin halten und treiben, daß sie wissen, was recht und unrecht ist bei denen, bei welchen sie wohnen, sich nähren und leben wollen. Denn wer in einer Stadt wohnen will, der soll das Stadtrecht wissen und halten, das er genießen will, Gott gebe, er glaube oder sei im Herzen für sich ein Schalk oder Bube.

13] Quamquam enim sic sentiam, ad fidem neminem vel posse vel debere cogi, hoc tamen omnino faciendum est, ut teneat vulgus, quid ius, quid item contra ius illorum sit, cum quibus vivit et suum quaeritat victum. [R. 362 Hoc enim requiritur, ut quisque suae civitatis iura, quibus ceu privilegio quodam uti volet, norit et observet, sive credat vere, sive perditus aliquis sit nebulo.

Zum andern: Wenn sie den Text wohl können, so lehre sie denn hernach auch den Verstand, daß sie wissen, was es gesagt sei, und nimm abermal vor dich dieser Tafeln Weise oder sonst eine kurze, einige Weise, welche du willst, und bleib dabei und verrücke sie mit keiner Silbe nicht, gleichwie vom Text jetzt gesagt ist, und nimm dir der Weile dazu. Denn es ist nicht not, daß du alle Stücke auf einmal vornehmest, sondern eins nach dem andern. Wenn sie das erste Gebot zuvor wohl verstehen, danach nimm das andere vor dich und so fortan, sonst werden sie überschüttet, daß sie keins wohl behalten.

14] *Secundum:* Cum simpliciores illi iam Catechismi verba bene annumerare didicerint, tradenda post quoque est eis explicatio, ut ea etiam intelligant. Potes autem vel hac nostra forma, quam hic praescriptam vides, vel alia
15] quadam uti. Sicut autem, ut ante monui, Catechismus nudus iisdem semper verbis vulgo proponendus est, ita in expositione Catechismi cuperem perpetuo eandem tractationem sequendam, ne quidem immutata unica syllaba.
16] Sumes autem ad eam rem satis temporis; neque enim necesse est omnia simul proposuisse, sed sunt faciendi ordines, et in tractando alterum alteri rite convenit subiicere. Ut si iam exacte tenuerint, quidnam primum praeceptum postulet, tum ad secundum est pergendum, ut sic omnia doceantur certo ordine; alias enim fiet, ut nimia copia obrutae et perturbatae mentes nihil prorsus retineant.

Zum dritten: Wenn du sie nun solchen kurzen Katechismum gelehrt hast, alsdann nimm den Großen Katechismum vor dich und gib ihnen auch reicheren und weiteren Verstand. Daselbst streich ein jeglich Gebot, Bitte, Stück aus mit seinen mancherlei Werken, Nutz, Frommen, [Ge]Fahr

17] *Tertio:* Postquam hanc brevem Catechismi expositionem absolvisti, tum illam longiorem tractationem ingredieris, ut plenius omnia auditores intelligant. Ibi singula praecepta, singulas Symboli et Orationis Dominicae partes suis illustrabis coloribus, varia

Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. Therefore we, too, should [imitate their diligence and be at pains to] teach the young and simple people these parts in such a way as not to change a syllable, or set them forth and repeat them one year differently than in another [no matter how often we teach the Catechism].

Hence, choose whatever form you please, and adhere to it forever. But when you preach in the presence of learned and intelligent men, you may exhibit your skill, and may present these parts in as varied and intricate ways and give them as masterly turns as you are able. But with the young people stick to one fixed, permanent form and manner, and teach them, first of all, these parts, namely, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, etc., according to the text, word for word, so that they, too, can repeat it in the same manner after you and commit it to memory.

But those who are unwilling to learn it should be told that they deny Christ and are no Christians, neither should they be admitted to the Sacrament, accepted as sponsors at baptism, nor exercise any part of Christian liberty, but should simply be turned back to the Pope and his officials, yea, to the devil himself. Moreover, their parents and employers should refuse them food and drink, and [they would also do well if they were to] notify them that the prince will drive such rude people from the country, etc.

For although we cannot and should not force any one to believe, yet we should insist and urge the people that they know what is right and wrong with those among whom they dwell and wish to make their living. For whoever desires to reside in a town must know and observe the town laws, the protection of which he wishes to enjoy, no matter whether he is a believer or at heart and in private a rogue or knave.

In the second place, after they have well learned the text, then teach them the sense also, so that they know what it means, and again choose the form of these tables, or some other brief uniform method, whichever you like, and adhere to it, and do not change a single syllable, as was just said regarding the text; and take your time to it. For it is not necessary that you take up all the parts at once, but one after the other. After they understand the First Commandment well, then take up the Second, and so on, otherwise they will be overwhelmed, so as not to be able to retain any well.

In the third place, after you have thus taught them this Short Catechism, then take up the Large Catechism, and give them also a richer and fuller knowledge. Here explain at large every commandment, [article,] peti-

und Schaden, wie du das alles reichlich findest in so viel Büchlein davon gemacht. Und insonderheit treibe das Gebot und Stück am meisten, das bei deinem Volk am meisten Not leidet. Als: das siebente Gebot vom Stehlen mußt du bei Handwerkern, Händlern, ja auch bei Bauern und Gesinde heftig treiben; denn bei solchen Leuten ist allerlei Untreue und Dieberei groß. Item, das vierte Gebot mußt du bei den Kindern und gemeinem Mann wohl treiben, daß sie stille, treu, gehorsam, friedsam seien, und immer viele Exempel aus der Schrift, da Gott solche Leute gestraft und gesegnet hat, einführen.

enumerabis opera, varios fructus et commoda, quae inde enascuntur, item pericula et damna quoque, in quae coniicimur, si minus ea praestemus. Invenies autem ista passim piorum hominum scriptis copiose explicata. Porro 18] maxime urgebis illa praecepta, in quae potissimum committere tui loci homines vides. Et ut eius rei exempla subiiciam, septimum praeceptum potissimum urgebis apud mercatores et apud illos, qui manuarias exercent operas. Commode quoque hoc praeceptum apud agricolas, servos et servas urgetur; illi enim pessima fide cum hominibus agunt et variis modis committuntur furta. Sic [R. 363 quartum praeceptum apud imperitum vulgus et minores natu potissimum urgere convenit, ut sint quieti, bona fide omnia agant, pareant magistratibus et parentibus, publicam pacem non perturbent. Sunt autem haec sacrarum literarum historiis illustranda, ubi Deus vel graves poenas a transgressoribus huius praecepti exegit, vel illorum, qui servarint, omnia coepta mirabiliter fortunavit.

Insonderheit treibe auch daselbst die Obrigkeit und Eltern, daß sie wohl regieren und Kinder ziehen zur Schule, mit Anzeigen, wie sie solches zu tun schuldig sind, und wo sie es nicht tun, welch eine verfluchte Sünde sie tun; denn sie stürzen und verwüsten damit beide Gottes und der Welt Reich, als die ärgsten Feinde beide Gottes und der Menschen. Und streich wohl aus, was für greulichen Schaden sie tun, wo sie nicht helfen Kinder ziehen zu Pfarrherren, Predigern, Schreibern usw., daß Gott sie schrecklich darum strafen wird; denn es ist hie not zu predigen; die Eltern und Obrigkeit sündigen jetzt hierin, daß [es] nicht zu sagen ist; der Teufel hat auch ein Grausames damit im Sinne.

19] Hoc quoque imprimis eo loco ages, ut commoneas sui officii magistratum et parentes, ut summa diligentia publica munera obeant et suos liberos ad literarum studia adhibeant. Sic autem commonendi sunt, ut sentiant se debere illa ex divino mandato, quae si minus faciant, gravissime a se esse peccatum. Quid enim illi faciunt aliud, quam ut simul et divinam et humanam administrationem tollant, non aliter atque infensissimi 20] tum Dei tum hominum hostes? Atque hic ceu in tabula spectandum propones, quam gravia damna rebus publicis dent illi, qui suos liberos non adhibent ad literas, ut in parochos, in ministros Verbi, item ad alia officia, quorum haec vita non sine magna calamitate carere potest, aliquando deligi possint. Hoc quoque addes, Deum gravissimas poenas pro illo peccato a parentibus expetiturum. Et sane haud scio, an sit alius locus, qui aeque merebatur tractari atque hic. Neque enim dici potest, quantum hac in parte a magistratibus et parentibus nostro saeculo peccetur. Non autem dubium est, quin id a Satana fiat eo consilio, ut in maximam calamitatem Germaniam coniiciat.

Zuletzt, weil nun die Tyrannei des Papstes ab ist, so wollen sie nicht mehr zum Sakrament gehen und verachten's. Hie ist aber not zu treiben, doch mit diesem Bescheid: wir sollen niemand zum Glauben oder zum Sakrament zwingen, auch kein Gesetz noch Zeit noch Stätte [be]stimmen, aber also predigen, daß sie sich selbst, ohne unser Gesetz, dringen und gleich [gleichsam] uns Pfarrherren zwingen, das Sakrament zu reichen; welches tut man also, daß man ihnen sagt: Wer das Sakrament nicht sucht oder begehrt zum wenigsten einmal oder vier des Jahrs, da ist zu besorgen, daß er das Sakrament verachte und kein Christ sei, gleichwie der kein Christ ist, der das Evangelium nicht glaubt oder hört; denn Christus sprach nicht: Solches lasset oder solches verachtet, sondern: „Solches tut, sooft ihr's trinket" usw. Er will es wahrlich getan und nicht allerdinge gelassen und verachtet haben. „Solches tut!" spricht er.

21] *Postremo:* Quoniam papae tyrannis imminuta et labefactata iam est, multos passim invenias, qui ad sacramentum nunquam accedunt, sed contemnunt plane ceu rem inutilem et non necessariam. Illi quoque impellendi et urgendi sunt, hac tamen ratione: nolo ego quemquam neque ad fidem neque ad sacramenta cogi, et male faciunt illi, qui leges, certa tempora aut certa loca ad tales res prae- 22] scribunt. Sic tamen docere illi, [R. 364 qui in officio Verbi sunt, debent, ut sine nostris legibus ultro sua voluntate coacti auditores ad nos veniant et nos ministros Verbi cogant quasi ad porrigendum sacramentum. Id quod tum fiet, si sic doceas periculum esse, ne ii contemnant sacramentum, neque digni sint, qui in Christianorum numero censeantur, qui non in anno quater ut minimum sacramentum sumant, quemadmodum neque illi in Christianorum numero censendi sunt, qui evangelio vel non credunt, vel illud non audiunt. Neque enim Christus, quum institueret sacramentum, dixit: „Hoc omittite vel contemnite", sed: *Hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis* etc. [1 Cor. 11, 25.] Hoc certe vult, ut faciamus; non vult, ut aut prorsus intermittamus aut contemnamus; sic enim ait: *Hoc facite.*

Wer aber das Sakrament nicht groß achtet, das ist ein Zeichen, daß er keine Sünde, kein Fleisch, keinen Teufel, keine Welt, keinen Tod, keine [Ge-] Fahr, keine Hölle hat, das ist, er glaubt der keines,

23] Quodsi quis sacramentum contemnit, certum id est argumentum, quod neque is peccatum neque carnem neque Satanam neque mundum neque mortem neque pericula neque

tion, and part with its various works, uses, benefits, dangers, and injuries, as you find these abundantly stated in many books written about these matters. And particularly, urge that commandment or part most which suffers the greatest neglect among your people. For instance, the Seventh Commandment, concerning stealing, must be strenuously urged among mechanics and merchants, and even farmers and servants, for among these people many kinds of dishonesty and thieving prevail. So, too, you must urge well the Fourth Commandment among the children and the common people, that they may be quiet and faithful, obedient and peaceable, and you must always adduce many examples from the Scriptures to show how God has punished or blessed such persons.

Especially should you here urge magistrates and parents to rule well and to send their children to school, showing them why it is their duty to do this, and what a damnable sin they are committing if they do not do it. For by such neglect they overthrow and destroy both the kingdom of God and that of the world, acting as the worst enemies both of God and of men. And make it very plain to them what an awful harm they are doing if they will not help to train children to be pastors, preachers, clerks [also for other offices, with which we cannot dispense in this life], etc., and that God will punish them terribly for it. For such preaching is needed. [Verily, I do not know of any other topic that deserves to be treated as much as this.] Parents and magistrates are now sinning unspeakably in this respect. The devil, too, aims at something cruel because of these things [that he may hurl Germany into the greatest distress].

Lastly, since the tyranny of the Pope has been abolished, people are no longer willing to go to the Sacrament and despise it [as something useless and unnecessary]. Here again urging is necessary, however, with this understanding: We are to force no one to believe, or to receive the Sacrament, nor fix any law, nor time, nor place for it, but are to preach in such a manner that of their own accord, without our law, they will urge themselves and, as it were, compel us pastors to administer the Sacrament. This is done by telling them: Whoever does not seek or desire the Sacrament at least some four times a year, it is to be feared that he despises the Sacrament and is no Christian, just as he is no Christian who does not believe or hear the Gospel; for Christ did not say, This omit, or, This despise, but, *This do ye, as oft as ye drink it,* etc. Verily, He wants it done, and not entirely neglected and despised. *This do ye,* He says.

Now, whoever does not highly value the Sacrament thereby shows that he has no sin, no flesh, no devil, no world, no death, no

ob er wohl bis über die Ohren darin steckt, und ist zweifältig des Teufels. Wiederum, so [be-] darf er auch keiner Gnade, Leben, Paradieses, Himmelreiches, Christus', Gottes noch einiges Gutes. Denn wo er glaubte, daß er so viel Böses hätte und so viel Gutes bedürfte, so würde er das Sakrament nicht so [ungebraucht] lassen, darin solchem Übel geholfen und so viel Gutes gegeben wird. Man darf [muß] ihn auch mit keinem Gesetz zum Sakrament zwingen, sondern er wird selbst gelaufen und gerennt kommen, sich selbst zwingen und dich treiben, daß du ihm müssest das Sakrament geben.

Darum darfst du hier kein Gesetz stellen wie der Papst. Streich nur wohl aus den Nutz und Schaden, Not und Frommen, [Ge]Fahr und Heil in diesem Sakrament, so werden sie selbst wohl kommen ohne dein Zwingen. Kommen sie aber nicht, so laß sie fahren und sage ihnen, daß sie des Teufels sind, die ihre große Not und Gottes gnädige Hilfe nicht achten noch fühlen. Wenn du aber solches nicht treibst oder machst ein Gesetz und Gift daraus, so ist es deine Schuld, daß sie das Sakrament verachten. Wie sollten sie nicht faul sein, wenn du schläfst und schweigst? Darum siehe darauf, Pfarrherr und Prediger! Unser Amt ist nun ein ander Ding [ge]worden, denn es unter dem Papst war; es ist nun ernst und heilsam [ge-] worden. Darum hat es nun viel mehr Mühe und Arbeit, [Ge]Fahr und Anfechtungen, dazu wenig Lohn und Dank in der Welt. Christus aber will unser Lohn selbst sein, so wir treulich arbeiten. Das helfe uns der Vater aller Gnade! Dem sei Lob und Dank in Ewigkeit durch Christum, unsern HErrn! Amen.

infernum habeat, hoc est, quod prorsus nihil horum credat, quamquam totus immersus sit peccatis et in Satanae regno gravissime teneatur captivus; contra, non gratia, non vita, non paradiso, non coelo, non Christo, non Deo neque ullo alio bono opus habeat. Nam si crederet se peccatis obrutum longissime a gratia abesse, sine dubio hoc sacramentum non contemneret, in quo contra peccata remedium et tanta omnium bonorum copia nobis exhibetur. Neque etiam huic ullis legibus opus esset, quibus ad sacramentum sumendum cogeretur; ipse sua sponte accurreret, coactus peccatorum mole, et te potius cogeret ad porrigendum sibi sacramentum.

24] Non igitur hic legibus agendum est, id quod papa fecit. Hoc fac, ut oratione, quantum potes, huius sacramenti commoda et incommoda, pericula et bona, item necessitatem cum summa utilitate coniunctam exaggeres: tum fiet, ut ultro accurrant et ipsi se cogant. Quodsi his nihil moveantur aliqui, sine [R. 365 eos suo vivere more, hoc tantum eis dices, quod in Satanae sint regno, qui nihil neque sua necessitate neque Dei benignitate et gratia, quam eis in sacramento exhibet, move-
25] antur. Qui vero hoc modo suos auditores non urgent et legibus eos potius volunt cogere, illi occasionem contemnendi sacramenti illis praebent. Cum enim ministri Verbi adeo sint oscitantes, non est mirum, si auditores quoque sint negligentiores. Hoc
26] igitur probe considerent parochi et ministri Verbi, longe iam aliud suum esse officium, quam olim in papatu fuerit. Iam enim est ministerium salutis et gratiae, fit igitur quoque difficilius et laboriosius. Et cum gravissima pericula et tentationes in ministerio sint
27] perferendae, tamen neque laborum praemium neque gratias in mundo meretur. Verum nihil nos illa mundi ingratitudo cum summa impietate coniuncta moveat. Christus ipse nobis satis ampla praemia proposuit, si modo fideliter in eius vinea laboraverimus. Id autem ut commodius possimus, faxit Pater omnis gratiae, cui sit laus et gloria in saecula per Christum Iesum, Dominum nostrum! Amen.

I. Die zehn Gebote, wie sie ein Hausvater seinem Gesinde einfältiglich vorhalten soll.

Das erste Gebot.

Du sollst nicht andere Götter haben.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott über alle Dinge fürchten, lieben und vertrauen.

Das andere Gebot.

Du sollst den Namen deines Gottes nicht mißbrauchen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir bei seinem Namen nicht fluchen, schwören, zaubern, lügen oder trügen, sondern denselben in allen Nöten anrufen, beten, loben und danken.

I. DECEM PRAECEPTA, [R. 366 quomodo paterfamilias ea suae familiae simplicissime tradere debeat.

1] I. Praeceptum.

Non habebis deos alienos.

2] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?* [Responsio.]

Debemus Deum supra omnia timere, diligere et illi confidere.

3] II. Praeceptum.

Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum; non enim habebit insontem Dominus eum, qui assumpserit nomen eius in vanum.

4] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?* Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne per nomen eius imprecemur, iuremus, incantemus, mentiamur aut dolis fallamus, sed in omni necessitate illud invocemus, adoremus et cum gratiarum actione laudemus.

danger, no hell; that is, he does not believe any such things, although he is in them over head and ears and is doubly the devil's own. On the other hand, he needs no grace, life, Paradise, heaven, Christ, God, nor anything good. For if he believed that he had so much that is evil, and needed so much that is good, he would not thus neglect the Sacrament, by which such evil is remedied and so much good is bestowed. Neither will it be necessary to force him to the Sacrament by any law, but he will come running and racing of his own accord, will force himself and urge you that you must give him the Sacrament.

Hence, you must not make any law in this matter, as the Pope does. Only set forth clearly the benefit and harm, the need and use, the danger and the blessing, connected with this Sacrament, and the people will come of themselves without your compulsion. But if they do not come, let them go and tell them that such belong to the devil as do not regard nor feel their great need and the gracious help of God. But if you do not urge this, or make a law or a bane of it, it is your fault if they despise the Sacrament. How could they be otherwise than slothful if you sleep and are silent? Therefore look to it, ye pastors and preachers. Our office is now become a different thing from what it was under the Pope; it is now become serious and salutary. Accordingly, it now involves much more trouble and labor, danger and trials, and, in addition thereto, little reward and gratitude in the world. But Christ Himself will be our reward if we labor faithfully. To this end may the Father of all grace help us, to whom be praise and thanks forever through Christ, our Lord! Amen.

I. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS,

as the Head of the Family Should Teach Them in a Simple Way to His Household.

The First Commandment.

Thou shalt have no other gods.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear, love, and trust in God above all things.

The Second Commandment.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not curse, swear, use witchcraft, lie, or deceive by His name, but call upon it in every trouble, pray, praise, and give thanks.

Das dritte Gebot.

Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir die Predigt und sein Wort nicht verachten, sondern dasselbe heilig halten, gerne hören und lernen.

Das vierte Gebot.

Du sollst deinen Vater und deine Mutter ehren [auf daß dir's wohl gehe, und du lange lebest auf Erden].

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unsere Eltern und Herren nicht verachten noch erzürnen, sondern sie in Ehren halten, ihnen dienen, gehorchen, [sie] lieb und wert haben.

Das fünfte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht töten.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unserm Nächsten an seinem Leibe keinen Schaden noch Leid tun, sondern ihm helfen und fördern in allen Leibesnöten.

Das sechste Gebot.

Du sollst nicht ehebrechen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir keusch und züchtig leben in Worten und Werken, und ein jeglicher sein Gemahl lieben und ehren [liebe und ehre].

Das siebente Gebot.

Du sollst nicht stehlen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unsers Nächsten Geld oder Gut nicht nehmen, noch mit falscher Ware oder Handel an uns bringen, sondern ihm sein Gut und Nahrung helfen bessern und behüten.

Das achte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht falsch Gezeugnis [Zeugnis] reden wider deinen Nächsten.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unsern Nächsten nicht fälschlich belügen, verraten, afterreden oder bösen Leumund machen, sondern sollen ihn entschuldigen, Gutes von ihm reden und alles zum besten kehren.

Das neunte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unserm Nächsten nicht mit List nach seinem Erbe oder Hause stehen und mit einem Schein des Rechts an uns bringen usw., sondern ihm dasselbe zu behalten, förderlich und dienstlich seien.

5] **III. Praeceptum.**

Memento, ut diem Sabbati sanctifices.

6] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne divinos sermones et eius Verbum contemnamus, sed ut sanctum reputemus, libenter audiamus et discamus.

7] **IV. Praeceptum.** [R. 367

Honora patrem et matrem, ut bene sit tibi et sis longaevus super terram.

8] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne parentes et dominos nostros contemnamus neque ad iram commoveamus, sed honore afficiamus, illis serviamus, morem geramus, amore eos prosequamur et magni faciamus.

9] **V. Praeceptum.**

Non occides.

10] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne vitae proximi nostri incommodemus aut aegre faciamus, sed illum adiuvemus et promoveamus in omnibus vitae et corporis necessitatibus et periculis.

11] **VI. Praeceptum.**

Non moechaberis.

12] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ut caste et pudice vivamus in verbis ac operibus, et unusquisque suam coniugem amet ac honoret.

13] **VII. Praeceptum.** [R. 368

Non furtum facies.

14] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne proximo pecuniam aut bona auferamus, neque falsis mercibus aut impostura ad nos pertrahamus, sed demus operam, ut illius opes conserventur, et eius conditio melior reddatur.

15] **VIII. Praeceptum.**

Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.

16] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne proximum falsis mendaciis involvamus, prodamus, traducamus aut infamia aliqua afficiamus, sed illum excusemus, bene de eo sentiamus et loquamur et omnia in meliorem partem accipiamus et interpretemur.

17] **IX. Praeceptum.**

Non concupisces domum proximi tui.

18] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?*
Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne hereditatem vel domum proximi dolo malo captemus et sub specie iuris et recti nostris facultatibus adiungamus, sed potius eum iuvemus, ut suas fortunas retineat integras.

The Third Commandment.

Thou shalt sanctify the holy-day.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not despise preaching and His Word, but hold it sacred, and gladly hear and learn it.

The Fourth Commandment.

Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother [that it may be well with thee and thou mayest live long upon the earth].

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not despise nor anger our parents and masters, but give them honor, serve, obey, and hold them in love and esteem.

The Fifth Commandment.

Thou shalt not kill.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not hurt nor harm our neighbor in his body, but help and befriend him in every bodily need [in every need and danger of life and body].

The Sixth Commandment.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may lead a chaste and decent life in words and deeds, and each love and honor his spouse.

The Seventh Commandment.

Thou shalt not steal.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not take our neighbor's money or property, nor get them by false ware or dealing, but help him to improve and protect his property and business [that his means are preserved and his condition is improved].

The Eighth Commandment.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not deceitfully belie, betray, slander, or defame our neighbor, but defend him, [think and] speak well of him, and put the best construction on everything.

The Ninth Commandment.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not craftily seek to get our neighbor's inheritance or house, and obtain it by a show of [justice and] right, etc., but help and be of service to him in keeping it.

Das zehnte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Weib, Knecht, Magd, Vieh, oder was sein ist.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir sollen Gott fürchten und lieben, daß wir unserm Nächsten nicht sein Weib, Gesinde oder Vieh abspannen, abdringen oder abwendig machen, sondern dieselben anhalten, daß sie bleiben und tun, was sie schuldig sind.

Was sagt nun Gott von diesen Geboten allen? — Antwort.

Er sagt also:

Ich, der HErr, dein Gott, bin ein eifriger Gott, der über die, so mich hassen, die Sünde der Väter heimsucht an den Kindern bis ins dritte und vierte Glied; aber denen, so mich lieben und meine Gebote halten, denen tue ich wohl in tausend Glied.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gott dräuet zu strafen alle, die diese Gebote übertreten; darum sollen wir uns fürchten vor seinem Zorn und nicht wider solche Gebote tun. Er verheißt aber Gnade und alles Gute allen, die solche Gebote halten; darum sollen wir ihn auch lieben und vertrauen und gerne tun nach seinen Geboten.

19] X. Praeceptum. [R. 369

Nec desiderabis uxorem eius, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum nec omnia, quae illius sunt.

20] *Quae est huius praecepti sententia?* Responsio.

Debemus Deum timere et diligere, ne [a] proximo uxorem, servos, ancillas vel pecudes abalienemus aut abstrahamus, sed illos adhortemur et urgeamus, ut maneant et suum officium diligenter faciant.

21] Quid autem summatim dicit Deus de his praeceptis omnibus?

Responsio.
Sic dicit Exod. 20, 5 sq.:

Ego, Dominus Deus tuus, sum fortis zelotes, visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum, qui oderunt me; et faciens misericordiam in millia his, qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea.

22] *Quae est horum verborum sententia?* Responsio.

Deus minatur poenam omnibus, qui ista praecepta transgrediuntur et violant. Debemus itaque expavescere et timere iram Dei et nihil contra huiusmodi praecepta facere. Rursus promittit etiam suam gratiam et omnia bona omnibus, qui mandata illa observant. Merito igitur debemus Deum diligere et illi confidere et iuxta mandata eius omnem nostram vitam sedulo et diligenter instituere.

II. Der Glaube,

wie ein Hausvater denselben seinem Gesinde auf das einfältigste vorhalten soll.

Der erste Artikel.

Von der Schöpfung.

Ich glaube an Gott den Vater allmächtigen, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Ich glaube, daß mich Gott geschaffen hat samt allen Kreaturen, mir Leib und Seele, Augen, Ohren und alle Glieder, Vernunft und alle Sinne gegeben hat und noch erhält; dazu Kleider und Schuh', Essen und Trinken, Haus und Hof, Weib und Kind, Acker, Vieh und alle Güter; mit aller Notdurft und Nahrung dieses Leibes und Lebens reichlich und täglich versorgt, wider alle Fährlichkeit beschirmt und vor allem übel behütet und bewahrt; und das alles aus lauter väterlicher, göttlicher Güte und Barmherzigkeit, ohne alle mein Verdienst und Würdigkeit; des alles ich ihm zu danken und zu loben und dafür zu dienen und gehorsam zu sein schuldig bin. Das ist gewißlich wahr.

[R. 370

II. SYMBOLUM APOSTOLICUM,

quomodo paterfamilias id suae familiae simplicissime tradere debeat.

1] Primus Articulus.

De Creatione.

Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae.

2] *Quae est huius articuli sententia?* Responsio.

Credo, quod Deus creaverit me, una cum omnibus creaturis, quod corpus et animam, oculos, aures et omnia membra, rationem et omnes sensus mihi dederit et adhuc sustentet; ad haec, quod vestes et calceos, cibum ac potum, domum, uxorem, liberos, agros, iumenta et omnia bona, cum omnibus vitae necessariis, copiose et quotidie largiatur, me contra omnia pericula protegat et ab omnibus malis liberet et custodiat; et haec omnia ex mera sua paterna ac divina bonitate et misericordia, sine ullis meis meritis aut ulla dignitate; pro quibus omnibus illi gratias agere, pleno ore laudem tribuere, inservire, obsequi merito debeo. Hoc certissime verum est.

The Tenth Commandment.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his cattle, nor anything that is his.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We should fear and love God that we may not estrange, force, or entice away our neighbor's wife, servants, or cattle, but urge them to stay and [diligently] do their duty.

What Does God Say of All These Commandments?

Answer.

He says thus [Exod. 20, 5 f.]: I the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep My commandments.

What does this mean? — Answer.

God threatens to punish all that transgress these commandments. Therefore we should dread His wrath and not act contrary to these commandments. But He promises grace and every blessing to all that keep these commandments. Therefore we should also love and trust in Him, and gladly do [zealously and diligently order our whole life] according to His commandments.

II. THE CREED,

as the Head of the Family Should Teach It in the Simplest Way to His Household.

The First Article.

Of Creation.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

What does this mean? — Answer.

I believe that God has made me and all creatures; that He has given me my body and soul, eyes, ears, and all my limbs, my reason, and all my senses, and still preserves them; in addition thereto, clothing and shoes, meat and drink, house and homestead, wife and children, fields, cattle, and all my goods; that He provides me richly and daily with all that I need to support this body and life, protects me from all danger, and guards me and preserves me from all evil; and all this out of pure, fatherly, divine goodness and mercy, without any merit or worthiness in me; for all which I owe it to Him to thank, praise, serve, and obey Him. This is most certainly true.

Der andere Artikel.

Von der Erlösung.

Und an JEsum Christum, seinen einigen Sohn, unsern HErrn, der empfangen ist von dem Heiligen Geist, geboren aus Maria der Jungfrau, gelitten unter Pontio Pilato, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben, niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage wieder auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Ich glaube, daß JEsus Christus, wahrhaftiger Gott, vom Vater in Ewigkeit geboren, und auch wahrhaftiger Mensch, von der Jungfrau Maria geboren, sei mein HErr, der mich verlornen und verdammten Menschen erlöst hat, erworben und gewonnen von allen Sünden, vom Tod und von der Gewalt des Teufels, nicht mit Gold oder Silber, sondern mit seinem heiligen, teuren Blut und mit seinem unschuldigen Leiden und Sterben, auf daß ich sein eigen sei und in seinem Reich unter ihm lebe und ihm diene in ewiger Gerechtigkeit, Unschuld und Seligkeit, gleichwie er ist auferstanden vom Tode, lebt und regiert in Ewigkeit. Das ist gewißlich wahr.

Der dritte Artikel.

Von der Heiligung.

Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, eine heilige christliche Kirche, die Gemeinde der Heiligen, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und ein ewiges Leben. Amen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Ich glaube, daß ich nicht aus eigener Vernunft noch Kraft an JEsum Christum, meinen HErrn, glauben oder zu ihm kommen kann; sondern der Heilige Geist hat mich durchs Evangelium berufen, mit seinen Gaben erleuchtet, im rechten Glauben geheiligt und erhalten; gleichwie er die ganze Christenheit auf Erden beruft, sammelt, erleuchtet, heiligt und bei JEsu Christo erhält im rechten, einigen Glauben; in welcher Christenheit er mir und allen Gläubigen täglich alle Sünden reichlich vergibt und am Jüngsten Tage mich und alle Toten auferwecken wird und mir samt allen Gläubigen in Christo ein ewiges Leben geben wird. Das ist gewißlich wahr.

3] **Secundus Articulus.**

De Redemptione.

Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus [R. 371 et sepultus, descendit ad inferna, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit in coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei, Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

4] *Quae est huius articuli sententia?*
Responsio.

Credo, quod Iesus Christus, verus Deus, a Patre ante saecula genitus, idemque verus homo, natus ex Maria virgine, sit meus Dominus, qui me perditum et damnatum hominem redemit et ab omnibus peccatis, a morte, a potestate Satanae liberavit, non quidem auro et argento, sed suo sancto ac pretioso sanguine suaque innocente passione ac morte, ut ego essem totus ipsius, et in regno eius sub ipso viverem ac ei servirem in perpetua iustitia, innocentia et beatitudine, perinde ac ipse a morte surrexit, vivit et regnat in aeternum. Hoc certissime verum est.

5] **Tertius Articulus.**

De Sanctificatione.

Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

6] *Quae est huius articuli sententia?*
Responsio.

Credo me propriis rationis meae viribus Iesu Christo, Domino meo, fidere, aut ad eum accedere et pervenire nullo modo posse; [R. 372 sed Spiritus Sanctus per evangelium me vocavit, suis donis illuminavit, in recta fide sanctificavit et conservavit; quemadmodum solet totam ecclesiam in terra vocare, congregare, illuminare, sanctificare et in Iesu Christo per veram ac unicam fidem conservare; in qua ecclesia mihi et omnibus Christianis omnia peccata quotidie benigne remittit et nos omnes in extremo die a morte suscitabit ac mihi et omnibus in Christum credentibus vitam aeternam dabit. Hoc certissime verum est.

III. Das Vaterunser,

wie ein Hausvater dasselbe seinem Gesinde auf das einfältigste vorhalten soll.

Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gott will damit uns locken [will uns damit locken], daß wir glauben sollen, er sei unser rechter Vater und wir seine rechten Kinder, auf daß wir getrost und mit aller Zuversicht ihn bitten sollen wie die lieben Kinder ihren lieben Vater.

III. ORATIO DOMINICA,

quomodo paterfamilias eam suae familiae simplicissime tradere debeat.

1] Pater noster, qui es in coelis.

2] *Quae est horum verborum sententia?*
Responsio.

Deus amanter nos hac praefatiuncula invitat, ut vere credamus eum nostrum verum Patrem nosque eius veros filios esse, ut eum confidentius pleni fiducia invocemus, quemadmodum videmus liberos certa fiducia aliquid a parentibus suis petere.

The Second Article.

Of Redemption.

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

What does this mean? — Answer.

I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, purchased and won [delivered] me from all sins, from death, and from the power of the devil, not with gold or silver, but with His holy, precious blood and with His innocent suffering and death, in order that I may be [wholly] His own, and live under Him in His kingdom, and serve Him in everlasting righteousness, innocence, and blessedness, even as He is risen from the dead, lives and reigns to all eternity. This is most certainly true.

The Third Article.

Of Sanctification.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; one holy Christian Church, the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

What does this mean? — Answer.

I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him; but the Holy Ghost has called me by the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, sanctified and kept me in the true faith; even as He calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one true faith; in which Christian Church He forgives daily and richly all sins to me and all believers, and at the last day will raise up me and all the dead, and will give to me and to all believers in Christ everlasting life. This is most certainly true.

III. THE LORD'S PRAYER,

as the Head of the Family Should Teach It in the Simplest Way to His Household.

Our Father who art in heaven.

What does this mean? — Answer.

God would thereby [with this little introduction] tenderly urge us to believe that He is our true Father, and that we are His true children, so that we may ask Him confidently, with all assurance, as dear children ask their dear father.

Die erste Bitte.

Geheiligt werde dein Name.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gottes Name ist zwar an ihm selbst heilig; aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß er bei uns auch heilig werde.

Wie geschieht das? — Antwort.

Wo das Wort Gottes lauter und rein gelehrt wird, und wir auch heilig als die Kinder Gottes danach leben; das hilf uns, lieber Vater im Himmel! Wer aber anders lehrt und lebt, denn das Wort Gottes lehrt, der entheiligt unter uns den Namen Gottes; da behüte uns vor, [lieber] himmlischer Vater!

Die andere Bitte.

Dein Reich komme.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gottes Reich kommt wohl ohne unser Gebet, von ihm selbst; aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß es auch zu uns komme.

Wie geschieht das? — Antwort.

Wenn der himmlische Vater uns seinen Heiligen Geist gibt, daß wir seinem heiligen Wort durch seine Gnade glauben und göttlich leben, hier zeitlich und dort ewiglich.

Die dritte Bitte.

Dein Wille geschehe, wie im Himmel, also auch auf Erden.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gottes guter, gnädiger Wille geschieht wohl ohne unser Gebet; aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß er auch bei uns geschehe.

Wie geschieht das? — Antwort.

Wenn Gott allen bösen Rat und Willen bricht und hindert, so uns den Namen Gottes nicht heiligen und sein Reich nicht kommen lassen wollen, als da ist des Teufels, der Welt und unsers Fleisches Wille, sondern stärkt und behält uns fest in seinem Wort und Glauben bis an unser Ende: das ist sein gnädiger, guter Wille.

Die vierte Bitte.

Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gott gibt täglich Brot, auch wohl ohne unsere Bitte, allen bösen Menschen; aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß er [er's] uns erkennen lasse und mit Danksagung empfangen unser täglich Brot.

Was heißt denn täglich Brot?
Antwort.

Alles, was zur Leibesnahrung und -notdurft gehört, als Essen, Trinken, Kleider, Schuh', Haus, Hof, Acker, Vieh, Geld, Gut, fromm Gemahl,

3] **I. Petitio.**

Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

4] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Nomen Dei per se quidem sanctum est; verum nos oramus hac petitione, ut [R. 373 apud nos quoque sanctificetur.

5] *Qua ratione fit istud?*
Responsio.

Cum Verbum Dei pure ac sincere docetur, et nos secundum illud, ut filios Dei decet, pie vivimus. Quod ut fiat, dona nobis, mi Pater, qui es in coelis! Qui vero aliter docet vel vivit, quam Verbum Dei docet, ille nomen Dei inter nos profanat. Ne autem hoc accidat, tu prohibe, mi Pater coelestis!

6] **II. Petitio.**

Adveniat regnum tuum.

7] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Regnum Dei venit etiam per se, sine nostra oratione; sed petimus hac precatione, ut ad nos quoque perveniat.

8] *Qua ratione fit istud?*
Responsio.

Cum Pater coelestis dat nobis suum Sanctum Spiritum, qui efficit gratia sua, ut sancto eius Verbo credamus ac pie vivamus, cum in hoc tempore, tum postea in aeternum.

9] **III. Petitio.**

Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, sic et in terra.

10] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Bona ac misericors Dei voluntas fit quoque sine nostra oratione; sed rogamus hac petitione, ut etiam apud nos fiat.

Qua ratione fit istud? [R. 374
11] Responsio.

Cum Deus frangit ac impedit omne malum consilium, voluntatem et conatus, qui obstant, quominus nomen Dei sanctificemus, regnumque eius ad nos pervenire possit, ut est diaboli, mundi et carnis nostrae voluntas; deinde cum confortat et conservat nos firmiter in suo Verbo ac fide usque ad finem vitae nostrae: haec est misericors ac bona ipsius voluntas.

12] **IV. Petitio.**

Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.

13] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Deus dat quidem omnibus panem quotidianum, quamvis non petamus, etiam malis hominibus. At nos precamur hac petitione, ut agnoscamus hoc beneficium, atque ita panem nostrum quotidianum cum gratiarum actione accipiamus.

Quid autem significat panis quotidianus?
14] Responsio.

Significat omne, quod ad vitae nostrae necessitatem ac sustentationem pertinet, videlicet cibum, potum, vestes, calceos, domum,

The First Petition.

Hallowed be Thy name.

What does this mean? — Answer.

God's name is indeed holy in itself; but we pray in this petition that it may become holy among us also.

How is this done? — Answer.

When the Word of God is taught in its truth and purity, and we as the children of God also lead holy lives in accordance with it. To this end help us, dear Father in heaven. But he that teaches and lives otherwise than God's Word teaches profanes the name of God among us. From this preserve us, Heavenly Father.

The Second Petition.

Thy kingdom come.

What does this mean? — Answer.

The kingdom of God comes indeed without our prayer, of itself; but we pray in this petition that it may come unto us also.

How is this done? — Answer.

When our heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, so that by His grace we believe His holy Word and lead a godly life here in time and yonder in eternity.

The Third Petition.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

What does this mean? — Answer.

The good and gracious will of God is done indeed without our prayer; but we pray in this petition that it may be done among us also.

How is this done? — Answer.

When God breaks and hinders every evil counsel and will which would not let us hallow the name of God nor let His kingdom come, such as the will of the devil, the world, and our flesh; but strengthens and keeps us steadfast in His Word and in faith unto our end. This is His gracious and good will.

The Fourth Petition.

Give us this day our daily bread.

What does this mean? — Answer.

God gives daily bread, even without our prayer, to all wicked men; but we pray in this petition that He would lead us to know it, and to receive our daily bread with thanksgiving.

What is meant by daily bread? — Answer.

Everything that belongs to the support and wants of the body, such as meat, drink, clothing, shoes, house, homestead, field, cattle, money, goods, a pious spouse, pious children,

fromme Kinder, fromm Gesinde, fromme und treue Oberherren, gut Regiment, gut Wetter, Friede, Gesundheit, Zucht, Ehre, gute Freunde, getreue Nachbarn und desgleichen.

Die fünfte Bitte.

Und verlaß [erlaß, vergib] uns unsere Schuld, als wir verlassen unsern Schuldigern.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß der Vater im Himmel nicht ansehen wolle unsere Sünde und um derselben willen solche Bitte nicht versagen; denn wir sind der keines wert, das wir bitten, haben es auch nicht verdient; sondern er wolle es uns alles aus Gnaden geben, denn wir täglich viel sündigen und wohl eitel Strafe verdienen. So wollen wir zwar [„zwarten", wahrlich, in Wahrheit] wiederum auch herzlich vergeben und gerne [* wohl] tun denen, die sich an uns versündigen.

Die sechste Bitte.

Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Gott versucht zwar niemand, aber wir bitten in diesem Gebet, daß uns Gott wolle behüten und erhalten, auf daß uns der Teufel, die Welt und unser Fleisch nicht betrüge noch verführe in Mißglauben, Verzweifeln und andere große Schande und Laster; und ob wir damit angefochten würden, daß wir doch endlich gewinnen und den Sieg behalten.

Die siebente Bitte.

Sondern erlöse uns von dem Übel.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Wir bitten in diesem Gebet als in der Summa, daß uns der Vater im Himmel von allerlei Übel Leibes und Seele, Gutes und Ehre erlöse und zuletzt, wenn unser Stündlein kommt, ein seliges Ende bescheere und mit Gnaden von diesem Jammertal zu sich nehme in den Himmel.

Amen.

Was ist das? — Antwort.

Daß ich soll gewiß sein, solche Bitten sind dem Vater im Himmel angenehm und erhört; denn er selbst hat uns geboten, also zu beten, und verheißen, daß er uns will erhören. Amen, Amen, das heißt: Ja, ja, es soll also geschehen.

aream, agros, pecudes, pecuniam, divitias, probam coniugem, probos liberos, probos servos, probum ac fidum magistratum, bonum reipublicae statum, salubrem aërem, pacem, sanitatem, modestiam, honorem, bonos amicos, fidos vicinos et id genus alia.

15] **V. Petitio.**

Et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.

16] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio. [R. 375

Petimus hac precatione, ne Pater coelestis velit respicere et examinare peccata nostra et propter ista nostram orationem repudiare; quandoquidem nullis rebus, quas petimus, digni sumus, nec quidquam mereri possumus; sed ut velit nobis sua gratia et bonitate donare omnia, quia quotidie multifariam peccamus et nihil nisi poenas meremur. Vicissim autem ex corde condonabimus, quidquid in nos peccaverint alii, et pro maleficio libenter reddemus beneficium.

17] **VI. Petitio.**

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

18] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Deus quidem neminem tentat, sed tamen petimus hac petitione, ut ipse nos custodiat et conservet, ne Satanas, mundus et caro nostra nobis imponant et nos a recta fide seducant et in superstitionem, diffidentiam, desperationem atque alia gravia scelera et flagitia coniiciant, et ut maxime eiusmodi tentationibus sollicitemur, ne succumbamus, sed ut tandem vincamus ac triumphemus.

19] **VII. Petitio.**

Sed libera nos a malo.

20] *Quae est huius petitionis sententia?*
Responsio.

Oramus hac precatione tamquam in summa, ut Pater noster coelestis liberet nos ab omnibus malis ac periculis corporis et animae, bonorum et honorum, et ut tandem, [R. 376 cum hora mortis venerit, felicem vitae exitum nobis largiatur, nosque pro sua gratuita bonitate ex hac miseriarum valle ad se in coelum recipiat.

21] **Amen.**

Quae est huius voculae [vocabuli] significatio?

Amen significat idem quod certe, ut scilicet ego sim certus, eiusmodi petitiones Patri nostro coelesti esse acceptas atque ab eo exauditas, quia ipse nobis mandavit, ut ad hunc modum oraremus [oremus], promisitque se nos exauditurum esse. Amen, Amen, id est, vere, certe, haec ita fient.

pious servants, pious and faithful magistrates, good government, good weather, peace, health, discipline, honor, good friends, faithful neighbors, and the like.

The Fifth Petition.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We pray in this petition that our Father in heaven would not look upon our sins, nor deny such petitions on account of them; for we are worthy of none of the things for which we pray, neither have we deserved them; but that He would grant them all to us by grace; for we daily sin much, and indeed deserve nothing but punishment. So will we verily, on our part, also heartily forgive and also readily do good to those who sin against us.

The Sixth Petition.

And lead us not into temptation.

What does this mean? — Answer.

God, indeed, tempts no one; but we pray in this petition that God would guard and keep us, so that the devil, the world, and our flesh may not deceive us, nor seduce us into misbelief, despair, and other great shame and vice; and though we be assailed by them, that still we may finally overcome and gain the victory.

The Seventh Petition.

But deliver us from evil.

What does this mean? — Answer.

We pray in this petition, as in a summary, that our Father in heaven would deliver us from all manner of evil, of body and soul, property and honor, and at last, when our last hour shall come, grant us a blessed end, and graciously take us from this vale of tears to Himself into heaven.

Amen.

What does this mean? — Answer.

That I should be certain that these petitions are acceptable to our Father in heaven and heard; for He Himself has commanded us so to pray, and has promised that He will hear us. Amen, Amen; that is, Yea, yea, it shall be so.

IV. Das Sakrament der heiligen Taufe, wie dasselbe ein Hausvater seinem Gesinde soll einfältiglich vorhalten.

Zum ersten.

Was ist die Taufe?
Antwort.

Die Taufe ist nicht allein schlecht Wasser, sondern sie ist das Wasser in Gottes Gebot gefaßt und mit Gottes Wort verbunden.

Welches ist denn solch Wort Gottes?
Antwort.

Da unser HErr Christus spricht Matthäi am letzten: Gehet hin in alle Welt, lehret alle Heiden und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes.

Zum andern.

Was gibt oder nützt die Taufe?
Antwort.

Sie wirkt Vergebung der Sünden, erlöst vom Tod und Teufel und gibt die ewige Seligkeit allen, die es glauben, wie die Worte und Verheißungen Gottes lauten.

Welches sind solche Worte und Verheißungen Gottes?
Antwort.

Da unser HErr Christus spricht Marci am letzten: Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig [werden]; wer aber nicht glaubet, der wird verdammt [werden].

Zum dritten.

Wie kann Wasser solche große Dinge tun?
Antwort.

Wasser tut's freilich nicht, sondern das Wort Gottes, so mit und bei dem Wasser ist, und der Glaube, so solchem Worte Gottes im Wasser traut. Denn ohne Gottes Wort ist das Wasser schlecht Wasser und keine Taufe; aber mit dem Wort Gottes ist's eine Taufe, das ist, ein gnadenreich Wasser des Lebens und ein Bad der neuen Geburt im Heiligen Geist, wie St. Paulus sagt zu Tito am 3. Kapitel:

„Durch das Bad der Wiedergeburt und Erneuerung des Heiligen Geistes, welchen er ausgegossen hat über uns reichlich durch JEsum Christum, unsern Heiland, auf daß wir durch desselben Gnade gerecht und Erben seien des ewigen Lebens nach der Hoffnung. Das ist je gewißlich wahr."

Zum vierten.

Was bedeutet denn solch Wassertaufen?
Antwort.

Es bedeutet, daß der alte Adam in uns durch tägliche Reue und Buße soll ersäuft werden und sterben mit allen Sünden und bösen Lüsten, und wiederum täglich herauskommen und auferstehen ein neuer Mensch, der in Gerechtigkeit und Reinigkeit vor Gott ewiglich lebe.

IV. SACRAMENTUM BAPTISMI, quomodo de eo paterfamilias suam familiam simplicissime docere debeat.

Primum.

1] *Quid est baptismus?*
2] Responsio.

Baptismus non est simpliciter aqua, sed est aqua divino mandato comprehensa et verbo Dei obsignata.

3] *Quod est illud verbum Dei?*
Responsio.

4] Ubi Dominus noster Iesus Christus dicit Matthaei ultimo [28, 19]: Euntes docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Secundum. [R. 377

5] *Quid praestat aut confert baptismus?*
6] Responsio.

Operatur remissionem peccatorum, liberat a morte et a diabolo et donat aeternam beatitudinem omnibus et singulis, qui credunt hoc, quod verba et promissiones divinae pollicentur.

7] *Quae sunt illa verba et promissiones divinae?*
8] Responsio.

Ubi Dominus noster Iesus Christus dicit Marci ultimo [16, 16]: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.

Tertium.

9] *Qui potest aqua tam magnas res efficere?*
10] Responsio.

Aqua certe tantas res non efficit, sed verbum Dei, quod in et cum aqua est, et fides, quae verbo Dei aquae addito credit. Quia aqua sine verbo Dei est simpliciter aqua et non est baptismus, sed addito verbo Dei est baptismus, hoc est, salutaris aqua gratiae et vitae et lavacrum regenerationis in Spiritu Sancto, sicut Paulus ait ad Titum, 3, 5 sqq.:

Secundum suam misericordiam nos salvos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis ac renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Iesum Christum, Salvatorem nostrum, ut iustificati illius gratia heredes efficeremur iuxta spem vitae aeternae. Fidelis hic sermo est.

11] **Quartum.**

Quid autem significat ista in aquam immersio?
12] Responsio.

Significat, quod vetus Adam, qui adhuc in nobis est, subinde per quotidianam mortificationem ac poenitentiam in nobis submergi et exstingui debeat una cum omnibus peccatis et malis concupiscentiis, atque rursus [R. 378 quotidie emergere ac resurgere novus homo, qui in iustitia et puritate coram Deo vivat in aeternum.

IV. THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY BAPTISM,

as the Head of the Family Should Teach It in a Simple Way to His Household.

First.

What is Baptism? — Answer.

Baptism is not simple water only, but it is the water comprehended in God's command and connected with God's Word.

Which is that word of God? — Answer.

Christ, our Lord, says in the last chapter of Matthew: *Go ye into all the world and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*

Secondly.

What does Baptism give or profit? — Answer.

It works forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and gives eternal salvation to all who believe this, as the words and promises of God declare.

Which are such words and promises of God? Answer.

Christ, our Lord, says in the last chapter of Mark: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.*

Thirdly.

How can water do such great things? — Answer.

It is not the water indeed that does them, but the word of God which is in and with the water, and faith, which trusts such word of God in the water. For without the word of God the water is simple water and no baptism. But with the word of God it is a baptism, that is, a gracious water of life and a washing of regeneration in the Holy Ghost, as St. Paul says, Titus, chapter three: *By the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, which He shed on us abundantly through Jesus Christ, our Savior, that, being justified by His grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life. This is a faithful saying.*

Fourthly.

What does such baptizing with water signify? Answer.

It signifies that the old Adam in us should, by daily contrition and repentance, be drowned and die with all sins and evil lusts, and, again, a new man daily come forth and arise, who shall live before God in righteousness and purity forever.

Wo steht das geschrieben?
Antwort.

St. Paulus zu den Römern am 6. spricht: „Wir sind samt Christo durch die Taufe begraben in den Tod, daß, gleichwie Christus ist von den Toten auferwecket durch die Herrlichkeit des Vaters, also sollen wir auch in einem neuen Leben wandeln."

13] *Ubi hoc scriptum est?*
14] Responsio.

Sanctus Paulus ad Romanos, 6, 4, dicit: *Sepulti igitur sumus una cum Christo per baptismum in mortem, ut quemadmodum excitatus est Christus ex mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos in novitate vitae ambulemus.*

V. Wie man die Einfältigen soll lehren beichten.

[Was ist die Beichte? — Antwort.]

Die Beichte begreift zwei Stücke in sich: eines, daß man die Sünde bekenne; das andere, daß man die absolutio oder Vergebung von dem Beichtiger empfange als von Gott selbst und ja nicht daran zweifle, sondern fest glaube, die Sünden seien dadurch vergeben vor Gott im Himmel.

Welche Sünden soll man denn beichten?
[Antwort.]

Vor Gott soll man aller Sünden sich schuldig geben, auch die wir nicht erkennen, wie wir im Vaterunser tun; aber vor dem Beichtiger sollen wir allein die Sünden bekennen, die wir wissen und fühlen im Herzen.

Welche sind die?
[Antwort.]

Da siehe deinen Stand an nach den zehn Geboten: ob du Vater, Mutter, Sohn, Tochter, Herr, Frau, Knecht seiest; ob du ungehorsam, untreu, unfleißig gewesen seiest; ob du jemand Leid getan hast mit Worten oder Werken; ob du gestohlen, versäumt, verwahrlost, Schaden getan hast.

Lieber, stelle mir eine kurze Weise zu beichten.

Antwort.

So sollst du zum Beichtiger sprechen:

Würdiger, lieber Herr, ich bitte Euch, wollet meine Beichte hören und mir die Vergebung sprechen um Gottes willen.

Sage an!

Ich armer Sünder bekenne mich vor Gott aller Sünden schuldig; insonderheit bekenne ich vor Euch, daß ich ein Knecht, Magd usw. bin; aber ich diene leider untreulich meinem Herrn; denn da und da habe ich nicht getan, was sie mich hießen, habe sie erzürnt und zu fluchen bewegt, habe versäumt und Schaden lassen geschehen; bin auch in Worten und Werken schambar [schamlos, anstößig] gewesen, habe mit meinesgleichen gezürnt, wider meine Frau gemurrt und geflucht usw. Das alles ist mir leid, und bitte um Gnade; ich will mich bessern.

Ein Herr oder Frau sage also:

Insonderheit bekenne ich vor Euch, daß ich mein Kind und Gesinde, Weib nicht treulich gezogen habe zu Gottes Ehren. Ich habe geflucht, böse Exempel mit unzüchtigen [unanständigen] Worten und Werken gegeben, meinem Nachbar Schaden

V. DE CONFESSIONE.

Quomodo simpliciores de ea erudiendi sint.

15]

16] *Quid est confessio?*
Responsio.

Confessio duo comprehendit: unum est peccata confiteri, alterum est absolutionem sive remissionem a confessionario sive praecone evangelii accipere, tamquam ab ipso Deo, et non dubitare, sed firmiter credere peccata per illam absolutionem coram Deo in coelo remissa esse.

17] *Quae peccata sunt confitenda?*
18] Responsio.

Coram Deo omnium peccatorum reos nos sistere debemus, etiam eorum, quae nobis sunt abscondita, sicut in Oratione Dominica facimus. Coram ministro autem debemus tantum ea peccata confiteri, quae nobis cognita sunt et quae in corde sentimus.

19] *Quaenam sunt ista?*
20] Responsio.

Hic unusquisque examinet vitae suae statum secundum Decalogum: an pater, mater, filius, filia, dominus, hera, servus sis; [R. 379 an contumax, infidelis, negligens fueris; an aliquem laeseris dictis, factis; an furtum commiseris aut iniuria, ignavia et segnitie damnum alicui intuleris.

21] Brevis Forma Confessionis pro Rudioribus.

In hunc modum alloqui debes ministrum Verbi:

Reverende et dilecte domine, rogo te, ut confessionem meam audias et mihi propter Deum remissionem annunties.

[Dicas.]

22] Miser ego peccator confiteor coram Deo me omnium peccatorum reum esse; imprimis confiteor coram te, me quidem servum, ancillam etc. esse, sed infideliter servire domino meo; non enim feci, non facio, quae mihi iniungit, irritavi et ad maledicendum commovi dominum vel dominam meam, multa neglexi et damno causam praebui etc., in verbis et factis petulantem me praebui, impatiens fui, obstrepui etc. Ideo doleo, gratiam imploro, emendationem promitto.

23] *Herus aut hera sic dicant:*

Imprimis confiteor coram te, me non diligentem fuisse in fideli educatione et institutione liberorum et familiae ad gloriam Dei, blasphemavi, nomine Dei abusus sum, malum exemplum prava loquens et faciens praebui,

Where is this written? — Answer.

St. Paul says Romans, chapter 6: *We are buried with Christ by Baptism into death, that, like as He was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life.*

V. HOW THE UNLEARNED SHOULD BE TAUGHT TO CONFESS.

[*What is Confession?* — Answer.]

Confession embraces two parts: the one is, that we confess our sins; the other, that we receive absolution, or forgiveness, from the confessor, as from God Himself, and in no wise doubt, but firmly believe, that our sins are thereby forgiven before God in heaven.

What sins should we confess? — [Answer.]

Before God we should plead guilty of all sins, even of those which we do not know, as we do in the Lord's Prayer. But before the confessor we should confess those sins alone which we know and feel in our hearts.

Which are these? — [Answer.]

Here consider your station according to the Ten Commandments, whether you are a father, mother, son, daughter, master, mistress, a man-servant or maid-servant; whether you have been disobedient, unfaithful, slothful; whether you have grieved any one by words or deeds; whether you have stolen, neglected, or wasted aught, or done other injury.

Pray, Propose to Me a Brief Form of Confession.

Answer.

You should speak to the confessor thus: Reverend and dear sir, I beseech you to hear my confession, and to pronounce forgiveness to me for God's sake.

Proceed!

I, a poor sinner, confess myself before God guilty of all sins; especially I confess before you that I am a man-servant, a maid-servant, etc. But, alas, I serve my master unfaithfully; for in this and in that I have not done what they commanded me; I have provoked them, and caused them to curse, have been negligent [in many things] and permitted damage to be done; have also been immodest in words and deeds, have quarreled with my equals, have grumbled and sworn at my mistress, etc. For all this I am sorry, and pray for grace; I want to do better.

A master or mistress may say thus:

In particular I confess before you that I have not faithfully trained my children, domestics, and wife [family] for God's glory. I have cursed, set a bad example by rude words and deeds, have done my neighbor harm

getan und übel nachgeredet, zu teuer verkauft, falsche und nicht ganze Ware gegeben.

Und was er mehr wider die Gebote Gottes und seinen Stand getan usw.

Wenn aber jemand sich nicht befindet beschwert mit solcher oder größeren Sünden, der soll nicht sorgen oder weiter Sünde suchen noch erdichten und damit eine Marter aus der Beichte machen, sondern erzähle eine oder zwei, die du weißt; also: Insonderheit bekenne ich, daß ich einmal geflucht; item, einmal unhübsch mit Worten gewesen, einmal dies N. versäumt habe usw. Also laß es genug sein.

Weißt du aber gar keine (welches doch nicht wohl sollte möglich sein), so sage auch keine insonderheit, sondern nimm die Vergebung auf die gemeine Beichte, so du vor Gott tust gegen den Beichtiger.

Darauf soll der Beichtiger sagen:

Gott sei dir gnädig und stärke deinen Glauben! Amen.

Weiter:

Glaubst du auch, daß meine Vergebung Gottes Vergebung sei?

Antwort.

Ja, lieber Herr.

Darauf spreche er:

Wie du glaubst, so geschehe dir. Und ich aus dem Befehl unsers HErrn JEsu Christi vergebe dir deine Sünden im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes. Amen. Gehe hin in Frieden!

Welche aber große Beschwerungen des Gewissens haben oder betrübt und angefochten sind, die wird ein Beichtvater wohl wissen mit mehr Sprüchen zu trösten und zum Glauben [zu] reizen. Das soll allein eine gemeine Weise der Beichte sein für die Einfältigen.

vicinos laesi, multis obtrectavi, pondera et mensuras violavi, decepi proximum vendendo merces etc.

Et si quid aliud contra praecepta Dei in cuiusque vocatione occurrit etc.

24] Si vero quis non sentit se onerari [R. 380 talibus aut gravioribus peccatis, is non sit sollicitus, nec quaerat aut fingat peccata, nec ex confessione carnificinam faciat sed unum atque alterum peccatum sibi notum recitet, ut: Imprimis confiteor me abusum esse nomine divino, verbis impudicis usum, hoc vel illud neglexisse etc. Sic sane quiescat animus.

25] Si vero plane nullius tibi conscius es (quod propemodum impossibile est), nullum etiam in specie recites, sed accipias remissionem, facta generali confessione, quam coram Deo ad ministrum pronuntias.

26] **Respondeat autem minister:**

Deus tibi sit propitius et confirmet fidem tuam. Amen.

27] **Interroget etiam confitentem:**

Num meam remissionem credis esse Dei remissionem?

[Responsio.

Ita, dilecte domine.]

Affirmanti et credenti porro dicat:

28] Fiat tibi, sicut credis. Et ego ex mandato Domini nostri Iesu Christi remitto tibi tua peccata in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. Vade in pace!

29] Qui vero conscientias habent afflictas, tentatas, moestas, eos minister pluribus sententiis Scripturae facientibus ad fidei incrementum consolabitur. Haec, quam commemoravimus, tantum est puerilis et communis forma confessionis pro simplicioribus et rudioribus.

VI. Das Sakrament des Altars,

wie ein Hausvater dasselbe seinem Gesinde einfältiglich vorhalten soll.

Was ist das Sakrament des Altars?

Antwort.

Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers HErrn JEsu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken, von Christo selbst eingesetzt.

Wo steht das geschrieben?

Antwort.

So schreiben die heiligen Evangelisten Matthäus, Markus, Lukas und St. Paulus:

Unser HErr JEsus Christus in der Nacht, da er verraten ward, nahm er das Brot, dankte und brach's und gab's seinen Jüngern und sprach: Nehmet hin, esset! Das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird. Solches tut zu meinem Gedächtnis!

Desselbigengleichen nahm er auch den Kelch nach dem Abendmahl, dankte und gab ihnen den und

VI. SACRAMENTUM ALTARIS,

quomodo paterfamilias simplicissime suam familiam de eo docere debeat.

1] *Quid est sacramentum altaris?*

2] Responsio.

Sacramentum altaris est verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sub pane et vino nobis Christianis ad manducandum ac bibendum ab ipso Christo institutum.

Ubi hoc scriptum est? [R. 381

3] Responsio.

4] Sic scribunt sancti Evangelistae, Matthaeus 26, 26, Marcus 14, 22, Lucas 22, 19, et Sanctus Paulus [1 Cor. 11, 23]:

Dominus noster Iesus Christus in ea nocte, qua traditus est, accepit panem et, postquam gratias egisset, fregit et dedit discipulis suis, dicens: Accipite, comedite. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis datur. Hoc facite in mei commemorationem.

Similiter et postquam coenavit, accepit calicem et, quum gratias egisset, dedit illis,

and spoken evil of him, have overcharged and given false ware and short measure.

And whatever else he has done against God's command and his station, etc.

But if any one does not find himself burdened with such or greater sins, he should not trouble himself or search for or invent other sins, and thereby make confession a torture, but mention one or two that he knows. Thus: In particular I confess that I once cursed; again, I once used improper words, I have once neglected this or that, etc. Let this suffice.

But if you know of none at all (which, however, is scarcely possible), then mention none in particular, but receive the forgiveness upon the general confession which you make before God to the confessor.

Then shall the confessor say:

God be merciful to thee and strengthen thy faith! Amen.

Furthermore:

Dost thou believe that my forgiveness is God's forgiveness?

Answer.

Yes, dear sir.

Then let him say:

As thou believest, so be it done unto thee. And by the command of our Lord Jesus Christ I forgive thee thy sins, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. Depart in peace.

But those who have great burdens upon their consciences, or are distressed and tempted, the confessor will know how to comfort and to encourage to faith with more passages of Scripture. This is to be merely a general form of confession for the unlearned.

VI. THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR, as the Head of a Family Should Teach It in a Simple Way to His Household.

What is the Sacrament of the Altar? — Answer.

It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ Himself.

Where is this written? — Answer.

The holy Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul, write thus:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread: and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is My body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, gave thanks, and gave

sprach: Nehmet hin und trinket alle daraus! Dieser Kelch ist das neue Testament in meinem Blut, das für euch vergossen wird zur Vergebung der Sünden. Solches tut, sooft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis!

Was nützt denn solch Essen und Trinken?
Antwort.

Das zeigen uns diese Worte: „Für euch gegeben und vergossen zur Vergebung der Sünden", nämlich daß uns im Sakrament Vergebung der Sünden, Leben und Seligkeit durch solche Worte gegeben wird; denn wo Vergebung der Sünden ist, da ist auch Leben und Seligkeit.

Wie kann leiblich Essen und Trinken solche große Dinge tun?
Antwort.

Essen und Trinken tut's freilich nicht, sondern die Worte, so da stehen: „Für euch gegeben und vergossen zur Vergebung der Sünden." Welche Worte sind neben dem leiblichen Essen und Trinken als das Hauptstück im Sakrament, und wer denselben Worten glaubt, der hat, was sie sagen und wie sie lauten, nämlich Vergebung der Sünden.

Wer empfängt denn solch Sakrament würdiglich?
Antwort.

Fasten und leiblich sich bereiten ist wohl eine feine äußerliche Zucht; aber der ist recht würdig und wohlgeschickt, wer den Glauben hat an diese Worte: „Für euch gegeben und vergossen zur Vergebung der Sünden."

Wer aber diesen Worten nicht glaubt oder zweifelt, der ist unwürdig und ungeschickt; denn das Wort „Für euch" fordert eitel gläubige Herzen.

dicens: Bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine, qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem.

5] *Quid vero prodest sic comedisse et bibisse?*
6] Responsio.

Id indicant nobis haec verba: *Pro vobis datur et effunditur in remissionem peccatorum*, nempe quod nobis per verba illa in sacramento remissio peccatorum, vita, iustitia et salus donentur. Ubi enim remissio peccatorum est, ibi est et vita et salus.

7] *Qui potest corporalis illa manducatio tantas res efficere?*
8] Responsio.

Manducare et bibere ista certe non efficiunt, sed illa verba, quae hic ponuntur: *Pro* [R. 382 *vobis datur et effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.* Quae verba sunt una cum corporali manducatione caput et summa huius sacramenti. Et qui credit his verbis, ille habet, quod dicunt et sicut sonant, nempe remissionem peccatorum.

9] *Quis utitur hoc sacramento digne?*
10] Responsio.

Ieiunare et corpus suum praeparare est quidem bona et externa disciplina. At ille est vere dignus ac probe paratus, qui habet fidem in haec verba: *Pro vobis datur et effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.*

Qui vero his verbis non credit aut de illis dubitat, ille est indignus ac imparatus, quia hoc verbum, *Pro vobis*, postulat omnino cor, quod Deo credat.

[Anhang I.]

Wie ein Hausvater sein Gesinde soll lehren morgens und abends sich segnen.

Der Morgensegen.

Des Morgens, so du aus dem Bette fährst, sollst du dich segnen mit dem heiligen Kreuz und sagen:

Das walte Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist! Amen.

Darauf kniend oder stehend den Glauben und Vaterunser. Willst du, so magst du dies Gebetlein dazusprechen:

Ich danke dir, mein himmlischer Vater, durch JEsum Christum, deinen lieben Sohn, daß du mich diese Nacht vor allem Schaden und [Ge-] Fahr behütet hast, und bitte dich, du wollest mich diesen Tag auch behüten vor Sünden und allem Übel, daß dir alle mein Tun und Leben gefalle. Denn ich befehle mich, meinen Leib und Seele, und alles in deine Hände. Dein heiliger Engel sei mit mir, daß der böse Feind keine Macht an mir finde! Amen.

Und alsdann mit Freuden an dein Werk gegangen und etwa ein Lied gesungen, als die zehn Gebote, oder was deine Andacht gibt.

[Appendix I.]

QUO PACTO PATRESFAMILIAS suam familiam formas benedictionis, unam mane, alteram vesperi dicendam, simplicissime docere debeant.

[Benedictio Mane Dicenda.]

1] Mane cum surgis e lecto, signabis te signo sanctae crucis, dicens:

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

2] Deinde innitens genibus vel stans dicas Symbolum et Orationem Dominicam. His potes et hanc precatiunculam addere:

Gratias ago tibi, mi Pater coelestis, per Iesum Christum, Filium tuum dilectum, quod me hac nocte ab omnibus incommodis [R. 383 ac periculis conservatum custodieris. Et oro te, ut me hac die quoque conservare et a peccato et omnibus malis custodire velis, ut tibi omnia mea facta atque adeo tota vita bene placeant. Quia ego me meumque corpus et animam ac omnia in manus tuas commendo. Tuus sanctus angelus sit mecum, ne diabolus quidquam in me possit. Amen.

3] Postea alacriter ad vocationis tuae operas accedendum est, cantato psalmo, Decalogo vel alio carmine, quo excitetur cor tuum.

it to them, saying, Take, drink ye all of it. This cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins. This do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

What is the benefit of such eating and drinking? Answer.

That is shown us in these words: *Given, and shed for you, for the remission of sins;* namely, that in the Sacrament forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation are given us through these words. For where there is forgiveness of sins, there is also life and salvation.

How can bodily eating and drinking do such great things? — Answer.

It is not the eating and drinking, indeed, that does them, but the words which stand here, namely: *Given, and shed for you, for the remission of sins.* Which words are, beside the bodily eating and drinking, as the chief thing in the Sacrament; and he that believes these words has what they say and express, namely, the forgiveness of sins.

Who, then, receives such Sacrament worthily? Answer.

Fasting and bodily preparation is, indeed, a fine outward training; but he is truly worthy and well prepared who has faith in these words: *Given, and shed for you, for the remission of sins.*

But he that does not believe these words, or doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for the words *For you* require altogether believing hearts.

[Appendix I.]

HOW THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

Should Teach His Household to Bless Themselves in the Morning and in the Evening.

Morning Prayer.

In the morning, when you rise, you shall bless yourself with the holy cross and say:

In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. If you choose, you may, in addition, say this little prayer:

I thank Thee, my Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast kept me this night from all harm and danger; and I pray Thee to keep me this day also from sin and all evil, that all my doings and life may please Thee. For into Thy hands I commend myself, my body and soul, and all things. Let Thy holy angel be with me, that the Wicked Foe may have no power over me. Amen.

Then go to your work with joy, singing a hymn, as the Ten Commandments, or what your devotion may suggest.

Der Abendsegen.

Des Abends, wenn du zu Bette gehst, sollst du dich segnen mit dem heiligen Kreuz und sagen:

Das walte Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist! Amen.

Darauf kniend oder stehend den Glauben und Vaterunser. Willst du, so magst du dies Gebetlein dazusprechen:

Ich danke dir, mein himmlischer Vater, durch JEsum Christum, deinen lieben Sohn, daß du mich diesen Tag gnädiglich behütet hast; und bitte dich, du wollest mir vergeben alle meine Sünden, wo ich unrecht getan habe, und mich diese Nacht gnädiglich behüten; denn ich befehle mich, meinen Leib und Seele, und alles in deine Hände. Dein heiliger Engel sei mit mir, daß der böse Feind keine Macht an mir finde! Amen.

Und alsdann flugs und fröhlich geschlafen.

[Benedictio Vesperi Dicenda.]

4] Similiter vesperi, quum confers te cubitum, signabis te signo sanctae crucis, dicens:

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

5] Deinde flexis genibus vel stans dicas Symbolum et Orationem Dominicam. His potes et hanc precatiunculam addere:

Gratias ago tibi, mi Pater coelestis, per Iesum Christum, Filium tuum dilectum, quod me hac die gratuita misericordia et bonitate tua custodieris. Et oro te, ut mihi omnia peccata mea, quae perpetravi et quibus offendi te, remittere et me hac nocte tua gratia benigne conservare velis. Quia ego me meumque corpus et animam ac omnia in manus tuas commendo. Tuus sanctus angelus sit mecum, ne diabolus quidquam in me possit. Amen.

Atque ita tandem placide et tranquille dormiendum est.

Wie ein Hausvater sein Gesinde soll lehren das Benedicite und Gratias sprechen.

[Das Benedicite.]

Die Kinder und Gesinde sollen mit gefaltenen Händen und züchtig vor den Tisch treten und sprechen:

Aller Augen warten auf dich, HErr, und du gibst ihnen ihre Speise zu seiner Zeit. Du tust deine milde Hand auf und sättigest alles, was lebt, mit Wohlgefallen.

Scholia [Scholion].

Wohlgefallen heißt, daß alle Tiere so viel zu essen kriegen, daß sie fröhlich und guter Dinge darüber sind; denn Sorgen und Geiz hindern solch Wohlgefallen.

Danach das Vaterunser und dies folgende Gebet:

HErr Gott, himmlischer Vater, segne uns und diese deine Gaben, die wir von deiner milden Güte zu uns nehmen, durch JEsum Christum, unsern HErrn. Amen.

Das Gratias.

Also auch nach dem Essen sollen sie gleicherweise tun, züchtig und mit gefaltenen Händen sprechen:

Danket dem HErrn, denn er ist freundlich, und seine Güte währet ewiglich; der allem Fleische Speise gibt, der dem Vieh sein Futter gibt, den jungen Raben, die ihn anrufen. Er hat nicht Lust an der Stärke des Rosses noch Gefallen an jemandes Beinen; der HErr hat Gefallen an denen, die ihn fürchten, und die auf seine Güte warten.

Danach das Vaterunser und dies folgende Gebet:

Wir danken dir, HErr Gott Vater, durch JEsum Christum, unsern HErrn, für alle deine Wohltat, der du lebest und regierest in Ewigkeit! Amen.

[R. 384

6] QUO PACTO PATRESFAMILIAS suam familiam benedictionem mensae et gratiarum actionem simplicissime docere debeant.

7] Benedictio Mensae.

Pueri una cum familia debent complicatis manibus, modestiam prae se ferentes, ad mensam accedere et sic orare:

Oculi omnium in te sperant, Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore opportuno. Aperis tu manum tuam et imples omne animal benedictione.

8] *Scholion.*

Benedictio hic significat largam distributionem Dei, qui omnibus animantibus tantum cibi suppeditat, ut inde hilariter et iucunde vivere possint. Hanc benedictionem et laetitiam ac acquiescentiam impediunt sollicitudo prohibita, cura, avaritia, tenacitas.

9] Deinde addant Orationem Dominicam cum oratione sequenti:

Domine Deus, Pater coelestis, benedic nobis et his donis tuis, quae de tua largitate sumimus, per Iesum Christum, Dominum nostrum. Amen.

10] Gratiarum Actio.

Sic quoque post cibum sumptum ad eundem modum modeste complicatis manibus ad mensam assistant et dicant:

Confitemini Domino, quoniam bonus, [R. 385 quoniam in aeternum misericordia eius, qui dat escam omni carni, qui dat iumentis escam ipsorum et pullis corvorum invocantibus eum. Non in fortitudine equi voluntatem habebit, neque in tibiis viri beneplacitum erit ei. Beneplacitum est Domino super timentes eum et in eis, qui sperant super misericordia eius.

11] Deinde addant Orationem Dominicam cum oratione sequenti:

Gratias agimus tibi, Domine Deus Pater, per Iesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, pro universis beneficiis tuis, qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Evening Prayer.

In the evening, when you go to bed, you shall bless yourself with the holy cross and say:

In the name of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then, kneeling or standing, repeat the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. If you choose, you may, in addition, say this little prayer:

I thank Thee, my Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, Thy dear Son, that Thou hast graciously kept me this day, and I pray Thee to forgive me all my sins, where I have done wrong, and graciously keep me this night. For into Thy hands I commend myself, my body and soul, and all things. Let Thy holy angel be with me, that the Wicked Foe may have no power over me. Amen.

Then go to sleep promptly and cheerfully.

HOW THE HEAD OF THE FAMILY

Should Teach His Household to Ask a Blessing and Return Thanks.

[Asking a Blessing.]

The children and servants shall go to the table with folded hands and reverently, and say:

The eyes of all wait upon Thee, O Lord; and Thou givest them their meat in due season; Thou openest Thine hand, and satisfiest the desire of every living thing.

Note.

To satisfy the desire means that all animals receive so much to eat that they are on this account joyful and of good cheer; for care and avarice hinder such satisfaction.

Then the Lord's Prayer, and the prayer here following:

Lord God, Heavenly Father, bless us and these Thy gifts, which we take from Thy bountiful goodness, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Returning Thanks.

Likewise also after the meal they shall reverently and with folded hands say:

O give thanks unto the Lord, for He is good; for His mercy endureth forever. He giveth food to all flesh; He giveth to the beast his food, and to the young ravens which cry. He delighteth not in the strength of the horse; He taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man. The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy.

Then the Lord's Prayer and the prayer here following:

We thank Thee, Lord God, Father, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, for all Thy benefits, who livest and reignest forever and ever. Amen.

[Anhang II.]

Die Haustafel

etlicher Sprüche für allerlei heilige Orden und Stände, dadurch dieselben, als durch eigene Lektion, ihres Amtes und Dienstes zu vermahnen.

Den Bischöfen, Pfarrherren und Predigern.

„Ein Bischof soll unsträflich sein, eines Weibes Mann, nüchtern, sittig, mäßig, gastfrei, lehrhaftig, nicht ein Weinsäufer, nicht beißig, nicht unehrliche Hantierung treiben; sondern gelinde, nicht haderhaftig, nicht geizig, der seinem eigenen Hause wohl vorstehe, der gehorsame Kinder habe, mit aller Ehrbarkeit, nicht ein Neuling; der ob dem Wort halte, das gewiß ist und lehren kann, auf daß er mächtig sei, zu ermahnen durch die heilsame Lehre und zu strafen die Widersprecher." In der 1. Epistel zu Timotheus am 3. Kapitel.

[Appendix II.]

1] TABULA OECONOMICA,

in qua proponuntur elegantes quaedam ex Sacra Scriptura sententiae, pro omnibus sanctis ordinibus ac statibus, per quas illi, tamquam propria quadam lectione, sui officii et muneris admonentur.

Episcopis, Parochis et Concionatoribus.

2] Oportet episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris maritum, vigilantem, sobrium, modestum, hospitalem, aptum ad docendum, non vinolentum, non percussorem, non turpis lucri cupidum, sed aequum, alienum [R. 386 a pugnis, alienum ab avaritia, qui suae domui bene praesit, qui liberos habeat in subiectione cum omni reverentia, non novitium, tenacem fidelis sermonis, qui secundum doctrinam est, ut potens sit exhortari doctrina sana, et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere etc. 1. ad Tim. 3, 2 sqq. et ad Titum 1, 6 sqq.

Quid Debeant Auditores Episcopis Suis.

3] Dominus ordinavit his, qui evangelium annuntiant, de evangelio vivere, 1 Cor. 9, 14. Communicet doctori in omnibus bonis is, qui docetur Verbo, Gal. 6, 6. Qui bene praesunt presbyteri, duplici honore digni habeantur, maxime qui laborant in Verbo et doctrina. Dicit enim Scriptura: Non obligabis os bovi trituranti. Et: Dignus est operarius mercede sua [1 Tim. 5, 17. 18]. Obedite praepositis vestris et cedite eis. Ipsi enim vigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri, ut cum gaudio hoc faciant, et non gementes; hoc enim non expedit vobis [Ebr. 13, 17].

Von weltlicher Obrigkeit.

„Jedermann sei untertan der Obrigkeit; denn die Obrigkeit, so allenthalben ist, ist von Gott geordnet. Wer aber der Obrigkeit widerstrebt, der widerstrebt Gottes Ordnung; wer aber widerstrebt, wird sein Urteil empfahen; denn sie trägt das Schwert nicht umsonst, sie ist Gottes Dienerin, eine Rächerin zur Strafe über die, so Böses tun." Zu den Römern am 13. Kapitel.

De Magistratibus.

4] Omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subdita sit. Non enim est potestas nisi a Deo. Quae vero sunt potestates, a Deo ordinatae sunt. Itaque quisquis resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Qui autem restiterint, sibi ipsis iudicium accipient. Non enim frustra gladium gestat, nam Dei minister est, ultor ad iram ei, qui, quod malum est, fecerit. Rom. 13, 1 sqq.

Quid Subditi Magistratibus Debeant.

5] Reddite, quae sunt Caesaris, Caesari, Matth. 22, 21. Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit etc. Ideoque necessitate subditi estote, non solum propter iram, sed [R. 387 etiam propter conscientiam. Ideo enim et tributa praestatis. Ministri enim Dei sunt, in hoc ipsum servientes. Reddite ergo omnibus debita: cui tributum, tributum; cui vectigal, vectigal; cui timorem, timorem; cui honorem, honorem, Rom. 13, 1. 5 sqq. Adhortor primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus et omnibus, qui in sublimitate constituti sunt, ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus cum omni pietate et gravitate, 1 Tim. 2, 1 sqq. Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse etc., Tit. 3, 1. Subditi estote omni humanae creaturae propter Dominum, sive regi tamquam praecellenti, sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis etc., 1 Petr. 2, 13 sq.

Den Ehemännern.

„Ihr Männer, wohnet bei euren Weibern mit Vernunft und gebet dem weibischen [weiblichen] als dem schwächsten Werkzeug seine Ehre, als Miterben der Gnade des Lebens, auf daß euer Gebet nicht verhindert werde." In der ersten [Epistel] Petri am 3. Kapitel. „Und seid nicht bitter gegen sie." Zu den Kolossern am 3. Kapitel.

Maritis.

6] Viri cohabitent cum uxoribus secundum scientiam, veluti infirmiori vasi muliebri impertientes honorem, tamquam etiam coheredibus gratiae vitae, ne interrumpantur preces vestrae. 1 Petr. 3, 7. Viri, diligite uxores et ne sitis amarulenti adversus illas. Col. 3, 19.

[Appendix II.]

TABLE OF DUTIES,

Consisting of Certain Passages of Scripture for Various Holy Orders and Stations, Whereby These are to be Admonished, as by a Special Lesson, Regarding Their Office and Service.

For Bishops, Pastors, and Preachers.

A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, given to hospitality, apt to teach; not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre; but patient, not a brawler, not covetous; one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity; not a novice; holding fast the faithful Word as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers. 1 Tim. 3, 2 ff.; Titus 1, 6.

[What the Hearers Owe to Their Pastors.

Even so hath the Lord ordained that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel. 1 Cor. 9, 14. Let him that is taught in the Word communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things. Gal. 6, 6. Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honor, especially they who labor in the Word and doctrine. For the Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn: and the laborer is worthy of his reward. 1 Tim. 5, 17. 18. Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves; for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief; for that is unprofitable for you. Heb. 13, 17.]

Concerning Civil Government.

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For the power which exists anywhere is ordained of God. Whosoever resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For he beareth not the sword in vain; for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Rom. 13, 1—4.

[What Subjects Owe to the Magistrates.

Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's. Matt. 22, 21. Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, etc. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also; for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom, to whom custom; fear, to whom fear; honor, to whom honor. Rom. 13, 1. 5 ff. I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty. 1 Tim. 2, 1 f. Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, etc. Titus 3, 1. Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors as unto them that are sent by him, etc. 1 Pet. 2, 13 f.]

For Husbands.

Ye husbands, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honor unto the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered. 1 Pet. 3, 7. And be not bitter against them. Col. 3, 9.

Den Eheweibern.

„Die Weiber seien untertan ihren Männern als dem HErrn, wie Sara Abraham gehorsam war und hieß ihn Herr, welcher Töchter ihr worden seid, so ihr wohl tut und nicht so schüchtern seid." In der ersten [Epistel] Petri am 3. Kapitel.

Den Eltern.

„Ihr Väter, reizet eure Kinder nicht zu Zorn, daß sie nicht scheu werden, sondern ziehet sie auf in der Zucht und Vermahnung zu dem HErrn." Zu den Ephesern am 6. Kapitel.

Den Kindern.

„Ihr Kinder, seid gehorsam euren Eltern in dem HErrn, denn dies ist billig. Ehre Vater und Mutter, das ist das erste Gebot, das Verheißung hat, nämlich: daß dir's wohl gehe, und [du] lange lebest auf Erden." Zu den Ephesern am 6.

Den Knechten, Mägden, Taglöhnern und Arbeitern.

„Ihr Knechte, seid gehorsam euren leiblichen Herren mit Furcht und Zittern, in Einfältigkeit eures Herzens, als Christo selbst, nicht mit Dienst [allein] vor Augen, als [den] Menschen zu gefallen, sondern als die Knechte Christi, daß ihr solchen Willen Gottes tut von Herzen, mit gutem Willen. Laßt euch dünken, daß ihr dem HErrn und nicht den Menschen dienet, und wisset, was ein jeglicher Gutes tut, das wird er empfahen, er sei Knecht oder frei."

Den Hausherren und Hausfrauen.

„Ihr Herren, tut auch dasselbige gegen ihnen [gegen sie] und lasset euer Dräuen und wisset, daß ihr auch einen HErrn im Himmel habt, und ist bei ihm kein Ansehen der Person." Eph. 6.

Der gemeinen Jugend.

„Ihr Jungen, seid den Alten untertan und beweiset darin die Demut. Denn Gott widerstehet den Hoffärtigen, aber den Demütigen gibt er Gnade. So demütiget euch nun unter die gewaltige Hand Gottes, daß er euch erhöhe zu seiner Zeit." 1 Petr. am 5. Kapitel.

Den Witwen.

„Welche eine rechte Witwe und einsam ist, die stellet ihre Hoffnung auf Gott und bleibet am Gebet Tag und Nacht. Welche aber in Wollüsten lebet, die ist lebendig tot." 1 Tim. am 5. Kapitel.

Der Gemeinde.

„Liebe deinen Nächsten als dich selbst; in dem Wort sind alle Gebote verfasset." Zu den Römern am 13. Kapitel. „Und haltet an mit Beten für alle Menschen!" In der 1. [Epistel an] Timotheus am 2. Kapitel.

Uxoribus.

7] Similiter, uxores, subditae sitis vestris viris tamquam Domino, quemadmodum Sara obedivit Abrahae, dominum illum appellans, cuius factae estis filiae, dum benefacitis, et non terremini ullo pavore. 1 Petr. 3, 6. Eph. 5, 22.

Parentibus.

8] Parentes, ne provocetis ad iram liberos vestros, sed educetis eos per eruditionem et correptionem Domini. Eph. 6, 4.

Liberis.

9] Filii, obedite parentibus vestris in [R. 388 Domino, nam id est iustum. *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam,* quod est praeceptum primum in promissione, ut bene tibi sit, et sis longaevus in terra. Eph. 6, 1 sq.

Servis, Ancillis, Mercenariis et Ceteris ad Laborem Conductis.

10] Servi, obedite iis, qui domini sunt secundum carnem, cum timore ac tremore, cum simplicitate cordis vestri, tamquam Christo, non ad oculum servientes, veluti hominibus placere studentes, sed tamquam servi Christi, facientes, quae vult Deus, ex animo cum benevolentia, servientes Domino et non hominibus, illud scientes, quod unusquisque, quod fecerit bonum, hoc reportaturus sit a Deo, sive servus fuerit sive liber. Eph. 6, 5 sqq. Col. 3, 22.

Patribusfamilias et Matribusfamilias.

11] Et vos, domini, eadem facite erga illos, remittentes minas, scientes, quod et vester ipsorum Dominus sit in coelis, nec personae respectus sit apud illum. Eph. 6, 9. Col. 4, 1.

Communi Iuventuti.

12] Similiter, iuniores, subditi estote senioribus, sic, ut omnes alius alii vicissim subiiciamini. Humilitatem animi vobis infixam habete, propterea quia Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Humiliamini igitur sub potenti manu Dei, ut vos exaltet tempore opportuno. 1 Petr. 5, 5 sqq.

Viduis. [R. 389

13] Quae vere vidua est ac desolata, speret in Deo et perseveret in obsecrationibus ac precationibus noctu dieque. Quae vero in deliciis vivit, ea vivens mortua est. 1 Tim. 5, 5.

Omnibus in Commune.

14] Dilige proximum tuum sicut te ipsum. In hoc sermone omnia praecepta summatim comprehenduntur. Rom. 13, 8 sqq. Et ante omnia fiant deprecationes, obsecrationes, interpellationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus etc. 1 Tim. 2, 1 sq.

15] Ein jeder lern' sein' Lektion,
So wird es wohl im Hause stohn.

16] Cuique sit imprimis magnae sua lectio curae,
Ut domus officiis stet decorata suis.

17] *Πᾶς ἰδίην ἀνάγνωσιν ἑῆς προπίδεσσιν ἀθρήσας,*
Οἶκον ἔχει πυκινῶν εὐπορέοντα καλῶν.

For Wives.

Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord; whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement. 1 Pet. 3, 6; Eph. 5, 22.

For Parents.

Ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath, but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. 6, 4.

For Children.

Children, obey your parents in the Lord; for this is right. Honor thy father and mother; which is the first commandment with promise: that it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth. Eph. 6, 1—3.

For Male and Female Servants, Hired Men, and Laborers.

Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ; not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart; with good will doing service as to the Lord, and not to men; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Eph. 6, 5 ff.; Col. 3, 22.

For Masters and Mistresses.

Ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven; neither is there respect of persons with Him. Eph. 6, 9; Col. 4, 1.

For Young Persons in General.

Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder. Yea, all of you be subject one to another, and be clothed with humility; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Humble yourselves, therefore, under the mighty hand of God that He may exalt you in due time. 1 Pet. 5, 5. 6.

For Widows.

She that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day. But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth. 1 Tim. 5, 5. 6.

For All in Common.

Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Herein are comprehended all the commandments. Rom. 13, 8 ff. And persevere in prayer for all men. 1 Tim. 2, 1. 2.

Let each his lesson learn with care,
And all the household well shall fare.

VI.

Der Große Katechismus,

Deutsch.

D. Martin Luther.

CATECHISMUS MAIOR

D. Martini Lutheri.

THE LARGE CATECHISM,

German.

D. Martin Luther.

Eine christliche, heilsame und nötige Vorrede und treue, ernstliche Vermahnung D. Martin Luthers an alle Christen, sonderlich aber an alle Pfarrherren und Prediger, daß sie sich täglich im Katechismo, so der ganzen Heiligen Schrift eine kurze Summa und Auszug ist, wohl üben und den immer treiben sollen usw.

Daß wir den Katechismum so fast treiben und zu treiben beide begehren und bitten, haben wir nicht geringe Ursachen, dieweil wir sehen, daß leider viele Pfarrherren und Prediger hierin sehr säumig sind und verachten beide ihr Amt und diese Lehre, etliche aus großer, hoher Kunst, etliche aber aus lauter Faulheit und Bauchsorge, welche stellen sich nicht anders zur Sache, denn als wären sie um ihres Bauchs willen Pfarrherren oder Prediger und müßten nichts tun [brauchten nichts zu tun], denn der Güter gebrauchen, weil [solange] sie leben, wie sie unter dem Papsttum gewohnt [waren].

Und wiewohl sie alles, was sie lehren und predigen sollen, jetzt so reichlich, klar und leicht vor sich haben in so viel heilsamen Büchern und, wie sie es vorzeiten hießen, die rechten Sermones per se loquentes, Dormi secure, Paratos et Thesauros, noch [dennoch] sind sie nicht so fromm und redlich, daß sie solche Bücher kauften, oder, wenn sie dieselben gleich haben, dennoch nicht ansehen noch lesen. Ach! das sind zumal schändliche Freßlinge und Bauchdiener, die billiger Sauhirten und Hundeknechte sein sollten denn Seel[en]wärter und Pfarrherren.

Und daß sie doch so viel täten, weil sie des unnützen, schweren Geschwätzes der sieben Gezeiten [sieben Zeiten, kanonischen Stunden (Horen): Mette, Prim, Terz, Sext, Non, Vesper, Komplet] nun los sind, an derselben Statt morgens, mittags und abends etwa ein Blatt oder zwei aus dem Katechismo, Betbüchlein, Neuen Testament oder sonst aus der Biblia läsen und ein Vaterunser für sich und ihre Pfarrkinder beteten, auf daß sie doch dem Evangelio wiederum eine Ehre und Dank erzeigten, durch welches sie denn von so mancherlei Last und Beschwerungen erledigt sind, und sich schämten ein wenig, daß sie, gleichwie die Säue und Hunde, nicht mehr vom Evangelio behalten denn solche faule, schädliche, schändliche, fleischliche Freiheit. Denn der Pöbel leider ohnedas allzu geringe achtet des Evangelii, und wir nichts Sonderliches ausrichten, wenn wir gleich allen Fleiß vorwenden: was sollt's denn tun, wenn wir lässig und faul sein wollen, wie wir unter dem Papsttum gewesen sind?

Über das schlägt mit zu das schändliche Laster und heimlich böse Geschmeiß [Seuche] der Sicherheit und Überdruß, daß viele meinen, der Katechismus sei eine schlechte, geringe Lehre, welche sie mit einem Mal überlesen und dann alsbald können, das Buch in [den] Winkel werfen und gleich sich schämen, mehr drin zu lesen.

Pia, utilis et necessaria praefatio et fidelis ac seria cohortatio D. Martini Lutheri, [R. 390 scripta ad omnes pios, imprimis ad pastores et concionatores, ut quotidie se et alios in Catechismo tamquam in summa et ἐπιτομῇ totius Sacrae Scripturae diligenter exerceant et illum fideliter et assidue ecclesiae proponant etc.

1] Quod in concionibus non ipsi solum Catechismum urgemus, sed alios etiam, ut idem faciant, rogamus obtestamurque, non contemnendas sane causas habemus, maxime quum videamus et concionatores et parochos ipsos hic ut plurimum cessare, contemnentes et officium suum et doctrinam ipsam idque inde adeo, quod quidam illorum nimis alta, ut sibi quidem videntur, sapiunt, quidam etiam ipsa socordia ventrisque cura nihil prius habent, non aliter erga hoc negotium affecti, quam si ventris solummodo causa parochi et praecones Verbi constituantur, nec alia re occupatos esse conveniat, quam ut strenue prodigant consumantque, dum vivunt, omnia, perinde ut sub papatu consuevere.

2] Ac tametsi omnia, quae doceri atque praedicari debeant, hoc tempore abunde illis suppetant dilucideque ob oculos posita sint, tot praeclaris ac salutaribus ad hoc editis libris, quumque, ut olim nominare consueverunt, ita nunc re ipsa Sermones per se [R. 391 loquentes, Dormi secure, Paratos et Thesauros habeant: ita tamen sive inertes sive etiam perversi quidam sunt, ut haec scripta nec emere dignentur, nec si empta habeant, intueri saltem ac legere velint. Bone Deus, quam noxium detestandumque hoc hominum genus est, ventris gulaeque mancipia, quos rectius porcis aut canibus quam fidelium animabus praefeceris.

3] Ac optandum quidem foret, ut, cum inutiles laboriosaeque demurmurationes precularum canonicarum, ut vocantur, desierint, harum loco mane, meridie ac vesperi aliquot saltem paginas vel in Catechismo vel in Precationibus vel in Novo Testamento evolverent, aut denique aliud quidpiam ex Bibliis Sacris sibi sumerent, Orationemque Dominicam aliquando ad Deum Patrem et sua et gregis sui causa perorarent, quo tandem videlicet evangelio, cuius beneficio tot oneribus ac molestiis liberati sunt, vel aliquam rependant gratiam suppudeatque eos, quod instar canum ac suum non aliud ex evangelio addidicerint quam desidiosam, noxiam ac detestandam hanc car-
4] nis licentiam. Nam cum vulgus alioqui nimis frigide erga evangelium affectum sit, et nos etiam, cum omnia summa conamur, aut nihil aut parum efficiamus, quanto minus praeclari aliquid sperandum erit, si, quemadmodum sub papatu fuimus, ita nunc quoque desides ac negligentes esse coeperimus.

5] His accedit noxium atque pestiferum illud malum securitatis et satietatis, quod multorum animis iampridem latenter obrepit eosque ita inficit, ut sancte deierent nihil esse facilius ipsa Catechismi doctrina, adeo etiam, ut cum unica lectione illum percurrerint, statim velut ad summum provecti atque edocti librum ipsum in angulum aliquem abiiciant pudeatque eos quodammodo in manus sumere denuo.

A Christian, Profitable, and Necessary Preface, and Faithful, Earnest Exhortation of Dr. Martin Luther to All Christians, but Especially to All Pastors and Preachers, that They Should Daily Exercise Themselves in the Catechism, which is a Short Summary and Epitome of the Entire Holy Scriptures, and that They May Always Teach the Same.

We have no slight reasons for treating the Catechism so constantly [in sermons] and for both desiring and beseeching others to teach it, since we see to our sorrow that many pastors and preachers are very negligent in this, and slight both their office and this teaching; some from great and high art [giving their mind, as they imagine, to much higher matters], but others from sheer laziness and care for their paunches, assuming no other relation to this business than if they were pastors and preachers for their bellies' sake, and had nothing to do but to [spend and] consume their emoluments as long as they live, as they have been accustomed to do under the Papacy.

And although they have now everything that they are to preach and teach placed before them so abundantly, clearly, and easily, in so many [excellent and] helpful books, and the true *Sermones per se loquentes, Dormi secure, Paratos et Thesauros,* as they were called in former times; yet they are not so godly and honest as to buy these books, or even when they have them, to look at them or read them. Alas! they are altogether shameful gluttons and servants of their own bellies who ought to be more properly swineherds and dog-tenders than care-takers of souls and pastors.

And now that they are delivered from the unprofitable and burdensome babbling of the Seven Canonical Hours, oh, that, instead thereof, they would only, morning, noon, and evening, read a page or two in the Catechism, the Prayer-book, the New Testament, or elsewhere in the Bible, and pray the Lord's Prayer for themselves and their parishioners, so that they might render, in return, honor and thanks to the Gospel, by which they have been delivered from burdens and troubles so manifold, and might feel a little shame because like pigs and dogs they retain no more of the Gospel than such a lazy, pernicious, shameful, carnal liberty! For, alas! as it is, the common people regard the Gospel altogether too lightly, and we accomplish nothing extraordinary even though we use all diligence. What, then, will be achieved if we shall be negligent and lazy as we were under the Papacy?

To this there is added the shameful vice and secret infection of security and satiety, that is, that many regard the Catechism as a poor, mean teaching, which they can read through at one time, and then immediately know it, throw the book into a corner, and be ashamed, as it were, to read in it again.

Ja man findet wohl etliche Rülze [Bengel] und Filze [Geizhälse], auch unter dem Adel, die vorgeben, man [be]dürfe hinfort weder Pfarrherren noch Prediger, man hab's in Büchern und könne es von ihm selber wohl lernen, und lassen auch die Pfarren getrost fallen und verwüsten, dazu beide Pfarrherren und Prediger weidlich Not und Hunger leiden, wie sich denn gebührt zu tun den tollen Deutschen; denn wir Deutschen haben solch schändlich Volk und müssen's leiden.

Das sage ich aber für mich: Ich bin auch ein Doktor und Prediger, ja, so gelehrt und erfahren, als die alle sein mögen, die solche Vermessenheit und Sicherheit haben; noch tue ich wie ein Kind, das man den Katechismum lehrt, und lese und spreche auch von Wort zu Wort des Morgens, und wenn ich Zeit habe, die zehn Gebote, Glauben, das Vaterunser, Psalmen usw.; und muß noch täglich dazulesen und -studieren und kann dennoch nicht bestehen, wie ich gern wollte, und muß ein Kind und Schüler des Katechismi bleiben, und bleib's auch gerne. Und diese zarten, ekeln [dünkelhaften] Gesellen wollen mit einem überlesen flugs Doktor über alle Doktor sein, alles können und nichts mehr bedürfen. Wohlan, solches ist auch ein gewiß Anzeichen, daß sie beide, ihr Amt und des Volks Seelen, ja dazu Gott und sein Wort verachten und dürfen nicht [brauchen nicht zu] fallen, sondern sind schon allzu greulich gefallen, [be]dürften wohl, daß sie Kinder würden und das Abc anfingen zu lernen, das sie meinen längst an den Schuhen zerrissen [zu] haben.

Derhalben bitte ich solche faule Wänste oder vermessene Heilige, sie wollten sich um Gottes willen bereden lassen und glauben, daß sie wahrlich, wahrlich nicht so gelehrt und so hohe Doctores sind, als sie sich lassen dünken, und nimmermehr gedenken, daß sie dieses Stück ausgelernt haben oder allerdinge genug wissen, ob sie es gleich dünkt, daß sie es allzu wohl können. Denn ob sie es gleich allerdings aufs allerbeste wüßten und könnten (das doch nicht möglich ist in diesem Leben), so ist doch mancherlei Nutz und Frucht dahinten, so man's täglich liest und übt mit Gedanken und Reden, nämlich, daß der Heilige Geist bei solchem Lesen, Reden und Gedenken gegenwärtig ist und immer neu und mehr Licht und Andacht dazu gibt, daß es immerdar besser und besser schmeckt und eingeht; wie Christus auch verheißt Matth. 18: „Wo zwei oder drei in meinem Namen versammelt sind, da bin ich in ihrem Mittel" [in ihrer Mitte].

Dazu hilft's aus der Maßen gewaltiglich wider den Teufel, Welt, Fleisch und alle bösen Gedanken, so man mit Gottes Wort umgeht, davon redet und dichtet, daß auch der erste Psalm selig preist die, so Tag und Nacht vom Gesetze Gottes handeln. Ohne Zweifel wirst du keinen Weihrauch oder ander Geräuch stärker wider den Teufel anrichten,

6] Imo, quod indignius est, reperiuntur hodie etiam ex nobilibus quidam adeo [R. 392 ignobilis animi, ut affirmare ausint nihil opus esse amplius sive parochis sive concionatoribus, sed sufficere libros, ex quibus eadem haec discere quilibet per se ac nullo tradente queat. Unde et ipsas parochias strenue ac fortiter collabi ac desolari patiuntur, parochos autem et concionatores tantum non fame interire sinunt, perinde ut decet stolidos ac insanos Germanos. Talem etenim populum Germani et habemus et tolerare cogimur.

7] Ego vero, ut de me ipso dicam scilicet, tametsi doctor ac praedicator sum, non minori, ut opinor, cum doctrina tum experientia praeditus quam ii, qui tanta de se praesumunt et ad tantam securitatem pervenerunt: haudquaquam tamen imitari me pueros pudet, sed quemadmodum illos Catechismum docemus, ita et ego mane aut quandocunque vacui aliquid temporis datur, ipsam Orationem Dominicam, decem praecepta, articulos fidei, psalmos aliquot etc. mecum ipse quasi ad verbum recito. Et quamquam adhuc quotidie lectionibus et studiis vaco, attamen ne sic quidem possum pervenire, quo cupio, aut praestare, 8] quae volo. Ita fit, ut puerum ac discipulum Catechismi etiam hodie me profiteri necesse habeam, profiteorque libenter. At delicatuli fastidiosulique isti vel unica tantum lectione assequuntur, ut repente omnes ubique doctores post se relinquant sciantque omnia, nec ullius doctrina aut institutione opus amplius habeant. Imo vero hoc ipso veluti certissimo argumento ostendunt, quod nullam prorsus nec sui officii nec salutis populi rationem habeant, sed contemnant et Deum pariter et Verbum ipsius. Nec est quod ruinam ultra metuant, cum iam horrendissimum casum fecerint, quin potius opus illis sit denuo repuerascere ac discere prima literarum elementa, quae alioqui etiam ipsis calceis (ut dicitur) sibi protrita esse existimant.

9] Rogo itaque hos ignavos ventres ac praesumptuosos sanctos, ut vel propter Deum hoc sibi persuaderi patiantur se ad [R. 393 eam eruditionem haudquaquam pervenisse, quam ipsi sibi tribuunt, deinde ut nec unquam in animum inducant se Catechismi partes omnino omnes perdidicisse perspectasque habere, etiamsi notissimae ac meditatissimae ipsis videantur. Nam ut maxime demus, eos omnia quam optime et perfectissime tenere ac scire (quod tamen in hac vita propemodum impossibile fuerit), non tamen neque illud praetereundum, multiplicem usum ac fructum ex eo consequi, si eadem illa rudimenta quotidie legantur, meditandoque et loquendo exerceantur. Nimirum quod Spiritus Sanctus adsit huic lectioni, sermoni ac meditationi, qui subinde novos motus excitet ac maius lumen suppeditet, ut quotidie magis magisque hac doctrina afficiamur, ac maius operae pretium in ea faciamus, sicuti et Christus ipse promittit apud Matthaeum, cap. 18, 20, cum inquit: *Ubicunque duo aut tres congregati fuerint in nomine meo, ero in medio eorum.*

10] Adhaec nihil est efficacius contra diabolum, carnem et omnes pravas cogitationes, quam si sedulo tractetur Verbum Dei, de eo sit sermo et meditatio nostra, adeo ut psalmus primus eos pronuntiet beatos, qui in lege Dei meditantur die ac nocte. Nec est, quod thus praestantius aut odoramentum aliquod effica-

Yea, even among the nobility there may be found some louts and scrimps, who declare that there is no longer any need either of pastors or preachers; that we have everything in books, and every one can easily learn it by himself; and so they are content to let the parishes decay and become desolate, and pastors and preachers to suffer distress and hunger a plenty, just as it becomes crazy Germans to do. For we Germans have such disgraceful people, and must endure them.

But for myself I say this: I am also a doctor and preacher, yea, as learned and experienced as all those may be who have such presumption and security; yet I do as a child who is being taught the Catechism, and every morning, and whenever I have time, I read and say, word for word, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Psalms, etc. And I must still read and study daily, and yet I cannot master it as I wish, but must remain a child and pupil of the Catechism, and am glad so to remain. And yet these delicate, fastidious fellows would with one reading promptly be doctors above all doctors, know everything and be in need of nothing. Well, this, too, is indeed a sure sign that they despise both their office and the souls of the people, yea, even God and His Word. They do not have to fall, they are already fallen all too horribly; they would need to become children, and begin to learn their alphabet, which they imagine that they have long since outgrown.

Therefore I beg such lazy paunches or presumptuous saints to be persuaded and believe for God's sake that they are verily, verily! not so learned or such great doctors as they imagine; and never to presume that they have finished learning this [the parts of the Catechism], or know it well enough in all points, even though they think that they know it ever so well. For though they should know and understand it perfectly (which, however, is impossible in this life), yet there are manifold benefits and fruits still to be obtained, if it be daily read and practised in thought and speech; namely, that the Holy Ghost is present in such reading and repetition and meditation, and bestows ever new and more light and devoutness, so that it is daily relished and appreciated better, as Christ promises, Matt. 18, 20: *Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.*

Besides, it is an exceedingly effectual help against the devil, the world, and the flesh and all evil thoughts to be occupied with the Word of God, and to speak of it, and meditate upon it, so that the First Psalm declares those blessed who meditate upon the Law of God day and night. Undoubtedly, you will not start a stronger incense or other fumigation

denn so du mit Gottes Geboten und Worten umgehst, davon redest, singst oder denkst. Das ist freilich das rechte Weihwasser und Zeichen, davor er fleucht [flieht] und damit er sich [ver]jagen läßt.

Nun solltest du doch ja allein um deswillen solche Stücke gern lesen, reden, denken und handeln, wenn du sonst keine andere Frucht und Nutz davon hättest, denn daß du den Teufel und böse Gedanken damit kannst verjagen. Denn er kann Gottes Wort nicht hören noch leiden, und Gottes Wort ist nicht wie ein ander, loses Geschwätz, wie von Dieterich von Bern usw., sondern, wie St. Paulus Röm. 1 sagt, „eine Kraft Gottes". Ja freilich eine Kraft Gottes, die dem Teufel das gebrannte Leid antut und uns aus der Maßen stärkt, tröstet und hilft.

Und was soll ich viel sagen? Wo ich allen Nutz und Frucht sollte erzählen, so Gottes Wort wirkt, wo wollte ich Papier und Zeit genug nehmen? Den Teufel heißt man Tausendkünstiger; wie will man aber Gottes Wort heißen, das solchen Tausendkünstiger mit aller seiner Kunst und Macht verjagt und zunichte macht? Es muß freilich mehr denn hundert Tausendkünstiger sein. Und wir sollten solche Macht, Nutz, Kraft und Frucht so leichtfertiglich verachten, sonderlich die wir Pfarrherren und Prediger sein wollen? So sollte man uns doch nicht allein nicht zu fressen geben, sondern auch mit Hunden aushetzen [mit Hunden hetzend vertreiben] und mit Lungen auswerfen [mit Pferdequitten bewerfend vertreiben], weil wir des alles nicht allein täglich bedürfen wie des täglichen Brots, sondern auch täglich haben müssen wider das tägliche und unruhige Anfechten und Lauern des tausendkünstigen Teufels.

Und ob solches nicht genug wäre zur Vermahnung, den Katechismum täglich zu lesen, so sollte doch uns allein genugsam zwingen Gottes Gebot, welcher Deut. 6 ernstlich gebeut [gebietet], daß man soll sein Gebot sitzend, gehend, stehend, liegend, aufstehend immer bedenken und gleich als ein stetiges Mal und Zeichen vor Augen und in Händen haben. Ohne Zweifel wird er solches umsonst nicht so ernstlich heißen und fordern, sondern weil er weiß unsere [Ge]Fahr und Not, dazu der Teufel stetiges und wütiges Stürmen und Anfechtung, will er uns davor warnen, rüsten und bewahren als mit gutem Harnisch wider ihre feurigen Pfeile und mit guter Arznei wider ihr giftiges, böses Geschmeiß und Eingeben.

O welche tolle, unsinnige Narren sind wir, daß wir unter solchen mächtigen Feinden, als die Teufel sind, wohnen oder herbergen je müssen und wollen dazu unsere Waffen und Wehre verachten und faul sein, dieselben anzusehen oder daran zu gedenken!

Und was tun solche überdrüssige, vermessene Heilige, so nicht wollen oder mögen den Katechismum täglich lesen und lernen, denn daß sie sich selbst viel gelehrter halten, denn Gott selbst ist

cius adversus daemones habiturum te speres, quam si Verbum et praecepta Dei multo usu tractes, de iis familiares misceas sermones, illa canas ac mediteris. Haec enim vere aqua illa sanctificata sunt verumque signum, quo Satan et fugatur, et quod fugit maxime.

11] Et si nulla alia utilitas hinc petenda sit, quam quod Satanam et pravas cogitationes depellat, certe vel sola haec tanti facienda erat, ut hanc doctrinae partem libenter discerres, legeres, meditareris et tractares. Non enim potest nec ferre nec audire Verbum Dei Satan. Et ipsum Verbum non est tale, quales sunt aniles fabulae aut carmina lyricorum, sed est, quemadmodum Paulus ait [Rom. 1, 16], *potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti.* [R. 394 Ac revera potentia Dei, quae Satanam ut maxime affligit et premit, nos vero supra modum refocillat et reficit.

12] Et quid multis opus? Si fructum ac utilitatem omnem, quam Verbum Dei operatur, enumerare vellem, neque charta neque tempus suppeteret. Vulgo vocant Satanam mille artium opificem, hoc est, cuius potestas sit varia ac multiplex. At ipsum Dei sermonem, qui non solum variam ac multiplicem potestatem habet, verum etiam illum ipsum mille artium artificem cum omni potentia et arte sua opprimit et ad nihilum redigit, quo tandem nomine dignabimur? Nimirum non mille tantum artium, sed multarum myriadum **13**] artificem merito dixeris. Quare nos quidem si tantam potentiam, tantam utilitatem, tantas vires, tantum denique usum illius adeo parvi aestimaremus, praesertim qui parochi et concionatores esse et perhiberi volumus, tum digni sane essemus, quibus non solum nullus suppeditaretur cibus, sed qui canibus etiam exagitaremur, praesertim cum illis omnibus non minus quam quotidiani panis opus habeamus, ac plane iisdem contra quotidianas ac irrequietas tentationes et insidias mille istius artium artificis carere non possimus.

14] Quodsi neque haec satis sufficiant ad excitandos commonendosque animos ad diligentem Catechismi lectionem, ipsum tamen praeceptum Dei vel solum cogere nos debebat, quod exstat Deut. 6, 6 sqq., ut praecepta ipsius sedentes, ambulantes, stantes, iacentes, surgentes nunquam non meditemur, ac velut signum aliquod ob oculos ponamus ac manibus gestemus. Procul dubio non temere Deus hoc tam severiter et praecipit et exigit, sed cum non ignoret, quae nos pericula et necessitates urgeant, adhaec quanta contentione, assiduitate et pertinacia maligni spiritus nullo non momento in perpetuam nostri perniciem sint instructi, voluit nos contra optimus ille Pater noster coelestis veluti solida et efficaci armatura hoc modo paratos atque instructos esse, quo possimus, et ignita tela ac pravas pestiferasque illorum aggressiones repellere ac profligare. [R. 395

15] Sed o stolidos ac insensatos nos, qui, cum necesse habeamus, diversari ac degere inter hostes adeo potentes, nempe daemones, nihilominus arma nostra contemnamus, desides atque stertentes ea ne aspicere quidem, aut ipsorum meminisse sustineamus!

16] Et quid, quaeso, saturi illi praesumptuosique sancti, Catechismi videlicet doctrinam respuentes ac longe abiectiorem aestimantes, quam quae quotidie legi ac disci debeat, aliud

against the devil than by being engaged upon God's commandments and words, and speaking, singing, or thinking of them. For this is indeed the true holy water and holy sign from which he flees, and by which he may be driven away.

Now, for this reason alone you ought gladly to read, speak, think and treat of these things, if you had no other profit and fruit from them than that by doing so you can drive away the devil and evil thoughts. For he cannot hear or endure God's Word; and God's Word is not like some other silly prattle, as that about Dietrich of Berne, etc., but as St. Paul says, Rom. 1, 16, *the power of God.* Yea, indeed, the power of God which gives the devil burning pain, and strengthens, comforts, and helps us beyond measure.

And what need is there of many words? If I were to recount all the profit and fruit which God's Word produces, whence would I get enough paper and time? The devil is called the master of a thousand arts. But what shall we call God's Word, which drives away and brings to naught this master of a thousand arts with all his arts and power? It must indeed be the master of more than a hundred thousand arts. And shall we frivolously despise such power, profit, strength, and fruit — we, especially, who claim to be pastors and preachers? If so, we should not only have nothing given us to eat, but be driven out, being baited with dogs, and pelted with dung, because we not only need all this every day as we need our daily bread, but must also daily use it against the daily and unabated attacks and lurking of the devil, the master of a thousand arts.

And if this were not sufficient to admonish us to read the Catechism daily, yet we should feel sufficiently constrained by the command of God alone, who solemnly enjoins in Deut. 6, 6 ff. that we should always meditate upon His precepts, sitting, walking, standing, lying down, and rising, and have them before our eyes and in our hands as a constant mark and sign. Doubtless He did not so solemnly require and enjoin this without a purpose; but because He knows our danger and need, as well as the constant and furious assaults and temptations of devils, He wishes to warn, equip, and preserve us against them, as with a good armor against their fiery darts and with good medicine against their evil infection and suggestion.

Oh, what mad, senseless fools are we that, while we must ever live and dwell among such mighty enemies as the devils are, we nevertheless despise our weapons and defense, and are too lazy to look at or think of them!

And what else are such supercilious, presumptuous saints, who are unwilling to read and study the Catechism daily, doing than esteeming themselves much more learned than

mit allen seinen Heiligen, Engeln, Propheten, Aposteln und allen Christen? Denn weil sich Gott selbst nicht schämt, solches täglich zu lehren, als der nichts Besseres wisse zu lehren, und immer solches einerlei lehrt und nichts Neues noch anderes vornimmt, und alle Heiligen nichts Besseres noch anderes wissen zu lernen und nicht können auslernen, sind wir denn nicht die allerfeinsten Gesellen, die wir uns lassen dünken, wenn wir's einmal gelesen und gehört haben, daß wir's alles können und nicht mehr lesen noch lernen dürfen und können das auf eine Stunde auslernen, das Gott selbst nicht kann auslehren, so er doch dran lehrt von Anfang der Welt bis zu Ende, und alle Propheten samt allen Heiligen dran zu lernen gehabt und noch immer Schüler sind [ge]blieben und noch bleiben müssen?

agunt, quam quod se ipsos longe doctiores reputant Deo ipso, omnibus angelis, patriarchis, apostolis et omnibus Christianis? Nam cum non pudeat Deum ipsum haec quotidie docere, ut qui melius aut praestantius aliquid, quod doceatur, non habeat, eademque illa saepius iteret atque inculcet, novi vero ac alienum ab hac doctrina nihil sibi sumat; addo etiam, cum omnes sancti nihil melius nec utilius sciant, quod discant, nec unquam ad plenum discere queant: an non scilicet egregii ac perbelli homines sumus, quod, cum semel hanc doctrinam vel legerimus vel audiverimus, in eam persuasionem veniamus, quasi omnia sciamus, nec ulla amplius nobis opus sit lectione, adeoque una etiam hora illud perdiscere possimus, quod nec ipse Deus perdocere potuit, idque cum iam inde a condito mundo ad finem usque illius idem hoc agat; denique omnes prophetae ac sancti abunde semper habuerint hinc, quod discerent, nihilominus discipuli perpetuo manserint et manere necesse habuerint?

Denn das muß ja sein, wer die zehn Gebote wohl und gar kann, daß der muß die ganze Schrift können, daß er könne in allen Sachen und Fällen raten, helfen, trösten, urteilen, richten beide geistlich und weltlich Wesen und möge sein ein Richter über alle Lehre, Stände, Geister, Rechte, und was in der Welt sein mag. Und was ist der ganze Psalter denn eitel Gedanken und Übungen des ersten Gebots? Nun weiß ich ja fürwahr, daß solche faule Bäuche oder vermessene Geister nicht einen Psalm verstehen, [ge]schweige denn die ganze Heilige Schrift, und wollen den Katechismum wissen und verachten, welcher der ganzen Heiligen Schrift kurzer Auszug und Abschrift ist.

17] Nam illud sane certum atque indubitatum est, quod, qui decem praecepta probe norit ac perdidicerit, is totam etiam Scripturam sciat, ut possit in quibuslibet negotiis et casibus consilio, auxilio, consolatione praesto esse, discernere ac iudicare civiles pariter et ecclesiasticas controversias, sitque iudex omnium doctrinarum, ordinum, spirituum, iuris et aequitatis ac quidquid in mundo esse possit. **18]** Et quid, precor, totus psalmorum [R. 396 liber aliud quam meras cogitationes exercitiaque primi praecepti continet? Atqui persuasissimum habeo huiusmodi ignavos ventres ac praesumptuosos spiritus ne unicum quidem psalmum intelligere, nedum totam Scripturam. Et interim tamen iidem illi Catechismi traditionem contemnunt, qui totius Scripturae quasi quoddam compendium est brevemque illius atque summariam descriptionem continet.

Darum bitte ich abermal alle Christen, sonderlich die Pfarrherren und Prediger, sie wollten nicht zu früh Doctores sein und alles [zu] wissen sich dünken lassen (es geht an Dünken und gespannen [ungenetztem] Tuch viel ab), sondern sich täglich wohl drin üben und immer treiben, dazu mit aller Sorge und Fleiß sich vorsehen vor dem giftigen Geschmeiß solcher Sicherheit oder Dünkelmeister, sondern stetig anhalten beide mit Lesen, Lehren, Lernen, Denken und Dichten und nicht also ablassen, bis solange sie erfahren und gewiß werden, daß sie den Teufel tot gelehrt und gelehrter [ge]worden sind, denn Gott selber ist und alle seine Heiligen.

Werden sie solchen Fleiß tun, so will ich ihnen zusagen, und sie sollen's auch innewerden, welche Frucht sie erlangen werden, und wie feine Leute Gott aus ihnen machen wird, daß sie mit der Zeit selbst fein bekennen sollen, daß, je länger und mehr sie den Katechismum treiben, je weniger sie davon wissen, und je mehr sie daran zu lernen haben, und wird ihnen als den Hungrigen und Durstigen dann allererst recht schmecken, das sie jetzt vor großer Fülle und Überdruß nicht riechen mögen. Da gebe Gott seine Gnade zu! Amen.

19] Quare nunc iterum omnes Christianos obsecro obtestorque, imprimis vero parochos et concionatores, ne praemature doctores fieri velint seque omnia scire falso sibi persuadeant. Nam ut falsis ponderibus atque mensuris, ita et vanis persuasionibus multum decedit, cum ad iustum examen exiguntur. Quin potius quotidie his studiis exerceantur eademque sedulo inculcent. Adhaec omni cura ac diligentia caveant, ne detestanda contagione securitatis praesumptionisque corripiantur, sed in hoc praecipue incumbant, ut legendo, docendo, discendo, cogitando et meditando omne tempus consumant, nec antea desistant, donec re ipsa compererint ac certi fiant, quod Satanam ad mortem perdidicerint doctioresque facti sint Deo et omnibus angelis eius.

20] Quodsi hanc diligentiam adhibuerint, sancte ipsis promitto, ac re ipsa iidem etiam experientur, quod magnum inde fructum sint consecuturi, et quod excellentes viros Deus ex ipsis facturus sit, adeo ut ipsi etiam aliquando fateantur, quod, quo magis Catechismi doctrinam repetunt iterantque, eo minus ipsam apprehendant ac sciant, sed necesse habeant perpetuo illam discere. Ex qua quidem re fiet, ut tum demum veluti esurientibus et sitientibus placere ac sapere illud incipiat, cuius nunc prae nimia saturitate ac fastidio ne olfactum quidem ferre sustinent. Quod ut fiat, Deum precamur, quo gratiam nobis suam largiatur! Amen.

God Himself with all His saints, angels, [patriarchs], prophets, apostles, and all Christians? For inasmuch as God Himself is not ashamed to teach these things daily, as knowing nothing better to teach, and always keeps teaching the same thing, and does not take up anything new or different, and all the saints know nothing better or different to learn, and cannot finish learning this, are we not the finest of all fellows to imagine, if we have once read or heard it, that we know it all, and have no further need to read and learn, but can finish learning in one hour what God Himself cannot finish teaching, although He is engaged in teaching it from the beginning to the end of the world, and all prophets, together with all saints, have been occupied with learning it, and have ever remained pupils, and must continue to be such?

For it needs must be that whoever knows the Ten Commandments perfectly must know all the Scriptures, so that, in all affairs and cases, he can advise, help, comfort, judge, and decide both spiritual and temporal matters, and is qualified to sit in judgment upon all doctrines, estates, spirits, laws, and whatever else is in the world. And what, indeed, is the entire Psalter but thoughts and exercises upon the First Commandment? Now I know of a truth that such lazy paunches and presumptuous spirits do not understand a single psalm, much less the entire Holy Scriptures; and yet they pretend to know and despise the Catechism, which is a compend and brief summary of all the Holy Scriptures.

Therefore I again implore all Christians, especially pastors and preachers, not to be doctors too soon, and imagine that they know everything (for imagination and cloth unshrunk [and false weights] fall far short of the measure), but that they daily exercise themselves well in these studies and constantly treat them; moreover, that they guard with all care and diligence against the poisonous infection of such security and vain imagination, but steadily keep on reading, teaching, learning, pondering, and meditating, and do not cease until they have made a test and are sure that they have taught the devil to death, and have become more learned than God Himself and all His saints.

If they manifest such diligence, then I will promise them, and they shall also perceive, what fruit they will obtain, and what excellent men God will make of them, so that in due time they themselves will acknowledge that the longer and the more they study the Catechism, the less they know of it, and the more they find yet to learn; and then only, as hungry and thirsty ones, will they truly relish that which now they cannot endure, because of great abundance and satiety. To this end may God grant His grace! Amen.

Kurze Vorrede [D. M. L.].

Diese Predigt ist dazu geordnet und angefangen, daß es sei ein Unterricht für die Kinder und Einfältigen, darum sie auch von alters her auf griechisch heißt Katechismus, das ist, eine Kinderlehre, so ein jeglicher Christ zur Not wissen soll, also daß, wer solches nicht weiß, nicht könnte unter die Christen gezählt und zu keinem Sakrament zugelassen werden [der Katechismus wurde in Wittenberg seit 1523 im Beichtverhör abgefragt]; gleichwie man einen Handwerksmann, der seines Handwerks Recht und Gebrauch nicht weiß, [hin]auswirft und für untüchtig hält. Derhalben soll man junge Leute die Stücke, so in den Katechismum oder Kinderpredigt gehören, wohl und fertig lernen lassen und mit Fleiß darin üben und treiben.

Darum auch ein jeglicher Hausvater schuldig ist, daß er zum wenigsten die Woche einmal seine Kinder und Gesinde umfrage und verhöre, was sie davon wissen oder lernen und, wo sie es nicht können, mit Ernst dazu halte. Denn ich denke wohl [ich erinnere mich gut] der Zeit, ja es begibt sich noch täglich, daß man grobe, alte, betagte Leute findet, die hiervon gar nichts gewußt haben oder noch wissen, gehen doch gleichwohl zur Taufe und Sakrament und [ge]brauchen alles, was die Christen haben, so doch, die zum Sakrament gehen, billig mehr wissen und völligeren Verstand aller christlichen Lehre haben sollten denn die Kinder und neue Schüler. Wiewohl wir's für den gemeinen Haufen bei den dreien Stücken bleiben lassen, so von alters her in der Christenheit [ge]blieben sind, aber wenig recht gelehrt und getrieben, so lange bis man sich in denselben wohl übe und läuftig [bewandert] werde beide jung und alt, was Christen [Christ] heißen und sein will. Und sind nämlich diese:

DOCT. MART. LUTHERI BREVIS PRAEFATIO.

1] Praesentis huius opusculi sermonem haud alio animo elaboravimus, quam ut esset [R. 397 institutio puerorum atque simplicium. Hinc apud veteres lingua Graeca catechismus dictus est, quae vox puerilem institutionem significat. 2] Haec vero cuivis Christianorum necessario debet esse perspecta et cognita, ita ut, si quis huius cognitionem non habeat, in Christianorum numerum merito non sit referendus neque ad sacramentorum participationem admittendus. Quemadmodum opifex quispiam manuarius, qui artis aut opificii sui rationem et usum non callet, iure optimo reprobandus et 3] minimi pretii habendus. Quapropter pueris articuli ad Catechismum seu puerilem institutionem pertinentes summo studio tradendi sunt, inque ipsis non segniter exercenda eorundem industria.

4] Inde fidelis ac vigilantis patrisfamilias officium exigit, ut per hebdomadam ad minimum semel habito examine liberorum ac familiae periculum faciat ac audiens exacte perquirat, quid hisce de rebus intelligant aut didicerint, quibus ignoratis eosdem serio et graviter eo, ut ista perdiscant, adigat. Probe 5] enim commemini, atque adeo quotidie hoc ipsum usu venire videmus, ut usque adeo tardo atque hebeti ingenio inveniantur [R. 398 homines, iamque natu grandiores, quibus hac de re nihil prorsus compertum fuit, aut etiam hodie teneant, quamquam nihilo secius sacramentorum nobiscum fiant participes omnibusque illis utantur, quae peculiariter Christianis utenda data et instituta sunt, cum tamen ii, qui sacramentorum usum sibi vindicant, plus scire, neque non ampliore Christianarum rerum intelligentia praediti atque exculti esse debeant quam pueri aut novitii scholastici. 6] Ceterum nos pro instituendo vulgo hisce tribus partibus contenti erimus, quae a priscis usque saeculis recepta consuetudine in Christianismo permanserunt, tametsi perpauca ex his recte et sincere tradita sint populo, donec in iisdem probe triti et exercitati evaserint, cum senes tum iuvenes, quicunque Christiani esse aut dici contendunt. Sunt autem hae, quae sequuntur:

Zum ersten.

Die zehn Gebote Gottes.

1. Du sollst keine andern Götter haben neben mir.

2. Du sollst den Namen Gottes nicht vergeblich führen.

3. Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen.

4. Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren.

5. Du sollst nicht töten.

6. Du sollst nicht ehebrechen.

7. Du sollst nicht stehlen.

8. Du sollst kein falsch Zeugnis reden wider deinen Nächsten.

[Primo.]

DECEM PRAECEPTA. [R. 399

1] I. Non habebis deos alienos coram me.

2] II. Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum, quia non habebit Dominus Deus tuus insontem eum, qui assumpserit nomen eius in vanum.

3] III. Memento, ut diem sabbati sanctifices.

4] IV. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, ut sis longaevus super terram.

5] V. Non occides.

6] VI. Non moechaberis.

7] VII. Non furtum facies.

8] VIII. Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.

SHORT PREFACE OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

This sermon is designed and undertaken that it might be an instruction for children and the simple-minded. Hence of old it was called in Greek *Catechism, i. e.,* instruction for children, what every Christian must needs know, so that he who does not know this could not be numbered with the Christians nor be admitted to any Sacrament, just as a mechanic who does not understand the rules and customs of his trade is expelled and considered incapable. Therefore we must have the young learn the parts which belong to the Catechism or instruction for children well and fluently and diligently exercise themselves in them and keep them occupied with them.

Therefore it is the duty of every father of a family to question and examine his children and servants at least once a week and to ascertain what they know of it, or are learning, and, if they do not know it, to keep them faithfully at it. For I well remember the time, indeed, even now it is a daily occurrence that one finds rude, old persons who knew nothing and still know nothing of these things, and who, nevertheless, go to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and use everything belonging to Christians, notwithstanding that those who come to the Lord's Supper ought to know more and have a fuller understanding of all Christian doctrine than children and new scholars. However, for the common people we are satisfied with the three parts, which have remained in Christendom from of old, though little of it has been taught and treated correctly until both young and old, who are called and wish to be Christians, are well trained in them and familiar with them. These are the following:

First.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF GOD.

1. Thou shalt have no other gods before Me.

2. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain [for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain].

3. Thou shalt sanctify the holy-day. [Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy.]

4. Thou shalt honor thy father and mother [that thou mayest live long upon the earth].

5. Thou shalt not kill.

6. Thou shalt not commit adultery.

7. Thou shalt not steal.

8. Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

9. Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus.

10. Du sollst nicht begehren seines Weibes [sein Weib], Knecht, Magd, Vieh oder was sein ist.

9] IX. Non concupisces domum proximi tui.

10] X. Non desiderabis uxorem eius, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum nec omnia, quae illius sunt.

Zum zweiten.

Die Hauptartikel unsers Glaubens.

1. Ich glaube an Gott [den] Vater allmächtigen, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden.

2. Und an JEsum Christum, seinen einigen Sohn, unsern HErrn, der empfangen ist von dem Heiligen Geist, geboren aus Maria, der Jungfrau, gelitten hat unter Pontio Pilato, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben ist, niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage wieder auferstanden von [den] Toten, aufgefahren gen Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters, von dannen er zukünftig ist, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.

3. Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, eine heilige christliche Kirche, Gemeinschaft der Heiligen, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und ein ewiges Leben. Amen.

Secundo. [R. 400

ARTICULI CHRISTIANAE FIDEI.

11] I. Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae.

12] II. Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei, Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

13] III. Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

Zum dritten.

Das Gebet oder Vaterunser, so Christus gelehrt hat.

Vater unser, der du bist im Himmel.

1. Geheiligt werde dein Name.

2. Zukomme dein Reich.

3. Dein Wille geschehe, wie im Himmel, also auch auf Erden.

4. Unser täglich Brot gib uns heute.

5. Und verlasse [erlaß, vergib] uns unsere Schuld, als wir verlassen unsern Schuldigern.

6. Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung.

7. Sondern erlöse uns vom Übel. Amen.

14] Tertio.

ORATIO, QUAM NOBIS CHRISTUS TRADIDIT IN EVANGELIO.

Pater noster, qui es in coelis.

I. Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

II. Adveniat regnum tuum.

III. Fiat voluntas tua, quemadmodum in coelo, sic etiam in terra.

IV. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.

V. Et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.

VI. Et ne inducas nos in tentationem.

VII. Sed libera nos a malo. Quia tuum est regnum et potentia et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Das sind die nötigsten Stücke, die man zum ersten lernen muß von Wort zu Wort erzählen und soll die Kinder dazu gewöhnen täglich; wenn sie des Morgens aufstehen, zu Tische gehen und sich des Abends schlafen legen, daß sie es müssen aufsagen, und ihnen nicht zu essen noch zu trinken geben, sie hätten's denn gesagt. Desgleichen ist auch ein jeglicher Hausvater schuldig, mit dem Gesinde, Knechten und Mägden, zu halten, daß er sie nicht bei sich halte, wo sie es nicht können oder lernen wollen. Denn es ist mitnichten zu leiden, daß ein Mensch so roh und wild sei und solches nicht lerne, weil in diesen dreien Stücken kürzlich, gröblich und aufs einfältigste verfaßt ist alles, was wir in der Schrift haben; denn die lieben Väter oder Apostel (wer sie gewesen sind) haben also in eine Summa gestellt, was der Christen

15] Haec sunt capita summe neces- [R. 401
saria, quae cuivis Christianorum primo perdiscenda sunt atque ad verbum recitanda. Sunt 16] autem ad hoc quotidie assuefaciendi pueri, ut, quoties mane e stratis surrexerint et ad capiendum cibum accesserint et sub vesperam iterum dormitum ierint, memoriter recitent, neque ad cibum aut potum admittantur nisi his omnibus ante diligenter recitatis. Non 17] secus boni patrisfamilias officium herile exigit cum familia, nempe cum servis et ancillis, agere, neque quemquam in famulitio suo perferre, ista nescientem aut recusantem 18] discere. Neque enim ullo modo ferendum est, ut hominum aliquis usque adeo ferus sit et barbarus, qui haec nolit discere, cum in hisce tribus partibus summatim ac ruditer, et

9. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house.

10. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his cattle [ox, nor his ass], nor anything that is his.

Secondly.

THE CHIEF ARTICLES OF OUR FAITH.

1. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

2. And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord; who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

3. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the holy Christian Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

Thirdly.

THE PRAYER, OR "OUR FATHER," WHICH CHRIST TAUGHT.

Our Father who art in heaven.

1. Hallowed be Thy name.

2. Thy kingdom come.

3. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

4. Give us this day our daily bread.

5. And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.

6. And lead us not into temptation.

7. But deliver us from evil. [For Thine is the kingdom and the power and the glory, forever and ever.] Amen.

These are the most necessary parts which one should first learn to repeat word for word, and which our children should be accustomed to recite daily when they arise in the morning, when they sit down to their meals, and when they retire at night; and until they repeat them, they should be given neither food nor drink. Likewise every head of a household is obliged to do the same with respect to his domestics, man-servants and maid-servants, and not to keep them in his house if they do not know these things and are unwilling to learn them. For a person who is so rude and unruly as to be unwilling to learn these things is not to be tolerated; for in these three parts everything that we have in the Scriptures is comprehended in short, plain, and

Lehre, Leben, Weisheit und Kunst sei, wovon sie reden und handeln und womit sie umgehen.

sancti patres aut apostoli (quicunque tandem illi fuerint) huiusmodi compendio complexi sunt Christianorum doctrinam, vitam, artem et sapientiam, qua de re loquantur et tractent, aut quid tandem id sit, quod exerceant.

Wenn nun diese drei Stücke gefaßt sind, gehört sich auch, daß man wisse zu sagen von unsern Sakramenten (so Christus selbst eingesetzt hat) der Taufe und des heiligen Leibes und Blutes Christi, als nämlich den Text, so Matthäus und Markus beschreiben am Ende ihres Evangeliums, wie Christus seinen Jüngern die Letze [den Abschied] gab und sie abfertigte.

20] Perceptis itaque diligenter hisce tribus articulis, deinceps consentaneum est etiam nosse, quid de sacramentis nostris dicendum aut sentiendum sit, quae Christus ipse instituit, nempe de baptismo et de corpore et sanguine Iesu Christi. Cumprimis vero refert scire verba Matthaei [28, 19 sq.] ac Marci [16, 15 sq.] postremis capitibus evangeliorum relata, quemadmodum Christus ex hoc mundo discedens, ultimo munere suos affecerit discipulos eosdemque a se donatos dimiserit.

Von der Taufe.

Gehet hin und lehret alle Völker und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes. Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig werden; wer aber nicht glaubet, der wird verdammt werden.

21] DE BAPTISMO.

Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus [R. 402 erit; qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.

So viel ist genug einem Einfältigen aus der Schrift von der Taufe zu wissen; desgleichen auch vom andern Sakrament mit kurzen, einfältigen Worten, als nämlich den Text St. Pauli.

22] Tantum ex Scriptura Sacra de baptismo simplicem Christianum nosse sufficit. Similiter et de secundo sacramento paucis et simplicibus verbis, nempe ex Pauli prima ad Corinthios epistola, cap. 11, 23 sqq.

Vom Sakrament.

Unser HErr JEsus Christus in der Nacht, als er verraten ward, nahm das Brot, dankte und brach's und gab's seinen Jüngern und sprach: „Nehmet hin und esset; das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird. Solches tut zu meinem Gedächtnis!"

DE COENA DOMINI.

23] Dominus noster Iesus Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem et gratias agens, fregit, deditque discipulis suis et dixit: *Accipite et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur. Hoc facite in meam commemorationem.*

Desselbengleichen auch den Kelch nach dem Abendmahl und sprach: „Dieser Kelch ist das neue Testament in meinem Blut, das für euch vergossen wird zur Vergebung der Sünden. Solches tut, sooft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis!"

Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, dicens: *Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine. Hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in meam commemorationem.*

Also hätte man überall [im ganzen] fünf Stücke der ganzen christlichen Lehre, die man immerdar treiben soll und von Wort zu Wort fordern und verhören. Denn verlaß dich nicht drauf, daß das junge Volk allein aus der Predigt lerne und behalte. Wenn man nun solche Stücke wohl weiß, so kann man danach auch etliche Psalmen oder Gesänge, so darauf gemacht sind, vorlegen, zur Zugabe und Stärke desselben, und also die Jugend in die Schrift bringen und täglich weiterfahren.

24] Ita passim quinque partes esse videmus totius Christianae doctrinae, quas subinde exerceri atque ad verbum a pueris exigi et audiri oportet. Neque enim est, quod speres iuventutem ex solis concionibus ista comprehensuram, aut sensibus et memoriae reposituram.

25] His ergo probe perspectis et cognitis, non incommode atque intempestive aliquot etiam psalmi et hymni in hoc formati et expositi proponi possunt pueris, ut hisce prius perceptis quasi roborentur et confirmentur, utque hac ratione iuventus Scripturae legendae et exercendae assuescat ac quotidie maioribus incrementis aucta progrediatur.

Es soll aber nicht an dem genug sein, daß man's allein den Worten nach fasse und erzählen könne, sondern lasse das junge Volk auch zur Predigt gehen, sonderlich auf die Zeit, so dem Katechismo geordnet, daß sie es hören auslegen und verstehen lernen, was ein jeglich Stück in sich habe, also daß sie es auch können aufsagen, wie sie es gehört

26] Sed non in hoc contenti esse debemus, ut haec tantum verbotenus percipiantur ac recitentur, sed hoc etiam curae tibi sit, [R. 403 ut iuventus sedulo intersit concionibus, praesertim iis temporibus, quae exercendo Catechismo destinata sunt, ut haec exposita audiant, et quid singula in se comprehendant, non

simple terms. For the holy Fathers or apostles (whoever they were) have thus embraced in a summary the doctrine, life, wisdom, and art of Christians, of which they speak and treat, and with which they are occupied.

Now, when these three parts are apprehended, it behooves a person also to know what to say concerning our Sacraments, which Christ Himself instituted, Baptism and the holy body and blood of Christ, namely, the text which Matthew [28, 19 ff.] and Mark [16, 15 f.] record at the close of their Gospels when Christ said farewell to His disciples and sent them forth.

OF BAPTISM.

Go ye and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.

So much is sufficient for a simple person to know from the Scriptures concerning Baptism. In like manner, also, concerning the other Sacrament, in short, simple words, namely, the text of St. Paul [1 Cor. 11, 23 f.].

OF THE SACRAMENT.

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples and said, Take, eat; this is My body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; this cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Thus we would have, in all, five parts of the entire Christian doctrine which should be constantly treated and required [of children], and heard recited word for word. For you must not rely upon it that the young people will learn and retain these things from the sermon alone. When these parts have been well learned, you may, as a supplement and to fortify them, lay before them also some psalms or hymns, which have been composed on these parts, and thus lead the young into the Scriptures, and make daily progress therein.

However, it is not enough for them to comprehend and recite these parts according to the words only, but the young people should also be made to attend the preaching, especially during the time which is devoted to the Catechism, that they may hear it explained, and may learn to understand what

haben, und fein richtig antworten, wenn man sie fragt, auf daß es nicht ohne Nutz und Frucht gepredigt werde. Denn darum tun wir den Fleiß, den Katechismum oft vorzupredigen, daß man solches in die Jugend bleue, nicht hoch noch scharf, sondern kurz und aufs einfältigste, auf daß es ihnen wohl eingehe und im Gedächtnis bleibe.

oscitantes discant intelligere, adeo ut prompte audita recitare calleant et interrogati scite respondere queant, ne citra fructum ista pro **27**] concionibus doceantur. Eam enim ob rem nos hanc operam hoc diligentius sumimus, Catechismum subinde praedicantes, ut haec iuventuti diligenter inculcentur, nullo quidem orationis splendore aut apparatu rhetorico neque alto ingenii acumine, sed breviter et simplicissime, ut hoc facilius et fidelius dicta nostra percipiantur et tenacius memoriae infixa haereant.

Derhalben wollen wir nun die angezeigten Stücke nacheinander vor uns nehmen und aufs deutlichste davon reden, soviel not ist.

28] Quocirca supra memoratos articulos iam nunc singulatim tractandos in manus sumemus atque de iis, quantum fieri poterit et necessitas postulaverit, significantissime verba faciemus.

[Das erste Teil.]

Das erste Gebot.

Du sollst nicht andere Götter haben.

Das ist, du sollst mich allein für deinen Gott halten. Was ist das gesagt, und wie verstehet man's? Was heißt: einen Gott haben, oder was ist Gott? Antwort: Ein Gott heißt das, dazu man sich versehen soll alles Guten und Zuflucht haben in allen Nöten, also daß einen Gott haben nichts anderes ist, denn ihm von Herzen trauen und glauben; wie ich oft gesagt habe, daß allein das Trauen und Glauben des Herzens macht beide, Gott und Abgott. Ist der Glaube und [das] Vertrauen recht, so ist auch dein Gott recht; und wiederum, wo das Vertrauen falsch und unrecht ist, da ist auch der rechte Gott nicht; denn die zwei gehören zu Haufe: Glaube und Gott. Worauf du nun (sage ich) dein Herz hängst und verläßt, das ist eigentlich dein Gott.

Darum ist nun die Meinung dieses Gebots, daß es fordert rechten Glauben und Zuversicht des Herzens, welche den rechten einigen Gott treffe und an ihm allein hange. Und will so viel gesagt haben: Siehe zu und laß mich allein deinen Gott sein und suche je keinen andern; das ist, was dir mangelt an Gutem, des versiehe dich zu mir und suche es bei mir, und wo du Unglück und Not leidest, kreuch [kriech] und halte dich zu mir. ICH, ich will dir genug geben und aus aller Not helfen; laß nur dein Herz an keinem andern hangen noch ruhen.

Das muß ich ein wenig grob ausstreichen, daß man's verstehe und merke bei gemeinen Exempeln des Widerspiels. Es ist mancher, der meint, er habe Gott und alles genug, wenn er Geld und Gut hat, verläßt und brüstet sich darauf so steif und sicher, daß er auf niemand nichts gibt. Siehe, dieser hat auch einen Gott, der heißt Mammon, das ist Geld und Gut, darauf er alle sein Herz setzt, welches auch der allergemeinste Abgott ist auf Erden. Wer Geld und Gut hat, der weiß sich

[Prima Pars.]

Praeceptum I.

Non habebis deos alienos coram me.

1] Hoc est, me solum pro Deo tuo habebis ac coles. Quid vero hisce verbis sibi vult, ac quomodo hoc intelligendum est? Quid est habere Deum, aut quid est Deus? Responsio: **2**] Deus est et vocatur, de cuius bonitate et potentia omnia bona certo tibi pollicearis, et ad quem quibuslibet adversis rebus atque periculis ingruentibus confugias, ut Deum habere nihil aliud sit, quam illi ex toto corde fidere et credere; quemadmodum saepenumero a me dictum est, quod sola cordis fiducia Deum pariter atque idolum faciat et constituat. **3**] Quodsi fides et fiducia recta et sincera est, Deum rectum habebis; contra, si falsa [R. 404 fuerit et mendax fiducia, etiam Deum tuum falsum et mendacem esse necesse est. Siquidem haec duo, fides et Deus, una copula coniungenda sunt. Iam in quacunque re animi tui fiduciam et cor fixum habueris, haec haud dubie Deus tuus est.

4] Quare huius praecepti sensus hic est, ut veram cordis fidem atque fiduciam exigat, a vero et unico Deo non aberrantem, sed illi soli constanter adhaerentem. Idem plane vult dicere: Hoc vide cures, ut me solum Deum tuum esse statuas, nec omnino extra me alium quaerere coneris, hoc est, quarumcunque rerum inopia laboraveris, easdem de mea munificentia tibi pollicearis et apud me quaeras, volo. Ac ubicunque pressus infortunio adversa pateris, ad me protinus opem imploraturus confugito. Ego, ego, inquam, affluente omnium rerum copia te implebo uberrime, atque etiam periclitantem ex omnibus malis eripiam. Tantum hoc cave sedulo, ne cor tuum ulli alteri apponas, nec ab eo pendeas, nec in eo conquiescas.

5] Hoc aliquanto planius ac rudius explicandum est, ut exemplis sumptis a contrario rectius intelligatur, quid haec sibi velint. Equidem permultos videre licet, existimantes sese et Deum et omnia abunde habere, quando divitiis abundant et opibus, quibus confisi adeo insolenter intumescunt, adeo constanter et secure his fruuntur, ut neminis rationem aut **6**] respectum ullum habeant. Ecce, ii quoque Deum habent, sed cui nomen est Mammona,

every part contains, so as to be able to recite it as they have heard it, and, when asked, may give a correct answer, so that the preaching may not be without profit and fruit. For the reason why we exercise such diligence in preaching the Catechism so often is that it may be inculcated on our youth, not in a high and subtile manner, but briefly and with the greatest simplicity, so as to enter the mind readily and be fixed in the memory.

Therefore we shall now take up the abovementioned articles one by one and in the plainest manner possible say about them as much as is necessary.

Part First.

The First Commandment.

Thou shalt have no other gods before Me.

That is: Thou shalt have [and worship] Me alone as thy God. What is the force of this, and how is it to be understood? What does it mean to have a god? or, what is God? Answer: A god means that from which we are to expect all good and to which we are to take refuge in all distress, so that to have a God is nothing else than to trust and believe Him from the [whole] heart; as I have often said that the confidence and faith of the heart alone make both God and an idol. If your faith and trust be right, then is your god also true; and, on the other hand, if your trust be false and wrong, then you have not the true God; for these two belong together, faith and God. That now, I say, upon which you set your heart and put your trust is properly your god.

Therefore it is the intent of this commandment to require true faith and trust of the heart which settles upon the only true God, and clings to Him alone. That is as much as to say: "See to it that you let Me alone be your God, and never seek another," *i. e.:* Whatever you lack of good things, expect it of Me, and look to Me for it, and whenever you suffer misfortune and distress, creep and cling to Me. I, yes; I, will give you enough and help you out of every need; only let not your heart cleave to or rest in any other.

This I must unfold somewhat more plainly, that it may be understood and perceived by ordinary examples of the contrary. Many a one thinks that he has God and everything in abundance when he has money and possessions; he trusts in them and boasts of them with such firmness and assurance as to care for no one. Lo, such a man also has a god, Mammon by name, *i. e.*, money and posses-

ſicher, iſt fröhlich und unerſchrocken, als ſitze er mitten im Paradies. Und wiederum, wer keines hat, der zweifelt und zagt, als wiſſe er von keinem Gott. Denn man wird ihrer gar wenig finden, die gutes Muts ſeien [ſind] und nicht trauern noch klagen, wenn ſie den Mammon nicht haben; es klebt und hängt der Natur an bis in die Grube.

hoc est, opus et pecunia, cui totius cordis adhaerent fiducia, in quem omnem spei suae summam collocant, quique omnium communis-
7] simum in terris idolum est. Qui pecunia aut opibus large instructus est, ille re sua probe constabilita securum se esse statuit, animo adeo laeto atque interrito, quasi in medio paradiso vitam agat omnium felicissi-
8] mam. Contra, qui opibus et pecunia caret, ille animi dubius omnem spem abiicit, ac [R. 405
9] si nihil prorsus de ullo Deo vel tantillum sibi constet. Etenim paucos admodum invenias, qui sint bono animo, quique nihil tristentur aut conquerantur, si destituat eos Mammona. Haec enim rei pecuniariae cura atque cupiditas humanam naturam ad sepulcrum usque indivulse comitatur.

Alſo auch, wer darauf traut und trotzt, daß er große Kunſt, Klugheit, Gewalt, Gunſt, Freundſchaft und Ehre hat, der hat auch einen Gott, aber nicht dieſen rechten einigen Gott. Das ſiehſt du abermal dabei, wie vermeſſen, ſicher und ſtolz man iſt auf ſolche Güter, und wie verzagt, wenn ſie nicht vorhanden [ſind] oder entzogen werden. Darum ſage ich abermal, daß die rechte Auslegung dieſes Stücks ſei, daß einen Gott haben heißt, etwas haben, darauf das Herz gänzlich traut.

10] Ita quoque, qui spei aut fiduciae suae summam in hoc sitam habet, quod ceteros ingenio, eruditione, sapientia, potentia, favore, multorum amicitia ac dignitate anteeat, ille quoque Deum habet, sed non verum illum coelestem et unicum Deum. Hoc inde iterum haud difficulter perspicitur, quam confidenter, secure et insolenter hisce rebus abundantes agere soleant; rursus quam desperanter, quam abiecte et humiliter, quibus haec aut non adsunt aut aliquando casu fortuito subtrahuntur. Quare iterum dico, quod vera huius particulae interpretatio, Deum habere, nihil aliud sit, quam habere aliquid, cui cor humanum per omnia fidere soleat.

Item ſiehe, was wir bisher getrieben und getan haben in der Blindheit unter dem Papſttum. Wenn jemand ein Zahn weh tat, der faſtete und feierte St. Apollonia; fürchtete er ſich vor Feuersnot, ſo machte er St. Lorenz zum Nothelfer; fürchtete er ſich vor Peſtilenz, ſo gelobte er ſich zu St. Sebaſtian oder Rochio, und des Greuels unzählig viel mehr, da ein jeglicher ſeinen Heiligen wählte, anbetete und anrief, in Nöten zu helfen. Daher [hierher] gehören auch, die es gar zu grob treiben und mit dem Teufel einen Bund machen, daß er ihnen Geld genug gebe oder zur Buhlſchaft [Liebſchaft] helfe, ihr Vieh bewahre, verloren Gut wiederſchaffe uſw., als die Zauberer und Schwarzkünſtiger [Schwarzkünſtler]. Denn dieſe alle ſetzen ihr Herz und Vertrauen anderswo[hin] denn auf den wahrhaftigen Gott, verſehen ſich kein Gutes zu ihm, ſuchen's auch nicht bei ihm.

11] Ad haec considera, quaeso, quae nos rerum portenta sub papatu, horrenda coecitate percussi, admiserimus. Dolebat alicui denticulus, ille protinus ob honorem divae Apolloniae voluntario ieiunio carnem suam macerabat. Quodsi in metu erat, ne forte possessio sua aliquando conflagraret incendio, protinus in Laurentii clientelam ac patrocinium semet tradebat. Metuebat aliquis contagium pestilentiae, illico nuncupatis votis profectionem ad S. Sebastianum aut Rochium instituebat. Et id genus portenta atque abominationes innumerabiles, quibus fiebat, ut quisque peculiarem divum sibi colendum eligeret, ad quem pressus necessitate preces fundebat currebatque. Huc pertinent etiam
12] illi, qui omnem modum hisce in rebus excedunt ac cum diabolo foedus ineunt, ut eos ampliter ditet, aut amicarum compotes [R. 406
faciat, aut pecus a contagione servet incolume, aut rem perditam restituat; cuius generis sunt incantatores, venefici et magicarum artium periti. Hi enim omnes cordis sui fiduciam alio collocant, quam in verum Deum, de quo nihil boni sibi persuadent, neque apud illum quaeritant quidquam boni.

Alſo verſtehſt du nun leichtlich, was und wieviel dies Gebot fordert, nämlich das ganze Herz des Menſchen und alle Zuverſicht auf Gott allein und niemand anders. Denn Gott zu haben, kannſt du wohl abnehmen, daß man ihn nicht mit Fingern ergreifen und faſſen, noch in Beutel ſtecken oder in Kaſten ſchließen kann. Das heißt ihn aber gefaßt, wenn ihn das Herz ergreift und an ihm hängt. Mit dem Herzen aber an ihm hangen iſt nichts anderes, denn ſich gänzlich auf ihn verlaſſen. Darum will er uns von allem andern abwenden, das außer ihm iſt, und zu ſich ziehen, weil er das einige ewige Gut iſt. Als ſollte er ſagen: Was du zuvor bei den Heiligen geſucht oder auf den Mammon und ſonſt vertraut haſt, des verſiehe dich alles zu mir und halte mich für den, der dir helfen und mit allem Guten reichlich überſchütten will.

13] Ad hunc modum iam haud obscure intelligis, quid et quantum hoc praecepto exigatur, nimirum totum cor hominis omnisque erga Deum et neminem alium fiducia. Quo pacto enim Deus haberi possit, ipse perfacile aestimare potes, quod neque digitis apprehendi, nec in marsupium ut moneta condi, nec in cistam ut vasa argentea concludi possit.
14] Ita vero dicitur haberi et apprehendi Deus, quando corde apprehenditur eique soli hominis animus constanti atque inconcussa
15] adhaeret fiducia. Ceterum corde illi adhaerere nihil aliud est, quam eidem per omnia fidere. Eam ob rem ab omnibus aliis, quae extra illum sunt, nos conatur divellere atque abstrahere et ad se solum, quum unicum illud et immortale bonum sit, attrahere. Quasi ad hunc modum diceret: Quidquid antehac e divorum favore ac benevolentia tibi proven-

sions, on which he sets all his heart, and which is also the most common idol on earth. He who has money and possessions feels secure, and is joyful and undismayed as though he were sitting in the midst of Paradise. On the other hand, he who has none doubts and is despondent, as though he knew of no God. For very few are to be found who are of good cheer, and who neither mourn nor complain if they have not Mammon. This [care and desire for money] sticks and clings to our nature, even to the grave.

So, too, whoever trusts and boasts that he possesses great skill, prudence, power, favor, friendship, and honor has also a god, but not this true and only God. This appears again when you notice how presumptuous, secure, and proud people are because of such possessions, and how despondent when they no longer exist or are withdrawn. Therefore I repeat that the chief explanation of this point is that to have a god is to have something in which the heart entirely trusts.

Besides, consider what, in our blindness, we have hitherto been practising and doing under the Papacy. If any one had toothache, he fasted and honored St. Apollonia [macerated his flesh by voluntary fasting to the honor of St. Apollonia]; if he was afraid of fire, he chose St. Lawrence as his helper in need; if he dreaded pestilence, he made a vow to St. Sebastian or Rochio, and a countless number of such abominations, where every one selected his own saint, worshiped him, and called for help to him in distress. Here belong those also, as, *e. g.*, sorcerers and magicians, whose idolatry is most gross, and who make a covenant with the devil, in order that he may give them plenty of money or help them in love-affairs, preserve their cattle, restore to them lost possessions, etc. For all these place their heart and trust elsewhere than in the true God, look for nothing good to Him nor seek it from Him.

Thus you can easily understand what and how much this commandment requires, namely, that man's entire heart and all his confidence be placed in God alone, and in no one else. For to have God, you can easily perceive, is not to lay hold of Him with our hands or to put Him in a bag [as money], or to lock Him in a chest [as silver vessels]. But to apprehend Him means when the heart lays hold of Him and clings to Him. But to cling to Him with the heart is nothing else than to trust in Him entirely. For this reason He wishes to turn us away from everything else that exists outside of Him, and to draw us to Himself, namely, because He is the only eternal good. As though He would say: Whatever you have heretofore sought of the saints, or for whatever [things] you have trusted in

turum pollicitus es, aut si quam in Mammona aut aliis rebus spem atque fiduciam reposuisti, omne illud iam tibi certa persuasione de me pollicere, meque eum esse haud dubitanter existimes, qui tibi laboranti opem laturus sit, teque omnibus rebus amplissime florentem et abundantem facturus.

Siehe, da haſt du nun, was die rechte Ehre und Gottesdienſt iſt, ſo Gott gefällt, welchen er auch gebeut [gebietet] bei ewigem Zorn, nämlich daß das Herz keinen andern Troſt noch Zuverſicht wiſſe denn zu ihm, laſſe ſich auch nicht davonreißen, ſondern darüber wage und hintanſetze alles, was auf Erden iſt. Dagegen wirſt du leichtlich ſehen und urteilen, wie die Welt eitel falſchen Gottesdienſt und Abgötterei treibt. Denn es iſt nie kein Volk ſo ruchlos geweſen, das nicht einen Gottesdienſt aufgerichtet und gehalten habe; da hat jedermann zum ſonderlichen Gott aufgeworfen, dazu er ſich Gutes, Hilfe und Troſt verſehen hat.

16] Ecce, iam habes, quinam verus Dei honos sit et cultus gratus illi et acceptus, quemque sub aeternae maledictionis poena praestandum praecipit, nimirum ut cor hominis nullam aliam consolationem, nullam aliam fiduciam sciat, quam ipsum solum, neque ullo pacto ab hoc se divelli patiatur, sed potius de omnibus, quae sub sole sunt, semel in periculum veniat, adeoque ipsius vitae citius iacturam faciat, 17] quam ut hunc Deum deserat. Iam vicissim facile videbis ac iudicabis, quomodo [R. 407 mundus nihil aliud quam falsum Dei cultum et idololatriam passim constituerit atque exerceat. Nulla enim uspiam fuit usque adeo effera et ferina hominum natio, quae non aliquem Dei cultum constituerit et servarit. Omnes enim certatim eum Deum sibi colendum delegerunt, ex quo aliquid emolumenti, opis atque solatii speraverunt.

Als nämlich die Heiden, ſo ihr Datum [Vertrauen] auf Gewalt und Herrſchaft ſtellten, warfen ihren Jupiter zum höchſten Gott auf, die andern, ſo nach Reichtum, Glück oder nach Luſt und guten Tagen ſtanden, Herkules, Merkur, Venus oder andere, die ſchwangeren Frauen Diana oder Lucina, und ſo fort machte ihm [ſich] jedermann zum Gott, dazu ihn ſein Herz trug, alſo daß eigentlich, auch nach aller Heiden Meinung, einen Gott haben heißt trauen und glauben. Aber daran feilet [fehlt] es, daß ihr Trauen falſch und unrecht iſt; denn es iſt nicht auf den einigen Gott geſtellt, außer welchem wahrhaftig kein Gott iſt im Himmel noch auf Erden. Darum die Heiden eigentlich ihren eigenen erdichteten Dünkel und Traum von Gott zum Abgott machen und ſich auf eitel nichts verlaſſen. Alſo iſt es um alle Abgötterei getan; denn ſie ſteht nicht allein darin, daß man ein Bild aufrichtet und anbetet, ſondern vornehmlich im Herzen, welches anderswo hingafft, Hilfe und Troſt ſucht bei den Kreaturen, Heiligen oder Teufeln und ſich Gottes nicht annimmt noch ſo viel Gutes zu ihm verſieht, daß er wolle helfen; glaubt auch nicht, daß von Gott komme, was ihm Gutes widerfährt.

18] Inde videmus gentiles, quorum prora ac puppis, ut vulgato fertur proverbio, in opulentia, dominatu, imperiis sita fuit, pro summo Deo cumprimis coluisse suum Iovem. Porro alii, quorum scopus erant divitiae, tum prosper rerum successus, aut qui sectabantur voluptates et delicias, Herculem, Mercurium, Venerem aliosque religiose venerabantur. Mulieres uterum ferentes Dianam seu Lucinam sibi pro numine vindicabant. Atque ita deinceps quisque hunc sibi Deum venerandum proponebat, ad quem corde et animo ferebatur. Ita gentilium quoque opinione Deum habere 19] nihil aliud est, quam fidere et credere. In hoc tamen errant et falluntur, quod eorum fiducia falsa et mendax est, neque enim ad Deum verum recta tendit aut ordinata est, extra quem pro certo constat nullum alium Deum esse, neque in coelo neque in terra. 20] Quocirca gentes plane suam propriam et effictam persuasionem seu opinionem et somnium, quod de Deo conceperunt, pro idolo sibimet constituunt, spemque suam prorsus in 21] mere nihilo habent repositam. Ea plane omnis idololatriae est ratio. Neque enim in hoc solum consistit, ut simulacrum aliquod erectum adoretur, sed in corde potissimum latet, quod alio intentum est, opem ac consolationem apud creaturas, divos aut diabolos quaeritans, Deum non curans ac ne tantillum quidem benignitatis de illo sibi persuadens, quod velit opitulari. Multo minus credit Dei liberalitate et munificentia sibi contingere, quidquid bonarum rerum uspiam illi acciderit. [R. 408

Darüber iſt auch ein falſcher Gottesdienſt und die höchſte Abgötterei, ſo wir bisher getrieben haben, und noch in der Welt regiert, darauf auch alle geiſtlichen Stände gegründet ſind, welche allein das Gewiſſen betrifft, das da Hilfe, Troſt und Seligkeit ſucht in eigenen Werken, vermißt ſich, Gott den Himmel abzuzwingen, und rechnet, wieviel es geſtiftet, gefaſtet, Meſſe gehalten hat uſw. Verläßt ſich und pocht darauf, als wolle es nichts von ihm geſchenkt nehmen, ſondern ſelbſt erwerben oder überflüſſig verdienen, gerade als müßte er uns zu Dienſt ſtehen und unſer Schuldner, wir aber ſeine Lehensherren ſein. Was iſt das anders, denn aus Gott einen Götzen, ja einen Apfelgott [Aftergott, aus Apfelholz geſchnitzt] gemacht und ſich ſelbſt für Gott gehalten und aufgeworfen? Aber das iſt ein wenig zu ſcharf, gehört nicht für die jungen Schüler.

22] Praeter haec alius adhuc superest falsus et erroneus Dei cultus, summam in sese complectens idolatriam [idololatriam], quam hactenus strenue exercuimus, et adhuc passim in mundo viget ac regnat, in quem omnes religiosorum ordines fundati sunt, quique solam attingit conscientiam, quae auxilium, consolationem et salutem quaerit ex propriis operibus, tantum sibi sumens, ut perverse conetur et temere, velit nolit Deus, in coelum perrumpere, subducens secum rationem, quarum fundationum auctor extiterit, quantum ieiunaverit, quot missarum myriadas lectitaverit etc., spem suam in hoc reponens atque ferociens, quasi nihil velit a Deo gratuito accipere, sed omnia sua opera ab ipso consequi et abundanter promereri, non secus ac si Deus nobis cogatur obnoxius esse servitio et debito, et nos 23] illius essemus domini. Quid hoc aliud

Mammon or anything else, expect it all of Me, and regard Me as the one who will help you and pour out upon you richly all good things.

Lo, here you have the meaning of the true honor and worship of God, which pleases God, and which He commands under penalty of eternal wrath, namely, that the heart know no other comfort or confidence than in Him, and do not suffer itself to be torn from Him, but, for Him, risk and disregard everything upon earth. On the other hand, you can easily see and judge how the world practises only false worship and idolatry. For no people has ever been so reprobate as not to institute and observe some divine worship; every one has set up as his special god whatever he looked to for blessings, help, and comfort.

Thus, for example, the heathen who put their trust in power and dominion elevated Jupiter as the supreme god; the others, who were bent upon riches, happiness, or pleasure, and a life of ease, Hercules, Mercury, Venus, or others; women with child, Diana or Lucina, and so on; thus every one made that his god to which his heart was inclined, so that even in the mind of the heathen to have a god means to trust and believe. But their error is this, that their trust is false and wrong; for it is not placed in the only God, besides whom there is truly no God in heaven or upon earth. Therefore the heathen really make their self-invented notions and dreams of God an idol, and put their trust in that which is altogether nothing. Thus it is with all idolatry; for it consists not merely in erecting an image and worshiping it, but rather in the heart, which stands gaping at something else, and seeks help and consolation from creatures, saints, or devils, and neither cares for God, nor looks to Him for so much good as to believe that He is willing to help, neither believes that whatever good it experiences comes from God.

Besides, there is also a false worship and extreme idolatry, which we have hitherto practised, and is still prevalent in the world, upon which also all ecclesiastical orders are founded, and which concerns the conscience alone, that seeks in its own works help, consolation, and salvation, presumes to wrest heaven from God, and reckons how many bequests it has made, how often it has fasted, celebrated Mass, etc. Upon such things it depends, and of them boasts, as though unwilling to receive anything from God as a gift, but desires itself to earn or merit it superabundantly, just as though He must serve us and were our debtor, and we His liege lords. What is this but reducing God to an idol, yea, [a fig image or] an apple-god,

est, quam ex Deo ficulneum simulacrum aut pomarium (quod aiunt) Deum facere ac semet ipsum pro Deo aestimare inque eius locum sufficere? Sed haec acutiora sunt, quam quae pueris ac tenerae aetati proponenda sint.

Das sei aber den Einfältigen gesagt, daß sie den Verstand dieses Gebots wohl merken und behalten, daß man Gott allein trauen und sich eitel Gutes zu ihm versehen und von ihm gewarten soll, als der uns gibt Leib, Leben, Essen, Trinken, Nahrung, Gesundheit, Schutz, Frieden und alle Notdurft zeitlicher und ewiger Güter, dazu bewahrt vor Unglück und, so uns etwas widerfährt, rettet und aushilft, also daß Gott (wie genug gesagt) allein der ist, von dem man alles Gute empfängt und alles Unglücks los wird. Daher auch, achte ich, wir Deutschen Gott eben mit dem Namen von alters her nennen (feiner und artiger [treffender] denn keine andere Sprache) nach dem Wörtlein „Gut", als der ein ewiger Quellbrunn ist, der sich mit eitel Güte übergeußt [übergießt], und von dem alles, was gut ist und heißt, ausfleußt [ausfließt].

24] Ceterum hoc dictum sit simplicioribus, quo huius praecepti sensum probe notent ac retineant, ut Deo soli fidamus, de eodem optima quaeque nobis polliceamur et exspectemus, tamquam de eo, qui nobis det corpus, donet vitam, largiatur victus alimoniam, offundat annonam, tribuat membrorum valetudinem, paret defensionem, conciliet pacem ac reliqua rerum temporalium et sempiternarum necessaria suppeditet; adhaec qui nos ab omnibus tueatur periculis et infortunio, et si quid adversi nobis evenerit, a malis nos clementer servet et potenter eripiat, ita ut Deus (quemadmodum abunde dictum est) solus ille pro certo habendus sit, a cuius bonitate omnia consequimur, tum cuius ope et [R. 409 **25**] opera ab omnibus malis eripimur. Atque hinc adeo est, ut mea fert opinio, quod nos Germani usque a maioribus nostris (praeclarius profecto et pulchrius quam ulla alia lingua) Deum (*Gott*) a bonitatis vocabulo (*Gut*) sermone nobis vernaculo vocamus, quippe qui fons perennis sit et perpetuo scaturiens, affluentissimis bonis exundans, et a quo omne, quidquid uspiam boni est et dicitur, emanat.

Denn ob uns gleich sonst viel Gutes von Menschen widerfährt, so heißt es doch alles von Gott empfangen, was man durch seinen Befehl und Ordnung empfängt. Denn unsere Eltern und alle Obrigkeit, dazu ein jeglicher gegen seinen Nächsten, haben den Befehl, daß sie uns allerlei Gutes tun sollen, also daß wir's nicht von ihnen, sondern durch sie von Gott empfangen. Denn die Kreaturen sind nur die Hand, Röhre und Mittel, dadurch Gott alles gibt, wie er der Mutter Brüste und Milch gibt, dem Kinde zu reichen, Korn und allerlei Gewächs aus der Erde zur Nahrung, welcher Güter keine Kreatur keines selbst machen kann.

26] Nam quamquam alioqui multis bonis cumulemur et afficiamur ab hominibus, omnia tamen a Deo data et concessa dicuntur, quaecunque eius iussu et ordine undequaque percipimus. Maiores enim nostri et omnes, qui in magistratu sunt, adhaec quilibet erga proximum suum, hoc in mandatis a Deo acceperunt, ut omnis generis officia nobis ostendant et exhibeant, adeo ut haec non ab illis, sed per illos a Deo peculiariter accipiamus. Siquidem creaturae tantum manus sunt, canales, media et organa, quorum opera et adminiculo Deus omnia largitur hominibus. Quemadmodum matri dat ubera lacte fecunda, quibus infans lactandus et alendus est, et campo suam segetem et omnia fructuum genera, quibus vescimur, quorum nullum ulla creatura proprio conatu aut studio creare potest aut producere.

Derhalben soll sich kein Mensch unterstehen, etwas zu nehmen oder zu geben, es sei denn von Gott befohlen, daß man's erkenne für seine Gaben und ihm darum danke, wie dies Gebot fordert; darum auch solche Mittel, durch die Kreaturen Gutes zu empfangen, nicht auszuschlagen sind, noch durch Vermessenheit andere Weise und Wege zu suchen, denn Gott befohlen hat. Denn das hieße nicht von Gott empfangen, sondern von ihm selbst gesucht.

Da sehe nun auf ein jeglicher bei sich selbst, daß man dies Gebot vor allen Dingen groß und hoch achte und in keinen Scherz schlage. Frage und forsche dein eigen Herz wohl, so wirst du wohl finden, ob es allein an Gott hange oder nicht. Hast du ein solch Herz, das sich eitel Gutes zu ihm versehen kann, sonderlich in Nöten und Mangel, dazu alles gehen und fahren lassen, was nicht Gott ist, so hast du den einigen rechten Gott. Wiederum, hängt es auf etwas anderes, dazu sich's mehr Gutes und Hilfe vertröstet denn zu Gott, und nicht zu ihm läuft, sondern vor ihm fleucht, wenn es ihm übel geht, so hast du einen andern Abgott.

27] Quapropter nemo conari debet, ut vel aliquid accipiat vel det, nisi a Deo praeceptum fuerit, ut pro Dei munere cognoscatur illique pro sua munificentia, prout hoc praeceptum exigit, agatur gratia. Quamobrem et haec media, videlicet per creaturas bona percipiendi, non sunt respuenda, neque temeraria praesumptione aliae rationes et viae investigandae, quam Deus praecipit. Hoc enim non esset a Deo accipere, sed a se ipso quaerere.

28] Iam quisque apud se exactam curam habeat, ut hoc praeceptum ante omnia magni faciat, neque iocum esse existimet. Perquire et expiscare ipse cor tuum diligenter, [R. 410 et haud dubie invenies, num ex solo Deo pendeat necne. Quodsi eiusmodi tibi est animus, qui mera bona de divina bonitate persuadere ac polliceri sibi potest, praecipue vero tempore necessitatis et inopiae, adhaec, qui omnia potest contemnere, quidquid non est Deus: non est quod dubites te habere Deum illum verum et unicum. Contra, sin ex alio quopiam pendet, de quo plus boni et opis sperat quam ab ipso Deo sese consecuturum, nec ad illum confugit, sed potius aufugit rebus minime secundis, certum est te a Deo vero alienum esse et idolum aliud habere.

and elevating and regarding ourselves as God? But this is slightly too subtile, and is not for young pupils.

But let this be said to the simple, that they may well note and remember the meaning of this commandment, namely, that we are to trust in God alone, and look to Him and expect from Him naught but good, as from one who gives us body, life, food, drink, nourishment, health, protection, peace, and all necessaries of both temporal and eternal things. He also preserves us from misfortune, and if any evil befall us, delivers and rescues us, so that it is God alone (as has been sufficiently said) from whom we receive all good, and by whom we are delivered from all evil. Hence also, I think, we Germans from ancient times call God (more elegantly and appropriately than any other language) by that name from the word *Good*, as being an eternal fountain which gushes forth abundantly nothing but what is good, and from which flows forth all that is and is called good.

For even though otherwise we experience much good from men, still whatever we receive by His command or arrangement is all received from God. For our parents, and all rulers, and every one besides with respect to his neighbor, have received from God the command that they should do us all manner of good, so that we receive these blessings not from them, but, through them, from God. For creatures are only the hands, channels, and means whereby God gives all things, as He gives to the mother breasts and milk to offer to her child, and corn and all manner of produce from the earth for nourishment, none of which blessings could be produced by any creature of itself.

Therefore no man should presume to take or give anything except as God has commanded, in order that it may be acknowledged as God's gift, and thanks may be rendered Him for it, as this commandment requires. On this account also these means of receiving good gifts through creatures are not to be rejected, neither should we in presumption seek other ways and means than God has commanded. For that would not be receiving from God, but seeking of ourselves.

Let every one, then, see to it that he esteem this commandment great and high above all things, and do not regard it as a joke. Ask and examine your heart diligently, and you will find whether it cleaves to God alone or not. If you have a heart that can expect of Him nothing but what is good, especially in want and distress, and that, moreover, renounces and forsakes everything that is not God, then you have the only true God. If, on the contrary, it cleaves to anything else, of which it expects more good and help than of God, and does not take refuge in Him, but in adversity flees from Him, then you have an idol, another god.

Derhalben, auf daß man sehe, daß Gott solches nicht will in [den] Wind geschlagen haben, sondern ernstlich drüber halten, hat er bei diesem Gebot zum ersten ein schrecklich Dräuen, danach eine schöne tröstliche Verheißung gesetzt, welche man auch wohl treiben soll und dem jungen Volk vorbleuen [wiederholt und eindringlich vorsagen und erklären], daß sie es zu Sinne nehmen und behalten:

29] Ut autem videamus Dei voluntatem non esse, ut hoc suum praeceptum floccipendatur, sed certo statuatur, ipsum gravissime huius praecepti auctoritatem tueri velle, huic ipsi praecepto primum terribiles et horrendas minas adiecit, ac deinceps amabiles et consolatorias pollicitationes apposuit, quae quoque multoties repetendae et iuventuti etiam atque etiam inculcandae sunt, ut hasce imis sensibus reconditas tandem memori mente teneant.

[**Erklärung des Anhangs zum ersten Gebot.**]

Denn ich bin der HErr, dein Gott, ein starker Eiferer, der da heimsucht der Väter Missetat an den Kindern bis ins dritte und vierte Glied, die mich hassen, und tue Barmherzigkeit an viel tausend, die mich liebhaben und meine Gebote halten.

Primi Praecepti Appendicis Expositio.

30] Quia ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis zelotes, visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios in tertiam et quartam generationem eorum, qui me oderunt, et faciens misericordiam in millia his, qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea.

Wiewohl aber diese Worte auf alle Gebote gehen (wie wir hernach hören werden), so sind sie doch eben zu diesem Hauptgebot gesetzt, darum daß daran am meisten liegt, daß ein Mensch ein recht Haupt habe; denn wo das Haupt recht geht, da muß auch das ganze Leben recht gehen, und wiederum [umgekehrt]. So lerne nun aus diesen Worten, wie zornig Gott ist über die, so sich auf irgend etwas außer ihm verlassen; wiederum, wie gütig und gnädig er ist denen, die ihm allein von ganzem Herzen trauen und glauben, also daß der Zorn nicht abläßt bis ins vierte Geschlecht oder Glied, dagegen die Wohltat oder Güte geht über viel tausend, auf daß man nicht so sicher hingehe und sich in die Schanze schlage [sich dem Zufall überlasse], wie die rohen Herzen denken, es liege nicht große Macht dran. Er ist ein solcher Gott, der es nicht ungerochen läßt, daß man sich von ihm wendet, und nicht aufhört zu zürnen bis ins vierte Glied, so lange, bis sie durch und durch ausgerottet werden. Darum will er gefürchtet und nicht verachtet sein.

31] Quamquam vero haec verba communiter ad omnia praecepta referenda sunt (ut infra audiemus), ea tamen huic praecepto, quod aliorum omnium caput est, peculiariter adiecta sunt, propterea quod permagni admodum referat hominem rectum habere caput. Salvis enim rebus capitis reliquam etiam [R. 411 vitam bene se habere necesse est, et contra. **32]** Iam vero ex his verbis perdisce, quam implacabiliter Deus irascatur iis, qui rei cuipiam extra ipsum confidunt; et contra quanta clementia et misericordia eos prosequatur, qui ei soli toto corde fidunt et credunt, adeo ut iracundia sua nullum finem faciat saeviendi in tertiam et quartam generationem, et rursum, ut sua clementia multis millibus bene- **33]** facere non desinat, ne tam securo ambulemus animo, nullam nostri aut harum rerum rationem habentes, quemadmodum impia illa planeque ferina corda cogitare consueverunt, non ita multum referre, qua ratione vixerint. **34]** Eiusmodi Deus est, qui, si ab eo discedatur, inultum id non patitur, neque modum aut finem irascendi statuit, in quartam usque generationem, donec omnes funditus exstirpentur. Quamobrem vult esse formidini, non contemptui aut ludibrio.

Das hat er auch beweiset [bewiesen] in allen Historien und Geschichten, wie uns die Schrift reichlich anzeigt, und noch tägliche Erfahrung wohl lehren kann. Denn er alle Abgötterei von Anfang her gar ausgerottet hat und um ihrer willen beide Heiden und Juden, wie er auch bei heutigem Tage allen falschen Gottesdienst stürzt, daß endlich alle, so darin bleiben, müssen untergehen. Darum, ob man gleich jetzt stolze, gewaltige und reiche Wänste findet, die auf ihren Mammon trotzen, ungeachtet, Gott zürne oder lache, als die seinen Zorn wohl [ge]trauen auszustehen, so werden sie es doch nicht ausführen, sondern, ehe man sich's versieht, zu Scheitern gehen [in Stücke zerschlagen werden] mit allem, darauf sie getraut haben, wie alle anderen unter[ge]gangen sind, die sich wohl sicherer und mächtiger gewußt haben.

35] Hoc ipsum multis etiam historiis et illis memorabilibus abunde testatum fecit, cuius rei nobis passim Scriptura facit indicium, atque etiamnum id ipsum in dies singulos quotidianis experimentis verissimum esse discimus. Siquidem iam inde ab initio omnem idololatriam funditus exstirpavit, huiusque gratia cum gentes tum Iudaeos, sicut adhuc hodie omnem falsum Dei cultum evertit, ut plane omnibus in ea permanentibus succum- **36]** bendum sit. Quocirca, tametsi tam feroces et potentes inveniantur Sardanapali et Phalarides, qui ipsos Persas divitiis superant, quibus secure freti parum curant, irascaturne an arrideat Deus, ut, qui iram eius sustinere se posse confidant, tamen tandem perniciem non effugient, sed dicto citius et praeter omnium exspectationem cum tota sua pompa, cui fidebant perperam, pessum ibunt, velut omnes ceteros periisse videmus, qui maiori freti potentia in utramvis, quod aiunt, aurem dormiebant.

Und eben um solcher harten Köpfe willen, die da meinen, weil er zusieht und läßt sie fest sitzen,

37] Et ob hos ipsos duros et praefractos homines, qui existimant Deum, quia ad [R. 412

In order that it may be seen that God will not have this commandment thrown to the winds, but will most strictly enforce it, He has attached to it first a terrible threat, and then a beautiful, comforting promise which is also to be urged and impressed upon young people, that they may take it to heart and retain it:

[Exposition of the Appendix to the First Commandment.]

For I am the Lord, thy God, strong and jealous, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me; and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep My commandments.

Although these words relate to all the commandments (as we shall hereafter learn), yet they are joined to this chief commandment because it is of first importance that men have a right head; for where the head is right, the whole life must be right, and *vice versa*. Learn, therefore, from these words how angry God is with those who trust in anything but Him, and again, how good and gracious He is to those who trust and believe in Him alone with the whole heart; so that His anger does not cease until the fourth generation, while, on the other hand, His blessing and goodness extend to many thousands, lest you live in such security and commit yourself to chance, as men of brutal heart, who think that it makes no great difference [how they live]. He is a God who will not leave it unavenged if men turn from Him, and will not cease to be angry until the fourth generation, even until they are utterly exterminated. Therefore He is to be feared, and not to be despised.

He has also demonstrated this in all history, as the Scriptures abundantly show and daily experience still teaches. For from the beginning He has utterly extirpated all idolatry, and, on account of it, both heathen and Jews; even as at the present day He overthrows all false worship, so that all who remain therein must finally perish. Therefore, although proud, powerful, and rich worldlings [Sardanapaluses and Phalarides, who surpass even the Persians in wealth] are now to be found, who boast defiantly of their Mammon, with utter disregard whether God is angry at or smiles on them, and dare to withstand His wrath, yet they shall not succeed, but before they are aware, they shall be wrecked, with all in which they trusted; as all others have perished who have thought themselves more secure or powerful.

And just because of such hardened heads who imagine because God connives and allows

er wisse nichts drum oder nehme sich's nicht an, muß er also dreinschlagen und strafen, daß er's nicht vergessen kann, bis auf ihre Kindeskinder, auf daß sich jedermann daran stoße und sehe, daß [es] ihm kein Scherz ist. Denn diese sind's auch, die er meint, als er spricht: „die mich hassen", das ist, die auf ihrem Trotz und Stolz beharren; was man ihnen predigt oder sagt, wollen sie nicht hören; straft man sie, daß sie sich erkennen und bessern, ehe die Strafe angeht, so werden sie toll und töricht, auf daß sie den Zorn redlich verdienen, wie wir auch jetzt an Bischöfen und Fürsten täglich erfahren.

tempus connivet eosque secure sua potentia frui permittit, vel ignarum plane esse istarum rerum, vel earum cura non affici, tanta necessario utitur plectendi saevitia, ut neque natorum natos oblivioni possit tradere, ut quisque haec repetens animo tantam animi securitatem et contemptum emendet et videat Deum **38**] non iocari. Nam illi ipsi sunt, quos putat et perstringit, ita inquiens: *Qui me oderunt*, hoc est, qui propria freti fiducia insolenter intumescunt atque ferociunt, qui, quidquid pro concione illis dicatur, audire recusant, qui correpti, ut, priusquam obruantur supplicio, flagitiosam vitam emendent, in furorem ac rabiem vertuntur, ut ita omnibus modis iram Dei egregie promereantur. Quemadmodum hodie huius rei certissimum documentum in episcopis et principibus nostris experimur.

Wie schrecklich aber diese Dräuworte sind, so viel mächtiger[er] Trost ist an der Verheißung, daß, die sich allein an Gott halten, sollen's gewiß sein, daß er Barmherzigkeit an ihnen erzeigen will, das ist, eitel Gutes und Wohltat beweisen, nicht allein für sie, sondern auch an ihren Kindern bis ins tausend und abermal tausend Geschlecht. Solches sollte uns ja bewegen und treiben, unser Herz auf Gott zu erwägen [vertrauen zu lassen] mit aller Zuversicht, so wir begehrten, alles Gute zeitlich und ewig zu haben, weil sich die hohe Majestät so hoch erbeut [so große Verheißung gibt], so herzlich reizt und so reichlich verheißt.

39] Porro autem, quanto atrociores et terribiliores hae sunt comminationes, tanto potentior est promissionis consolatio, nempe quod Deus iis, qui semet ei totos omni tradunt fiducia, misericordiam suam certo ostensurus sit, hoc est, omnis generis benefacta exhibiturus, non tantum vero illis ipsis, sed ipsorum quoque natis, longa propagatione, in mille **40**] usque et iterum mille generationes. Haec, inquam, commovere nos debent et impellere, ut totius cordis nostri cogitationem omni fiducia in Deum iactemus, postulantes, ut omnium rerum et temporalium et immortalium fiamus compotes, quando summa maiestas Dei tanta tam benigne et clementer nobis offert, tam amanter provocat, adeo ubertim pollicetur.

Darum lasse es ihm [sich] ein jeglicher ernstlich zu Herzen gehen, daß man's nicht achte, als habe es ein Mensch geredet. Denn es gilt dir entweder ewigen Segen, Glück und Seligkeit oder ewigen Zorn, Unglück und Herzeleid. Was willst du mehr haben oder begehren, denn daß er dir so freundlich verheißt, er wolle dein sein mit allem Guten, dich schützen und [dir] helfen in allen Nöten?

41] Quare quisque Christianorum det operam, ut sibi haec verba cordi sint, neque in eam opinionem veniat, ut existimet haec dicta esse ab homine. Res tua agitur; semel enim hic de summa salutis tuae periclitaberis, ut aut perpetuo salvam, felicem et beatam [R. 413 vitam exigas, aut ut perpetuo damnatus Dei inclementia omnes calamitates et aerumnas ad inferos non dicendis cruciatibus torquendus exhaurias. Quid vero habebis amplius aut plus etiam postulabis, quam quod tam amanter tibi pollicetur, nimirum, se tuum esse velle cum omni rerum copia, se tui defensorem et auxiliatorem in adversis futurum?

Es fehlt aber leider daran, daß die Welt der keines nicht glaubt, noch für Gottes Wort hält, weil sie sieht, daß die, so Gott und nicht dem Mammon trauen, Kummer und Not leiden, und der Teufel sich wider sie sperrt und wehrt, daß sie kein Geld, Gunst noch Ehre, dazu kaum das Leben behalten; wiederum, die dem Mammon dienen, haben Gewalt, Gunst, Ehre und Gut und alle Gemach [Annehmlichkeiten] vor der Welt. Derhalben muß man solche Worte fassen, eben wider solchen Schein gestellt, und wissen, daß sie nicht lügen noch trügen, sondern wahr müssen werden.

42] Sed proh dolor! in hoc omnes fallimur, quod mundus horum verborum nullum verum esse credit, neque verba Dei esse existimat, videns eos, qui suam fiduciam in Deum et non in Mammonam reiecerunt, omni miseriarum genere affectos vix vitam trahere, diabolo illis ipsis reluctante et obstante, ut nihil opum, nihil favoris, nihil dignitatis uspiam consequantur, imo vitam ipsam aegre tueantur et obtineant. Contra illi, quorum summa spes atque fiducia est Mammon, ad amplissimos dignitatis gradus evecti in sublimi resident imperio, potentia, favore, dignitate et omni tranquillitate mundo venerandi atque spectabiles. Eam ob rem talia verba memoriae infigenda sunt, ut huic rerum mundanarum larvae atque obtuitui opponantur; neque ignorandum est haec non posse mentiri aut fallere, sed esse et fore veracissima.

Denke du selbst zurück oder frage ihm nach und sage mir: die alle ihre Sorge und Fleiß darauf gelegt haben, daß sie groß Gut und Geld zusammenscharrten, was haben sie endlich geschafft? So wirst du finden, daß sie Mühe und Arbeit verloren haben, oder, ob sie gleich große Schätze zu Haufe [ge]bracht, doch zerstoben und zerflogen sind, also daß sie selbst ihres Gutes nie sind froh

43] Iam vero paulisper retroversa cogitatione repete tecum animo, aut alioqui perquire ab aliis, mihique responde, quidnam illi, quorum omnis conatus, studium, cura et diligentia tantum eo destinata fuere, ut immensas opes per fas atque nefas cumularent atque reponerent, quidnam, inquam, illi tandem effecerint? Haud dubie invenies, eos omnes

them to rest in security, that He either is entirely ignorant or cares nothing about such matters, He must deal a smashing blow and punish them, so that He cannot forget it unto children's children; so that every one may take note and see that this is no joke to Him. For they are those whom He means when He says: *Who hate Me, i. e.,* those who persist in their defiance and pride; whatever is preached or said to them, they will not listen; when they are reproved, in order that they may learn to know themselves and amend before the punishment begins, they become mad and foolish so as to fairly merit wrath, as now we see daily in bishops and princes.

But terrible as are these threatenings, so much the more powerful is the consolation in the promise, that those who cling to God alone should be sure that He will show them mercy, that is, show them pure goodness and blessing, not only for themselves, but also to their children and children's children, even to the thousandth generation and beyond that. This ought certainly to move and impel us to risk our hearts in all confidence with God, if we wish all temporal and eternal good, since the Supreme Majesty makes such sublime offers and presents such cordial inducements and such rich promises.

Therefore let every one seriously take this to heart, lest it be regarded as though a man had spoken it. For to you it is a question either of eternal blessing, happiness, and salvation, or of eternal wrath, misery, and woe. What more would you have or desire than that He so kindly promises to be yours with every blessing, and to protect and help you in all need?

But, alas! here is the failure, that the world believes nothing of this, nor regards it as God's Word, because it sees that those who trust in God and not in Mammon suffer care and want, and the devil opposes and resists them, that they have neither money, favor, nor honor, and, besides, can scarcely support life; while, on the other hand, those who serve Mammon have power, favor, honor, possessions, and every comfort in the eyes of the world. For this reason, these words must be grasped as being directed against such appearances; and we must consider that they do not lie or deceive, but must come true.

Reflect for yourself or make inquiry and tell me: Those who have employed all their care and diligence to accumulate great possessions and wealth, what have they finally attained? You will find that they have wasted their toil and labor, or even though they have amassed great treasures, they have been dis-

[ge]worden und [es] hernach nicht an die dritten Erben gereicht hat.

lusisse et laborem et operam. Aut quamquam inaestimandos thesauros multo sudore partos accumulaverint, ita tamen evanuisse eos ipsos vel cum pulvisculo comperies, ut neque ipsi unquam ex tantis opibus ullam voluptatem perceperint, neque postea quidquam ad tertium heredem pervenerit. [R. 414

Exempel wirst du genug finden in allen Historien, auch von alten erfahrenen Leuten; siehe sie nur an und habe Achtung drauf.

44] Harum rerum exempla abunde multa omnes suppeditabunt historiae, et haec eadem a natu maioribus multarum rerum peritis audies; tantum vide, ut earundem curam et rationem non levem habere digneris.

Saul war ein großer König, von Gott erwählt, und ein frommer Mann; aber da er eingesessen war [da er sich festgesetzt hatte] und sein Herz ließ sinken, hing sich an seine Krone und Gewalt, mußte er untergehen mit allem, das er hatte, daß auch seiner Kinder keins blieb.

45] Pro certo sane constat Saulem regem fuisse amplissimum, ab ipso Deo in regni administrationem surrogatum, vitae non improbae; sed iam consecutus imperium, quum a Deo suo declinasset animo omnemque suam fiduciam in potentia, corona ac sceptro suo collocatam haberet, succumbendum ac pereundum illi erat funditus, una cum rebus omnibus, quas possederat, adeo ut neque liberorum suorum ullus superstes maneret.

Wiederum David war ein armer, verachteter Mann, verjagt und gescheucht, daß er seines Lebens nirgends sicher war; noch [dennoch] mußte er vor dem Saul bleiben und König werden. Denn diese Worte mußten bleiben und wahr werden, weil Gott nicht lügen noch trügen kann. Laß dich nur den Teufel und Welt mit ihrem Schein, der wohl eine Zeitlang währt, aber endlich nichts ist, nicht betrügen!

46] Contra David, infimae fortunae homo, erat abiectus et pastor, fugatus et passim actus insectationibus, ut ubique fere de vita veniret in periculum; attamen a Saulis impetu et insidiis tuto custodiebatur inque eius locum rex creabatur. Oportebat enim haec verba manere et vera fieri, posteaquam Deus mentiri nescit aut fallere. Tantum vide, ne diabolus et mundus hac sua splendida facie, quae quidem ad tempus durat, sed profecto umbra aut somnio vanior est atque incertior, tibi imprudenti imponant.

Darum laßt uns das erste Gebot wohl lernen, daß wir sehen, wie Gott keine Vermessenheit noch Vertrauen auf einig ander Ding leiden will und nicht Höheres von uns fordert denn eine herzliche Zuversicht alles Guten, also daß wir richtig und stracks vor uns gehen und aller Güter, so Gott gibt, [ge]brauchen, nicht weiter, denn wie ein Schuster seiner Nadel, Ahle und Draht braucht zur Arbeit und danach hinweglegt, oder wie ein Gast der Herberge, Futter und Lager, allein zur zeitlichen Notdurft, ein jeglicher in seinem Stand nach Gottes Ordnung, und lasse nur keines seinen Herrn oder Abgott sein. Das sei genug vom ersten Gebot, welches wir mit Worten haben müssen ausstreichen, weil daran allermeist die Macht liegt, darum daß (wie vor[hin] gesagt), wo das Herz wohl mit Gott dran ist und dies Gebot gehalten wird, so gehen die andern alle hernach.

47] Quamobrem primi praecepti sensum exacte nobis perdiscendum esse statuo, ut videamus, quam Deus nullo modo vanam animi praesumptionem aut falsam erga aliam rem extra se fiduciam tolerare queat. Nec quidquam tantopere a nobis postulat quam certam quandam et indubitatam omnium bonarum rerum de se persuasionem, ita ut recta via porro progredientes rebus omnibus, quas Deus largiri nobis consuevit, non aliter utamur atque sutor quispiam acu, subula filoque sutorio ad conficiendum opus suum, quo confecto illa deponit, aut quemadmodum hospites [R. 415 diversorio: ut de concessis opibus victum et amictum habeamus, prout diurni victus necessitas exegerit, quisque in suo statu, in quem divina vocatione et ordine constitutus est, nec quidquam rei nostrum dominum aut idolum **48]** esse permittamus. Et haec de primo praecepto dicta sufficiant, quod verbis aliquanto fusioribus explanandum fuit, quando summa et caput totius pietatis in eo vertatur, propterea quod (ut praedictum) ubi cordi cum Deo bene convenit, et hoc praeceptum servatum fuerit, cetera omnia apte consequuntur.

Das zweite Gebot.

Du sollst Gottes Namen nicht vergeblich führen.

Praeceptum II.

49] Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum.

Gleichwie das erste Gebot das Herz unterweiset und den Glauben gelehrt hat, also führt uns dies Gebot heraus und richtet den Mund und die Zunge gegen Gott. Denn das erste, so aus dem Herzen bricht und sich erzeigt, sind die Worte: Wie ich nun droben gelehrt habe zu antworten, was da heiße einen Gott haben, also mußt du auch den Verstand dieses und aller Gebote lernen

50] Quemadmodum primo praecepto cor hominis institutum est et fidei ratio tradita, ita hoc secundum foras nos producit, osque ac linguam erga Deum fingit ac format. Primum enim, quod natum e corde ebullit et progreditur seque ostendit, sermo est. Itaque quemadmodum supra respondendum docui, quid sit habere Deum, ita quoque huius et

persed and scattered, so that they themselves have never found happiness in their wealth, and afterwards it never reached the third generation.

Instances of this you will find a plenty in all histories, also in the memory of aged and experienced people. Only observe and ponder them.

Saul was a great king, chosen of God, and a godly man; but when he was established on his throne, and let his heart decline from God, and put his trust in his crown and power, he had to perish with all that he had, so that none even of his children remained.

David, on the other hand, was a poor, despised man, hunted down and chased, so that he nowhere felt secure of his life; yet he had to remain in spite of Saul, and become king. For these words had to abide and come true, since God cannot lie or deceive. Only let not the devil and the world deceive you with their show, which indeed remains for a time, but finally is nothing.

Let us, then, learn well the First Commandment, that we may see how God will tolerate no presumption nor any trust in any other object, and how He requires nothing higher of us than confidence from the heart for everything good, so that we may proceed right and straightforward and use all the blessings which God gives no farther than as a shoemaker uses his needle, awl, and thread for work, and then lays them aside, or as a traveler uses an inn, and food, and his bed only for temporal necessity, each one in his station, according to God's order, and without allowing any of these things to be our lord or idol. Let this suffice with respect to the First Commandment, which we have had to explain at length, since it is of chief importance, because, as before said, where the heart is rightly disposed toward God and this commandment is observed, all the others follow.

The Second Commandment.

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain.

As the First Commandment has instructed the heart and taught [the basis of] faith, so this commandment leads us forth and directs the mouth and tongue to God. For the first objects that spring from the heart and manifest themselves are words. Now, as I have taught above how to answer the question, what it is to have a god, so you must learn

einfältig faſſen und von dir ſagen [auf dich anwenden].

Wenn man nun fragt: Wie verſtehſt du das andere Gebot, und was heißt Gottes Namen vergeblich führen oder mißbrauchen? antworte aufs kürzeſte alſo: Das heißt Gottes Namen mißbrauchen, wenn man Gott den HErrn nennt, welcherlei Weiſe es geſchehen mag, zur Lüge oder allerlei Untugend. Darum iſt ſo viel geboten, daß man Gottes Namen nicht fälſchlich anziehe oder in [den] Mund nehme, da das Herz wohl anders weiß oder je anders wiſſen ſoll; als unter denen, die vor Gericht ſchwören, und ein Teil dem andern leugt [lügt]. Denn Gottes Namen kann man nicht höher mißbrauchen, denn damit zu lügen und trügen. Das laß das Deutſch und leichteſten Verſtand dieſes Gebots bleiben.

Aus dieſem kann nun jedermann ſelbſt wohl ausrechnen, wann und wie mancherlei Gottes Name mißbraucht wird, wiewohl alle Mißbräuche zu erzählen nicht möglich iſt. Doch kürzlich auszurichten, geſchieht aller Mißbrauch göttlichen Namens erſtlich in weltlichen Händeln und Sachen, ſo Geld, Gut, Ehre betreffen, es ſei öffentlich vor Gericht, auf dem Markt oder ſonſt, da man ſchwört und falſche Eide tut auf Gottes Namen oder die Sache auf ſeine Seele nimmt. Und ſonderlich iſt ſolches viel ganghaftig in Eheſachen, da ihrer zwei hingehen, einander heimlich geloben und danach verſchwören.

Allermeiſt aber geht der Mißbrauch in geiſtlichen Sachen, die das Gewiſſen belangen, wenn falſche Prediger aufſtehen und ihren Lügentand für Gottes Wort dargeben [ausgeben, darlegen].

Siehe, das heißt ſich alles mit Gottes Namen geſchmückt oder ſchön wollen ſein und recht haben, es geſchehe in groben Welthändeln oder hohen, ſubtilen Sachen des Glaubens und der Lehre. Und unter die Lügner gehören auch die Läſtermäuler, nicht allein die gar groben, jedermann wohl bekannt, die da ohne Scheu Gottes Namen ſchänden (welche nicht in unſere, ſondern des Henkers Schule gehören), ſondern auch die, ſo die Wahrheit und Gottes Wort öffentlich läſtern und dem Teufel geben. Davon jetzt nicht not, weiter zu ſagen.

Hier laß uns nun lernen und zu Herzen faſſen, wie groß an dieſem Gebot gelegen iſt, daß wir uns mit allem Fleiß hüten und ſcheuen vor allerlei Mißbrauch des heiligen Namens, als vor der höchſten Sünde, ſo äußerlich geſchehen kann. Denn lügen und trügen iſt an ihm ſelbſt große Sünde, wird aber viel ſchwerer, wenn man ſie noch rechtfertigen will und, ſie zu beſtätigen, Gottes Namen anzeucht [anzieht] und zum Schanddeckel macht,

aliorum praeceptorum omnium intelligentiam simpliciter comprehendas atque pronunties necesse est.

51] Interrogatus ergo, quomodo secundum praeceptum intelligis, aut quid significat nomen Dei in vanum sumere sive eo abuti, responde ad hunc modum paucissimis: Hoc est divino abuti nomine, quando Dei nomen quacunque ratione ad confirmanda mendacia aut alia id genus vitia atque flagitia tuenda usurpamus. Hinc tantum valet huius praecepti constitutio, ne Dei nomen falso citemus, aut in os sumamus, quando cor longe aliter sibi conscium est, aut rem aliter habere non ignorat, aut omnino aliter scire debebat. Veluti iis persaepe solet contingere, qui lites in foro et curia sectantur et iudicia, et [R. 416 altera pars aliquid perfide abiurat alteri. **52]** Neque enim alia ratione nomine Dei perinde abutimur, quam si eo ad mentiendum et fallendum turpiter abutamur. Et hic huius praecepti sensus sit facillimus et simplicissimus.

53] Ex his omnibus quivis facile colligere potest, quoties et quam multifariam divino nomine abutantur homines, tametsi omnes abusus perstringere impossibile sit. Ut tamen haec paucis expediamus, nominis divini abusus omnium maxime in negotiis consistit et causis saecularibus, illis nimirum, quae ad rem pecuniariam, opes aut honores pertinent. Sive illud propalam fiat in contentione forensi sive alibi, ubi iuratur divini nominis adducto testimonio, periuraturque, aut ipsa anima oppigneratur periurio. Cumprimis vero hoc vehementer locum habet in re connubiali, ubi duo furtim contracto inter se matrimonio, tandem quum ad iudices ventum est, datam fidem abiurat alter alteri.

54] Omnium vero maxime hic divini nominis abusus in rebus viget spiritualibus, quae pertingunt conscientiam, falsis doctoribus emergentibus, suaque mendacia divini Verbi loco venditantibus.

55] Ecce, omnibus hisce rationibus nihil aliud quaerunt aut agunt homines, quam ut semet divini nominis praetextu exornent perfide, pravo quodam consilio iusti esse contendentes, sive illud in mundanis et carnalibus sive in sublimioribus et subtilioribus fidei et doctrinae negotiis fieri soleat. Iam in mentientium numerum etiam blasphematores referendi sunt, non illi quidem crassi et impudentes, vulgo noti omnibus, qui nullius prohibiti metu aut reverentia nomen Dei ore prorsus illoto, blasphemo et procaci subinde conspurcant et contaminant (quorum [R. 417 blasphema impietas non in nostra, sed carnificis schola emendanda est), verum etiam illi, qui veritatem et Verbum Dei propalam contumeliose lacerant ac diaboli verbum impudenter et impie esse confirmant. De quibus in praesentia amplius verba facienda non sunt.

56] Discamus itaque hoc loco diligenterque volutemus animo, quantum intersit hoc praeceptum servare aut transgredi, ut omni studio diligentiaque caveamus vitemusque omnem sacratissimi nominis Dei abusum et contumeliam, tamquam peccatum omnium maximum et pessimum, quod externe designari potest. Nam tametsi mentiri et fallere per se satis grande sit flagitium, multo tamen

to comprehend simply the meaning of this and all the commandments, and to apply it to yourself.

If, then, it be asked: How do you understand the Second Commandment, or what is meant by taking in vain, or misusing God's name? answer briefly thus: It is misusing God's name when we call upon the Lord God, no matter in what way, for purposes of falsehood or wrong of any kind. Therefore this commandment enjoins this much, that God's name must not be appealed to falsely, or taken upon the lips, while the heart knows well enough, or should know, differently; as among those who take oaths in court, where one side lies against the other. For God's name cannot be misused worse than for the support of falsehood and deceit. Let this remain the exact German and simplest meaning of this commandment.

From this every one can readily infer when and in how many ways God's name is misused, although it is impossible to enumerate all its misuses. Yet, to tell it in a few words, all misuse of the divine name occurs, first, in worldly business and in matters which concern money, possessions, honor, whether it be publicly in court, in the market, or wherever else men make false oaths in God's name, or pledge their souls in any matter. And this is especially prevalent in marriage affairs, where two go and secretly betroth themselves to one another, and afterward abjure [their plighted troth].

But the greatest abuse occurs in spiritual matters, which pertain to the conscience, when false preachers rise up and offer their lying vanities as God's Word.

Behold, all this is decking one's self out with God's name, or making a pretty show, or claiming to be right, whether it occur in gross, worldly business or in sublime, subtile matters of faith and doctrine. And among liars belong also blasphemers, not alone the very gross, well known to every one, who disgrace God's name without fear (these are not for us, but for the hangman to discipline); but also those who publicly traduce the truth and God's Word and consign it to the devil. Of this there is no need now to speak further.

Here, then, let us learn and take to heart the great importance of this commandment, that with all diligence we may guard against and dread every misuse of the holy name, as the greatest sin that can be outwardly committed. For to lie and deceive is in itself a great sin, but is greatly aggravated when we attempt to justify it, and seek to confirm

also daß aus einer Lüge eine zweifältige, ja vielfältige Lüge wird.

Darum hat Gott diesem Gebot auch ein ernstlich Dräuwort angehängt, das heißt also: „Denn der HErr wird den nicht unschuldig halten, der seinen Namen vergeblich führt.“ Das ist, es soll keinem geschenkt werden noch ungestraft abgehen. Denn sowenig er will ungerochen [ungerächt] lassen, daß man das Herz von ihm wende, so wenig will er leiden, daß man seinen Namen führe, die Lügen zu beschönen [schmücken]. Nun ist es leider eine gemeine Plage in aller Welt, daß ja so wenig sind, die nicht Gottes Namen zur Lüge und aller Bosheit brauchen, so wenig als ihrer sind, die allein von Herzen auf Gott vertrauen.

Denn diese schöne Tugend haben wir von Natur alle an uns, daß, wer eine Schalkheit getan hat, gerne wollte seine Schande decken [zudecken, verbergen] und schmücken, daß niemand [es] sähe noch wüßte, und ist keiner so verwegen, der sich begangener Bosheit vor jedermann rühme, wollen's alle meuchlings [heimlich] getan haben, ehe [lieber als daß] man's gewahr wird. Greift man dann einen an, so muß Gott mit seinem Namen herhalten und die Büberei fromm, die Schande zu Ehren machen. Das ist der gemeine Weltlauf, wie eine große Sintflut eingerissen in allen Landen. Darum haben wir auch zu Lohn, was wir suchen und verdienen: Pestilenz, Krieg, Teurung, Feuer, Wasser, ungeraten Weib, Kinder, Gesinde und allerlei Unrat. Wo sollte sonst des Jammers so viel herkommen? Es ist noch große Gnade, daß uns die Erde trägt und nährt.

Darum sollte man vor allen Dingen das junge Volk ernstlich dazu halten und gewöhnen, daß sie dieses und andere Gebote hoch vor Augen hätten und, wo sie übertreten, flugs mit der Rute hinter ihnen her sein und das Gebot vorhalten und immer einbleuen [einprägen], auf daß sie also aufgezogen würden nicht allein mit Strafe, sondern auch zur Scheu und Furcht vor Gott.

So verstehst du nun, was Gottes Namen mißbrauchen heiße, nämlich (aufs kürzeste zu wiederholen) entweder bloß zur Lüge und etwas unter dem Namen ausgeben, das nicht ist, oder zu fluchen, schwören, zaubern und, Summa, wie man mag, Bosheit auszurichten.

Daneben mußt du auch wissen, wie man des Namens recht brauche [gebrauche]. Denn neben

gravius illud reddunt et maiori etiam cumulant flagitio, conantes illud defendere periurio, ac turpiter mentiendo divino nomine abutentes pro praetextu turpitudinis. Qua ratione fit, ut ex unico mendacio periurii accessione cumulato multiplicia pullulent mendacia.

57] Eam ob rem Deus huic quoque praecepto saevam comminationem annexuit, cuius haec sunt verba: *Nec enim habebit insontem Dominus eum, qui assumpserit nomen Domini Dei sui in vanum.* Hoc est, nemo hoc impune laturus est, sed poenas graves dabit blasphemiae. Quam enim inultum non patitur Deus, si quis cordis fiducia ab eo discedat, tam impunitum non sinet, si quis pro tuendis mendaciis falso usurpet nomen eius. Sed o Deum **58**] immortalem, quae tam exsecranda consuetudo divinum nomen blasphemandi omnium hominum animos corripuit! Nam perinde pauci sunt, qui salutifero Dei nomine ad mendacia, vanitatem et omnem iniquitatem suam tuendam non abutuntur, quam illorum, qui solum ex animo Deo credunt fiduntque.

59] Siquidem illa praeclara virtus (si Christo placet) omnibus nobis natura insita est, ut is, qui aliquod admisit criminose flagitium, suam turpitudinem summa ope celare [R. 418 studeat, ne cuius oculis pateat, aut aliquis designati facinoris sibi sit conscius. Usque adeo enim dissolutum aut sui negligentem et deploratae malitiae arbitror esse neminem, qui perpetrati flagitii sese iactet coram omnibus. Verum nemo non studet peccare clanculum et subdole, priusquam palam fiat, aut resciscant homines. Tum si quis eam ob rem invaditur aut insimulatur facinoris, protinus nomen Dei patet iniuriis estque obnoxium contumeliis. Hoc enim quisque suae culpae praetexit, cogiturque nomen illud omnibus modis venerandum e vitiis virtutes, ex ignominia **60**] gloriam, e dedecore honores facere. Et hic est iam totius mundi communis quidam cursus, quo veluti quodam diluvio omnes regiones orbis terrarum inundant. Hinc nostris meritis digna quoque praemia capimus, et quod nostra blasphemia procacissime quaerimus, hoc nobis plena manu offunditur, nempe pestilentia, motus bellici, annonae caritas, incendia, aquarum inundationes, degeneres uxores et liberi, perfida familia et id genus malorum examina innumerabilia. Unde enim tantum calamitatum alioqui nobis eveniret? Adhuc bene magna gratia haec est, quod terra nos ferat atque nutriat.

61] Quamobrem summo studio iuventus eo perducenda est et assuefacienda sedulo, ut secundum hoc praeceptum una cum primo reverenter habeat magnique faciat, proque transgressione protinus emendetur ferulis, posito ante oculos praecepto et subinde inculcato, ut ita pueri non tantum educentur disciplina et verberibus, sed Dei quoque metu et reverentia coerceantur.

62] Iam ergo intelligis, quid sit abuti divino nomine, nimirum (ut breviter decurram per capita) quando aut simpliciter pro tuendo mendacio abutimur, aut aliud quidpiam, quod non est, sub divini nominis praetextu molimur, quo alterum fraudulenter circumducimus, aut illud blasphemando, exsecrando, [R. 419 maledicendo, incantando ignominiose usurpamus. Breviter, quacunque ratione eius adminiculo perpetrari possunt flagitia.

63] Adhaec scitu quoque opus est, quomodo Dei nomine recte utamur. Hisce enim verbis,

it by invoking the name of God and using it as a cloak for shame, so that from a single lie a double lie, nay, manifold lies, result.

For this reason, too, God has added a solemn threat to this commandment, to wit: *For the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh His name in vain.* That is: It shall not be condoned to any one nor pass unpunished. For as little as He will leave it unavenged if any one turn his heart from Him, as little will He suffer His name to be employed for dressing up a lie. Now, alas! it is a common calamity in all the world that there are as few who are not using the name of God for purposes of lying and all wickedness as there are those who with their heart trust alone in God.

For by nature we all have within us this beautiful virtue, to wit, that whoever has committed a wrong would like to cover up and adorn his disgrace, so that no one may see it or know it; and no one is so bold as to boast to all the world of the wickedness he has perpetrated; all wish to act by stealth and without any one being aware of what they do. Then, if any one be arraigned, the name of God is dragged into the affair and must make the villainy look like godliness, and the shame like honor. This is the common course of the world, which, like a great deluge, has flooded all lands. Hence we have also as our reward what we seek and deserve: pestilences, wars, famines, conflagrations, floods, wayward wives, children, servants, and all sorts of defilement. Whence else should so much misery come? It is still a great mercy that the earth bears and supports us.

Therefore, above all things, our young people should have this commandment earnestly enforced upon them, and they should be trained to hold this and the First Commandment in high regard; and whenever they transgress, we must at once be after them with the rod, and hold the commandment before them, and constantly inculcate it, so as to bring them up not only with punishment, but also in the reverence and fear of God.

Thus you now understand what it is to take God's name in vain, that is (to recapitulate briefly), either simply for purposes of falsehood, and to allege God's name for something that is not so, or to curse, swear, conjure, and, in short, to practise whatever wickedness one may.

Besides this you must also know how to use the name [of God] aright. For when say-

dem Wort, als er sagt: „Du sollst Gottes Namen nicht vergeblich brauchen", gibt er gleichwohl zu verstehen, daß man sein wohl brauchen solle. Denn er ist uns eben darum offenbart und gegeben, daß er im Brauch und Nutz soll stehen. Darum schleußt [schließt] sich's nun selbst, weil hier verboten ist, den heiligen Namen zur Lüge oder Untugend zu führen, daß wiederum [umgekehrt] geboten ist, ihn zur Wahrheit und allem Guten zu brauchen, als nämlich, so man recht schwört, wo es not ist und gefordert wird; also auch, wenn man recht lehrt, item, wenn man den Namen anruft in Nöten, lobt und dankt im Guten [in guten Tagen] usw. Welches alles zuhauf gefaßt und geboten ist in dem Spruch, Ps. 50: „Rufe mich an zur Zeit der Not, so will ich dich erretten, so sollst du mich preisen." Denn das heißt alles ihn zur Wahrheit angezogen und seliglich gebraucht, und wird also sein Name geheiligt, wie das Vaterunser betet.

quibus praecepit: *Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum*, etiam illud intelligendum nobis proponit, Dei nomine nos etiam recte et utiliter uti posse. Non enim aliam ob causam nobis revelatum est, quam ut utentibus sub-
64] inde sit fructuosum et utile. Inde hoc ultro evincitur, quod quum hic praecepto cautum sit, ne mentientes aut alioqui flagitiose delinquentes sanctum Dei nomen prave usurpemus, contra praeceptum nobis esse arbitremur, ut eo ad confirmandam veritatem ac reliquas actiones honestas utamur, nempe, quando recte iuramus, quum aut necessitas postulat, aut a nobis iusiurandum exigitur; ita quoque quando recte et sincere docetur veritas evangelii; praeterea, quando in necessitatibus nomen Dei imploramus, aut idem rebus secundis laudamus et gratias agimus etc. Quae omnia summatim comprehensa ac praecepta inveniuntur Ps. 50, 15: *Invoca me in die tribulationis; eripiam te, et glorificabis me.* Omnibus hisce rationibus vere et salubriter divino nomine utimur, atque ita eius nomen sanctificatur, quemadmodum in Oratione Dominica precamur.

Also hast du die Summa des ganzen Gebots erklärt. Und aus diesem Verstand hat man die Frage leichtlich aufgelöst, damit sich viel Lehrer bekümmert haben: warum im Evangelio verboten ist zu schwören, so doch Christus, St. Paulus und andere Heilige oft geschworen haben. Und ist kürzlich diese Meinung: Schwören soll man nicht zum Bösen, das ist, zur Lüge, und wo es nicht not noch nütz ist, aber zum Guten und des Nächsten Besserung soll man schwören. Denn es ist ein recht gut Werk, dadurch Gott gepreiset, die Wahrheit und Recht bestätigt, die Lüge zurückgeschlagen, die Leute zufrieden[ge]bracht, Gehorsam geleistet und Hader vertragen wird. Denn Gott kommt selbst da ins Mittel und scheidet Recht und Unrecht, Böses und Gutes voneinander. Schwört ein Teil falsch, so hat es sein Urteil, daß [es] der Strafe nicht wird entlaufen, und ob es eine Weile lang ansteht, soll ihnen doch nichts gelingen, daß alles, so sie damit gewinnen, sich unter den Händen verschleiße [zerreiße, zerrinne] und nimmer fröhlich genossen werde, wie ich an vielen erfahren habe, die ihr ehelich Gelübde verschworen haben, daß sie danach keine gute Stunde oder gesunden Tag gehabt haben und also beide an Leib, Seele und Gut dazu jämmerlich verdorben sind.

65] Ita totam huius praecepti summam habes explicatam. Ex hac intelligentia haud difficulter ad quaestionem responderi potest, quae multorum doctorum non vulgariter torsit et conturbavit ingenia: quamobrem in evangelio nobis, ne iuremus, interdictum sit, cum pro certo constet Christum, Paulum alios-
66] que sanctos iurasse saepenumero. Estque breviter haec sententia: Equidem nullo modo nobis ad mala iurandum est, hoc est, ad mendacia, et ubi neque utile neque necesse est. Verum ad bonum et proximi utilitatem licet nobis iurare. Est enim opus valde [R. 420 bonum, quo Deus laudatur, veritas et iustitia confirmatur, mendacium refellitur, homines dissidentes in concordiam rediguntur, obedientia exhibetur et lites componuntur. Nam Deus ipse hic intervenit, segregans iustitiam ab iniustitia ac bonos malosque disiungens.
67] Quodsi alterutra pars malitiose periurat, iam iudicii sententia pronuntiata est, quod poenam et supplicium periurii non sit effugitura. Et si fieret, ut ad tempus supplicii irrogatio protraheretur, nihil tamen illi cadet ex sententia, ita ut, quidquid periurio lucri fecerunt, sub manibus sensim evanescat, nec un-
68] quam ea re ex animo laeti fruantur. Hoc ipsum ego non obscuris argumentis in bene multis expertus sum, qui posteaquam connubii fidem promissam abiurarunt, nunquam vel horulam iucundam habuerunt, aut saltem dieculam incolumi fuerunt valetudine, atque ita pariter et corpore et animo, bonis etiam amissis, calamitose perierunt.

Derhalben sage und vermahne ich wie vor, daß man die Kinder beizeit[en] angewöhne mit Warnen und Schrecken, Wehren und Strafen, daß sie sich scheuen vor Lügen, und sonderlich, Gottes Namen dazu zu führen. Denn wo man sie so läßt hingehen, wird nichts Gutes daraus, wie jetzt vor Augen, daß die Welt böser ist, denn sie je gewesen, und kein Regiment, Gehorsam, Treue noch Glaube, sondern eitel verwegene, unbändige Leute, an denen kein Lehren noch Strafen hilft; welches alles Gottes Zorn und Strafe ist über solche mutwillige Verachtung dieses Gebots.

69] Quapropter etiam atque etiam hortor et moneo, ut mature pueros properemus monitis deterrere et verberibus compescere, ne assuescant mendaciis, potissimum vero, ne ad haec confirmanda Dei nomen citent et adducant. Ubi enim ea iurandi licentia pueris impune permittitur, nulla spes amplius superest ullius bonae frugis ab illis exspectandae, quemadmodum hodie videmus, ut ego existimem mundum nunquam fuisse deteriorem et perditis moribus corruptiorem, quam nunc est, quando ne facies quidem ullius reipublicae bene institutae, nullum obedientiae et fidei

ing: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain,* He gives us to understand at the same time that it is to be used properly. For it has been revealed and given to us for the very purpose that it may be of constant use and profit. Hence it is a natural inference, since using the holy name for falsehood or wickedness is here forbidden, that we are, on the other hand, commanded to employ it for truth and for all good, as when one swears truly where there is need and it is demanded. So also when there is right teaching, and when the name is invoked in trouble or praised and thanked in prosperity, etc.; all of which is comprehended summarily and commanded in the passage Ps. 50, 15: *Call upon Me in the day of trouble; I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify Me.* For all this is bringing it into the service of truth, and using it in a blessed way, and thus His name is hallowed, as we pray in the Lord's Prayer.

Thus you have the sum of the entire commandment explained. And with this understanding the question with which many teachers have troubled themselves has been easily solved, to wit, why swearing is prohibited in the Gospel, and yet Christ, St. Paul, and other saints often swore. The explanation is briefly this: We are not to swear in support of evil, that is, of falsehood, and where there is no need or use; but for the support of good and the advantage of our neighbor we should swear. For it is a truly good work, by which God is praised, truth and right are established, falsehood is refuted, peace is made among men, obedience is rendered, and quarrels are settled. For in this way God Himself interposes and separates between right and wrong, good and evil. If one part swears falsely, he has his sentence that he shall not escape punishment, and though it be deferred a long time, he shall not succeed; so that all that he may gain thereby will slip out of his hands, and he will never enjoy it; as I have seen in the case of many who perjured themselves in their marriage-vows, that they have never had a happy hour or a healthful day, and thus perished miserably in body, soul, and possessions.

Therefore I advise and exhort as before that by means of warning and threatening, restraint and punishment, the children be trained betimes to shun falsehood, and especially to avoid the use of God's name in its support. For where they are allowed to do as they please, no good will result, as is even now evident that the world is worse than it has ever been, and that there is no government, no obedience, no fidelity, no faith, but

amplius superest vestigium, verum omnia deploratissimis hominibus, qui nullo modo frenari aut coerceri possunt, et in quibus docendis et obiurgandis et oleum (quod aiunt) periit et opera, omnia sunt refertissima. Quae omnia divinae irae et supplicii argumenta sunt certissima, quo nos obruit propter procacem et temerariam huius praecepti transgressionem. [R. 421

Zum andern soll man sie auch wiederum treiben und reizen, Gottes Namen zu ehren und stetig im Munde zu haben in allem, was ihnen begegnen und unter Augen stoßen mag. Denn das ist die rechte Ehre des Namens, daß man sich alles Trostes zu ihm versehe und ihn darum anrufe, also daß das Herz (wie droben gehört) zuvör durch den Glauben Gott seine Ehre gebe, danach der Mund durch das Bekenntnis.

70] Secundo, vicissim eo alliciendi et assuefaciendi sunt pueri, ut Dei nomen reverenter colant et semper in ore habeant in omnibus, quidquid uspiam illis queat occurrere aut accidere. Hic enim rectus nominis divini cultus est, ut de eo omnem nobis omnium malorum levationem et consolationem polliceamur, eamque ob rem illum imploremus, ita ut cor prius (sicut supra diximus) per fidem Deo suum honorem tribuat, deinceps vero os honorifica confessione idem faciat.

Solches ist auch eine selige, nützliche Gewohnheit und sehr kräftig wider den Teufel, der immerdar um uns ist und darauf lauert, wie er uns möchte zu Sünde und Schande, Jammer und Not bringen, aber gar ungern hört und nicht lange bleiben kann, wo man Gottes Namen von Herzen nennt und anruft; und sollte uns mancher schreckliche und greuliche Fall begegnen, wo uns Gott nicht durch Anrufen seines Namens erhielte. Ich habe es selbst versucht und wohl erfahren, daß oft plötzlicher großer Unfall gleich in solchem Rufen sich gewendet hat und ab[ge]gangen ist. Dem Teufel zuleid (sage ich) sollten wir den heiligen Namen immerdar im Munde führen, daß er nicht schaden könnte, wie er gerne wollte.

71] Atque haec divini nominis invocandi consuetudo vehementer salutaris est et utilis, ac cumprimis efficax adversus diaboli insidias, quas semper nobis molitur improbus, omnes adoriendi et invadendi occasiones venans et captans, quibus nos in peccatum et dedecus, in calamitates et aerumnas praecipitet. Sed perinvitus audit divini nominis implorationem, neque diu cunctatur aut cessat, ubicunque ex animo sacratissimum Dei nomen invo-
72] cari perceperit. Et profecto multiplicibus et horrendis casibus atque periculis saepenumero ex improviso obrueremur, nisi Deus per nominis sui invocationem nobis in tempore ferret suppetias. Ipse propriis experimentis hoc verissimum esse didici, non raro improvisum et terribilem aliquem casum aut cladem in ipsa nominis Dei invocatione in melius fuisse commutatum ac nihil damni dedisse. Ut diabolo aegre faceremus, inquam, hoc sacrum nomen semper in ore habendum esset, ne, quemadmodum cupit, nocere nobis possit et incommodare.

Dazu dient auch, daß man sich gewöhne, täglich [sich] Gotte zu befehlen mit Seele und Leib, Weib, Kind, Gesinde, und was wir haben, für alle zufällige Not; daher auch das Benedicite, Gratias und andere Segen abends und morgens [ge=] kommen und [ge]blieben sind; item, die Kinderübung, daß man sich segne, wenn man etwas Ungeheures und Schreckliches sieht oder hört, und spreche: HErr Gott, behüte! Hilf, lieber HErr Christe! oder dergleichen. Also auch wiederum, wenn jemand etwas Gutes ungedacht [unerwartet] widerfährt, wie gering es auch ist, daß man spreche: Gott sei gelobt und gedankt; das hat mir Gott beschert! usw. Wie man vormals die Kinder gewöhnt hat, St. Niklaus und andern Heiligen zu fasten und [zu ihnen zu] beten. Solches wäre Gott angenehmer und gefälliger denn kein Klosterleben noch Kartäuserheiligkeit.

73] Eodem et conducit, si assuescamus quotidie nos et corpore et animo Deo commendare, inque eius tutelam ponere uxorem, liberos, familiam et quidquid rerum possidemus, adversus omnes casus et pericula. Unde [R. 422 etiam consecratio mensae et gratiarum actio aliaeque nocturnae et matutinae benedictiones **74**] in usu permanserunt. Praeterea puerorum illud exercitium, ut sese cruce vel precatiuncula muniant, audita re aliqua terrifica et horribili, dicentes: Custodiat nos, Deus Pater! Auxiliare, Domine Iesu Christe! aut tale quippiam. Ita quoque, si cui praeter spem aliquid boni contigerit, quantulumcunque tandem sit, ut dicat: Deo sit laus et gratia, cuius munificentia hoc mihi obtigit etc. Quemadmodum quondam pueri parentum monitu consueverunt divum Nicolaum et ieiunio honorare et precibus invocare. Haec, inquam, si fierent, Deo multo essent gratiora et acceptiora quam ulla vita monastica aut fucata Carthusianorum sanctimonia.

Siehe, also möchte man die Jugend kindlicher Weise und spielens [wie im Spiel] aufziehen in Gottesfurcht und Ehre, daß das erste und andere Gebot fein im Schwang und steter Übung gingen. Da könnte etwas Gutes bekleiben [festkleben, anwachsen], aufgehen und Frucht schaffen, daß solche Leute erwüchsen, deren ein ganz Land genießen und froh werden möchte. Das wäre auch die rechte Weise, Kinder wohl zu ziehen, weil man sie mit Gutem und Lust kann gewöhnen. Denn was man allein mit Ruten und Schlägen soll zwingen, da wird keine gute Art aus, und wenn man's weit

75] Ecce, ad hunc modum iuventus puerili quadam ratione et per lusum in timore et cultu Dei educari posset, ut primum et secundum praeceptum assiduo quodam fervore in continuo versarentur exercitio. Inde alicuius bonae frugis aut indolis aliquando exorsurae et immensum fructum parituraе spes esset, ut tales enascerentur homines, a quibus in **76**] totam patriam emanare posset utilitas. Et haec ipsa quoque vera esset puerorum educandorum ratio, quando gratia quadam et voluptate eorum animi flecti possunt. Nam

only daring, unbridled men, whom no teaching or reproof helps; all of which is God's wrath and punishment for such wanton contempt of this commandment.

On the other hand, they should be constantly urged and incited to honor God's name, and to have it always upon their lips in everything that may happen to them or come to their notice. For that is the true honor of His name, to look to it and implore it for all consolation, so that (as we have heard above) first the heart by faith gives God the honor due Him, and afterwards the lips by confession.

This is also a blessed and useful habit and very effectual against the devil, who is ever about us, and lies in wait to bring us into sin and shame, calamity and trouble, but who is very loath to hear God's name, and cannot remain long where it is uttered and called upon from the heart. And, indeed, many a terrible and shocking calamity would befall us if, by our calling upon His name, God did not preserve us. I have myself tried it, and learned by experience that often sudden great calamity was immediately averted and removed during such invocation. To vex the devil, I say, we should always have this holy name in our mouth, so that he may not be able to injure us as he wishes.

For this end it is also of service that we form the habit of daily commending ourselves to God, with soul and body, wife, children, servants, and all that we have, against every need that may occur; whence also the blessing and thanksgiving at meals, and other prayers, morning and evening, have originated and remain in use. Likewise the practise of children to cross themselves when anything monstrous or terrible is seen or heard, and to exclaim: "Lord God, protect us!" "Help, dear Lord Jesus!" etc. Thus, too, if any one meets with unexpected good fortune, however trivial, that he say: "God be praised and thanked; this God has bestowed on me!" etc., as formerly the children were accustomed to fast and pray to St. Nicholas and other saints. This would be more pleasing and acceptable to God than all monasticism and Carthusian sanctity.

Behold, thus we might train our youth in a childlike way and playfully in the fear and honor of God, so that the First and Second Commandments might be well observed and in constant practise. Then some good might take root, spring up and bear fruit, and men grow up whom an entire land might relish and enjoy. Moreover, this would be the true way to bring up children well as long as they

bringt, so bleiben sie doch nicht länger fromm, denn die Rute auf dem Nacken liegt.

Aber hier wurzelt es ins Herz, daß man sich mehr vor Gott denn vor der Rute und Knüttel fürchtet. Das sage ich so einfältig für die Jugend, daß es doch einmal eingehe; denn weil wir Kindern predigen, müssen wir auch mit ihnen lallen. Also haben wir den Mißbrauch göttlichen Namens verhütet und den rechten [Ge]Brauch gelehrt, welcher nicht allein in Worten, sondern auch in der Übung und Leben stehen soll, daß man wisse, daß solches Gotte herzlich wohlgefalle, und wolle es so reichlich belohnen, so greulich als er jenen Mißbrauch strafen will.

Das dritte Gebot.

Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen.

Feiertag haben wir genannt nach dem hebräischen Wörtlein Sabbat, welches eigentlich heißt feiern, das ist, müßig stehen von der Arbeit; daher wir pflegen zu sagen, Feierabend machen oder heiligen Abend geben. Nun hat Gott im Alten Testament den siebenten Tag ausgesondert und aufgesetzt [eingesetzt, angeordnet] zu feiern, und geboten, denselben vor allen andern heilig zu halten, und dieser äußerlichen Feier nach ist dies Gebot allein den Juden gestellt, daß sie sollten von groben Werken stillstehen und ruhen, auf daß sich beide Mensch und Vieh wieder erholeten und nicht von steter Arbeit geschwächt würden. Wiewohl sie es hernach allzuenge spannten und gröblich mißbrauchten, daß sie es auch an Christo lästerten und nicht leiden konnten solche Werke, die sie doch selbst daran taten, wie man im Evangelio liest; gerade als sollte das Gebot damit erfüllt sein, daß man gar kein äußerlich Werk täte, welches doch nicht die Meinung war, sondern endlich [letztlich] die, daß sie den Feier- oder Ruhetag heiligen, wie wir hören werden.

Darum geht nun dies Gebot nach dem groben Verstand uns Christen nichts an, denn es ein ganz äußerlich Ding ist, wie andere Satzungen des Alten Testaments an sonderliche Weise, Person, Zeit und Stätte gebunden, welche nun durch Christum alle freigelassen sind.

Aber einen christlichen Verstand zu fassen für die Einfältigen, was Gott in diesem Gebot von uns fordert, so merke, daß wir Feiertage halten nicht um der verständigen und gelehrten Christen willen, denn diese [be]dürfen's nirgend zu, sondern erstlich auch um leiblicher Ursache und Notdurft willen, welche die Natur lehrt und fordert, für den gemeinen Haufen, Knechte und Mägde, so die ganze Woche ihrer Arbeit und Gewerbe gewartet, daß sie sich auch einen Tag einziehen [zurückziehen], zu ruhen und [sich zu] erquicken.

qui tantum plagis et ferulis evincendi et cogendi sunt, hi mox sub initium deplorata ac desperata sunt indole, ac licet omnis diligentia, cura et opera in formandis ipsis adhibeatur, et quasi summum obtineatur, tamen tantisper tantummodo oderunt peccare, donec plagarum ac ferulae formido eorum oculis et animo obversatur.

77] Haec vero educationis ratio in corde agit radices, ut Deum plus metuant, quam ut ferulam aut fustem perhorrescant. Atque haec iuventutis causa tam simpliciter dico, ut vel tandem in animum penetrent ibique radices agant. Nam quum pueros doceamus, cum iisdem nobis quoque balbutiendum [R. 423 fuit. Ita quidem divini nominis abusum praecavimus et rectum usum tradidimus, qui non tantum in verbis, verum multo magis in exercitio et vita debet consistere, ut sciamus hunc Deo summe placere, quem etiam tam munifice remuneraturus est, quam horrende in abusum sui nominis animadversurus est.

Praeceptum III.

78] Memento, ut diem Sabbatum sanctifices.

79] Sabbatum ab Hebraica dictione Sabbat nominatum est, quod proprie feriari, hoc est, a labore otiosum esse, significat. Hinc dicere solemus feriari seu vacare a labore, et sabba-
80] tum sanctificare. Iam Deus in veteri testamento diem septimum elegit, eundemque feriis et otio destinavit, et prae omnibus aliis sanctificandum praecepit. Eius itaque externae quietis gratia Iudaeis hoc praeceptum constitutum est, ut ab externis et manuariis operibus quiescentes indulgerent otio, quo et homines et pecora alterna quadam requie vires repararent, neque assiduo labore debilitati ab-
81] sumerentur. Quamquam postea nimis arcte suas ferias colebant ac vehementer iis abutebantur, adeo ut in Christo quoque ea opera damnarent et calumniarentur, quae ipsi quoque diebus festis faciebant, ut passim legitur in evangelio, quasi vero haec esset huius praecepti perfecta completio, si nullum prorsus externum opus manibus conficeretur, cum tamen eius haec nunquam fuerit sententia, sed potius haec, ut diem festum sive Sabbatum sanctificarent, quemadmodum in sequentibus latius audituri sumus.

82] Quamobrem hoc praeceptum, quantum ad externum et crassum illum sensum attinet, ad nos Christianos non pertinet. Est enim externa quaedam res, sicut omnes [R. 424 aliae veteris testamenti constitutiones certis quibusdam ritibus, personis, temporibus et locis destinatae, quae omnes iam per Christum liberae factae sunt.

83] Ceterum, ut hinc Christianum aliquem intellectum hauriamus pro simplicibus, quidnam Deus hoc in praecepto a nobis exigat, ita habe: Nos dies festos celebrare, non propter intelligentes et eruditos Christianos, hi enim nihil opus habent feriis, verum primo etiam corporalis cuiusdam causae et necessitatis gratia, quam et natura docet et exigit, nimirum communis multitudinis gratia, servorum, ancillarum, qui per totam hebdomadam laboribus servierunt, ut et ipsi diem habeant, qua ab operibus respirantes semet ex labore reficiant et corpora fessa quiete firmare queant.

can become trained with kindness and delight. For what must be enforced with rods and blows only will not develop into a good breed, and at best they will remain godly under such treatment no longer than while the rod is upon their back.

But this [manner of training] so spreads its roots in the heart that they fear God more than rods and clubs. This I say with such simplicity for the sake of the young, that it may penetrate their minds. For since we are preaching to children, we must also prattle with them. Thus we have prevented the abuse and have taught the right use of the divine name, which should consist not only in words, but also in practise and life, so that we may know that God is well pleased with this, and will as richly reward it as He will terribly punish the abuse.

The Third Commandment.

Thou shalt sanctify the holy day. [Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.]

The word holy day (*Feiertag*) is rendered from the Hebrew word *sabbath* which properly signifies to rest, that is, to abstain from labor. Hence we are accustomed to say, *Feierabend machen* [that is, to cease working], or *heiligen Abend geben* [sanctify the Sabbath]. Now, in the Old Testament, God separated the seventh day, and appointed it for rest, and commanded that it should be regarded as holy above all others. As regards this external observance, this commandment was given to the Jews alone, that they should abstain from toilsome work, and rest, so that both man and beast might recuperate, and not be weakened by unremitting labor. Although they afterwards restricted this too closely, and grossly abused it, so that they traduced and could not endure in Christ those works which they themselves were accustomed to do on that day, as we read in the Gospel; just as though the commandment were fulfilled by doing no external [manual] work whatever, which, however, was not the meaning, but, as we shall hear, that they sanctify the holy day or day of rest.

This commandment, therefore, according to its gross sense, does not concern us Christians; for it is altogether an external matter, like other ordinances of the Old Testament, which were attached to particular customs, persons, times, and places, and now have been made free through Christ.

But to grasp a Christian meaning for the simple as to what God requires in this commandment, note that we keep holy days not for the sake of intelligent and learned Christians (for they have no need of it [holy days]), but first of all for bodily causes and necessities, which nature teaches and requires; for the common people, man-servants and maid-servants, who have been attending to their work and trade the whole week, that for a day they may retire in order to rest and be refreshed.

Danach allermeist darum, daß man an solchem Ruhetage (weil man sonst nicht dazu kommen kann) Raum und Zeit nehme, [des] Gottesdienstes zu warten, also daß man zu Hause komme, Gottes Wort zu hören und handeln, danach Gott loben, singen und beten.

Solches aber (sage ich) ist nicht also an Zeit gebunden wie bei den Juden, daß es müsse eben dieser oder jener Tag sein; denn es ist keiner an ihm selbst besser denn der andere, sondern sollte wohl täglich geschehen, aber weil es der Haufe nicht warten [beobachten, einhalten] kann, muß man je zum wenigsten einen Tag in der Woche dazu ausschießen [aussondern, auswählen]. Weil aber von alters her der Sonntag dazu gestellt ist, soll man's auch dabei bleiben lassen, auf daß es in einträchtiger Ordnung gehe, und niemand durch unnötige Neuerung eine Unordnung mache.

Also ist das die einfältige Meinung dieses Gebots, weil man sonst [ohnehin] Feiertage hält, daß man solche Feier anlege, Gottes Wort zu lernen, also daß dieses Tages eigentlich Amt sei das Predigtamt um des jungen Volks und armen Haufens willen; doch daß das Feiern nicht so enge gespannt [werde], daß darum andere zufällige Arbeit, so man nicht umgehen kann, verboten wäre.

Derhalben wenn man fragt, was da gesagt sei: „Du sollst den Feiertag heiligen", so antworte: Den Feiertag heiligen heißt so viel, als heilig halten. Was ist denn heilig halten? Nichts anderes, denn heilige Worte, Werke und Leben führen. Denn der Tag [be]darf für sich selbst keines Heiligens nicht, denn er ist an ihm selbst heilig geschaffen; Gott will aber haben, daß er dir heilig sei. Also wird er deinethalben heilig und unheilig, so du heilig oder unheilig Ding daran treibst.

Wie geht nun solches Heiligen zu? Nicht also, daß man hinter dem Ofen sitze und keine grobe Arbeit tue oder einen Kranz aufsetze und seine besten Kleider anziehe, sondern (wie gesagt) daß man Gottes Wort handle und sich darin übe.

Und zwar [fürwahr] wir Christen sollen immerdar solchen Feiertag halten, eitel heilig Ding treiben, das ist, täglich mit Gottes Wort umgehen und solches im Herzen und Mund umtragen. Aber weil wir (wie gesagt) nicht alle Zeit und Muße haben, müssen wir die Woche etliche Stunden für die Jugend oder zum wenigsten einen Tag für den ganzen Haufen dazu [ge]brauchen, daß man sich allein damit bekümmere und eben [besonders] die zehn Gebote, den Glauben und Vaterunser treibe und also unser ganzes Leben und Wesen nach Gottes Wort richte. Welche Zeit nun das im Schwang und Übung geht, da wird ein rechter Feiertag gehalten; wo nicht, so soll es kein Christenfeiertag heißen. Denn feiern und müßig gehen können die Unchristen auch wohl, wie auch das ganze Geschwarm unserer Geistlichen täglich in der Kirche stehen, singen und klingen, heili-

84] Deinde eam ob rem potissimum, ut die Sabbati, quando alias ei rei vacare non licet, otium et tempus sumatur cultui divino serviendi, ita ut conveniamus ad audiendum et tractandum Dei Verbum, ac deinceps Deum hymnis, psalmis, canticis et precibus laudemus.

85] Sed hoc, inquam, apud nos non perinde certis temporibus sicut apud Iudaeos alligatum est, ut ei rei hic aut ille [dies] dictus aut praestitutus sit; nullus enim dies altero est melior aut praestantior; verum haec quidem quotidie fieri debebant, sed quando multitudo praepedita negotiis interesse nequeat, ad minimum unus aliquis dies per hebdomadam huic rei serviendae eligendus est. Porro autem, quum a maioribus nostris ad hoc dies dominica ordinata sit, non est immutanda temere haec innoxia veterum consuetudo iam recepta, ut unanimis et consentiens ordo consistat, ne quis sua non necessaria innovatione conturbet omnia.

86] Huius ergo praecepti hic simplex sensus est, quando alias dies festos agimus, ut hasce ferias Verbo Dei discendo destinemus, ita ut earundem dierum proprium munus sit [R. 425 officium concionandi, et hoc iuventutis et multitudinis instituendae gratia. Neque tamen tam arcte et superstitiose colantur feriae, ut earum gratia labores, qui vitari et intermitti non possunt, interdicantur.

87] Quare interrogatus, quid sit: *Sabbatum sanctifices*, responde: Sabbatum sanctificare idem est, quod Sabbatum sanctum habere. Quid ergo est, Sabbatum sanctum habere? Nihil aliud quam sanctis verbis, operibus et vitae vacare. Siquidem hic dies pro se non opus habet sanctificatione, iam enim inde ab initio creationis a suo conditore sanctificatus est. Hoc autem Deus a te contendit, ut tibi sit sanctus. Ita fit, ut tui gratia sanctus aut profanus reddatur, quatenus tu in eo sanctis aut profanis operibus vacaveris.

88] In quo ergo Sabbati sanctificatio sita est? Sane profecto non in hoc, ut post fornacem compressis (quod aiunt) manibus sedeas, aut nullum externum opus opereris, aut corona florea caput cingas, ut vestitu splendidiore te exornes, sed (ut dictum est) Verbum Dei tractes inque eodem, emendata in melius vita, temet exerceas.

89] Et profecto nobis Christianis subinde tales agendae essent feriae tantumque sacris rebus vacandum et incumbendum, hoc est, quotidie Verbum Dei exercendum et in ore ac corde ferendum. Verum, quia non omnibus, ut diximus, et tempus et otium suppetit, certis aliquot per hebdomadam horis pro iuventute aut ad minimum die quopiam pro tota ecclesia utamur oportet, ut tantum huic rei intenti simus, neque aliud quam Decem Praecepta, Symbolum Fidei et Orationem Dominicam exponendam et discendam proponamus, atque ita totam hanc vitam nostram ad divinorum verborum amussim et regulam insti-
90] tuamus. Quocunque ergo tempore [R. 426 ista communi et unanimi consensu tractantur et exercentur, ibi profecto rectum celebratur Sabbatum; sin non, neque Christianorum Sab-

Secondly, and most especially, that on such day of rest (since we can get no other opportunity) freedom and time be taken to attend divine service, so that we come together to hear and treat of God's Word, and then to praise God, to sing and pray.

However, this, I say, is not so restricted to any time, as with the Jews, that it must be just on this or that day; for in itself no one day is better than another; but this should indeed be done daily; however, since the masses cannot give such attendance, there must be at least one day in the week set apart. But since from of old Sunday [the Lord's Day] has been appointed for this purpose, we also should continue the same, in order that everything be done in harmonious order, and no one create disorder by unnecessary innovation.

Therefore this is the simple meaning of the commandment: since holidays are observed anyhow, such observance should be devoted to hearing God's Word, so that the special function of this day should be the ministry of the Word for the young and the mass of poor people; yet that the resting be not so strictly interpreted as to forbid any other incidental work that cannot be avoided.

Accordingly, when asked, What is meant by the commandment: *Thou shalt sanctify the holy day?* answer: To sanctify the holy day is the same as to keep it holy. But what is meant by keeping it holy? Nothing else than to be occupied in holy words, works, and life. For the day needs no sanctification for itself; for in itself it has been created holy [from the beginning of the creation it was sanctified by its Creator]. But God desires it to be holy to you. Therefore it becomes holy or unholy on your account, according as you are occupied on the same with things that are holy or unholy.

How, then, does such sanctification take place? Not in this manner, that [with folded hands] we sit behind the stove and do no rough [external] work, or deck ourselves with a wreath and put on our best clothes, but (as has been said) that we occupy ourselves with God's Word, and exercise ourselves therein.

And, indeed, we Christians ought always to keep such a holy day, and be occupied with nothing but holy things, *i. e.*, daily be engaged upon God's Word, and carry it in our hearts and upon our lips. But (as has been said) since we do not at all times have leisure, we must devote several hours a week for the sake of the young, or at least a day for the sake of the entire multitude, to being concerned about this alone, and especially urge the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, and thus direct our whole life and being according to God's Word. At whatever time, then, this is being observed and practised, there a true *holy day* is being kept; other-

gen aber keinen Feiertag nicht; denn sie kein Gotteswort predigen noch üben, sondern eben [gerade] dawider lehren und leben.

batum dicendum est. Quippe ferias et otium agere noverunt etiam ii, qui a Christo omnique pietate sunt alienissimi. Quemadmodum videmus totum illud examen et otiosam ac mollem turbam religiosorum nostrorum, qui quotidie in templis stantes cantillant et strenue tinniunt, boant et vociferantur, sed nullum sanctificant hac stentorea vociferatione et lupino illo ululatu suo Sabbatum. Neque enim ullum Dei Verbum docent aut exercent, sed plane diversum et contrarium, et doctrina et vita, exprimunt.

Denn das Wort Gottes ist das Heiligtum über alle Heiligtümer, ja, das einzige, das wir Christen wissen und haben. Denn ob wir gleich aller Heiligen Gebeine oder heilige und geweihte Kleider auf einem Haufen hätten, so wäre uns doch nichts damit geholfen; denn es ist alles tot Ding, das niemand heiligen kann. Aber Gottes Wort ist der Schatz, der alle Dinge heilig macht, dadurch sie selbst, die Heiligen, alle sind geheiligt worden. Welche Stunde man nun Gottes Wort handelt, predigt, hört, liest oder bedenkt, so wird dadurch Person, Tag und Werk geheiligt, nicht des äußerlichen Werks halben, sondern des Worts halben, so uns alle zu Heiligen macht. Derhalben sage ich allezeit, daß alle unser Leben und Werke in dem Wort Gottes gehen müssen, sollen sie Gott gefällig oder heilig heißen. Wo das geschieht, so geht dies Gebot in seiner Kraft und Erfüllung.

91] Siquidem Dei Verbum unicum illud sacrum est, quod omnes res sacras longe lateque sanctitate praecellit et exsuperat, imo potius unicum illud mysterium, quod nos Christiani et scimus et habemus. Nam tametsi omnes omnium sanctorum reliquias et ossa in acervum cumulata possideremus, aut in universum omnes sacras vestes haberemus, nihil tamen inde emolumenti caperemus aut sentiremus auxilii. Sunt enim res mortuae, neminem sanctificare valentes. Verum enim vero Dei Verbum thesaurus ille et gaza est pretiosissima, quae omnia sanctificat, cuius adminiculo etiam ipsi sancti omnes sancti-
92] moniam consecuti sunt. Iam quacunque hora Verbum Dei docetur, praedicatur, auditur, legitur, consideratur aut repetitur memoria, ea huius tractatione audientis persona, dies et opus sanctificatur, non externi quidem operis gratia, sed propter Verbum, quo omnes nos sancti reddimur et efficimur. Quocirca nunquam non dico, omnem vitam et opera nostra Verbi Dei ductu et auspicio gubernari debere atque institui, si volumus haec Deo placere et sancta esse; quodsi fit, constat huius praecepti fervere efficaciam et plenitudinem.

Wiederum, was für Wesen und Werk außer Gottes Wort geht, das ist vor Gott unheilig, es scheine und gleiße, wie es wolle, wenn man's mit eitel Heiligtum behinge, als da sind die erdichteten geistlichen Stände, die Gottes Wort nicht wissen und in ihren Werken Heiligkeit suchen.

93] Contra quaecunque res aut opera extra Dei Verbum feruntur et instituuntur, haec coram Deo profana sunt et immunda, [R. 427 quamlibet tandem praeclare et splendida, etiamsi meris sacris divorum reliquiis essent exornata. Cuius generis sunt ficti atque excogitati religiosorum ordines, Verbum Dei prorsus ignorantes et sanctitatem ex propriis operibus quaeritantes.

Darum merke, daß die Kraft und Macht dieses Gebots steht nicht im Feiern, sondern im Heiligen, also daß dieser Tag eine sonderliche heilige Übung habe. Denn andere Arbeit und Geschäfte heißen eigentlich nicht heilige Übungen, es sei denn der Mensch zuvor heilig. Hier aber muß ein solch Werk geschehen, dadurch ein Mensch selbst heilig werde, welches allein (wie gehört) durch Gottes Wort geschieht, dazu denn gestiftet und geordnet sind Stätte, Zeit, Personen und der ganze äußerliche Gottesdienst, daß solches auch öffentlich im Schwang gehe.

94] Quare ita habe, huius praecepti vim atque virtutem non consistere in otiando, sed in sanctificando, ita ut hic dies praecipuum aliquod sanctarum rerum exercitium habeat. Nam reliqui labores et exercitia proprie non dicuntur sancta exercitia, nisi homo prius sanctus fuerit. Hic vero ea fieri debent opera, per quae homo ipse sanctus fiat, id quod solum, ut dixi, Verbo Dei fieri potest. Ad quod etiam fundata et constituta sunt certa loca, tempora, personae et totus externus Dei cultus, ut haec propalam assiduo usu exercitata ferveant.

Weil nun so viel an Gottes Wort gelegen ist, daß ohne dasselbe kein Feiertag geheiligt wird, sollen wir wissen, daß Gott dies Gebot streng will gehalten haben und strafen alle, die sein Wort verachten, nicht hören noch lernen wollen, sonderlich die Zeit [zu der Zeit], so dazu geordnet ist.

95] Cum itaque tanti momenti sit Verbum Dei, ut citra huius tractationem nullas ferias sanctas esse certum sit, scire debemus Deum hoc praeceptum severe atque adeo serio conservari velle, suppliciumque de his omnibus esse sumpturum, quotquot Verbum eius proterve contemnunt, aut audire et discere recusant, eo praesertim tempore, quod huic audiendo et discendo destinatum est.

Darum sündigen wider dies Gebot nicht allein, die den Feiertag gröblich mißbrauchen und verunheiligen, als die um ihres Geizes oder Leichtfertigkeit willen Gottes Wort nachlassen zu hören oder in Tabernen [Schenken] liegen, toll und voll sind wie die Säue, sondern auch der andere Haufe,

96] Quare adversus hoc praeceptum peccant non tantum ii, qui contumeliosis operibus abutuntur Sabbato, idemque irreligiose profanant, ut illi, qui dediti avaritiae aut prava rapti libidine Verbum Dei non audiunt, aut in tabernis vinariis poculis ac gulae indul-

wise it shall not be called a Christians' *holy day.* For, indeed, non-Christians can also cease from work and be idle, just as the entire swarm of our ecclesiastics, who stand daily in the churches, singing, and ringing bells but keeping no holy day holy, because they neither preach nor practise God's Word, but teach and live contrary to it.

For the Word of God is the sanctuary above all sanctuaries, yea, the only one which we Christians know and have. For though we had the bones of all the saints or all holy and consecrated garments upon a heap, still that would help us nothing; for all that is a dead thing which can sanctify nobody. But God's Word is the treasure which sanctifies everything, and by which even all the saints themselves were sanctified. At whatever hour, then, God's Word is taught, preached, heard, read or meditated upon, there the person, day, and work are sanctified thereby, not because of the external work, but because of the Word, which makes saints of us all. Therefore I constantly say that all our life and work must be ordered according to God's Word, if it is to be God-pleasing or holy. Where this is done, this commandment is in force and being fulfilled.

On the contrary, any observance or work that is practised without God's Word is unholy before God, no matter how brilliantly it may shine, even though it be covered with relics, such as the fictitious spiritual orders, which know nothing of God's Word and seek holiness in their own works.

Note, therefore, that the force and power of this commandment lies not in the resting, but in the sanctifying, so that to this day belongs a special holy exercise. For other works and occupations are not properly called holy exercises, unless the man himself be first holy. But here a work is to be done by which man is himself made holy, which is done (as we have heard) alone through God's Word. For this, then, fixed places, times, persons, and the entire external order of worship have been created and appointed, so that it may be publicly in operation.

Since, therefore, so much depends upon God's Word that without it no holy day can be sanctified, we must know that God insists upon a strict observance of this commandment, and will punish all who despise His Word and are not willing to hear and learn it, especially at the time appointed for the purpose.

Therefore not only those sin against this commandment who grossly misuse and desecrate the holy day, as those who on account of their greed or frivolity neglect to hear God's Word or lie in taverns and are dead drunk like swine; but also that other crowd,

ſo Gottes Wort hören als einen andern Tand [eitles Gerede] und nur aus Gewohnheit zur Predigt und wieder heraus gehen, und wenn das Jahr um iſt, können ſie heuer [dies Jahr] ſo viel als fernd [vorm Jahr]. Denn bisher hat man gemeint, es wäre wohl gefeiert, wenn man des Sonntags eine Meſſe oder das Evangelium hätte hören leſen, aber nach Gottes Wort hat niemand gefragt, wie es auch niemand gelehrt hat. Jetzt, weil wir Gottes Wort haben, tun wir gleichwohl den Mißbrauch nicht ab, laſſen uns immerdar predigen und vermahnen, hören's aber ohne Ernſt und Sorge.

gentes ferinam atque suillam vitam exigunt, verum etiam illi, qui perinde Verbum Dei audiunt tamquam fabulam quandam et commentum anile, tantum pro more ac usitata quadam consuetudine auditum accedunt intrantes atque exeuntes, iamque anno elapso ne pilo doctiores aut meliores facti sunt. **97**] Hactenus enim haec apud homines inveteravit opinio, ut existimarent per [R. 428 omnia satisfactum esse Sabbato, si die dominico missa ac evangelium audiretur. Ceterum, Verbum Dei nemo admodum requisivit, quemadmodum nemo quoque praesto fuit, qui illud sincere docuisset. Iam vero, posteaquam tanti thesauri facti sumus compotes, quo maior aut amplior nullus reperiri potest, abusum nequaquam tollimus, sed sinimus quidem nobis multa praedicari ac nos moneri sedulo, ceterum nulla gravitate animique constantia et cura audimus.

Darum wiſſe, daß [es] nicht allein ums Hören zu tun iſt, ſondern [es] ſoll auch gelernt und behalten werden, und denke nicht, daß es in deiner Willkür ſtehe oder nicht große Macht dran liege, ſondern daß [es] Gottes Gebot iſt, der es fordern wird, wie du ſein Wort gehört, gelernt und gelehrt haſt.

98] Scias itaque non tantum referre, ut audias verum multo magis etiam, ut auditum Dei Verbum perdiscas et custodias. Neque in eam venias opinionem, ut haec tecum cogites in tua voluntate situm esse, aut non ita multum referre, audias necne, sed praeceptum Dei esse, qui aliquando auditi a te Verbi sui rationem tecum initurus est, quomodo illud didiceris, audieris aut quam reverenter habueris.

Desgleichen ſind auch zu ſtrafen die ekeln [wählériſchen] Geiſter, welche, wenn ſie eine Predigt oder zwei gehört haben, ſind ſie es ſatt und überdrüſſig, als die es ſelbſt wohl können und keines Meiſters mehr [be]dürfen. Denn das iſt eben die Sünde, ſo man bisher unter die Todſünden gezählt hat, und heißt ἀκηδία, das iſt, Trägheit oder Überdruß, eine feindſelige, ſchädliche Plage, damit der Teufel vieler Herzen bezaubert und betreugt [betrügt], auf daß er uns übereile und das Wort Gottes wieder heimlich entziehe.

99] Pari quoque ratione obiurgandi sunt illi delicati et fastidiosi spiritus, qui simul atque unam et alteram concionem audierunt, protinus saturi sunt, correptique nausea Verbum fastidiunt, utpote qui ipsi illud probe calleant, nec egeant magistro aut doctore amplius. Haec enim Verbi Dei nausea et fastidium ipsum illud peccatum est, quod inter mortalia peccata hactenus numeratum est, diciturque ἀκηδία, hoc est, socordia et taedium, odiosa profecto et damnosa pestis, qua diabolus hoc tempore multorum perstringit pectora, ut nos oscitantes opprimat ac Verbum Dei iterum nobis clanculum subtrahat.

Denn das laß dir geſagt ſein, ob du es gleich aufs beſte könnteſt und aller Dinge Meiſter wäreſt, ſo biſt du doch täglich unter des Teufels Reich, der weder Tag noch Nacht ruht, dich zu beſchleichen [dir heimlich zu nahen], daß er in deinem Herzen Unglauben und böſe Gedanken wider die vorigen und alle Gebote anzünde. Darum mußt du immerdar Gottes Wort im Herzen, Mund und vor den Ohren haben. Wo aber das Herz müßig ſteht und das Wort nicht klingt, ſo bricht er ein und hat den Schaden getan, ehe man's gewahr wird. Wiederum hat es die Kraft, wo man's mit Ernſt betrachtet, hört und handelt, daß es nimmer ohne Frucht abgeht, ſondern allezeit neuen Verſtand, Luſt und Andacht erweckt, rein Herz und Gedanken macht; denn es ſind nicht faule noch tote, ſondern [ge]ſchäftige, lebendige Worte. Und ob uns gleich kein anderer Nutz und Not triebe, ſo ſoll doch das jedermann dazu reizen, daß dadurch der Teufel geſcheucht und verjagt, dazu dies Gebot erfüllt wird, und [es] Gott gefälliger iſt denn alle andern gleißenden Heuchelwerke.

100] Hoc enim tibi praedictum sit, quamquam Verbi divini omnium esses scientissimus, omnesque reliquos huius anteires cognitione et magisterio: quotidie tamen in Satanae potestate et regno positus es diu noctuque non desinentis tibi machinari perniciem, ut in corde tuo incredulitatem excitet, teque malis cogitationibus adversus priora et omnia praecepta incendat. Quare omnibus [R. 429 modis necessarium est, ut Verbum Dei in promptu habeas et, quod dici solet, in numerato, hoc est, in corde, in ore, in auribus. Quiescente autem corde, nec Verbo Dei personante, impressionem facit ac prius, quam ani- **101**] madvertamus, damnum dedit. Contra, ea vis et virtus Verbi est, ut, ubi seria quadam animi agitatione revocatur in memoriam, aut auditur et tractatur, nunquam sine fructu evanescat, sed subinde nova quadam intelligentia, voluptate ac devotione auditorem afficiat, retineat ac excitet, pectusque et cogitationes purificet. Neque enim verba sunt putrida aut emortua, succo et vigore carentia, **102**] sed plane viva et efficacia. Adhaec, si nulla alia utilitas aut necessitas ad crebro et diligenter audiendum Dei Verbum nos provocaret, tamen haec una satis vehemens esse debebat, quae merito omnes nos excitaret, quod Verbi divini tractatione daemon fugatur et abigitur, et hoc praeceptum impletur, Deoque acceptius est sui Verbi exercitium, quam omnia alia splendida hypocritarum opera.

who listen to God's Word as to any other trifle, and only from custom come to preaching, and go away again, and at the end of the year know as little of it as at the beginning. For hitherto the opinion prevailed that you had properly hallowed Sunday when you had heard a mass or the Gospel read; but no one cared for God's Word, as also no one taught it. Now, while we have God's Word, we nevertheless do not correct the abuse; we suffer ourselves to be preached to and admonished, but we listen without seriousness and care.

Know, therefore, that you must be concerned not only about hearing, but also about learning and retaining it in memory, and do not think that it is optional with you or of no great importance, but that it is God's commandment, who will require of you how you have heard, learned, and honored His Word.

Likewise those fastidious spirits are to be reproved who, when they have heard a sermon or two, find it tedious and dull, thinking that they know all that well enough, and need no more instruction. For just that is the sin which has been hitherto reckoned among mortal sins, and is called *ἀκηδία, i. e.*, torpor or satiety, a malignant, dangerous plague with which the devil bewitches and deceives the hearts of many, that he may surprise us and secretly withdraw God's Word from us.

For let me tell you this, even though you know it perfectly and be already master in all things, still you are daily in the dominion of the devil, who ceases neither day nor night to steal unawares upon you, to kindle in your heart unbelief and wicked thoughts against the foregoing and all the commandments. Therefore you must always have God's Word in your heart, upon your lips, and in your ears. But where the heart is idle, and the Word does not sound, he breaks in and has done the damage before we are aware. On the other hand, such is the efficacy of the Word, whenever it is seriously contemplated, heard, and used, that it is bound never to be without fruit, but always awakens new understanding, pleasure, and devoutness, and produces a pure heart and pure thoughts. For these words are not inoperative or dead, but creative, living words. And even though no other interest or necessity impel us, yet this ought to urge every one thereunto, because thereby the devil is put to flight and driven away, and, besides, this commandment is fulfilled, and [this exercise in the Word] is more pleasing to God than any work of hypocrisy, however brilliant.

Das vierte Gebot.

Bisher haben wir die ersten drei Gebote gelernt, die da gegen Gott gerichtet sind. Zum ersten, daß man ihm von ganzem Herzen vertraue, ihn fürchte und liebe in all unserm Leben. Zum andern, daß man seines heiligen Namens nicht mißbrauche zur Lüge noch einigem bösen Stücke, sondern zu Gottes Lob, Nutz und Seligkeit des Nächsten und seiner selbst. Zum dritten, daß man an der Feier und Ruhe Gottes Wort mit Fleiß handle und treibe, auf daß all unser Tun und Leben danach gehe. Folgen nun die andern sieben, gegen unsern Nächsten gestellt, unter welchen das erste und höchste ist:

Du sollst deinen Vater und deine Mutter ehren.

Diesem Vater- und Mutterstand hat Gott sonderlich den Preis gegeben vor allen Ständen, die unter ihm sind, daß er nicht schlechts gebeut [nicht bloß gebietet], die Eltern liebzuhaben, sondern zu ehren. Denn gegen Brüder, Schwestern und den Nächsten insgemein befiehlt er nichts Höheres, denn sie zu lieben, also daß er Vater und Mutter scheidet und auszeucht [ausnimmt, auswählt] vor allen andern Personen auf Erden und neben sich setzt. Denn es ist viel ein höher Ding, ehren, denn lieben, als das nicht allein die Liebe begreift, sondern auch eine Zucht [Höflichkeit], Demut und Scheu, als gegen eine Majestät, allda verborgen, auch nicht allein fordert, daß man sie freundlich und mit Ehrerbietung anspreche, sondern allermeist, daß man sich beide von Herzen und mit dem Leibe also stelle und erzeige, daß man viel von ihnen halte und nach Gott für die Obersten ansehe. Denn welchen man von Herzen ehren soll, den muß man wahrlich für hoch und groß achten.

Also daß man dem jungen Volk einbilde [einpräge], ihre Eltern an Gottes Statt vor Augen zu halten und also [zu] denken, ob sie gleich gering, arm, gebrechlich und wunderlich seien, daß sie dennoch Vater und Mutter sind, von Gott gegeben. Des Wandels oder Fehls [Gebrechens] halben sind sie der Ehren nicht beraubt. Darum ist nicht anzusehen die Person, wie sie sind, sondern Gottes Wille, der es also schafft und ordnet. Sonst sind wir zwar vor Gottes Augen alle gleich, aber unter uns kann es ohne solche Ungleichheit und ordentlichen Unterschied nicht sein, darum sie auch von Gott geboten ist zu halten, daß du mir als deinem Vater gehorsam seiest, und ich die Oberhand habe.

So lerne nun zum ersten, was die Ehre gegen den [die] Eltern heiße, in diesem Gebot gefordert, nämlich daß man sie vor allen Dingen herrlich und wert halte als den höchsten Schatz auf Erden, danach auch mit Worten sich züchtig [höflich] gegen sie stelle, [sie] nicht übel anfahre, noch mit ihnen poche noch poltere, sondern lasse sie recht haben und schweige, ob sie gleich zu viel tun. Zum dritten auch mit Werken, das ist, mit Leib und Gut, solche

Praeceptum IV.

103] Hactenus tria priora praecepta didicimus, quae erga Deum servanda nobis tradita sunt. Primum, ut ei ex toto corde fidamus, eum per omnem vitam nostram metuamus et diligamus. Deinde, ut eius sancto nomine nequaquam ad mendacia aut ullam aliam nequitiam tuendam abutamur, sed idem ad laudem Dei ac utilitatem et salutem proximi atque etiam nostram usurpemus. Tertio, ut diebus festis Verbum Dei diligenter audiatur et exerceatur, ut tota vita nostra ad eius gnomonem et regulam non discrepante amussi respondeat. Sequuntur nunc deinceps reliqua septem praecepta, quae erga proximum nobis conservanda sunt, quorum primum et summum hoc est:

104] Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, ut sis longaevus super terram. [R. 430

105] Hunc parentum statum et ordinem Deus praecipue hoc ornavit elogio ante omnes alios, qui sub ipso sunt, status et ordines, ut non simpliciter praecipiat parentes esse amandos, sed honorandos. Nam erga fratres, sorores et proximum in genere nihil amplius praecipit, quam amore prosequendos esse, ita ut parentes ab omnibus aliis, qui in terra agunt, **106]** segreget iuxtaque se collocet. Est enim honor res amore multis modis sublimior, utpote quae non tantum amorem in se complectatur, verum etiam singularem quandam modestiam, humilitatem et reverentiam, quae cuidam quasi maiestati hic occulte habenda **107]** sit. Neque tantum exigit, ut amanter et cum honore parentes compellemus, sed omnium maxime, ut et corpore et animo ita nos geramus, exhibeamus, ut in existimatione magna apud nos sint, ac post Deum pro summis ac maximis inter homines intueamur. Cui enim non simulate, sed ex animo honorem dare volumus, hunc profecto maximi pretii hominem esse existimemus oportet.

108] Necessarium ergo est, ut pueris hoc identidem inculcetur, ut parentes suos Dei loco revereantur atque in honore habeant, itaque secum animo cogitent, quod, quamquam tenues, egeni, imbecilles, deficientes et morosi sint, nihilominus parentes sint, ab ipso Deo sibi dati. Nam conditionis aut defectus gratia debito honore privati non sunt. Quare parentum personae intuendae non sunt, sed Dei voluntas consideranda, ita iubentis et ordinantis. Alioqui coram Deo omnes quidem pares sumus, sed nos inter nos hoc dispari et ordinato discrimine non possumus non discrepare. Quamobrem a Deo praeceptum est, ut mihi tanquam tuo patri dicto sis audiens, egoque imperium in te obtineam.

109] Disce ergo sub initium, quinam [R. 431 honor parentibus habendus sit, hoc praecepto exactus, nimirum ut prae omnibus rebus reverenter habeantur et tractentur benefice veluti maximus et pretiosissimus in terris thesaurus. **110]** Deinde, ut parem quoque in verbis humanitatem et modestiam a nobis sentiant, ne acerbe eos invadant liberi, neve cum iisdem agant elate et ferociter, sed illis de suo iure

The Fourth Commandment.

Thus far we have learned the first three commandments, which relate to God. First, that with our whole heart we trust in Him, and fear and love Him throughout all our life. Secondly, that we do not misuse His holy name in the support of falsehood or any bad work, but employ it to the praise of God and the profit and salvation of our neighbor and ourselves. Thirdly, that on holidays and when at rest we diligently treat and urge God's Word, so that all our actions and our entire life be ordered according to it. Now follow the other seven, which relate to our neighbor, among which the first and greatest is:

Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother.

To this estate of fatherhood and motherhood God has given the special distinction above all estates that are beneath it that He not simply commands us to love our parents, but to honor them. For with respect to brothers, sisters, and our neighbors in general He commands nothing higher than that we love them, so that He separates and distinguishes father and mother above all other persons upon earth, and places them at His side. For it is a far higher thing to honor than to love one, inasmuch as it comprehends not only love, but also modesty, humility, and deference as to a majesty there hidden, and requires not only that they be addressed kindly and with reverence, but, most of all, that both in heart and with the body we so act as to show that we esteem them very highly, and that, next to God, we regard them as the very highest. For one whom we are to honor from the heart we must truly regard as high and great.

We must, therefore, impress it upon the young that they should regard their parents as in God's stead, and remember that however lowly, poor, frail, and queer they may be, nevertheless they are father and mother given them by God. They are not to be deprived of their honor because of their conduct or their failings. Therefore we are not to regard their persons, how they may be, but the will of God who has thus created and ordained. In other respects we are, indeed, all alike in the eyes of God; but among us there must necessarily be such inequality and ordered difference, and therefore God commands it to be observed, that you obey me as your father, and that I have the supremacy.

Learn, therefore, first, what is the honor towards parents required by this commandment, to wit, that they be held in distinction and esteem above all things, as the most precious treasure on earth. Furthermore, that also in our words we observe modesty toward them, do not accost them roughly, haughtily,

Ehre beweise, daß man ihnen diene, helfe und [sie] versorge, wenn sie alt, krank, gebrechlich oder arm sind, und solches alles nicht allein gern, sondern mit Demut und Ehrerbietung, als vor Gott getan. Denn wer das weiß, wie er sie im Herzen halten soll, wird sie nicht lassen Not noch Hunger leiden, sondern über und neben sich setzen und ihnen mitteilen, was er hat und vermag [besitzt].

nonnihil concedant et taceant, etiamsi non-
111] nunquam modum excesserint. Tertio, ut idem quoque opere comprobent, hoc est, amore et officiis corporis et fortunae talem honorem habeant, ut eos sublevent obsequio, iuvent munifice, eorundem non difficilem curam habeant, ubi iam consenuerint ac per aetatem viribus destituti languescere coeperint, aut ad egestatem redacti fuerint. Atque haec omnia humanitatis officia non solum libenter et benevole decrepitis parentibus, sed cum omni etiam humilitate et reverentia, tamquam coram Deo inspectante fiant, praestanda sunt. Qui enim novit, cuius modi existimationem de parentibus in corde circumferre debeat, ille non patietur eos laborare penuria, aut fame ac siti contabescere, sed eosdem supra iuxtaque se collocatos faciet discumbere, illisque de fortunulis suis, quidquid habebit, non gravate impertiet.

Zum andern siehe und merke, wie groß, gut und heilig Werk allhier den Kindern vorgelegt ist, welches man leider gar verachtet und in [den] Wind schlägt, und niemand wahrnimmt, daß es Gott geboten habe, oder daß es ein heilig, göttlich Wort und Lehre sei. Denn wenn man's dafürgehalten hätte, hätte ein jeglicher daraus können nehmen, daß [es] auch heilige Leute müßten sein, die nach diesen Worten lebten. So hätte man kein Klosterleben noch geistliche Stände dürfen [brauchen] aufwerfen, wäre ein jeglich Kind bei diesem Gebot [ge]blieben und hätte sein Gewissen können richten gegen Gott und sprechen: Soll ich gute und heilige Werke tun, so weiß ich je kein besseres, denn meinen Eltern alle Ehre und Gehorsam zu leisten, weil es Gott selbst geheißen hat. Denn was Gott gebeut [gebietet], muß viel und weit edler sein denn alles, was wir selbst mögen erdenken, und weil kein höherer noch besserer Meister zu finden ist denn Gott, wird freilich auch keine bessere Lehre sein, denn er von sich gibt. Nun lehrt er je reichlich, was man tun soll, wenn man rechtschaffene gute Werke will üben, und in dem, daß er's gebeut, zeuget er, daß sie ihm wohlgefallen. Ist es denn Gott, der solches gebeut und kein Besseres weiß zu stellen, so werde ich's je nicht besser machen.

112] Deinde vide, quaeso, et attende animum, quam magna et sancta opera hic liberis proposita sint; quorum, proh dolor! nullus est respectus, sed quae plane negliguntur, nec quisquam est, qui animadvertat haec a Deo esse praecepta, aut Dei verbum esse et Scripturae Sacrae documenta. Quodsi enim alterutrum horum aestimatum esset ab hominibus, quivis ex hoc facile potuisset colligere, sanctos quoque oportere esse homines, qui secundum horum verborum praescriptum viverent. Neque monasticam vitam instituere aut religiosorum perversos ordines invenire [R. 432 necesse fuisset, sed quivis puer in hoc praecepto mansisset, potuissetque quietam et salvam erga Deum obtinere conscientiam ac dicere: Si mihi bona ac sancta facienda sunt opera, nullum scio praestantius, quam ut parentibus meis omnem honorem et obedientiam exhibeam, quando Deus hoc ipsum mihi
113] faciendum tantopere praecipit. Quidquid enim Deus praecepit, necessario multo debet esse nobilius et praestantius quam omne illud, quidquid nos ipsi comminiscimur. Et quum non sit alius ad inveniendum magister cum sublimior tum acutior, certum est neque doctrinam ullam esse potiorem, quam cuius ipse auctor et magister extiterit. Iam quidem abunde, quid faciendum sit, perdocet, si vere bona opera facere atque exercere cupimus, atque hoc ipso, quod haec facienda praecipit, satis indicat sibi quoque eadem mirifice probari. Quodsi ergo Deus est, qui ista mandat fieri, nec aliquid praeclarius novit constituere, nulla spes est hisce meliora me inventurum.

Siehe, also hätte man ein frommes Kind recht gelehrt, seliglich erzogen und daheim behalten im Gehorsam und Dienst der Eltern, daß man Gutes und Freude daran gesehen hätte. Aber also hat man Gottes Gebot nicht müssen aufmutzen [herausstreichen], sondern liegen lassen oder überhinrauschen, daß [es] ein Kind nicht bedenken [überlegen, verstehen] konnte und dieweil das Maul aufsperren nach dem, das wir aufgeworfen haben, und Gott keinmal darum begrüßt [angesprochen].

114] Ad hunc quidem modum probus puer docendus erat et salubriter educandus ac domi in parentum obsequio et obedientia iugiter retinendus, unde spectantes cepissent voluptatem et gaudium. Verum tanta cura ac diligentia divinum praeceptum non fuit commendandum, sed posthabendum planeque dissimulanter praetereundum, ita ut puer ista animo cogitare non potuerit, sed interim veluti hians lupus illud captare, quod ipsi vix unquam consulto, aut semel salutato, quod dicitur, Deo, commenti adinvenimus.

Darum laßt uns einmal lernen um Gottes willen, daß das junge Volk, alle andern Dinge aus den Augen gesetzt, erstlich auf dies Gebot sehen, wenn sie Gott mit rechten guten Werken dienen wollen, daß sie tun, was Vater und Mutter, oder denen sie an ihrer Statt untertan sind, lieb ist. Denn welches Kind das weiß und tut, hat zum ersten den großen Trost im Herzen, daß es fröhlich sagen und rühmen kann (zum Trotz und [zu]wider allen, die mit eigen erwählten Werken umgehen): Siehe, das Werk gefällt meinem Gott im Himmel wohl, das weiß ich fürwahr.

115] Quare aliquando tandem discamus, obsecro, ut iuventus reliquis omnibus posthabitis cumprimis ad hoc praeceptum inconniventer intentos habeat oculos, cupiens Deo servire vere bonis operibus, ut faciat, quae parentibus aut his, quibus horum loco subiecta est, grata esse intellexerit. Quicunque enim puer haec comperta habet et facit, [R. 433 omnium primum hanc ingentem in corde consolationem obtinet, ut plenus gaudio dicere seque vere iactare possit adversus omnes, qui propriis et a se inventis operibus occupati

and defiantly, but yield to them and be silent, even though they go too far. Thirdly, that we show them such honor also by works, that is, with our body and possessions, that we serve them, help them, and provide for them when they are old, sick, infirm, or poor, and all that not only gladly, but with humility and reverence, as doing it before God. For he who knows how to regard them in his heart will not allow them to suffer want or hunger, but will place them above him and at his side, and will share with them whatever he has and possesses.

Secondly, notice how great, good, and holy a work is here assigned children, which is, alas! utterly neglected and disregarded, and no one perceives that God has commanded it, or that it is a holy, divine Word and doctrine. For if it had been regarded as such, every one could have inferred that they must be holy men who live according to these words. Thus there would have been no need of inventing monasticism nor spiritual orders, but every child would have abided by this commandment, and could have directed his conscience to God and said: "If I am to do good and holy works, I know of none better than to render all honor and obedience to my parents, because God has Himself commanded it. For what God commands must be much and far nobler than everything that we may devise ourselves; and since there is no higher or better teacher to be found than God, there can be no better doctrine, indeed, than He gives forth. Now, He teaches fully what we should do if we wish to perform truly good works; and by commanding them, He shows that they please Him. If, then, it is God who commands this, and who knows not how to appoint anything better, I will never improve upon it."

Behold, in this manner we would have had a godly child properly taught, reared in true blessedness, and kept at home in obedience to his parents and in their service, so that men should have had blessing and joy from the spectacle. However, God's commandment was not permitted to be thus [with such care and diligence] commended, but had to be neglected and trampled under foot, so that a child could not lay it to heart, and meanwhile gaped [like a panting wolf] at the devices which we set up, without once [consulting or] giving reverence to God.

Let us, therefore, learn at last, for God's sake, that, placing all other things out of sight, our youths look first to this commandment, if they wish to serve God with truly good works, that they do what is pleasing to their fathers and mothers, or to those to whom they may be subject in their stead. For every child that knows and does this has, in the first place, this great consolation in his heart, that he can joyfully say and boast (in spite of and against all who are occupied with works of their own choice): "Behold, this

Laß sie mit ihren vielen, großen, sauren, schweren Werken alle auf einen Haufen hertreten und rühmen, laß sehen, ob sie irgendeins hervorbringen könnten, das größer und edler sei denn Vater und Mutter Gehorsam, so Gott nächst seiner Majestät Gehorsam gesetzt und befohlen hat, daß, wenn Gottes Wort und Willen geht und ausgerichtet wird, soll keiner mehr gelten denn der Eltern Wille und Wort, also daß er dennoch auch unter Gottes Gehorsam bleibe und nicht wider die vorigen Gebote gehe.

Derhalben sollst du von Herzen froh sein und Gott danken, daß er dich dazu erwählt und würdig gemacht hat, ihm solch köstlich, angenehm Werk zu tun. Und halte es nur für groß und teuer, ob es gleich [als] das allergeringste und verachtetste angesehen wird, nicht unserer Würdigkeit halben, sondern daß es in dem Kleinod und Heiligtum, nämlich Gottes Wort und Gebot, gefaßt ist und geht. O wie teuer sollten's alle Kartäuser, Mönche und Nonnen kaufen, daß sie in all ihrem geistlichen Wesen ein einig Werk vor Gott möchten bringen, aus seinem Gebot getan, und mit fröhlichem Herzen vor seinen Augen sprechen: Nun weiß ich, daß dir dies Werk wohlgefällt. Wo wollen sie, die armen elenden Leute, bleiben, wenn sie vor Gott und aller Welt schamrot mit allen Schanden stehen werden vor einem jungen Kind, so in diesem Gebot gelebt hat, und bekennen müssen, daß sie mit alle ihrem Leben nicht wert sind gewesen, ihm das Wasser zu reichen! Geschieht ihnen auch recht um der teuflischen Verkehrung willen, weil sie Gottes Gebot mit Füßen treten, daß sie sich vergeblich mit selbsterdachten Werken martern müssen, dazu Spott und Schaden zu Lohn haben.

Sollte nun nicht ein Herz springen und von Freuden zerfließen, wenn es zur Arbeit ginge und täte, was ihm befohlen wäre, daß es könnte sagen: Siehe, das ist besser denn aller Kartäuser Heiligkeit, ob sie sich gleich zu Tode fasten und ohne Unterlaß auf den Knien beten? Denn hier hast du einen gewissen Text und göttlich Zeugnis, daß er dies geheißen hat, aber von jenem kein Wort befohlen. Aber das ist der Jammer und leidige Blindheit der Welt, daß solches niemand glaubt; so hat uns der Teufel bezaubert mit falscher Heiligkeit und [dem] Schein eigener Werke.

Derhalben wollte ich je gerne (sage ich abermal), daß man Augen und Ohren auftäte und solches zu Herzen nähme, auf daß wir nicht dermaleinst wieder von dem reinen Gotteswort auf des Teufels Lügentand verleitet würden. So würde es auch wohl stehen, daß die Eltern desto mehr Freude, Liebe, Freundschaft und Eintracht in Häusern hätten; so könnten die Kinder den Eltern all ihr Herz nehmen [abgewinnen]. Wiederum, wo sie störrig sind und nicht eher tun, was sie sollen, man lege ihnen denn einen Knüttel auf den Rücken, so

sunt: Ecce, certus sum, hoc opus Deo meo **116**] acceptum esse. Sine vero illos cum suis multis, magnis, laboriosis, amaris et gravibus operibus omnes ad unum prodire in medium et iactare, videamus saltem, num unum aliquod producturi sint, quod maius sit aut praeclarius, quam obedire parentibus, quod Deus post suae maiestatis obedientiam primum esse voluit praecepitque, ita ut, si Dei Verbum et voluntas locum habet et effecta fuerit, nihil quidquam valere debeat amplius quam parentum verbum et voluntas, ita tamen, ut haec quoque divinae obedientiae subdita sit, neque contra priora praecepta feratur.

117] Quapropter vere atque ex animo tibi triumphandum esset gaudio, Deoque gratiae agendae, quod te dignatus ad hoc elegerit, ut illi tam grata et pretiosa faceres opera. Tantum vide, ut hoc magni aestimes, quamvis apud homines videatur levissimum et contemptissimum, et hoc non dignitatis nostrae gratia, quae nulla est, sed quod re omnium pretiosissima, nempe Dei Verbo, comprehen-**118**] sum et conclusum sit. O quam magno emerent omnes Carmelitae et monachi et moniales, ut in omni religione sua vel unum opus possent producere, divinorum praeceptorum iussu factum, possentque coram Deo alacri animo dicere: Iam quidem certus sum hoc opus tibi bene placere. Ubi vero miserandi illi et aerumnosi manebunt homines, quando coram Deo et universo mundo extreme confundentur, collati ad unum aliquem puerum, qui hoc in praecepto vixerit, cogenturque fateri sese cum omni vitae suae ratione et operibus non dignos esse, qui illi vel matellam **119**] porrigant! Sed et iure hoc illis accidit, propter perversitatem diabolicam, quia [R. 434 Dei praeceptum ita contumeliose pessundant, ut semet in cassum ultro excogitatis operibus excarnificatos discrucient, nihil adhaec praemii inde aliud praeterquam ignominiam una cum damno reportent.

120] Quomodo ergo cor hominis non gestiret gaudio, aut laetitia diffluueret, quod labori se accingeret faceretque, quod sibi demandatum esset, possetque dicere: Ecce, hoc opus praestat ac potius est omnium Carthusianorum sanctimonia, etiamsi ad necem usque se ipsos macerarent ieiunio, ac citra intermissionem innixi genibus preculas ad Deum funderent? Hic enim certum habes divini Verbi testimonium, quod haec facienda mandaverit, ceterum de illis ne iota quidem uspiam praeceptum invenitur. At deploranda haec mundi plaga et horrenda caecitas est, quod haec omnia nemo credit; adeo diabolus simulata sanctitate et fucatis operibus nostros perstrinxit ac dementavit oculos.

121] Quamobrem percuperem (ut repetam), ut apertis oculis et auribus, serio tandem ista corde complecteremur, ne aliquando iterum a puro Dei Verbo abstracti et abalienati in diabolica mendacia prolaberemur. Quin etiam hac ratione futurum prospicerem, ut parentes maiori gaudio, amore, amicitia et concordia fruerentur in aedibus, et liberi parentes haberent summa devinctos benevolentia. Contra, **122**] ubi pertinaces sunt, nec citius, quam fustibus adacti, iussa capessunt, Deum simul

work is well pleasing to my God in heaven, that I know for certain." Let them all come together with their many great, distressing, and difficult works and make their boast; we will see whether they can show one that is greater and nobler than obedience to father and mother, to whom God has appointed and commanded obedience next to His own majesty; so that if God's Word and will are in force and being accomplished, nothing shall be esteemed higher than the will and word of parents; yet so that it, too, is subordinated to obedience toward God and is not opposed to the preceding commandments.

Therefore you should be heartily glad and thank God that He has chosen you and made you worthy to do a work so precious and pleasing to Him. Only see that, although it be regarded as the most humble and despised, you esteem it great and precious, not on account of our worthiness, but because it is comprehended in, and controlled by, the jewel and sanctuary, namely, the Word and commandment of God. Oh, what a high price would all Carthusians, monks, and nuns pay, if in all their religious doings they could bring into God's presence a single work done by virtue of His commandment, and be able before His face to say with joyful heart: "Now I know that this work is well pleasing to Thee." Where will these poor wretched persons hide when in the sight of God and all the world they shall blush with shame before a young child who has lived according to this commandment, and shall have to confess that with their whole life they are not worthy to give it a drink of water? And it serves them right for their devilish perversion in treading God's commandment under foot that they must vainly torment themselves with works of their own device, and, in addition, have scorn and loss for their reward.

Should not the heart, then, leap and melt for joy when going to work and doing what is commanded, saying: Lo, this is better than all holiness of the Carthusians, even though they kill themselves fasting and praying upon their knees without ceasing? For here you have a sure text and a divine testimony that He has enjoined this; but concerning the other He did not command a word. But this is the plight and miserable blindness of the world that no one believes these things; to such an extent the devil has deceived us with false holiness and the glamour of our own works.

Therefore I would be very glad (I say it again) if men would open their eyes and ears, and take this to heart, lest some time we may again be led astray from the pure Word of God to the lying vanities of the devil. Then, too, all would be well; for parents would have more joy, love, friendship, and concord in their houses; thus the children could captivate their parents' hearts. On the other hand, when they are obstinate, and will not do what they ought until a rod is laid upon their back, they anger both God and

erzürnen sie beide Gott und Eltern, damit sie ihnen selbst solchen Schatz und Freude des Gewissens entziehen und eitel Unglück sammeln. Darum geht es auch jetzt in der Welt also, wie jedermann klagt, daß beide jung und alt gar wild und unbändig ist, keine Scheu noch Ehre hat, nichts tun, denn mit Schlägen getrieben, und hinter eines andern Rücken ausrichten [verleumden] und abziehen [verkleinern], was sie könnten, darum auch Gott straft, daß sie in allen Unrat und Jammer kommen. So können die Eltern gemeiniglich selbst nichts, zeucht [zieht] ein Tor den andern; wie sie gelebt haben, so leben die Kinder hinnach.

et parentes exasperant, eoque se ipsos tanto privant thesauro et gaudio conscientiae, omneque malum et infortunium sibi cumulant. At-
123] que hinc est, quod ea iam per totum orbem est rerum conditio, quemadmodum nemo non conqueritur, quod aeque et senes et iuvenes sint efferi et effrenes, in quibus nullum aut reverentiae aut honoris vestigium vel scintilla conspiciatur, nihil nisi verberibus evictum facientes, ac clanculum, quid- [R. 435 quid possunt, efficientes et subtrahentes. Eam ob rem Deus quoque punit eos, ut in omnem calamitatem prolapsi aerumnose vitam exi-
124] gant. Fere etiam videmus, ut ipsi parentes quoque nihil sciant et omnium rerum ignari sint; ita fit, ut stultus stultum doceat, et quemadmodum parentes vixerunt, ad eum modum deinceps vivant et liberi.

Das soll nun (sage ich) das Erste und Größte sein, das uns zu diesem Gebot soll treiben, um welches willen, wenn wir keinen Vater und Mutter hätten, sollten wir wünschen, daß uns Gott Holz und Stein vorstellte, die wir Vater und Mutter möchten heißen. Wieviel mehr, weil er uns lebendige Eltern [ge]geben hat, sollen wir froh werden, daß wir ihnen mögen Ehre und Gehorsam erzeigen, weil wir wissen, daß [es] der hohen Majestät und allen Engeln so wohl gefällt und alle Teufel verdreußt [verdrießt], dazu das höchste Werk ist, so man tun kann nach dem hohen Gottesdienst, in den vorigen Geboten gefaßt, also daß Almosengeben und alle andern Werke gegen den Nächsten diesem noch [dennoch] nicht gleich sind. Denn Gott hat diesen Stand obenan gesetzt, ja, an seine Statt auf Erden gestellt. Solcher Wille Gottes und Gefallen soll uns Ursache und Reizung genug sein, daß wir mit Willen und Lust täten, was wir könnten.

125] Hoc, inquam, primum et maximum esse debebat, quod ad huius praecepti observantiam nos merito provocaret, cuius gratia, etiamsi parentibus destitueremur, optandum tamen nobis fuerat, ut nobis Deus truncos et saxa proponeret, quae parentum vice coleremus, aut parentum appellatione dignaremur. Quanto magis, posteaquam vivos parentes nobis largitus est, laetitia nobis exsultandum est, ut illis honorem habere et obedientiae obsequium ostendere queamus, non ignorantes Deo optimo maximo ac omnibus angelis hoc summe placere et diabolo aegre esse, adhoc
126] maximum esse opus, quod ipsi facere possumus, post summum illum Dei cultum, in prioribus praeceptis comprehensum, adeo ut eleemosynis iuvare egentes, neque non omnia reliqua opera, quae proximo praestantur, huic nullo modo conferenda sint. Quippe Deus huic parentum ordini primas tribuit eundemque in terris plane in suam sedem colendum evexit et extulit. Haec quidem Dei voluntas et beneplacitum sat vehementibus et causis et stimulis nostram debebat impulisse negligentiam, ut cum quadam voluptate atque lubentia, quod officium nostrum postulat, faceremus.

Dazu sind wir's ja auch schuldig vor der Welt, daß wir der Wohltat und allem Guten, so wir von den Eltern haben, dankbar seien. Aber da regiert abermal der Teufel in der Welt, daß die Kinder der Eltern vergessen, wie wir alle Gottes vergessen, und niemand denkt, wie uns Gott also nährt, [be]hütet und schützt und so viel Gutes gibt an Leib und Seele; sonderlich, wenn einmal eine böse Stunde kommt, da zürnen und murren wir mit Ungeduld, und ist alles dahin, was wir unser Leben lang Gutes empfangen haben. Eben also tun wir den Eltern auch, und ist kein Kind, das solches erkenne und bedenke, der Heilige Geist gebe es denn.

127] Adhaec coram mundo quoque in hoc astringimur, ut acceptorum a parentibus beneficiorum memores, mutuam officii vicem rependamus, utque parentes aetate fessos vicis-
128] sim alamus foveamusque. Sed hic rursum in mundo dominatur diabolus, ut liberi parentum obliviscantur, quemadmodum omnes nos Dei obliviscimur nec quisquam memoria repetit, qua sedulitate Deus nos alat, [R. 436 custodiat ac defendat, tum quanta bonorum copia corporis et animi nos cumulet et obruat. Praecipue vero, quando horulam paulo infeliciorem vix ostendentem se adversitate sustinemus, protinus malorum impatientes, in iram prorumpimus ac murmuramus, deque tot immensis bonis per omnem vitam a Deo acceptis nullum vel tantillum in memoria nostra residet amplius, sed prorsus expuncta omnia, oblivioni mandata sunt. Non secus quoque cum parentibus agimus, nec ullus puer est, qui difficultatem, quam parentes in nutricando et fovendo eo multifariam perpessi sunt, agnoscat aut perpendat, nisi hoc a Spiritu Sancto acceperit gratiae.

Solche Unart der Welt kennt Gott wohl; darum erinnert und treibt er sie mit Geboten, daß ein jeglicher denke [erwäge], was ihm die Eltern getan haben; so findet er, daß er Leib und Leben von ihnen habe, dazu auch ernährt und aufgezogen sei, da er sonst hundertmal in seinem Unflat erstickt wäre. Darum ist's recht und wohl gesagt von alten weisen Leuten: *Deo, parentibus et*

129] Eiusmodi vitiosam mundi naturam et ingratitudinem Deus probe compertam habet, quare praeceptis nos subinde impellit et admonet, ut quisque animo secum repetat, quantum bonorum a parentibus acceperit, et inveniet se ab iisdem et corpus et vitae initium accepisse, atque item multo sudore et cura enutritum et educatum esse, ubi alias vel sex-

their parents, whereby they deprive themselves of this treasure and joy of conscience, and lay up for themselves only misfortune. Therefore, as every one complains, the course of the world now is such that both young and old are altogether dissolute and beyond control, have no reverence nor sense of honor, do nothing except as they are driven to it by blows, and perpetrate what wrong and detraction they can behind each other's back; therefore God also punishes them, that they sink into all kinds of filth and misery. As a rule, the parents, too, are themselves stupid and ignorant; one fool trains [teaches] another, and as they have lived, so live their children after them.

This, now, I say should be the first and most important consideration to urge us to the observance of this commandment; on which account, even if we had no father and mother, we ought to wish that God would set up wood and stone before us, whom we might call father and mother. How much more, since He has given us living parents, should we rejoice to show them honor and obedience, because we know it is so highly pleasing to the Divine Majesty and to all angels, and vexes all devils, and is, besides, the highest work which we can do, after the sublime divine worship comprehended in the previous commandments; so that giving of alms and every other good work toward our neighbor are not equal to this. For God has assigned this estate the highest place, yea, has set it up in His own stead, upon earth. This will and pleasure of God ought to be a sufficient reason and incentive to us to do what we can with good will and pleasure.

Besides this, it is our duty before the world to be grateful for benefits and every good which we have of our parents. But here again the devil rules in the world, so that the children forget their parents, as we all forget God, and no one considers how God nourishes, protects, and defends us, and bestows so much good on body and soul; especially when an evil hour comes, we are angry and grumble with impatience, and all the good which we have received throughout our life is wiped out [from our memory]. Just so we do also with our parents, and there is no child that understands and considers this [what the parents have endured while nourishing and fostering him], except the Holy Ghost grant him this grace.

God knows very well this perverseness of the world; therefore He admonishes and urges by commandments that every one consider what his parents have done for him, and he will find that he has from them body and life, moreover, that he has been fed and reared when otherwise he would have perished

magistris non potest satis gratiae rependi, das ist: Gotte, den Eltern und Schulmeistern kann man nimmer genugsam danken noch vergelten. Wer das ansieht und bedenkt, der wird wohl ungetrieben seinen Eltern alle Ehre tun und sie auf den Händen tragen, als durch die ihm Gott alles Gute getan hat.

über das alles soll das auch eine große Ursache sein, uns desto mehr zu reizen, daß Gott an dieses Gebot eine leibliche Verheißung heftet und spricht: „Auf daß du langes Leben habest im Lande, da du wohnest."

Da siehe selbst, wie großer Ernst [es] Gott sei über diesem Gebot, weil er nicht allein ausdrücke [ausdrückt], daß [es] ihm angenehm sei, [und daß er] Freude und Lust darin habe, sondern [daß es] solle auch uns wohl geraten und zum besten gedeihen, daß wir ein sanftes, süßes Leben mögen haben mit allem Guten. Darum auch St. Paulus Eph. 6 solches hoch anzeucht [anzieht] und rühmt, als er spricht: „Das ist das erste Gebot, das eine Verheißung hat: Auf daß dir's wohl gehe, und [du] lange lebest auf Erden." Denn wiewohl die andern auch ihre Verheißung eingeschlossen haben, ist's doch zu keinem so deutlich und ausgedrückt gesetzt.

Da hast du nun die Frucht und den Lohn, daß, wer es hält, soll gute Tage, Glück und Wohlfahrt haben; wiederum auch die Strafe, daß, wer ungehorsam ist, desto eher umkommen und des Lebens nicht froh werden soll. Denn langes Leben haben heißt die Schrift nicht allein wohl betagt werden, sondern alles haben, so zu langem Leben gehört, als nämlich Gesundheit, Weib und Kind, Nahrung, Frieden, gut Regiment usw., ohne welche dies Leben nicht fröhlich genossen werden noch die Länge bestehen kann. Willst du nun nicht Vater und Mutter gehorchen und dich lassen ziehen, so gehorche dem Henker; gehorchst du dem nicht, so gehorche dem Streckebein, das ist der Tod. Denn das will Gott kurzum haben, entweder so du ihm gehorchst, Liebe und Dienst tust, daß er dir's überschwenglich vergelte mit allem Guten, oder wo du ihn erzürnst, daß er über dich schicke beide Tod und Henker.

Wo kommen so viele Schälke her, die man täglich hängen, köpfen und radbrechen muß, denn aus dem Ungehorsam, weil sie sich nicht mit Gutem ziehen lassen, daß sie es durch Gottes Strafe so ausrichten, daß man Unglück und Herzeleid an ihnen sieht. Denn gar selten geschieht, daß solche verruchte Leute eines rechten oder zeitigen [nicht zu frühen, natürlichen] Todes sterben.

centies in propriis sordibus sibi pereundum
130] fuisset. Quocirca praeclare et sapienter a veteribus dictum est: Deo, parentibus et magistris non potest satis gratiae rependi. Quicunque horum verborum recte memor fuerit, non exspectabit aliorum commonefactiones, ut erga parentes gratus appareat, sed sua sponte properabit eosdem et omni honore cumulare et in sinu (quod aiunt) gestare ut eos, quorum opera Deus illi omnium bonorum copiam pleno cornu affuderit.

131] Super haec omnia ad huius praecepti conservationem vel haec causa potissimum nos provocasse debebat, quod Deus huic praecepto corporalium bonorum promissionem annectit, inquiens: *Ut sis longaevus super terram, quam Dominus Deus tuus tibi dabit.*

Hic ipse aestima, quanta severitate [R. 437
132] hoc praeceptum Deo cordi sit, non solum aperte indicanti, illud sibi gratum esse aut gaudio ac voluptati, verum nobis etiam ipsis casurum esse felicissime, ac nonnisi in optimam partem eventurum, ut vitam tranquillam atque suavem exigamus omnibus rebus in ter-
133] ris affluentes. Hinc ipse quoque Paulus ad Ephesios sexto, v. 1. 2, hoc ipsum citans, pleno ore iactat, ubi inquit: *Filii, obedite parentibus in Domino, hoc enim iustum est. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, quod est mandatum primum in promissione, ut bene tibi sit et sis longaevus super terram.* Nam tametsi et aliis praeceptis sua inclusa sit promissio, nulli tamen adeo significanter et expresse quam huic adiecta est.

134] Habes itaque huius praecepti fructum et praemium, ut ille, qui hoc transgressus non fuerit, dies felices exigat, nulla pressus inopia; contra quoque poenam, ut ille, qui parentibus dicto non erit audiens, hoc citius intereat, nec unquam sua vita cum voluptate fruatur. Esse enim aut fieri longaevum, non tantum ad decrepitam usque aetatem vivere Scriptura nominat, sed omnia habere affatim, quae ad longaevam vitam traducendam pertinent, ut est prospera valetudo corporis, uxor et liberi, victus non tenuis aut sordidus, externa rerum pax, bona et aequabilis reipublicae administratio et huiusmodi, sine quibus haec vita neque iucunde peragi neque diu con-
135] sistere potest. Iam ergo si gravaris auscultare parentibus, et ab iisdem emendari recusas, esto dicto audiens carnifici. Quodsi neque huic obedire sustines, obedito *θανάτῳ πανδαμάτορι, τῶν κακῶν παίδων διδασκάλῳ.*
136] Hoc enim Deus, velis nolis, exigit, ut aut, si ipsi auscultaveris moremque gesseris, tibi largiter et affatim omnibus bonis penset praestiti obsequii promptitudinem, aut, si eius [R. 438 iracundiam tua pertinacia exasperaveris, te et morti et carnifici cruciandum obiiciat.

137] Unde etiam agminatim pullulant et emergunt quotidie tot facinorosorum hominum examina, quae partim laqueo, partim gladio, partim etiam rota et igne plectenda et exstinguenda sunt, quam ex inobedientia erga parentes? Quandoquidem parentum obiurgationem, ex gratia et amore profectam, perferre nolunt, fit, ut Dei iracundia in omne facinus prolapsi, deinceps propalam excarnificati parentibus et dolori sint et dedecori. Perraro enim contingit, ut tam perditi et deplorati homines rectam aut maturam mortem oppetant.

a hundred times in his own filth. Therefore it is a true and good saying of old and wise men: *Deo, parentibus et magistris non potest satis gratiae rependi*, that is, To God, to parents, and to teachers we can never render sufficient gratitude and compensation. He that regards and considers this will indeed without compulsion do all honor to his parents, and bear them up on his hands as those through whom God has done him all good.

Over and above all this, another great reason that should incite us the more [to obedience to this commandment] is that God attaches to this commandment a temporal promise and says: *That thou mayest live long upon the land which the Lord, thy God, giveth thee.*

Here you can see yourself how much God is in earnest in respect to this commandment, inasmuch as He not only declares that it is well pleasing to Him, and that He has joy and delight therein; but also that it shall be for our prosperity and promote our highest good; so that we may have a pleasant and agreeable life, furnished with every good thing. Therefore also St. Paul greatly emphasizes the same and rejoices in it when he says, Eph. 6, 2. 3: *This is the first commandment with promise: That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.* For although the rest also have their promises contained in them, yet in none is it so plainly and explicitly stated.

Here, then, you have the fruit and the reward, that whoever observes this commandment shall have happy days, fortune, and prosperity; and on the other hand, the punishment, that whoever is disobedient shall the sooner perish, and never enjoy life. For to have long life in the sense of the Scriptures is not only to become old, but to have everything which belongs to long life, such as health, wife, and children, livelihood, peace, good government, etc., without which this life can neither be enjoyed in cheerfulness nor long endure. If, therefore, you will not obey father and mother and submit to their discipline, then obey the hangman; if you will not obey him, then submit to the skeleton-man, *i. e.*, death [death the all-subduer, the teacher of wicked children]. For on this God insists peremptorily: Either if you obey Him, rendering love and service, He will reward you abundantly with all good, or if you offend Him, He will send upon you both death and the hangman.

Whence come so many knaves that must daily be hanged, beheaded, broken upon the wheel, but from disobedience [to parents], because they will not submit to discipline in kindness, so that, by the punishment of God, they bring it about that we behold their misfortune and grief? For it seldom happens that such perverse people die a natural or timely death.

Die Frommen aber und Gehorsamen haben den Segen, daß sie lange in guter Ruhe leben und ihr Kindeskind sehen (wie oben gesagt) ins dritte und vierte Glied.

Wie man auch erfährt, daß, wo feine alte Geschlechter sind, die da wohl stehen und viele Kinder haben, [solches] freilich daher [ge]kommen, daß ihrer etliche wohl gezogen und ihre Eltern vor Augen haben gehabt. Wiederum steht geschrieben von den Gottlosen Ps. 109: „Seine Nachkommen müssen ausgerottet werden, und ihr Name müsse im andern Glied untergehen." Derhalben laß dir's gesagt sein, wie groß Ding es ist bei Gott um den Gehorsam, weil er ihn so hoch setzt, ihm selbst so wohl gefallen läßt und reichlich belohnt, dazu so streng darüber hält, zu strafen, die dawider tun.

Das rede ich alles, daß man's dem jungen Volk wohl einbleue [einpräge]. Denn niemand glaubt, wie dies Gebot so nötig ist, doch bisher unter dem Papsttum nicht geachtet noch gelehrt. Es sind schlechte [schlichte] und leichte Worte, meint jedermann, er könnte es vorhin wohl; darum fährt man überhin und gafft nach andern Dingen, sieht und glaubt nicht, daß man Gott so hoch erzürnt, wenn man dies läßt anstehen, noch so köstliche, angenehme Werke tut, so man dabei bleibt.

In dieses Gebot gehört auch weiter zu sagen von allerlei Gehorsam gegen Oberpersonen, die zu gebieten und zu regieren haben. Denn aus der Eltern Obrigkeit fleußt [fließt] und breitet sich aus alle andere. Denn wo ein Vater nicht allein vermag sein Kind aufzuziehen, nimmt er einen Schulmeister dazu, der es lehre; ist er zu schwach, so nimmt er seine Freunde oder Nachbarn zu Hilfe; geht er abe [stirbt er], so befiehlt er und übergibt das Regiment und Oberhand andern, die man dazu ordnet. Item, so muß er auch Gesinde, Knechte und Mägde zum Hausregiment unter ihm [sich] haben, also daß alle, die man Herren heißt, an der Eltern Statt sind und von ihnen Kraft und Macht zu regieren nehmen müssen. Daher sie auch nach der Schrift alle Väter heißen, als die in ihrem Regiment das Vateramt treiben und väterlich Herz gegen die Ihren tragen sollen. Wie auch von alters her die Römer und andere Sprachen Herren und Frauen im Hause *patres- et matresfamilias*, das ist, Hausväter und Hausmütter, genannt haben. Also auch ihre Landesfürsten und Oberherren haben sie *patres patriae*, das ist, Väter des ganzen Landes, geheißen, uns, die wir Christen sein wollen, zu großen Schanden, daß wir sie nicht auch also heißen oder zum wenigsten dafür halten und ehren.

Was nun ein Kind Vater und Mutter schuldig ist, sind auch schuldig alle, die ins Hausregiment gefaßt sind. Darum sollen Knechte und

Ceterum probi et obedientes benedictionem accipiunt, ut in multa tranquillitate belle et molliter consenescant, ac natos natorum (ut supra dictum est) videant in tertiam et quartam generationem usque procreatos.

138] Hoc ipsum experimentis quoque discimus, ut, ubi honestae et vetustae sunt familiae, divitiis et liberorum numerosa sobole abundantes, procul dubio inde incrementum longa quadam propagatione acceperint, quod illorum aliquot sancte educati fuerint, suisque maioribus reverenter auscultaverint. Rursum de impiis ita in sacris literis memoriae proditum legimus Ps. 109, 13: *Nepotes eius eradicabuntur, in generatione altera deleatur* **139**] *nomen eorum.* Sit ergo tibi semel atque adeo dictum serio, quanti Deus faciat obedientiam, cum illi tantum tribuat, tantum ea delectetur, ut eius observationem amplissimis praemiis remuneret et rursus transgressores acerbe et immisericorditer puniat.

140] Haec omnia eo a me dicuntur, ut ista pueris sedulo inculcentur. Nemo enim facile credit, quam necessarium sit hoc praeceptum, hactenus tamen in papatu non magni aestimatum, ac ne traditum quidem unquam. Sunt quidem verba vulgaria et facilia, quae nemo non ante sibi probe cognita esse existimat, et haec ipsa causa est, cur tantopere negligantur, adeo ut ad alia nimium curiose intenti [R. 439 simus, ignorantes interim neque credentes, tam accendi et provocari iram Dei huius praecepti contemptu et negligentia nostra, et vicissim obedientia eius praecepti tam praeclara et grata opera illi praestari.

141] In huius praecepti explanatione neque illud tacitum aut silentio praetereundum est, quod ad multiplicem obedientiam superiorum attinet, nempe eorum, qui versantur in imperio et reipublicae procurationem sustinent. Siquidem e parentum potestate omnes aliae propagantur et manant. Ubi enim parens aliquis filium rebellem et dyscolum solus educare nequit, magistratum adiutorem sibi adhibet, qui literis ac disciplinis liberalibus pueri ferociam molliat ac mitiget. Quodsi huius quoque opera ad retundendam ferocientis ingenii barbariem parum fuerit efficax aut valida, adiungit sibi vicini auxilium. Quodsi diem suum obierit, commendat ac tradit filium educandum magistratibus aut tutoribus ad **142**] hoc constitutis. Adhaec, ad rei familiaris administrationem servis quoque et ancillis opus est, ita ut omnes, quotquot domini appellatione censentur, vice parentum sint, ab iisdemque potestatem ac vim regnandi accipiant. Unde quoque secundum Scripturam omnes dicuntur patres, utpote qui in sua gubernatione officium patris obire, ergaque subditos patris animum inducere debeant. Quemadmodum et olim apud Romanos et alios plerosque populos heros herasque patres- et matresfamilias nominabant. Ita quoque suos magistratus et principes dixerunt patres patriae, nobis Christianis in dedecus et ignominiam, quod non eadem appellatione parentes et principes nostros dignamur, aut ad minimum eos pro talibus honoratos existimamus.

143] Iam quaecunque liberi parentibus suis debent, eadem plane debent illis omnes, qui in oeconomia versantur. Quare et servi [R. 440

But the godly and obedient have this blessing, that they live long in pleasant quietness, and see their children's children (as said above) to the third and fourth generation.

Thus experience also teaches, that where there are honorable, old families who fare well and have many children, they owe their origin to the fact, to be sure, that some of them were brought up well and were regardful of their parents. On the other hand, it is written of the wicked, Ps. 109, 13: *Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.* Therefore heed well how great a thing in God's sight obedience is, since He so highly esteems it, is so highly pleased with it, and rewards it so richly, and besides enforces punishment so rigorously on those who act contrariwise.

All this I say that it may be well impressed upon the young. For no one believes how necessary this commandment is, although it has not been esteemed and taught hitherto under the papacy. These are simple and easy words, and everybody thinks he knew them afore; therefore men pass them lightly by, are gaping after other matters, and do not see and believe that God is so greatly offended if they be disregarded, nor that one does a work so well pleasing and precious if he follows them.

In this commandment belongs a further statement regarding all kinds of obedience to persons in authority who have to command and to govern. For all authority flows and is propagated from the authority of parents. For where a father is unable alone to educate his [rebellious and irritable] child, he employs a schoolmaster to instruct him; if he be too weak, he enlists the aid of his friends and neighbors; if he departs this life, he delegates and confers his authority and government upon others who are appointed for the purpose. Likewise, he must have domestics, man-servants and maid-servants, under himself for the management of the household, so that all whom we call masters are in the place of parents and must derive their power and authority to govern from them. Hence also they are all called fathers in the Scriptures, as those who in their government perform the functions of a father, and should have a paternal heart toward their subordinates. As also from antiquity the Romans and other nations called the masters and mistresses of the household *patres- et matres-familiae,* that is, housefathers and housemothers. So also they called their national rulers and overlords *patres patriae,* that is, fathers of the entire country, for a great shame to us who would be Christians that we do not likewise call them so, or, at least, do not esteem and honor them as such.

Now, what a child owes to father and mother, the same owe all who are embraced in the household. Therefore man-servants and

Mägde zusehen, daß sie ihren Herren und Frauen nicht allein gehorsam seien, sondern auch sie in Ehren halten als ihre eigenen Väter und Mütter und tun alles, was sie wissen, daß man von ihnen haben will, nicht aus Zwang und Widerwillen, sondern mit Lust und Freuden, eben um voriger Ursachen willen, daß es Gottes Gebot ist, und ihm vor allen andern Werken wohlgefällt; um welches willen sie noch Lohn sollten zugeben und froh werden, daß sie Herren und Frauen möchten überkommen, solch fröhlich Gewissen zu haben, und wissen, wie sie rechte güldene Werke tun sollten; welches bisher verblieben und verachtet, und dafür [statt dessen] jedermann in's Teufels Namen in Klöster, zu Wallfahrten und Ablaß gelaufen ist mit Schaden und bösem Gewissen.

et ancillae etiam atque etiam operam dare debent, ut non solum dominis ac dominabus suis libenter pareant, morem gerentes et obtemperantes, verum etiam veluti parentes suos honestent honoribus, non quidem coacte et invito animo, sed prompte et cum gaudio. Et hoc propter priorem causam, quod Deus honorandos eos et colendos praecepit, hacque obedientia prae omnibus aliis operibus imprimis **144**] delectatur. Cuius rei gratia vel ipsi pretium impendere, planeque gestire gaudio debebant, si heros et heras consequantur, tamque pacata et hilari conscientia fruantur et sciant, quomodo vere aurea opera praestare queant; quae hactenus prorsus rubigine et squalore obscurata et contempta ignoravimus, pro quibus faciendis nemo non impulsu diaboli aut in monasticae vitae lernam sceleratissimam semet praecipitavit, aut ad divos mercatum indulgentiarum decipulas abiit, magna iactura et temporis et nummorum et conscientiae.

Wenn man nun solches könnte dem armen Volk einbilden [einprägen], so würde ein Meidlin in allen Sprüngen gehen, Gott loben und danken und mit säuberlicher Arbeit, dafür sie sonst Nahrung und Lohn nimmt, solchen Schatz kriegen, den alle, die man für die Heiligsten achtet, nicht haben. Ist's nicht ein trefflicher Ruhm, das zu wissen und [zu] sagen, wenn du deine tägliche Hausarbeit tust, daß [es] besser ist denn aller Mönche Heiligkeit und strenges Leben? Und hast dazu die Zusagung, daß [es] dir zu allem Guten gedeihen soll und wohl gehen. Wie willst du seliger sein oder heiliger leben, soviel die Werke betrifft? Denn vor Gott eigentlich der Glaube heilig macht und allein ihm dient, die Werke aber den Leuten. Da hast du alles Gute, Schutz und Schirm unter dem HErrn, ein fröhlich Gewissen und gnädigen Gott dazu, der dir's hundertfältig vergelten will, und bist gar ein Junker, wenn du nur fromm und gehorsam bist. Wo aber nicht, [so] hast du erstlich eitel Zorn und Ungnade von Gott, keinen Frieden im Herzen, danach alle Plage und Unglück.

145] Haec ergo quemadmodum dicta sunt, si misero vulgo iterum atque iterum inculcarentur, qui fieri possit, ut famula non exsiliret gaudio, Deo gratias ageret eumque celebraret et mediocri labore, pro quo alias victum et mercedem accipit, eiusmodi thesaurum consequeretur, cuius illi, quos sanctissimos esse putamus, nunquam facti sunt participes? Nonne vero haec insignis et praeclara est iactantia nosse et posse dicere, te, si quotidie diurni laboris pensum diligenter absolveris, opus fecisse sanctius ac melius, quam omnium monachorum sanctitas ac vita est, quam dure et laboriose exigunt? Adhaec **146**] annexam habes promissionem prospere ac feliciter id tibi casurum esse. Qua ratione vis esse beatior, aut sanctiorem vitam agere, **147**] quantum ad opera attinet? Nam apud Deum sola fides vere iustificat eique soli ser**148**] vit, opera vero hominibus. Ita fit, ut nihil non boni, protectionis et defensionis sub Domino tuo habeas, ad haec pacatam [R. 441 conscientiam et faventem Deum obtineas, qui multis servitii tui rationem tibi pensaturus est. Quid multis moror? Palam beatus es, dummodo probitatis et obedientiae virtutem constanter retineas. Sin minus, primum quidem nonnisi iram a Deo lucrifacis et inimicitias, postea amissa cordis tranquillitate omnes plagas incurris et infortunia.

Welchen nun solches nicht bewegen will und fromm machen, den befehlen wir dem Henker und Streckebein [dem Tod]. Darum denke ein jeglicher, der ihm [sich] will sagen lassen, daß [es] Gotte kein Scherz ist, und wisse, daß Gott mit dir redet und Gehorsam fordert. Gehorchst du ihm, so bist du das liebe Kind; verachtest du es aber, so habe auch Schande, Jammer und Herzeleid zu Lohn.

149] Quem ergo ista non movebunt et probum facient, hunc tamquam deploratae vitae hominem carnifici commendamus et morti. Quare quilibet, qui moneri se patitur, cogitet Deum hoc suo praecepto non ludos facere, aut iocos exercere, sciasque illum ipsum haec tecum loqui et obedientiam requirere. Quodsi illi morem gesseris, placebis ei, eiusque dilectus filius eris. Sin vero contempseris, age, et dedecus, aerumnas et dolores praemii loco tibi habeto.

Desgleichen ist auch zu reden vom Gehorsam weltlicher Obrigkeit, welche (wie gesagt) alle in den Vaterstand gehört und am allerweitesten um sich greift. Denn hier ist nicht ein einzelner Vater [ein Vater bloß etlicher], sondern so vieler Leute Vater, so viel er Landsassen, Bürger oder Untertanen hat; denn Gott gibt und erhält uns durch sie, als durch unsere Eltern, Nahrung, Haus und Hof, Schutz und Sicherheit. Darum, weil sie solchen Namen und Titel als ihren höchsten Preis mit allen Ehren führen, sind wir auch schuldig,

150] Similiter quoque dicendum est de obedientia, quae debetur magistratibus, quae, ut diximus, et ipsa in parentum ordinem pertinet et huc referenda est, omnium maxime longe lateque patens. Neque enim hic saltem unius familiae parens est, sed toties pater princeps existimandus est, quotquot cives aut subditos suae ditioni subiectos habuerit. Quippe Deus non secus per illos quam parentes nos alit ac sustinet, illorum opera victum nobis praestans, penates, tutelam, pacem atque securitatem.

maid-servants should be careful not only to be obedient to their masters and mistresses, but also to honor them as their own fathers and mothers, and to do everything which they know is expected of them, not from compulsion and with reluctance, but with pleasure and joy for the cause just mentioned, namely, that it is God's command and is pleasing to Him above all other works. Therefore they ought rather to pay wages in addition and be glad that they may obtain masters and mistresses to have such joyful consciences and to know how they may do truly golden works; a matter which has hitherto been neglected and despised, when, instead, everybody ran, in the devil's name, into convents or to pilgrimages and indulgences, with loss [of time and money] and with an evil conscience.

If this truth, then, could be impressed upon the poor people, a servant-girl would leap and praise and thank God; and with her tidy work for which she receives support and wages she would acquire such a treasure as all that are esteemed the greatest saints have not obtained. Is it not an excellent boast to know and say that, if you perform your daily domestic task, this is better than all the sanctity and ascetic life of monks? And you have the promise, in addition, that you shall prosper in all good and fare well. How can you lead a more blessed or holier life as far as your works are concerned? For in the sight of God faith is what really renders a person holy, and alone serves Him, but the works are for the service of man. There you have everything good, protection and defense in the Lord, a joyful conscience and a gracious God besides, who will reward you a hundredfold, so that you are even a nobleman if you be only pious and obedient. But if not, you have, in the first place, nothing but the wrath and displeasure of God, no peace of heart, and afterwards all manner of plagues and misfortunes.

Whoever will not be influenced by this and inclined to godliness we hand over to the hangman and to the skeleton-man. Therefore let every one who allows himself to be advised remember that God is not making sport, and know that it is God who speaks with you and demands obedience. If you obey Him, you are His dear child; but if you despise to do it, then take shame, misery, and grief for your reward.

The same also is to be said of obedience to civil government, which (as we have said) is all embraced in the estate of fatherhood and extends farthest of all relations. For here the father is not one of a single family, but of as many people as he has tenants, citizens, or subjects. For through them, as through our parents, God gives to us food, house and

daß wir sie ehren und groß achten für den teuersten Schatz und [das] köstlichste Kleinod auf Erden.

Wer nun hier gehorsam, willig und dienstbar ist und gerne tut alles, was die Ehre belangt, der weiß, daß er Gott Gefallen tut, Freude und Glück zu Lohn kriegt. Will er's nicht mit Liebe tun, sondern verachten und sich sperren oder rumoren, so wisse er auch wiederum, daß er keine Gnade noch Segen habe, und wo er einen Gulden damit meint zu erlaufen, anderswo zehnmal mehr dagegen verliere oder dem Henker zuteil werde, durch Krieg, Pestilenz und Teurung umkomme oder an seinen Kindern kein Gutes erlebe, vom Gesinde, Nachbarn oder Fremden und Tyrannen Schaden, Unrecht und Gewalt leiden müsse, auf daß uns bezahlt werde und heimkomme, was wir suchen und verdienen.

Quamobrem cum nomen et titulum illum uti summum decus et gloriam suam merito et dignissime gestent, vicissim et nos debemus eos, ut digni sunt, omni honore ostenso, magni facere ut thesaurum in terris omnium pretiosissimum.

151] Iam qui hic prompto ac lubenti animo obsequitur, neque gravatim ea, quae ad exhibendum honorem attinent, exsequitur, is scit se rem Deo gratam facere, praemiique loco gaudium ac felicitatem se consecuturum. Quodsi gravatur facere, aut magistratus etiam contemnit, aut concitato tumultu rebel- [R. 442 lat, rursum quoque ille sciat, nullius gratiae aut benedictionis divinae unquam sese futurum compotem, sed ab his omnibus excidisse planissime. Et ubi sperat hac sua inobedientia aureum se lucraturum, alibi in decuplo graviorem iacturam faciet, aut in carnificis manus incidet, aut vel bello vel peste vel fame peribit, aut liberos suos degeneres omnique vitiorum genere coopertos videbit, a familia, vicinis, hostibus, fisco et tyrannis certatim compilabitur, damnum accipiet et per iniuriam opprimetur, ut ita dignum ad nos redeat praemium, id quod per inobedientiam et quaerimus et meremur.

Wenn uns nur einmal zu sagen wäre, daß solche Werke Gott so angenehm sind und so reichliche Belohnung haben, würden wir in eitel überschwenglichen Gütern sitzen und haben, was unser Herz begehrt. Weil man aber Gottes Wort und Gebot so gar verächtlich hält, als hätte es irgendein Holhipler [eitler Schwätzer] geredet, so laß auch sehen, ob du der Mann seiest, der ihm entsitzen [Trotz bieten] könnte. Wie schwer wird's ihm wohl werden, daß er dich wieder bezahle! Darum lebtest du je so mehr [viel besser] mit Gottes Huld, Frieden und Glück als mit Ungnade und Unglück. Warum meinst du, daß jetzt die Welt so voll Untreue, Schande, Jammer und Mord ist, denn daß jedermann sein eigener Herr und kaiserfrei will sein, auf niemand nichts geben und alles tun, was ihn gelüstet? Darum straft Gott einen Buben mit dem andern, daß, wo du deinen Herrn betreugst [betrügst] oder verachtest, ein anderer komme, der dir wieder also mitfahre [der ebenso mit dir verfahre], ja, daß du in deinem Haus von Weib, Kind oder Gesinde zehnmal mehr leiden müssest.

152] Proinde, si persuaderi saltem id nobis aliquando pateremur, ut crederemus in tantum haec opera placere Deo, tamque amplum praemium propositum sibi habere: equidem in exuberantissima omnium rerum copia felicissimam vitam degeremus, omnia, quaecunque humanus animus concupiscit, possidentes. Quia vero tam leviter et ne unius quidem assis Dei Verbum et praeceptum aestimare solemus, quasi Cares quispiam aut Thressis homuncio illud dixisset sanxissetque: videris quoque, num tu is vir sies [sis], qui aequo Marte cum illo possit in arenam descendere. Quam vero difficile factu hoc illi erit, ut te persolvens tuam contundat ferociam! Quare 153] multo quidem mihi videretur consultius et praestabilius, magisque in rem tuam foret, ut potius in Dei favore, pace ac gratia, neque non felici rerum successu viveres, quam eodem tibi hostiliter adversante et inimico existente. 154] Undenam putas universum iam orbem refertum esse perfidia, malitia, sceleribus, rapina, caede, periuriis, latrocinio omnique genere calamitatum atque dedecoris, quam quod nemo alieni imperii iugum ferre sustinet, quod quisque liber, quisque sui iuris *καὶ αὐτόνομος* esse conatur, neminemque revereri aut [R. 443 metuere, sed, quodcunque animo suo visum aut libitum est, facere vult? Inde fit, ut Deus latronem latrone puniat, ut ubi domino tuo fraudulenter imposueris, aut eundem superbe spreveris, alius veniat, qui eadem mensura tibi remetiatur, imo et in propriis laribus ab uxore, liberis et familia decuplo plus perferre cogaris.

Wir fühlen unser Unglück wohl, murren und klagen über Untreue, Gewalt und Unrecht, wollen aber nicht sehen, daß wir selbst Buben sind, die Strafe redlich verdient haben und nichts davon besser werden. Wir wollen keine Gnade und Glück haben, darum haben wir billig eitel Unglück ohne alle Barmherzigkeit. Es müssen noch etwa [irgendwo] fromme Leute auf Erden sein, daß uns Gott noch so viel Gutes läßt. Unserthalben sollten wir keinen Heller im Haus, keinen Strohhalm auf dem Felde behalten. Das alles hab' ich müssen mit so viel Worten treiben, ob es einmal jemand wollte zu Herzen nehmen, daß wir der Blindheit und Jammers, darin wir so tief gelegen sind, möchten los werden, Gottes Wort und Willen recht er-

155] Sentimus equidem haud obscure nostrum infortunium, murmurantes et conquerentes de perfidia, vi, iniuria, sed interim clausis oculis egregie dissimulamus nos ipsos intus et in cute nebulones esse perditissimos, qui poenam hanc amplissime meriti simus, nec tamen vel tantillum vita in melius commutata resipiscere animum inducamus. Nullum locum gratiae et felicitati apud nos reliquum facimus, iure ergo optimo nonnisi infortunium et acerbitatem, omni sublata miseri- 156] cordia, persentiscimus. Et profecto reor adhuc in humanis esse alicubi pios ac probos homines, quum tantum boni adhuc Deus nobis tribuere soleat. Nam nostri gratia ne terun-

home, protection and security. Therefore, since they bear such name and title with all honor as their highest dignity, it is our duty to honor them and to esteem them great as the dearest treasure and the most precious jewel upon earth.

He, now, who is obedient here, is willing and ready to serve, and cheerfully does all that pertains to honor, knows that he is pleasing God and that he will receive joy and happiness for his reward. If he will not do it in love, but despises and resists [authority] or rebels, let him also know, on the other hand, that he shall have no favor nor blessing, and where he thinks to gain a florin thereby, he will elsewhere lose ten times as much, or become a victim to the hangman, perish by war, pestilence, and famine, or experience no good in his children, and be obliged to suffer injury, injustice, and violence at the hands of his servants, neighbors, or strangers and tyrants; so that what we seek and deserve is paid back and comes home to us.

If we would ever suffer ourselves to be persuaded that such works are pleasing to God and have so rich a reward, we would be established in altogether abundant possessions and have what our heart desires. But because the word and command of God are so lightly esteemed, as though some babbler had spoken it, let us see whether you are the man to oppose Him. How difficult, do you think, it will be for Him to recompense you! Therefore you would certainly live much better with the divine favor, peace, and happiness than with His displeasure and misfortune. Why, think you, is the world now so full of unfaithfulness, disgrace, calamity, and murder, but because every one desires to be his own master and free from the emperor, to care nothing for any one, and do what pleases him? Therefore God punishes one knave by another, so that, when you defraud and despise your master, another comes and deals in like manner with you, yea, in your household you must suffer ten times more from wife, children, or servants.

Indeed, we feel our misfortune, we murmur and complain of unfaithfulness, violence, and injustice, but will not see that we ourselves are knaves who have fully deserved this punishment, and yet are not thereby reformed. We will have no favor and happiness, therefore it is but fair that we have nothing but misfortune without mercy. There must still be somewhere upon earth some godly people because God continues to grant us so much good! On our own account we should not have a farthing in the house nor a straw in the field. All this I have been obliged to urge with so many words, in hope that some one

kennen und mit Ernſt annehmen. Denn daraus würden wir lernen, wie wir könnten Freude, Glück und Heil zeitlich und ewig genug haben.

cium quidem in aedibus aut stipulam in arvis **157**] retinere debebamus. Haec omnia eam ob rem mihi percensenda fuere verbosius, si semel quispiam ista, vel tandem emollitus, corde conciperet, ut a miseranda ista caecitate et calamitate, in qua tam profunde immersi iacuimus, liberaremur, Dei Verbum ac voluntatem cognoscentes ac denique serio arripientes. Ex hoc enim disceremus, quo pacto gaudio, prosperitate et salute hic et in futuro saeculo frui possemus.

Alſo haben wir zweierlei [* dreierlei] Väter in dieſem Gebot vorgeſtellt, des Geblüts und des Amts oder der Sorge im Hauſe und im Lande. Darüber ſind auch noch geiſtliche Väter, nicht wie im Papſttum, die ſich wohl alſo haben laſſen nennen, aber kein väterlich Amt geführt; denn das heißen allein geiſtliche Väter, die uns durch Gottes Wort regieren und vorſtehen, wie ſich St. Paulus einen Vater rühmt 1 Kor. 4, da er ſpricht: „Ich habe euch gezeugt in Chriſto Jeſu durch das Evangelium.“ Weil ſie nun Väter ſind, gebührt ihnen auch die Ehre, auch wohl vor allen andern. Aber da geht ſie am wenigſten, denn die Welt muß ſie ſo ehren, daß man ſie aus dem Lande jage und [ihnen] nicht ein Stück Brots gönne, und Summa, ſie müſſen (wie Paulus ſagt) der Welt Kehricht und jedermanns Schabab [Abfall, Auswurf] und Fußtuch ſein.

158] Ita triplices in hoc praecepto patres nobis praestitutos esse videmus. Primum quidem sanguinis, deinde praesidentes in aedibus, ultimo, quibus partes gubernandae reipublicae commendatae sunt. Praeter hos supersunt adhuc patres spirituales, non illi quidem, qui hactenus in papatu hoc nominis sibi falso arrogarunt, neque tamen ullum patris [R. 444 officium sunt exsecuti. Illi enim soli spirituales patres dici merentur, qui Verbo Dei nos pascunt, regunt ac docent et fideliter praesunt **159**] gregi. Quo nomine S. Paulus se patrem iactat, scribens Corinthiis, 1 Cor. 4, 15: *In Christo Iesu per evangelium vos genui.* Cum **160**] ergo patres eos esse constet, et his honor prae omnibus aliis deferendus est. Verum enim vero hic omnium minime cernitur. Ad hunc enim modum a mundo honorandi et honestandi sunt, ut passim eiecti oppidis agantur in exilium, et ne frusto quidem panis pascantur citra invidiam, et in summa *huius mundi purgamenta*, ut Paulus eodem capite (v. 13) loquitur, et peripsemata omnium esse cogantur.

Doch iſt not, ſolches auch in den Pöbel [Volk] zu treiben, daß, die da Chriſten heißen wollen, vor Gott ſchuldig ſind, die, ſo ihrer Seele warten, zwiefacher Ehre wert zu halten, daß ſie ihnen wohltun und ſie verſorgen; da will dir Gott auch genug zugeben und keinen Mangel laſſen. Aber da ſperrt und wehrt ſich jedermann, haben alle Sorge, daß der Bauch verſchmachte, und können jetzt nicht e i n e n rechtſchaffenen Prediger nähren, da wir zuvor zehn Maſtbäuche gefüllt haben. Damit wir auch verdienen, daß uns Gott ſeines Worts und Segens beraube und wiederum Lügenprediger aufſtehen laſſe, die uns zum Teufel führen, dazu unſern Schweiß und Blut ausſaugen.

161] Verumtamen valde necessarium est, ut haec quoque summa diligentia vulgo inculcentur eos, qui Christiani esse contendunt, coram Deo debere pro officio, ut duplici honore illos afficiant, qui eorum animarum curam gerunt, ut eosdem vicissim alant ac foveant; ad quod iterum Deus abunde suppeditabit, ut nulla **162**] premaris inopia. Sed hic rursum nemo non pertinacissime tenax est, metuens, ne forte venter fame effractus contabescat. Nec unum iam valemus doctum, probum atque fidelem concionatorem alere, ubi ante decem cucullatos porcos aut aleatores sacrificos tantum abdomini servientes opipare saginavimus. Qua **163**] ratione etiam promeremur, ut suo Verbo et benedictione Deus nos iterum tantae ingratitudinis gratia privet atque defraudet, sinatque iterum mendaciorum doctores exoriri, qui suis imposturis recta ad orcum nos ductitent, neque non sudorem et sanguinem nostrum devorent.

Welche aber Gottes Willen und Gebot vor Augen halten, haben die Verheißung, daß ihnen reichlich ſoll vergolten werden, was ſie beide an leibliche und geiſtliche Väter wenden und ihnen zu Ehren tun, nicht daß ſie ein Jahr oder zwei Brot, Kleider und Geld haben ſollen, ſondern langes Leben, Nahrung und Frieden, und ſollen ewig reich und ſelig ſein. Darum tue nur, was du ſchuldig biſt, und laß Gott dafür ſorgen, wie er dich nähre und [dir] genug ſchaffe; hat er's verheißen und noch nie gelogen, ſo wird er dir auch nicht lügen.

164] Ceterum, qui Dei voluntatem et praeceptum reverentur, eam promissionem acceperunt, fore, ut illis affatim pensetur, quidquid in alendis cum corporalibus, tum spiritualibus patribus insumpserint et ad amplificandum ipsorum honorem praestiterint, non [R. 445 quod per unius tantum anni spatium abunde habituri sint victum, vestitum et aliquantulum pecuniae possessuri, sed quod longaevi futuri sint, commeatu instructi splendido, pacis tranquillitate fruituri, breviter, perpetuo **165**] divites ac beati. Quare etiam atque etiam cura, ut, quod officium tuum exigit, prompte facias, omnemque curam in Deum reiicias, quomodo te aliturus sit aut omni copia instructurus. Quodsi promisit, nec unquam cuiquam mendax aut deceptor inventus est, nec tibi mentietur.

Solches ſollte uns je reizen und ein Herz machen, das zerſchmelzen möchte vor Luſt und Liebe gegen die, ſo wir Ehre ſchuldig ſind, daß wir die Hände aufhüben und fröhlich Gott dank-

166] Haec, inquam, nos provocare debebant, ac talem animum facere, qui se omnium amantissime effunderet erga eos, quibus honorem debemus, ita ut supinis manibus gaudentes

may take it to heart, that we may be relieved of the blindness and misery in which we are steeped so deeply, and may truly understand the Word and will of God, and earnestly accept it. For thence we would learn how we could have joy, happiness, and salvation enough, both temporal and eternal.

Thus we have two kinds of fathers presented in this commandment, fathers in blood and fathers in office, or those to whom belongs the care of the family, and those to whom belongs the care of the country. Besides these there are yet spiritual fathers; not like those in the Papacy, who have indeed had themselves called thus, but have performed no function of the paternal office. For those only are called spiritual fathers who govern and guide us by the Word of God; as St. Paul boasts his fatherhood 1 Cor. 4, 15, where he says: *In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel.* Now, since they are fathers they are entitled to their honor, even above all others. But here it is bestowed least; for the way which the world knows for honoring them is to drive them out of the country and to grudge them a piece of bread, and, in short, they must be (as says St. Paul, 1 Cor. 4, 13) as the filth of the world and everybody's refuse and footrag.

Yet there is need that this also be urged upon the populace, that those who would be Christians are under obligation in the sight of God to esteem them worthy of double honor who minister to their souls, that they deal well with them and provide for them. For that, God is willing to add to you sufficient blessing and will not let you come to want. But in this matter every one refuses and resists, and all are afraid that they will perish from bodily want, and cannot now support one respectable preacher, where formerly they filled ten fat paunches. In this we also deserve that God deprive us of His Word and blessing, and again allow preachers of lies to arise to lead us to the devil, and, in addition, to drain our sweat and blood.

But those who keep in sight God's will and commandment have the promise that everything which they bestow upon temporal and spiritual fathers, and whatever they do to honor them, shall be richly recompensed to them, so that they shall have, not bread, clothing, and money for a year or two, but long life, support, and peace, and shall be eternally rich and blessed. Therefore only do what is your duty, and let God take care how He is to support you and provide for you sufficiently. Since He has promised it, and has never yet lied, He will not be found lying to you.

This ought indeed to encourage us, and give us hearts that would melt in pleasure and love toward those to whom we owe honor, so that we would raise our hands and joyfully

ten, der uns ſolche Verheißung [ge]geben hat, danach wir bis an der Welt Ende laufen ſollten. Denn obgleich alle Welt zuſammentäte, vermöchte ſie uns nicht ein Stündlein zum Leben zu[zu]legen oder ein Körnlein aus der Erde zu[zu]geben. Gott aber kann und will dir alles überſchwenglich nach deines Herzens Luſt geben. Wer nun ſolches verachtet und in [den] Wind ſchlägt, der iſt je nicht wert, daß er ein Gotteswort höre. Das iſt nun zum Überfluß geſagt allen, ſo unter dies Gebot gehören.

Deo gratias ageremus, qui eiusmodi promissiones nobis tribuit, quarum gratia ad extremos Indos impigerrimē cursitare debebamus. Nam tametsi totus mundus omnes suas vires conferret, ne horulam quidem ad summam vitae nostrae posset adiicere, aut unicum saltem granum e terra producere. Deus haec omnia et vult et potest tibi superabundanter et plena (quod aiunt) manu praestare, ex animi tui voto atque sententia. Iam qui talia negligit aut ventis et aurae discerpenda permittit, ille indignior est, quam ut ullum Dei verbum audiat. Haec velut auctarii loco iis, qui huic praecepto subiecti sunt, diximus.

Daneben wäre auch wohl zu predigen den Eltern, und was ihr Amt führt, wie ſie ſich halten ſollen gegen die, ſo ihnen befohlen ſind zu regieren, welches, wiewohl es in [den] zehn Geboten nicht ausgedrückt ſteht, iſt es doch ſonſt an vielen Orten der Schrift reichlich geboten. Auch will es Gott eben in dieſem Gebot mit eingebunden haben, als er Vater und Mutter nennt. Denn er will nicht Buben noch Tyrannen zu dieſem Amt und Regiment haben, gibt ihnen auch nicht darum die Ehre, das iſt, Macht und Recht zu regieren, daß ſie ſich anbeten laſſen, ſondern denken, daß ſie unter Gottes Gehorſam ſind und vor allen Dingen ſich ihres Amtes herzlich und treulich annehmen, ihre Kinder, Geſinde, Untertanen uſw. nicht allein zu nähren und leiblich zu verſorgen, ſondern allermeiſt zu Gottes Lob und Ehre aufzuziehen. Darum denke nicht, daß ſolches zu deinem Gefallen und eigener Willkür ſtehe, ſondern daß Gott ſtreng geboten und aufgelegt hat, welchem du auch dafür wirſt müſſen antworten.

167] Adhaec parentes quoque docendi essent, quaenam illorum sint partes et officia, quomodo se gerere debeant erga eos, quos gubernandos et tuendos susceperunt. Quae res etsi dilucide in Decalogo expressa non est, multis tamen aliis in locis Scripturae abunde praecepta invenitur ac tradita. Deus quoque hoc ipso praecepto haec vult subintelligi, ubi **168**] parentum mentionem facit. Neque enim eius voluntas est, ut aut perditi nebulones aut enormes tyranni huius officii procurationem obeant, neque in hoc illis ipsis honorem [R. 446 tribuit, hoc est, potentiam et ius regendi, ut se precibus tamquam numen aliquod adorari patiantur, sed cogitent potius, quod et ipsi Deo obedientiam debeant, ut officium suae fidei delegatum ipsis curae sit ac sollicitudini, utque liberos, familiam et subditos suos non tantum nutriant et corporalibus alimentis provideant, sed omnium maxime ad laudem et gloriam Dei propagandam educent. Quam-**169**] obrem nequaquam fac cogites, haec in tuo arbitratu aut voluntate sita esse, ut statuas aut facias in his, quae tibi visa fuerint, sed quod Deus haec tibi graviter atque adeo serio facienda praeceperit, cui etiam aliquando exigenti harum rerum rationem redditurus es.

Da iſt nun abermal die leidige Plage, daß niemand ſolches wahrnimmt noch achtet, gehen hin, als gäbe uns Gott Kinder, unſere Luſt und Kurzweil daran zu haben, das Geſinde wie eine Kuh oder Eſel allein zur Arbeit zu [ge]brauchen oder mit den Untertanen unſers Mutwillens zu leben, laſſen ſie gehen, als ging's uns nichts an, was ſie lernen oder wie ſie leben, und will niemand ſehen, daß der hohen Majeſtät Befehl iſt, die ſolches ernſtlich wird fordern und rächen, noch daß ſo große Not tut [daß es ſo ſehr not tut], daß man ſich der Jugend mit Ernſt annehme. Denn wollen wir feine, geſchickte Leute haben, beide zu weltlichem und geiſtlichem Regiment, ſo müſſen wir wahrlich keinen Fleiß, Mühe noch Koſt an unſern Kindern ſparen, ſie zu lehren und erziehen, daß ſie Gott und der Welt dienen mögen, und nicht allein denken, wie wir ihnen Geld und Gut ſammeln; denn Gott kann ſie wohl ohne uns nähren und reich machen, wie er auch täglich tut. Darum aber hat er uns Kinder gegeben und befohlen, daß wir ſie nach ſeinem Willen aufziehen und regieren, ſonſt [be]dürfte er Vater und Mutter nirgend zu. Darum wiſſe ein jeglicher, daß er ſchuldig iſt bei Verluſt göttlicher Gnade, daß er ſeine Kinder vor allen Dingen zu Gottesfurcht und Erkenntnis ziehe und, wo ſie geſchickt ſind, auch etwas lernen und ſtudieren laſſe, daß man ſie, wozu es not iſt, brauchen könnte.

170] Sed quam hic rursus miserandam plagam videmus, quod huius officii nemo respectum aut curam habere dignatur, perinde agentes, ac si Deus liberos tantum in hoc nobis dedisset, ut animi fallendi gratia nobis voluptati essent aut delectamento; praeterea familiam tantum in hoc, ut ea tamquam bove aut asino opere faciundo utamur, aut cum subditis pro animi nostri libidine agamus, non secus eos habentes neglectui, quam si ad nos non pertinerent, aut nostra nihil interesset, quid discant, aut quibus pietatis studiis suam **171**] vitam traducant. Nec quisquam eo intendit animum, ut cogitet hoc divinae maiestatis esse praeceptum, hoc ipsum severe examinaturae et graviter ulturae, aut summam necessitatem hoc exigere, ut iuventutis recte educandae atque instituendae praecipua habe-**172**] atur cura et ratio. Quodsi enim cum ad spiritualem tum mundanam rerum administrationem homines idoneos, promptos et appositos habere desideramus: profecto non erit ulli parcendum labori aut operae aut impensis, diligenter docendo atque instituendo liberos, ut et Deo servire et hominibus utiles esse **173**] queant. Neque tantum nobis cogitandum est, quo pacto illis ipsis magnam [R. 447 saltem nummorum vim cumulemus ac reponamus. Hos enim Deus citra nostram operam alere ac ditare novit, id quod etiam quotidie

thank God who has given us such promises, for which we ought to run to the ends of the world [to the remotest parts of India]. For although the whole world should combine, it could not add an hour to our life or give us a single grain from the earth. But God wishes to give you all exceeding abundantly according to your heart's desire. He who despises and casts this to the winds is not worthy ever to hear a word of God. This has now been stated more than enough for all who belong under this commandment.

In addition, it would be well to preach to the parents also, and such as bear their office, as to how they should deport themselves toward those who are committed to them for their government. For although this is not expressed in the Ten Commandments, it is nevertheless abundantly enjoined in many places in the Scriptures. And God desires to have it embraced in this commandment when He speaks of father and mother. For He does not wish to have in this office and government knaves and tyrants; nor does He assign to them this honor, that is, power and authority to govern, that they should have themselves worshiped; but they should consider that they are under obligations of obedience to God; and that, first of all, they should earnestly and faithfully discharge their office, not only to support and provide for the bodily necessities of their children, servants, subjects, etc., but, most of all, to train them to the honor and praise of God. Therefore do not think that this is left to your pleasure and arbitrary will, but that it is a strict command and injunction of God, to whom also you must give account for it.

But here again the sad plight arises that no one perceives or heeds this, and all live on as though God gave us children for our pleasure or amusement, and servants that we should employ them like a cow or ass, only for work, or as though we were only to gratify our wantonness with our subjects, ignoring them, as though it were no concern of ours what they learn or how they live; and no one is willing to see that this is the command of the Supreme Majesty, who will most strictly call us to account and punish us for it; nor that there is so great need to be so seriously concerned about the young. For if we wish to have excellent and apt persons both for civil and ecclesiastical government, we must spare no diligence, time, or cost in teaching and educating our children, that they may serve God and the world, and we must not think only how we may amass money and possessions for them. For God can indeed without us support and make them rich, as He daily does. But for this purpose He has given us children, and issued this command that we should train and govern them according to His will, else He would have no need of father and mother. Let every one know, therefore, that it is his duty, on peril of losing the divine favor, to bring up his children above all things in the fear and knowledge of

factitat. Ideo vero liberos nobis largitus est et commendavit, ut eosdem iuxta voluntatem eius **174**] educemus regamusque, alioqui nihil opus erat parentibus. Quapropter quisque indubitate ita habeat se debere pro officio, eoque astringi, qui modo nolit infensum et inclementem Deum suo malo experiri, ut ante omnia ad Dei timorem et agnitionem suos liberos educet. Atque ubi aliqua relucebit spes egregii ingenii aut non malae indolis, eosdem quoque bonis literis ac disciplinis imbuendos et formandos tradant, ut eorum opera ad politiam, et ad quamcunque rem opus fuerit, uti queant homines.

Wenn man nun ſolches täte, würde uns Gott auch reichlich ſegnen und Gnade geben, daß man ſolche Leute erzöge, der [durch die] Land und Leute gebeſſert möchten werden, dazu feine gezogene Bürger, züchtige und häusliche Frauen, die danach fortan fromme Kinder und Geſinde ziehen möchten. Da denke nun ſelbſt, wie mördlichen Schaden du tuſt, wo du dir darin verſäumlich biſt [wenn du darin etwas verſäumſt] und an dir läſſeſt fehlen, daß dein Kind nützlich und ſeliglich erzogen werde, dazu alle Sünde und Zorn auf dich bringſt und alſo die Hölle an deinen eigenen Kindern verdienſt, ob du gleich ſonſt fromm und heilig wäreſt. Derhalben auch Gott, weil man ſolches verachtet, die Welt ſo greulich ſtraft, daß man keine Zucht, Regiment noch Frieden hat, welches wir auch alle [beklagen, ſehen aber nicht, daß es unſere Schuld iſt; denn wie wir ſie ziehen, ſo haben wir ungeratene und ungehorſame Kinder und Untertanen. Das ſei genug zur Vermahnung; denn ſolches in die Länge zu treiben, gehört auf eine andere Zeit.

175] His peractis diligenter et strenue, Deus nobis haud dubie suam benedictionem et gratiam largiter impertiret, ut eiusmodi educarentur homines, a quibus cum ipsa patria tum populares praecipuum emolumentum caperent. Et huius quoque disciplinae sedulitate et studio brevi emergerent bene modesti et recte educati cives, tum pudicae beneque moratae matronae, rei familiaris diligentes et studiosae, qui deinceps indesinenter probos liberos et familiam **176**] laudabilem procrearent. Iam ipse tecum animo repete, quam nefarium admittas facinus, quamque atrox damnum des, si hac in re negligenter agas, aut per te stet, quo minus liberi tui utiliter ac salubriter educentur. Ad haec omnibus peccatis et ira temet gravas et oneras, ita ut liberorum tuorum ergo aeternam damnationem promerearis, tametsi alias sanctam atque inculpatam vitam traduxeris. **177**] Eam ob rem Deus quoque, quum ista tam omisso animo negliguntur, mundum insuitatis et non dicendis poenis afficit, [R. 448 ut nullius disciplinae et pacatae gubernationis vestigium apud nos cernatur amplius, quod non raro dolenter conquerimur, interim non videntes, tantarum tragoediarum culpam nostram esse. Quemadmodum enim regere consuevimus, ita rebelles ac degeneres subditos et liberos experimur. **178**] Et haec monendi gratia in praesens sufficiant; haec enim tractare prolixius aliud tempus postulat.

Das fünfte Gebot.

Du ſollſt nicht töten.

Wir haben nun ausgerichtet beide geiſtlich und weltlich Regiment, das iſt, göttliche und väterliche Obrigkeit und Gehorſam. Hier aber gehen wir nun aus unſerm Haus unter die Nachbarn, zu lernen, wie wir untereinander leben ſollen, ein jeglicher für ſich ſelbſt gegen ſeinen Nächſten. Darum iſt in dieſem Gebot nicht eingezogen Gott und die Obrigkeit, noch die Macht genommen, ſo ſie haben, zu töten. Denn Gott ſein Recht, Übeltäter zu ſtrafen, der Obrigkeit an der Eltern Statt befohlen hat, welche vorzeiten (als man in Moſe lieſt) ihre Kinder ſelbſt mußten vor Gericht ſtellen und zum Tode [ver]urteilen. Derhalben was hier verboten iſt, iſt einem gegen den andern verboten und nicht der Obrigkeit.

Dies Gebot iſt nun leicht genug und oft gehandelt, weil man's jährlich im Evangelio hört, Matth. 5, da es Chriſtus ſelbſt auslegt und in eine Summa faßt, nämlich daß man nicht töten ſoll, weder mit Hand, Herzen, Mund, Zeichen, Gebärden noch Hilfe und Rat. Darum iſt darin jedermann verboten zu zürnen, ausgenommen (wie geſagt), die an Gottes Statt ſitzen, das iſt, Eltern und Obrigkeit. Denn Gott, und was im göttlichen Stand iſt, gebührt zu zürnen, ſchelten und ſtrafen, eben um derer willen, ſo dies und andere Gebote übertreten.

Urſache aber und Not dieſes Gebots iſt, daß Gott wohl weiß, wie die Welt böſe iſt, und dies

Praeceptum V.

Non occides.

179]

180] Hactenus et spiritualem et mundanum magistratum, hoc est, cum Dei tum parentum ius et obedientiam, exsecuti sumus. Hoc vero in loco ex aedibus nostris ad vicinos egredimur, ad discendum, quo pacto nobis inter nos, cuique erga proximum, vita instituenda atque **181**] exigenda sit. Quare hoc praecepto Deus et magistratus non sunt comprehensi, neque illis et ius et facultas perimendi facinorosos, quam obtinent, sublata est. Siquidem Deus ius suum plectendi criminosos magistratui parentum loco commendavit ac credidit, qui antiquitus ipsi (ut in Mose legitur) suos ipsorum liberos in ius rapere ac iudicio condemnare cogebantur. Quapropter quidquid hic interdicitur, privatis personis peculiariter interdictum est et non magistratui.

182] Iam hoc praeceptum est intellectu valde facile ac crebro declaratum, quando quotannis in evangelio, Matth. 5, 21 sqq., auditur, ubi illud Christus ipse interpretatur ac summatim complectitur, scilicet neque manu neque cordis cogitationibus neque ore neque signis neque consilio et auxilio esse occidendum. Quare omnibus hic irasci interdictum est, exceptis his, ut diximus, qui Dei locum in terris obtinent, hoc est, parentibus et magistratui. Dei enim et illorum, qui in divinum ordinem cooptati sunt, interest irasci, indignari, obiurgare et punire, ob eos ipsos, qui hoc et [R. 449 alia praecepta flagitiose transgrediuntur.

183] Ceterum huius praecepti constituendi necessitas et causa haec fuit, quod Deo obscu-

God, and if they are talented, have them learn and study something, that they may be employed for whatever need there is [to have them instructed and trained in a liberal education, that men may be able to have their aid in government and in whatever is necessary].

If that were done, God would also richly bless us and give us grace to train men by whom land and people might be improved, and likewise well-educated citizens, chaste and domestic wives, who afterwards would rear godly children and servants. Here consider now what deadly injury you are doing if you be negligent and fail on your part to bring up your child to usefulness and piety, and how you bring upon yourself all sin and wrath, thus earning hell by your own children, even though you be otherwise pious and holy. And because this is disregarded, God so fearfully punishes the world that there is no discipline, government, or peace, of which we all complain, but do not see that it is our fault; for as we train them, we have spoiled and disobedient children and subjects. Let this be sufficient exhortation; for to draw this out at length belongs to another time.

The Fifth Commandment.

Thou shalt not kill.

We have now completed both the spiritual and the temporal government, that is, the divine and the paternal authority and obedience. But here now we go forth from our house among our neighbors to learn how we should live with one another, every one himself toward his neighbor. Therefore God and government are not included in this commandment, nor is the power to kill, which they have, taken away. For God has delegated His authority to punish evil-doers to the government instead of parents, who aforetime (as we read in Moses) were required to bring their own children to judgment and sentence them to death. Therefore, what is here forbidden is forbidden to the individual in his relation to any one else, and not to the government.

Now this commandment is easy enough, and has been often treated, because we hear it annually in the Gospel of St. Matthew, 5, 21 ff., where Christ Himself explains and sums it up, namely, that we must not kill, neither with hand, heart, mouth, signs, gestures, help, nor counsel. Therefore it is here forbidden to every one to be angry, except those (as we said) who are in the place of God, that is, parents and the government. For it is proper for God and for every one who is in a divine estate to be angry, to reprove and punish, namely, on account of those very persons who transgress this and the other commandments.

But the cause and need of this commandment is that God well knows that the world

Leben viel Unglücks hat; darum hat er dies und andere Gebote zwischen Gute und Böse gestellt. Wie nun mancherlei Anfechtung [Anfeindung, Kampf] ist wider alle Gebote, also geht's hier auch, daß wir unter viel Leuten leben müssen, die uns Leid tun, daß wir Ursache kriegen, ihnen feind zu sein.

Als wenn dein Nachbar sieht, daß du besser Haus und Hof, mehr Guts und Glücks von Gott hast denn er, so verdreußt's [verdrießt's] ihn, neidet dich und redet nichts Gutes von dir.

Also kriegst du viel Feinde durch des Teufels Anreizung, die dir kein Gutes weder leiblich noch geistlich gönnen. Wenn man denn solche sieht, so will unser Herz wiederum wüten und bluten und sich rächen. Da hebt sich denn wieder Fluchen und Schlagen, daraus endlich Jammer und Mord folgt. Da kommt nun Gott zuvor wie ein freundlicher Vater, legt sich ins Mittel und will den Hader geschieden haben, daß kein Unglück daraus entstehe, noch einer den andern verderbe. Und Summa, will er hiermit einen jeglichen beschirmt, befreit und befriedet haben vor jedermanns Frevel und Gewalt und dies Gebot zur Ringmauer, Feste und Freiheit gestellt haben um den Nächsten, daß man ihm kein Leid noch Schaden am Leibe tue.

So steht nun dies Gebot darauf, daß niemand seinen Nächsten beleidige um irgendeines bösen Stücks willen, ob er's gleich höchlich verdiente. Denn wo Totschlag verboten ist, da ist auch alle Ursache verboten, daher Totschlag entspringen mag. Denn mancher, ob er nicht tötet, so flucht er doch und wünscht [etwas, das ist, Unheil, die Pest], daß, wer es sollte am Halse haben, würde nicht weit laufen. Weil nun solches jedermann von Natur anhängt und in gemeinem Brauch ist, daß keiner [etwas] vom andern leiden will, so will Gott die Wurzel und Ursprung wegräumen, durch welche das Herz wider den Nächsten erbittert wird, und uns gewöhnen, daß wir allezeit dies Gebot vor Augen haben und uns darin spiegeln, Gottes Willen ansehen und ihm das Unrecht, so wir leiden, befehlen mit herzlichem Vertrauen und Anrufen seines Namens und also jene feindlich scharren [toben, sich ereifern] und zürnen lassen, daß sie tun, was sie könnten, also daß ein Mensch lerne den Zorn stillen und ein geduldiges, sanftes Herz tragen, sonderlich gegen die, die ihm Ursache zu zürnen geben, das ist, gegen die Feinde.

Darum ist die ganze Summa davon den Einfältigen aufs deutlichste einzubilden [einzuprägen], was da heiße „nicht töten": zum ersten, daß man niemand Leid tue, erstlich mit der Hand oder Tat; danach die Zunge nicht [ge]brauchen lasse, dazu zu reden oder zu raten; über das keinerlei Mittel oder Weise [ge]brauche noch bewillige, darum non erat, quanta esset mundi malitia et iniquitas, et quam haec vita multis obnoxia esset periculis; eam ob rem Deus hoc praeceptum inter bonos et malos constituit. Iam quemadmodum multae sunt aliorum praeceptorum impugnationes, ita quoque huius non sunt paucae aut modicae, ut cum multis hominibus nobis vivendum sit, qui nos iniuria afficiunt, unde causas nanciscimur, inimico animo eosdem prosequendi.

184] Exempli causa: Si vicinus tuus viderit tibi esse aedes splendidiores, numerosiorem familiam, pinguiores agros, plus opum atque fortunae a Deo esse quam sibi, statim aegre patitur, tibique prosperos rerum successus invidere incipit, neque quidquam boni de te aut cogitat aut loquitur.

Ita impulsu mali genii multos consequeris inimicos, qui nihil boni neque spiritualiter neque corporaliter tibi faveant. Hos ergo cum videmus, animus noster vicissim ira exaestuat ac vindictae cupiditate ardere incipit. Inde maledictorum ac litium pullulant initia, ex quibus deinceps calamitates et caedes emer-
185] gunt oriunturque. Hic vero Deus tamquam amicus ac clemens pater praevenit, seque interponit arbitrum, volens omnem discordiam componi ac praescindi, ne qua oriatur iniuria, aut alius perdat alium. Et in summa, hoc praecepto quemvis ab omni vi atque iniuria tutum, pacatum ac defensum, hocque praeceptum veluti murum, arcem, asylum et propugnaculum proximo esse vult, ne quam molestiam et damnum a quoquam corpore accipiat.

186] Est ergo huius praecepti sensus, ne quis ob ullum malefactum ulla conturbetur aut afficiatur iniuria, etiamsi hanc [R. 450 abunde promeruisset. Ubi enim caedes interdicta est aut homicidium, ibi quoque causae, unde oriri possit homicidium, interdictae sunt. Crebro enim fit, ut aliquis, tametsi manus caede non contaminet, ita cruente imprecando devoveat proximum, ut non diu superstes viveret, si effectus esset eius imprecationibus.
187] Quando ergo hoc natura omnibus nobis insitum est, et usitatum esse deprehenditur, ut nemo quidquam ab alio ferre sustineat, vult Deus radicem atque adeo ipsam stirpem evellere, unde cor hominis adversus proximum exacerbatum exulceratur, nosque assuefacere, ut nunquam non hoc praeceptum nostris oculis obversetur, in quo tamquam in speculo vitam nostram contemplemur, voluntatem Dei intueamur, illiusque vindictae vim atque iniuriam, quam immerenter patimur, certa quadam animi fiducia ac nominis sui imploratione commendemus atque ita illos vehementer furere atque irasci permittamus, ut, quod possunt, faciant. Ut ad hunc modum homo discat sedare iracundiam ac patientem et mansuetum induere animum, cumprimis erga illos, qui causam irascendi ei suppeditant, hoc est, erga inimicos.

188] Quocirca tota huius praecepti summa haec est, ut simplicibus significantissime inculcetur, quid sit *non occidere:* Principio, ne quis afficiatur iniuria, primum quidem manu aut opere; deinde ne utamur lingua in hoc, ut consilium demus alicui incommodandi; insuper, ne qua utamur via aut medio, unde

is evil, and that this life has much unhappiness; therefore He has placed this and the other commandments between the good and the evil. Now, as there are many assaults upon all commandments, so it happens also in this commandment that we must live among many people who do us harm, so that we have cause to be hostile to them.

As when your neighbor sees that you have a better house and home [a larger family and more fertile fields], greater possessions and fortune from God than he, he is sulky, envies you, and speaks no good of you.

Thus by the devil's incitement you will get many enemies who cannot bear to see you have any good, either bodily or spiritual. When we see such people, our hearts, in turn, would rage and bleed and take vengeance. Then there arise cursing and blows, from which follow finally misery and murder. Here, now, God like a kind father steps in ahead of us, interposes and wishes to have the quarrel settled, that no misfortune come of it, nor one destroy another. And briefly, He would hereby protect, set free, and keep in peace every one against the crime and violence of every one else; and would have this commandment placed as a wall, fortress, and refuge about our neighbor, that we do him no hurt nor harm in his body.

Thus this commandment aims at this, that no one offend his neighbor on account of any evil deed, even though he have fully deserved it. For where murder is forbidden, all cause also is forbidden whence murder may originate. For many a one, although he does not kill, yet curses and utters a wish, which would stop a person from running far if it were to strike him in the neck [makes imprecations, which if fulfilled with respect to any one, he would not live long]. Now, since this inheres in every one by nature and it is a common practise that no one is willing to suffer at the hands of another, God wishes to remove the root and source by which the heart is embittered against our neighbor, and to accustom us ever to keep in view this commandment, always to contemplate ourselves in it as in a mirror, to regard the will of God, and with hearty confidence and invocation of His name to commit to Him the wrong which we suffer. Thus we shall suffer our enemies to rage and be angry, doing what they can, and we learn to calm our wrath, and to have a patient, gentle heart, especially toward those who give us cause to be angry, that is, our enemies.

Therefore the entire sum of what it means *not to kill* is to be impressed most explicitly upon the simple-minded. In the first place, that we harm no one, first, with our hand or by deed. Then, that we do not employ our tongue to instigate or counsel thereto. Fur-

durch jemand möchte beleidigt werden; und endlich, daß das Herz niemand feind sei noch aus Zorn und Haß Böses gönne, also daß Leib und Seele unschuldig sei an jedermann, eigentlich [sonderlich] aber an dem, der dir Böses wünscht oder zufügt. Denn dem, der dir Gutes gönnt und tut, Böses tun, ist nicht menschlich, sondern teuflisch.

aliquis detrimentum possit accipere, neve aliis utentibus consentiamus; ac denique, ut ipsum cor hostiliter infensum sit nemini aut irritatum iracundia male velit, ita ut et corpus et anima extra omnem sint noxam, cum de quovis tum peculiariter de eo, qui tibi mali quid vel precatur, vel etiam infert. Nam ei male facere, qui bene de te sit meritus, aut tuis rationibus optime consultum cupit, non humanum est, sed plane diabolicum.

Zum andern ist auch dieses Gebots schuldig nicht allein, der da Böses tut, sondern auch, wer dem Nächsten Gutes tun, zuvorkommen, wehren, ihn schützen und retten kann, daß ihm kein Leid noch Schaden am Leibe widerfahre, und tut es nicht. Wenn du nun einen Nackten lässest gehen und könntest ihn kleiden, so hast du ihn erfrieren lassen; siehst du jemand Hunger leiden und speist ihn nicht, so lässest du ihn Hungers sterben; also, siehst du jemand unschuldig zum Tode verurteilt oder in gleicher Not und nicht rettest, so du Mittel und Wege dazu wüßtest, so hast du ihn getötet. Und wird nicht helfen, daß du vorwendest, du habest keine Hilfe, Rat noch Tat dazu gegeben; denn du hast ihm die Liebe entzogen und [ihn] der Wohltat beraubt, dadurch er bei dem Leben [ge]blieben wäre.

189] Secundo, huius praecepti reus est non tantum is, qui male facit, sed etiam is, [R. 451 qui, cum proximo benefacere eiusque damnum aut iacturam antevertere, obstare, eum tueri et servare posset, ne quod malum aut iniuriam **190**] accipiat corpore, non facit. Iam ergo quotiescunque nudum videris, eundemque non adiutum dimiseris, cum prae facultatibus eius nuditatem convestire possis ac tegere: hunc profecto frigore enecasti. Ita quoties videris famelicum, nec tamen pascis eum: hunc fame cruciatum interire sinis. Non secus quoque si quem morte condemnatum videris, aut in simili quopiam casu periclitantem, nec eum servare approperas, cum neque viae neque occasiones illius eripiendi tibi sint incognitae: pro certo constat hunc te neci dedisse. Neque tibi proderit haec adducta excusatio, te in eius necem non consensisse, aut consilio et auxilio non adiuvasse [adiutasse]: siquidem caritatem illi subtraxisti, iisque benefactis eum privasti, quibus adiutus non difficulter vitam retinuisset.

Darum heißt auch Gott billig die alle Mörder, so in Nöten und [Ge]fahr Leibes und Lebens nicht raten noch helfen, und wird gar ein schrecklich Urteil über sie gehen lassen am Jüngsten Tage, wie Christus selbst verkündigt, da er sprechen wird: „Ich bin hungrig und durstig gewesen, und ihr habt mich nicht gespeiset noch getränket; ich bin ein Gast gewesen, und ihr habt mich nicht geherberget; ich bin nackend gewesen, und ihr habt mich nicht bekleidet; ich bin krank und gefangen gewesen, und ihr habt mich nicht besuchet.“ Das ist: Ihr hättet mich und die Meinen wohl lassen Hungers, Durfts und Frosts sterben, die wilden Tiere zerreißen, im Gefängnis verfaulen und in Nöten verderben lassen. Was heißt das anders denn Mörder und Bluthunde gescholten? Denn ob du solches nicht mit der Tat begangen hast, so hast du ihn doch im Unglück stecken und umkommen lassen, soviel an dir gelegen ist.

191] Quare Deus non iniuria omnes illos damnat homicidii, qui necessitate pressis aut de vita periclitantibus consilio aut ope non subveniunt. Hos in die novissimo horrenda quoque damnabit sententia, quemadmodum ipse Christus annuntiat, inquiens [Matth. 25, 35 sq.]: *Esurivi et sitii, et non dedistis mihi manducare aut bibere; hospes eram, et non collegistis me; nudus eram, et non cooperuistis me; infirmus et in carcere eram, et non visitastis me.* Hoc est: Meque meosque fame, siti, frigore perire, a feris discerpi, in carcere situ et squalore putrescere inque omnibus necessitatibus foede succumbere sivistis. Quid **192**] hoc aliud est, quam homicidas, et *ἀνδροφόνους καὶ μιαιφόνους* (Bluthunde) culpasse? Nam tametsi hoc ipsum opere non perpetrasti, proximum tamen in periculis atque infortunio haerentem, quantum ad te attinebat, immisericorditer perire permisisti.

Und ist ebensoviel, als ob ich jemand sehe auf tiefem Wasser fahren und arbeiten [sich abmühen] oder in ein Feuer gefallen und könnte ihm die Hand reichen, [ihn] herausreißen und retten, und doch nicht täte, wie würde ich anders auch vor aller Welt bestehen denn ein Mörder und Bösewicht?

Et perinde est, ac si quem in profunda aqua navigantem et adversis ventis [R. 452 laborantem perspicerem aut in ignem prolabentem, possemque illum porrecta manu e periculo eripere ac servare, et non facerem. Qui vero coram toto mundo aliter atque funestus homicida et cruentus latro probari aut perhiberi possem?

Darum ist die endliche Meinung Gottes, daß wir keinem Menschen Leid widerfahren lassen, sondern alles Gute und Liebe beweisen, und ist (wie gesagt) eigentlich gegen die gerichtet, so unsere Feinde sind. Denn daß wir Freunden Gutes tun, ist noch eine schlechte [bloße] heidnische Tugend, wie Christus Matth. am 5. sagt.

193] Quapropter haec decisiva Dei est sententia, ne quem hominem laedi aut damnum accipere patiamur, sed omnibus humanitatis et benevolentiae officiis demereamur. Estque **194**] hoc praeceptum peculiariter erga eos conservandum, cum quibus inimicitiae nobis intercesserunt. Ut enim amicis ac fautoribus nostris benefaciamus, virtus valde levis est et ethnica, quemadmodum Christus Matth. 5, 46 loquitur.

ther, that we neither use nor assent to any kind of means or methods whereby any one may be injured. And finally, that the heart be not ill disposed toward any one, nor from anger and hatred wish him ill, so that body and soul may be innocent in regard to every one, but especially those who wish you evil or inflict such upon you. For to do evil to one who wishes and does you good is not human, but diabolical.

Secondly, under this commandment not only he is guilty who does evil to his neighbor, but he also who can do him good, prevent, resist evil, defend and save him, so that no bodily harm or hurt happen to him, and yet does not do it. If, therefore, you send away one that is naked when you could clothe him, you have caused him to freeze to death; if you see one suffer hunger and do not give him food, you have caused him to starve. So also, if you see any one innocently sentenced to death or in like distress, and do not save him, although you know ways and means to do so, you have killed him. And it will not avail you to make the pretext that you did not afford any help, counsel, or aid thereto, for you have withheld your love from him and deprived him of the benefit whereby his life would have been saved.

Therefore God also rightly calls all those murderers who do not afford counsel and help in distress and danger of body and life, and will pass a most terrible sentence upon them in the last day, as Christ Himself has announced when He shall say, Matt. 25, 42 f.: *I was an hungred, and ye gave Me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave Me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took Me not in; naked, and ye clothed Me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited Me not.* That is: You would have suffered Me and Mine to die of hunger, thirst, and cold, would have suffered the wild beasts to tear us to pieces, or left us to rot in prison or perish in distress. What else is that but to reproach them as murderers and bloodhounds? For although you have not actually done all this, you have nevertheless, so far as you were concerned, suffered him to pine and perish in misfortune.

It is just as if I saw some one navigating and laboring in deep water [and struggling against adverse winds] or one fallen into fire, and could extend to him the hand to pull him out and save him, and yet refused to do it. What else would I appear, even in the eyes of the world, than as a murderer and a criminal?

Therefore it is God's ultimate purpose that we suffer harm to befall no man, but show him all good and love; and, as we have said, it is specially directed toward those who are our enemies. For to do good to our friends is but an ordinary heathen virtue, as Christ says Matt. 5, 46.

Da haben wir nun abermal Gottes Wort, damit er uns reizen und treiben will zu rechten, edlen, hohen Werken, als Sanftmut, Geduld und, Summa, Liebe und Wohltat gegen unsere Feinde, und will uns immerdar erinnern, daß wir zurückdenken des ersten Gebots, daß er unser Gott sei, das ist, uns helfen, beistehen und schützen wolle, auf daß er die Lust, uns zu rächen, dämpfe.

Solches sollte man nun treiben und bleuen [wiederholen, einprägen], so würden wir gute Werke alle Hände voll zu tun haben. Aber das wäre nicht für die Mönche gepredigt, dem geistlichen Stande zu viel abgebrochen, der Kartäuser Heiligkeit zu nahe und sollte wohl eben gute Werke verboten und Klöster geräumt heißen. Denn mit der Weise würde der gemeine Christenstand gleich so viel, ja weit und viel mehr gelten und jedermann sehen, wie sie die Welt mit falschem, heuchlerischem Schein der Heiligkeit äffen [zum Affen machen, verspotten] und verführen, weil sie dies und andere Gebote in [den] Wind geschlagen und für unnötig gehalten, als wären's nicht Gebote, sondern Räte, und daneben unverschämt ihren Heuchelstand und Werke für das vollkommenste Leben gerühmt und ausgeschrien, auf daß sie ja ein gut, sanftes Leben führeten ohne Kreuz und Geduld, darum sie auch in die Klöster gelaufen sind, daß sie von niemand nichts leiden noch jemand Gutes tun dürften [brauchten]. Du aber wisse, daß dies die rechten, heiligen und göttlichen Werke sind, welcher er sich mit allen Engeln freut, dagegen alle menschliche Heiligkeit Stank und Unflat ist, dazu nichts anderes denn Zorn und Verdammnis verdient.

195] Hoc loco iterum verbum Dei habemus propositum, quo nos ad vera, praeclara ac summa opera, nempe mansuetudinem, patientiam, breviter ad amorem et benefacta inimicis nostris exhibenda pellicere ac provocare conatur. Vultque nos subinde commonefacere, ut retroflexa cogitatione prioris praecepti simus memores, illum esse Deum nostrum, hoc est, nobis velle suppetias ferre, assistere ac tueri, ut animum vindictae cupidum in nobis compescat atque coerceat.

196] Iam haec vulgo essent tradenda atque inculcanda; tum abunde bonorum esset ope-
197] rum, quae nos facere oportebat. Verum haec praedicatio non esset ex usu monachorum, sed plus iusto religiosorum ordinem defraudaret, inferretque insignem Carmelitarum sanctitati iniuriam, et fortasse hoc ipsum diceretur bona opera interdicere et monasteria desolare. Hac enim ratione vulgus tanti, imo potius multo maioris fieret eosque longo intervallo praecelleret, ac quivis facile perspiceret, quomodo ipsi mundo tam foede hactenus imposuerint sua fucata et hypocritica sanctitate, quod et hoc praeceptum et alia praecepta omnia illiberaliter respuerint et inutilia existimarint, tamquam non praecepta [R. 453 fuissent, sed consilia; adhaec suos fictitios ordines et sectas tam perniciosas quam hypocriticas pro perfectissima vita impudenter iactarint et proclamarint, ut plane vitam suavem et tranquillam omnique et cruce vacantem et patientia, illi ventres et porci agerent. Quam ob causam se quoque in monasteria abdiderunt, ut a nemine quidquam paterentur molestiae, neve quemquam ulla in re
198] bona iuvarent. Tu vero scito haec vera, sancta et divina esse opera, quibus Deus cum omnibus angelis exhilaratur, quibusque omnis humana sanctitas collata nonnisi foetor et stercus est, nec aliud quam iram et damnationem promeretur.

Das sechste Gebot.

Du sollst nicht ehebrechen.

Diese Gebote sind nun an ihnen selbst leicht zu verstehen aus dem nächsten [vorhergehenden]; denn sie gehen alle dahin, daß man sich hüte vor allerlei Schaden des Nächsten. Sind aber fein ordentlich gestellt. Zum ersten auf seine eigene Person. Danach fortgefahren auf die nächste Person oder das nächste Gut nach seinem Leibe, nämlich sein ehelich Gemahl, welches mit ihm e i n Fleisch und Blut ist, also daß man ihm an keinem Gut höher Schaden tun kann. Darum auch deutlich hier ausgedrückt wird, daß man ihm keine Schande zufügen soll an seinem Eheweibe. Und lautet eigentlich auf den Ehebruch, darum daß im jüdischen Volk so geordnet und geboten war, daß jedermann mußte ehelich erfunden werden. Darum auch die Jugend aufs zeitlichste beraten [in die Ehe gebracht] ward, also daß Jungfrauenstand nichts galt, auch kein öffentlich Huren- und Bubenleben (wie jetzt) gestattet ward; darum ist der Ehebruch die gemeinste Unkeuschheit bei ihnen gewesen.

Praeceptum VI.

199] Non moechaberis.

200] Sequentia praecepta intellectu iam sunt facilia ex interpretatione antecedentis. Eo enim tendunt omnia, ut a damno et inferenda iniuria proximo caveamus. Sunt vero eleganti ordine posita. Primum enim de non laedenda proximi persona conditum est. Secundum respicit personam sibi proximam, aut post se rem sibi proximam, nempe suam coniugem, quacum unum corpus et una caro effectus est, ita ut nulla in re maiori possit affici iniuria. Quamobrem hoc in loco diserte ac significanter expressum est, ne quam ignominiam illi faciamus, afficientes contumelia
201] suam coniugem. Ac peculiariter de adulterio sonat, propterea quod in Iudaismo ita ordinatum et praeceptum fuerat, ut quisque ducta uxore matrimonium contraheret. Unde et iuvenes mature contrahebant, ita ut virginitatis status et coelibatus apud Iudaeos nullius haberetur momenti. Sed neque propalam visebantur aut concedebantur meretricum ac scortatorum lustra, ut hodie apud nos solenne est. Quamobrem adulterium [R. 454 apud illos communissimum fuit peccatum impudicitiae.

Here we have again the Word of God whereby He would encourage and urge us to true noble and sublime works, as gentleness, patience, and, in short, love and kindness to our enemies, and would ever remind us to reflect upon the First Commandment, that He is our God, that is, that He will help, assist, and protect us, in order that He may thus quench the desire of revenge in us.

This we ought to practise and inculcate, and we would have our hands full doing good works. But this would not be preaching for monks; it would greatly detract from the religious estate, and infringe upon the sanctity of Carthusians, and would even be regarded as forbidding good works and clearing the convents. For in this wise the ordinary state of Christians would be considered just as worthy, and even worthier, and everybody would see how they mock and delude the world with a false, hypocritical show of holiness, because they have given this and other commandments to the winds, and have esteemed them unnecessary, as though they were not commandments, but mere counsels; and have at the same time shamelessly proclaimed and boasted their hypocritical estate and works as the most perfect life, in order that they might lead a pleasant, easy life, without the cross and without patience, for which reason, too, they have resorted to the cloisters, so that they might not be obliged to suffer any wrong from any one or to do him any good. But know now that these are the true, holy, and godly works, in which, with all the angels, He rejoices, in comparison with which all human holiness is but stench and filth, and, besides, deserves nothing but wrath and damnation.

The Sixth Commandment.

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

These commandments now [that follow] are easily understood from [the explanation of] the preceding; for they are all to the effect that we [be careful to] avoid doing any kind of injury to our neighbor. But they are arranged in fine [elegant] order. In the first place, they treat of his own person. Then they proceed to the person nearest him, or the closest possession next after his body, namely, his wife, who is one flesh and blood with him, so that we cannot inflict a higher injury upon him in any good that is his. Therefore it is explicitly forbidden here to bring any disgrace upon him in respect to his wife. And it really aims at adultery, because among the Jews it was ordained and commanded that every one must be married. Therefore also the young were early provided for [married], so that the virgin state was held in small esteem, neither were public prostitution and lewdness tolerated (as now). Therefore adultery was the most common form of unchastity among them.

Weil aber bei uns ein solch schändlich Gemeng und Grundsuppe aller Untugend und Büberei ist, ist dies Gebot auch wider allerlei Unkeuschheit gestellt, wie man sie nennen mag, und nicht allein äußerlich die Tat verboten, sondern auch allerlei Ursache, Reizung und Mittel, also daß Herz, Mund und der ganze Leib keusch sei, keinen Raum, Hilfe noch Rat zur Unkeuschheit gebe, und nicht allein das, sondern auch wehre, schütze und rette, wo die [Ge]Fahr und Not ist, und wiederum helfe und rate, daß sein Nächster bei Ehren bleibe. Denn wo du solches nachlässest, so du könntest dafür sein [es verhindern], oder durch die Finger siehst, als ginge dich's nicht an, bist du ebensowohl schuldig als der Täter selbst. Also ist, aufs kürzeste zu fassen, so viel gefordert, daß ein jeglicher beide für sich selbst keusch lebe und dem Nächsten auch dazu helfe, also daß Gott durch dies Gebot eines jeglichen ehelich Gemahl will umschränkt und bewahrt haben, daß sich niemand daran vergreife.

202] Quoniam vero apud nos adeo foeda et nefanda omnium vitiorum et scortationum lerna cernitur, hoc praeceptum quoque adversus omnia impudicitiae genera et species constitutum est, quocunque tandem dici possunt **203**] nomine. Et non solum externum opus interdicitur, verum omnis generis etiam causae, illectamenta et occasiones, ut cor, os, oculi, aures atque adeo totum corpus purum sit ac castum, nullum locum, opem, consilium **204**] impudicitiae serviendae praebeat. Et non solum hoc, sed etiam hisce nefariis rebus summo conatu obstet, tueatur, prohibeat, ubi periculum et necessitatem viderit, ac contra praesto sit auxilio et consilio proximo suo nequam famae suae iacturam, accepta in coniuge contumelia, faciat. Nam ubicunque tale aliquid per negligentiam intermittis, cum possis obsistere, aut dissimulanter connives, quasi tua nihil intersit, non secus eius flagitii culpa teneris quam is ipse, qui perpetravit.

205] Tantum ergo hoc praeceptum, ut paucissimis complectamur, a nobis exigit, ut quisque tum pro se vitam castam exigat, tum proximo quoque in hac obtinenda et tuenda sit auxilio. Voluit enim Deus hoc praecepto cuiusque uxorem tamquam vallo circumsepire ac defendere, ne quis temere eam contrectando semet adulterio reum faceret aut pollueret.

Dieweil aber dies Gebot so eben auf den Ehestand gerichtet ist und Ursache gibt, davon zu reden, sollst du wohl fassen und merken zum ersten, wie Gott diesen Stand so herrlich ehrt und preist damit, daß er ihn durch sein Gebot beide bestätigt und bewahrt. Bestätigt hat er ihn droben im vierten Gebot: „Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren"; hier aber hat er ihn (wie gesagt) verwahrt und beschützt. Darum will er ihn auch von uns geehrt und also gehalten und geführt haben als einen göttlichen, seligen Stand, weil er ihn erstlich vor allen andern eingesetzt hat und darum unterschiedlich Mann und Weib geschaffen (wie vor Augen), nicht zur Büberei, sondern daß sie sich zusammenhalten, fruchtbar seien, Kinder zeugen, nähren und aufziehen zu Gottes Ehren.

206] Cum autem de coniugio tam evidenter praeceptum hoc constitutum sit, ac nobis causam de eo disserendi suppeditet, probe tibi notandum et imis sensibus reponendum erit. Primo quidem, quomodo Deus hunc matrimonii statum ac ordinem amplissime honoret ac praedicet, ut eundem praecepto suo aeque confirmet et tueatur ab iniuria. Supra quidem quarto praecepto illum confirmavit: *Honora patrem et matrem tuam.* Hoc vero in loco, ut dictum est, ut in tuto esset, circumvallavit ac **207**] defendit eum. Quamobrem et a [R. 455 nobis requirit, ut eundem honoremus, servemus et traducamus veluti divinum ac beatum ordinem, quando illum initio ante omnes alios servandum instituerit, eamque ob rem separatim masculum et feminam crearit, non ad libidinose exercendam spurcitiem atque lasciviam, sed ut legitime coniuncti fecundi essent, liberos procrearent, nutrirent, eosdemque ad Dei gloriam ampliandam pie ac recte educarent.

Darum ihn auch Gott vor allen Ständen aufs reichlichste gesegnet hat, dazu alles, was in der Welt ist, darauf gewandt und ihm eingetan [eingeräumt, verliehen hat], daß dieser Stand je wohl und reichlich versorgt würde, also daß [es] kein Scherz noch Vorwitz [Neugier], sondern trefflich Ding und göttlicher Ernst ist um das eheliche Leben; denn es liegt ihm alle Macht daran, daß man Leute ziehe, die der Welt dienen und helfen zu Gottes Erkenntnis, seligem Leben und allen Tugenden, wider die Bosheit und den Teufel zu streiten.

208] Idcirco quoque Deus hunc matrimonii ordinem prae omnibus aliis tantis cumulavit benedictionibus, adhaec, quaecunque in mundo sunt, huic provehendo insumpsit eidemque utenda subdidit, tantum in hoc, ut hic ordo opulente et largiter esset constabilitus. Qua ex re facile liquet non iocum aut curiositatem, sed rem magnam et arduam atque adeo constantem Dei voluntatem esse matrimonium. Permagni enim sua refert, ut educentur homines, qui mundum sua opera ad Dei cognitionem et beatam ac virtutibus exornatam vitam exigendam queant perducere adversus malitiam et daemones pugnandi gratia.

Darum habe ich immerdar gelehrt, daß man diesen Stand nicht verachte noch schimpflich halte, wie die blinde Welt und unsere falschen Geistlichen tun, sondern nach Gottes Wort ansehe, damit er geschmückt und geheiligt ist, also daß er nicht allein andern Ständen gleich gesetzt ist, sondern vor und über sie alle geht, es seien Kaiser, Fürsten, Bischöfe, und wer sie wollen. Denn was beide geistliche und weltliche Stände sind, müssen sich demütigen und alle in diesem Stande finden

209] Quocirca subinde docui, ne hunc ordinem contemnamus, aut tamquam iocularem leviter aestimemus, quem irridendi morem caeco mundo et pseudoreligiosis nostris hactenus fuisse vidimus, sed iuxta Dei Verbum, quo multis modis exornatus et sanctificatus est, eum intueamur, ita ut non solum ceteros pretio et dignitate aequare soleat, sed omnes ceteros longo intervallo post se relinquat, sive illi sint invicti caesares sive purpurati prin-

But because among us there is such a shameful mess and the very dregs of all vice and lewdness, this commandment is directed also against all manner of unchastity, whatever it may be called; and not only is the external act forbidden, but also every kind of cause, incitement, and means, so that the heart, the lips, and the whole body may be chaste and afford no opportunity, help, or persuasion to inchastity. And not only this, but that we also make resistance, afford protection and rescue wherever there is danger and need; and again, that we give help and counsel, so as to maintain our neighbor's honor. For whenever you omit this when you could make resistance, or connive at it as if it did not concern you, you are as truly guilty as the one perpetrating the deed. Thus, to state it in the briefest manner, there is required this much, that every one both live chastely himself and help his neighbor do the same, so that God by this commandment wishes to hedge round about and protect [as with a rampart] every spouse that no one trespass against them.

But since this commandment is aimed directly at the state of matrimony and gives occasion to speak of the same, you must well understand and mark, first, how gloriously God honors and extols this estate, inasmuch as by His commandment He both sanctions and guards it. He has sanctioned it above in the Fourth Commandment: *Honor thy father and thy mother;* but here He has (as we said) hedged it about and protected it. Therefore He also wishes us to honor it, and to maintain and conduct it as a divine and blessed estate; because, in the first place, He has instituted it before all others, and therefore created man and woman separately (as is evident), not for lewdness, but that they should [legitimately] live together, be fruitful, beget children, and nourish and train them to the honor of God.

Therefore God has also most richly blessed this estate above all others, and, in addition, has bestowed on it and wrapped up in it everything in the world, to the end that this estate might be well and richly provided for. Married life is therefore no jest or presumption; but it is an excellent thing and a matter of divine seriousness. For it is of the highest importance to Him that persons be raised who may serve the world and promote the knowledge of God, godly living, and all virtues, to fight against wickedness and the devil.

Therefore I have always taught that this estate should not be despised nor held in disrepute, as is done by the blind world and our false ecclesiastics, but that it be regarded according to God's Word, by which it is adorned and sanctified, so that it is not only placed on an equality with other estates, but that it precedes and surpasses them all,

laſſen, wie wir hören werden. Darum iſt es nicht ein ſonderlicher, ſondern der gemeinſte edelſte Stand, ſo durch den ganzen Chriſtenſtand, ja durch alle Welt geht und reicht.

cipes aut infulati episcopi aut quicunque tandem. Quicunque enim aut spirituales aut saeculares (ut loquuntur) sunt ordines, his omnibus hic venerandus est, et omnibus hic quoque amplectendus, ut post audiemus latius.

210] Quapropter matrimonium non privatus aliquis status habendum est, sed communis- [R. 456
simus et nobilissimus, cuius usus per totam Christianitatem, imo per totum mundum longe lateque patet.

Zum andern ſollſt du auch wiſſen, daß [es] nicht allein ein ehrlicher, ſondern auch ein nötiger Stand iſt und ernſtlich von Gott geboten, daß ſich ingemein hindurch alle Stände [durch alle Stände hin], Manns- und Weibsbilde, ſo dazu geſchaffen ſind, darin finden laſſen, doch etliche (wiewohl wenig) ausgenommen, welche Gott ſonderlich ausgezogen [ausgenommen], daß ſie zum ehelichen Stand nicht tüchtig ſind, oder durch hohe übernatürliche Gabe befreit hat, daß ſie außer dem Stande Keuſchheit halten können. Denn wo die Natur geht, wie ſie von Gott eingepflanzt iſt, iſt es nicht möglich, außer der Ehe keuſch zu bleiben; denn Fleiſch und Blut bleibt Fleiſch und Blut, und geht die natürliche Neigung und Reizung ungewehrt und unverhindert, wie jedermann ſieht und fühlt. Derhalben, auf daß deſto leichter wäre, Unkeuſchheit etlichermaßen zu meiden, hat auch Gott den Eheſtand befohlen, daß ein jeglicher ſein beſcheiden [zugemeſſen] Teil habe und ihm daran genügen laſſe, wiewohl noch Gottes Gnade dazu gehört, daß das Herz auch keuſch ſei.

211] Secundo sciendum est hunc ordinem non solum esse honestum, sed necessarium etiam, neque non serio a Deo praeceptum, ut in genere omnes status ac ordines, cum viri tum mulieres, quicunque ad hunc amplectendum natura sunt appositi, in eo versentur, exceptis nonnullis, licet perpaucis, quos Deus singulari quodam consilio segregavit, ut ad iugum matrimonii minus reperiantur idonei, aut sublimi ac supernaturali gratia ea libertate donavit, quo possint extra hunc ordinem, servata vitae pudicitia, castitatem tueri. Ubi **212**] enim natura, quemadmodum a Deo nobis insita est, fertur ac rapitur, fieri nullo modo potest, ut extra matrimonium caste vivatur. Siquidem caro ac sanguis naturam suam immutare non potest, ac naturalis ille appetitus et carnis inclinatio consuetum iter, nulla re obstante aut prohibente, sequitur, id quod omnibus liquet hominibus. Quare ut aliquatenus libido carnis caveri posset, Deus matrimonium instituit, ut quisque sua parte legitime destinata fruatur illaque contentus vivat; tametsi hic quoque gratia Dei opus est, ut cor quoque castum sit.

Daraus ſiehſt du, wie unſer päpſtlicher Haufe, Pfaffen, Mönche, Nonnen, wider Gottes Ordnung und Gebot ſtreben, ſo den Eheſtand verachten und verbieten und ſich ewige Keuſchheit zu halten vermeſſen und geloben, dazu die Einfältigen mit lügenhaftigen Worten und Schein betrügen. Denn niemand ſo wenig Liebe und Luſt zur Keuſchheit hat, als eben die den Eheſtand vor großer Heiligkeit meiden und entweder öffentlich und unverſchämt in Hurerei liegen oder [es] heimlich noch ärger treiben, daß man's nicht ſagen darf, wie man leider allzuviel erfahren hat. Und kürzlich, ob ſie gleich des Werks ſich enthalten, ſo ſtecken ſie doch im Herzen voll unkeuſcher Gedanken und böſer Lüſte, daß da ein ewiges Brennen und heimliches Leiden iſt, welches man im ehelichen Leben umgehen kann. Darum iſt durch dies Gebot aller Unehelichen Keuſchheitsgelübde verdammt und Urlaub gegeben, ja auch geboten allen armen gefangenen Gewiſſen, ſo durch ihre Kloſtergelübde betrogen ſind, daß ſie aus dem unkeuſchen Stand ins eheliche Leben treten, angeſehen, daß, ob ſonſt gleich das Kloſterleben göttlich wäre, [es] doch nicht in ihrer Kraft ſteht, Keuſchheit zu halten, und wo ſie darin bleiben, nur mehr und weiter wider dies Gebot ſündigen müſſen.

213] Ex hoc iam liquide perspicis, quam furiose illa turba papistica, sacrifici, monachi et monachae, huic ordinationi et praecepto Dei reluctentur, qui matrimonium contemnunt et prohibent, seque perpetuam castitatem servaturos magna animi praesumptione pollicentur ac vovent, adhaec simplicium animos phaleratis dictis, hoc est, imposturis ac men- **214**] daciis, impudenter seducunt. Nemo enim perinde castitatem exosam habet, aut in libidines est pronior ac illi, qui matrimonium prae magna sanctitate detrectant et aut propalam et impudenter scortationi et libidinibus indulgent, aut clanculum longe foediora, quae honeste commemorari non possunt, [R. 457
perpetrant, ut nimium, proh dolor! experti **215**] sumus. Et breviter, quamquam ab ipso opere temperent, ipsum tamen cor impuris cogitationibus et pravis cupiditatibus plenum extrema flagrat libidine, ut plane perpetuo quodam incendio et occulto quodam vulnere carpantur et absumantur, quod in matrimonio constitutis nulla cum difficultate evitare licet. **216**] Quare hoc praecepto omnium eorum, qui extra coniugium degunt, castitatis vota damnata et soluta sunt, imo quoque omnibus irretitis et miseris conscientiis, quae suis monasticis votis misere deceptae sunt, praeceptum est, ut deserto libidinoso et impuro ordine matrimonium arripiant, ita reputantes, quod, quamquam alioqui monastica vita prorsus divina esset, tamen in viribus suis situm non sit coelibem vitam agere, in qua, si maneant, tantum magis atque magis libidine incensi adversus hoc praeceptum delinquere cogantur.

Solches rede ich nun darum, daß man das junge Volk dazu halte, daß ſie Luſt zum Eheſtand gewinnen und wiſſen, daß es ein ſeliger Stand und Gott gefällig iſt. Denn damit könnte man's mit

217] Iam haec eo a me dicta sunt, ut iuventus crebris monitis in eam perducatur sententiam, ut incipiat voluptate quadam complecti matrimonium, sciatque felicem et Deo ac-

whether they be that of emperor, princes, bishops, or whoever they please. For both ecclesiastical and civil estates must humble themselves and all be found in this estate, as we shall hear. Therefore it is not a peculiar estate, but the most common and noblest estate, which pervades all Christendom, yea, which extends through all the world.

In the second place, you must know also that it is not only an honorable, but also a necessary state, and it is solemnly commanded by God that, in general, in all conditions, men and women, who were created for it, shall be found in this estate; yet with some exceptions (although few) whom God has especially excepted, so that they are not fit for the married estate, or whom He has released by a high, supernatural gift that they can maintain chastity without this estate. For where nature has its course, as it is implanted by God, it is not possible to remain chaste without marriage. For flesh and blood remain flesh and blood, and the natural inclination and excitement have their course without let or hindrance, as everybody sees and feels. In order, therefore, that it may be the more easy in some degree to avoid inchastity, God has commanded the estate of matrimony, that every one may have his proper portion and be satisfied therewith; although God's grace besides is required in order that the heart also may be pure.

From this you see how this popish rabble, priests, monks, and nuns, resist God's order and commandment, inasmuch as they despise and forbid matrimony, and presume and vow to maintain perpetual chastity, and, besides, deceive the simple-minded with lying words and appearances [impostures]. For no one has so little love and inclination to chastity as just those who because of great sanctity avoid marriage, and either indulge in open and shameless prostitution, or secretly do even worse, so that one dare not speak of it, as has, alas! been learned too fully. And, in short, even though they abstain from the act, their hearts are so full of unchaste thoughts and evil lusts that there is a continual burning and secret suffering, which can be avoided in the married life. Therefore all vows of chastity out of the married state are condemned by this commandment, and free permission is granted, yea, even the command is given, to all poor ensnared consciences which have been deceived by their monastic vows to abandon the unchaste state and enter the married life, considering that even if the monastic life were godly, it would nevertheless not be in their power to maintain chastity, and if they remain in it, they must only sin more and more against this commandment.

Now, I speak of this in order that the young may be so guided that they conceive a liking for the married estate, and know that it is a blessed estate and pleasing to God. For in this way we might in the course of time bring it about that married life be

der Zeit wiederum dahin bringen, daß er wieder zu seinen Ehren käme und des unflätigen, wüsten, unordigen [unordentlichen] Wesens weniger würde, so jetzt allenthalben in der Welt zu Zotten geht [wie verflochtenes Haar wirr durcheinander geht] mit öffentlicher Hurerei und andern schändlichen Lastern, so aus Verachtung des ehelichen Lebens gefolgt sind. Darum sind hier die Eltern und Obrigkeit auch schuldig, auf die Jugend zu sehen, daß man sie zur Zucht und Ehrbarkeit aufziehe und, wenn sie erwachsen, mit Gott und Ehren berate [verheirate]; dazu würde er seinen Segen und Gnade geben, daß man Lust und Freude davon hätte.

Aus dem allem sei nun zu beschließen gesagt, daß dies Gebot nicht allein fordert, daß jedermann mit Werken, Worten und Gedanken keusch lebe in seinem, das ist, allermeist im ehelichen Stande, sondern auch sein Gemahl, von Gott gegeben, lieb und wert halte. Denn wo eheliche Keuschheit soll gehalten werden, da müssen Mann und Weib vor allen Dingen in Liebe und Eintracht beieinander wohnen, daß eins das andere von Herzen und mit ganzer Treue meine. Denn das ist der vornehmsten Stücke eines, das Liebe und Lust zur Keuschheit macht, welches, wo es geht, wird auch Keuschheit wohl von ihr selbst folgen, ohne alles Gebieten; deshalben auch St. Paulus so fleißig die Eheleute vermahnt, daß eins das andere liebe und ehre. Da hast du nun abermal ein köstlich, ja viele und große gute Werke, welche du fröhlich rühmen kannst wider alle geistlichen Stände, ohne Gottes Wort und Gebot erwählt.

Das siebente Gebot.

Du sollst nicht stehlen.

Nach deiner Person und ehelichem Gemahl ist zeitlich Gut das nächste; das will Gott auch verwahrt haben und geboten, daß niemand dem Nächsten das Seine abbreche noch verkürze. Denn stehlen heißt nichts anderes, denn eines andern Gut mit Unrecht zu sich bringen, damit kürzlich begriffen ist allerlei Vorteil mit des Nächsten Nachteil in allerlei Händeln. Das ist nun gar ein weitläuftig, gemein Laster, aber so wenig geachtet und wahrgenommen, daß über die Maßen ist, also daß, wo man sie alle an Galgen henken sollte, was Diebe sind und doch nicht heißen wollen, sollte die Welt bald wüste werden und beide an Henkern und Galgen gebrechen. Denn es soll, wie jetzt gesagt, nicht allein gestohlen heißen, daß man Kasten und Taschen räumt, sondern um sich greifen auf dem Markt, in allen Krämen, Scharren [Verkaufsläden], Wein- und Bierkellern, Werkstätten, und kürzlich, wo man hantiert, Geld um Ware oder Arbeit nimmt und gibt.

Als nämlich, daß wir's für den gemeinen Haufen ein wenig grob ausstreichen, daß man doch sehe, wie fromm wir sind: wenn ein Knecht oder Magd im Hause nicht treulich dient und Schaden tut oder geschehen läßt, den sie wohl verwahren [verwehren] könnte, oder sonst ihr Gut verwahrloft und versäumt aus Faulheit, Unfleiß oder

ceptum esse ordinem. Hac enim ratione temporis progressu tantum effici posset, ut illi suus iterum honos redderetur, et foeda illa et manifestarum scortationum et aliorum turpissimorum vitiorum, quae contemptum matrimonii consecuta sunt, lerna passim nunc in
218] mundo regnans diminueretur. Quare hoc quoque parentum ac magistratus est officium, iuventutis rationem habere, ut pudicitiam et honestatem perdiscant, atque ubi adoleverint, mature honesto iungantur matrimonio, quam rem haud dubie sua gratia et benedictione prosperare dignaretur Deus, ut voluptas et gaudium inde perciperetur.

219] Ultimo, ex his omnibus epilogi vice hoc adiiciatur, hoc praeceptum non solum exigere, ut quisque operibus, verbis et [R. 458 cogitationibus caste vivat in suo, hoc est, coniugali imprimis statu, sed etiam, ut comparem et coniugem a Deo sibi concessam in pretio habeat ac amore prosequatur. Ubi enim volumus coniugali castitati locum esse, ibi necessum est ante omnia, ut vir et mulier in amore concordes conversentur, ut alter alterum ex animo mutua quadam benevolentia et fide complectatur. Hoc enim unum est ex praecipuis, quae amorem et studium castitatis accendunt; quodsi praesto fuerit, ipsa quoque castitas sua sponte sine mandato consequetur.
220] Inde quoque divus Paulus tanta diligentia eos, qui sunt in matrimonio, admonet, ut mutuo amore se diligant et venerentur.
221] Habes ergo hic iterum opus valde pretiosum, imo potius multa magna et praeclara opera, quae alacri animo iactare ac omnibus religiosorum ordinibus, citra Verbi Dei auctoritatem institutis et electis, opponere potes.

Praeceptum VII.

222] Non furtum facies.

223] Post tuam tuaeque coniugis personam proximum est res familiaris; hanc quoque Deus vult esse in tuto, praecepitque, ne quis alterius fortunas invadat, aut clanculum com-
224] pilet. Furari enim nihil aliud est aut dicitur, quam fortunas alterius per iniuriam sibi vindicare, qua re breviter omnis generis in omnibus negotiis proximi defraudationes comprehensae sunt. Iam hoc vitium admodum commune est et longe lateque patet, at tam parum curatur, ut omnem plane modum excedat, adeo ut si omnes, quotquot fures sunt, fures tamen dici nolunt, suspendendi essent, cito totus mundus desolaretur, neque cruces aut carnifices sufficerent. Neque enim [R. 459 hoc tantum furtum dicendum est, ut diximus, cistas et marsupia clanculum evacuare, sed in foro quoque locum habet, in tabernis, ubi res venales prostant, in cella vinaria et cerevisiaria, in officinis. Breviter, ubicunque tractantur commercia, ubi pecunia vel pro mercibus vel labore datur et accipitur.

225] Exempli causa, ut pro simplicibus aliquanto fusius ac rudius explanemus, ut saltem videamus, quam probi simus: quando servus aut ancilla suo servitio non fideliter praeest, heroque suo damnum dat aut fieri permittit, cui obstare potuisset, aut quominus fieret, antevertere, aut alioqui rem herilem

restored to honor, and that there might be less of the filthy, dissolute, disorderly doings which now run riot the world over in open prostitution and other shameful vices arising from disregard of married life. Therefore it is the duty of parents and the government to see to it that our youth be brought up to discipline and respectability, and when they have come to years of maturity, to provide for them [to have them married] in the fear of God and honorably; He would not fail to add His blessing and grace, so that men would have joy and happiness from the same.

Let me now say in conclusion that this commandment demands not only that every one live chastely in thought, word, and deed in his condition, that is, especially in the estate of matrimony, but also that every one love and esteem the spouse given him by God. For where conjugal chastity is to be maintained, man and wife must by all means live together in love and harmony, that one may cherish the other from the heart and with entire fidelity. For that is one of the principal points which enkindle love and desire of chastity, so that, where this is found, chastity will follow as a matter of course without any command. Therefore also St. Paul so diligently exhorts husband and wife to love and honor one another. Here you have again a precious, yea, many and great good works, of which you can joyfully boast, against all ecclesiastical estates, chosen without God's Word and commandment.

The Seventh Commandment.

Thou shalt not steal.

After your person and spouse temporal property comes next. That also God wishes to have protected, and He has commanded that no one shall subtract from, or curtail, his neighbor's possessions. For to steal is nothing else than to get possession of another's property wrongfully, which briefly comprehends all kinds of advantage in all sorts of trade to the disadvantage of our neighbor. Now, this is indeed quite a wide-spread and common vice, but so little regarded and observed that it exceeds all measure, so that if all who are thieves, and yet do not wish to be called such, were to be hanged on gallows, the world would soon be devastated, and there would be a lack both of executioners and gallows. For, as we have just said, to steal is to signify not only to empty our neighbor's coffer and pockets, but to be grasping in the market, in all stores, booths, wine- and beer-cellars, workshops, and, in short, wherever there is trading or taking and giving of money for merchandise or labor.

As, for instance, to explain this somewhat grossly for the common people, that it may be seen how godly we are: When a man-servant or maid-servant does not serve faithfully in the house, and does damage, or allows it to be done when it could be prevented, or

Bosheit, zu Trotz und Verdrieß Herren und Frauen, und wie solches mutwillig geschehen kann (denn ich rede nicht von dem, das versehen und ungern getan ist), da kannst du ein Jahr einen Gulden dreißig oder vierzig und mehr entwenden, welches, so ein anderer heimlich genommen oder enttragen [weggetragen] hätte, müßte er am Strick erwürgen. Aber hier darfst du noch trotzen und pochen, und darf dich niemand einen Dieb heißen.

Desgleichen rede ich auch von Handwerksleuten, Arbeitern, Tagelöhnern, so alle ihren Mutwillen brauchen und nicht wissen, wie sie die Leute übersetzen [überfordern] sollen, und doch lässig und untreu in der Arbeit sind. Diese alle sind weit über die heimlichen Diebe, vor denen man Schloß und Riegel legen kann, oder wo man sie begreift [ergreift], also mitfährt, daß sie es nicht mehr tun. Vor diesen aber kann sich niemand hüten, darf sie auch niemand sauer ansehen oder einiges Diebstahls zeihen, daß einer zehnmal lieber aus dem Beutel verlieren sollte. Denn da sind meine Nachbarn, gute Freunde, mein eigen Gesinde, dazu ich mich Gutes versehe, die mich am allerersten berücken [überlisten, betrügen].

Also auch fort [ferner] auf dem Markt und [in] gemeinen Händeln geht es mit voller Macht und Gewalt, da einer den andern öffentlich mit falscher Ware, Maß, Gewicht, Münze betrügt und mit Behendigkeit und seltsamen Finanzen [Betrügereien] oder geschwinden Fündlein [geschickten Kniffen] übervorteilt; item mit dem Kauf übersetzt und nach seinem Mutwillen beschwert, schindet und plagt. Und wer kann solches alles erzählen oder erdenken? Summa, das ist das gemeinste Handwerk und die größte Zunft auf Erden, und wenn man die Welt jetzt durch alle Stände ansieht, so ist sie nichts anderes denn ein großer, weiter Stall voll großer Diebe.

Darum heißen sie auch die Stuhlräuber [Wucherer, die daheim auf dem Stuhl sitzen, rauben und stehlen mit einem guten Schein], Land- und Straßendiebe, nicht Kastenräuber noch Meucheldiebe, so aus der Barschaft zwacken, sondern die auf dem Stuhl sitzen und heißen große Junker und ehrsame, fromme Bürger und mit gutem Schein rauben und stehlen.

Ja, hier wäre noch zu schweigen von geringen einzelnen Dieben, wenn man die großen, gewaltigen Erzdiebe sollte angreifen, mit welchen Herren und Fürsten Gesellschaft machen, die nicht eine Stadt oder zwei, sondern ganz Deutschland täglich ausstehlen. Ja, wo bliebe das Haupt und oberster Schutzherr aller Diebe, der heilige Stuhl zu Rom mit aller seiner Zugehör, welcher aller Welt Güter mit Dieberei zu sich [ge]bracht und bis auf diesen Tag innehat?

male tractat, aut propter socordiam, indiligentiam aut malitiam negligit, ut hero ac herae aegre atque moleste faciat, et quocunque pacto hoc prava animi libidine fieri potest. Neque enim loquor de his, quae per incogitantiam invito fiunt animo. Sic, inquam, quotannis herum tuum triginta aut quadraginta aureis defraudare potes, quos si alius clanculum convasasset, huius gula esset perfringenda laqueo. Verum tu tanti furti tibi conscius adhuc ferocire audes et insolenter agere, neque quisquam te audet furti accusare at alienae pecuniae condemnare.

226] Non secus quoque loquor de fabris sive opificibus et mercenariis, qui sua utuntur libidine, neque sciunt, quo pacto eos, qui suam sibi locant operam, satis exhauriant, quum nihilo secius in opere frigeant, segniter et infideliter laborantes. Hi omnes longo superant intervallo nocturnos illos et clancularios fures, qui vel seris ac repagulis caveri, vel comprehensi ita coerceri possunt, ut amplius id non faciant. Horum autem improbitatem nemo, quamlibet perspicax, cavere potest, nec quisquam audet eos vultu aliquanto obliquiore contueri, aut ullius furti accusare, ita ut aliquis decies libentius aes suum e crumena amittere sustineret. Nam hi mei vicini sunt, mihi amici, mei proprii ministri, de [R. 460 quibus mihi omnia fidei et diligentiae officia polliceor, illi primi sunt, a quibus indigne compilor.

227] Ita quoque in foro, in emporiis, in mercatibus, in publicis commerciis omnium potentissime hoc furti genus regnat et locum obtinet, ubi alius alium vitiosa merce, falsa mensura, iniquo pondere, adulterina moneta defraudat ac decipit, neque non versipelli quadam astutia et miris imposturis atque decipulis circumductum dispoliat. Adhaec, si quis alium pro libidine sua gravat commerciis, ad vivum usque tondens et crucians. Et quis haec omnia fando enumerare valet aut ex-
228] cogitare? In summa, haec communissima omnium ars est et omnium numerosissima in terris sodalitas. Nam si quis mundum per omnes vagatus ordines recto iudicio contemplabitur, nihil videbit aliud quam ingens aliquod et spatiosum stabulum, quod magnis furibus est refertissimum.

229] Unde quoque archipiratae, latrocinio quaquaversum grassantes, recte dicuntur, non cistarum compilatores aut fures clancularii, qui substantiam alicuius furto imminuunt, sed qui domi desident, magni dicuntur proceres ac cives probi et integri, sub honestatis praetextu furtum exercentes et latrocinium.

230] Sed possent praeteriri silentio, quae de parvis et nullius momenti furibus memoravimus, prae illis, quae de maximis illis furum antesignanis dicenda essent, quibuscum potentes et summi principes societatem ineunt, qui non unam atque alteram solum civitatem compilare solent, sed totam Germaniam quotidie compilant atque denudant. Imo ubi maneret, quae totius mundi opes furtim ad se rapuit et in hunc usque diem possidet, defensatrix illa et caput furum omnium, sancta, si Deo placet, sedes Romana?

otherwise ruins and neglects the goods entrusted to him, from indolence, idleness, or malice, to the spite and vexation of master and mistress, and in whatever way this can be done purposely (for I do not speak of what happens from oversight and against one's will), you can in a year abscond thirty, forty florins, which if another had taken secretly or carried away, he would be hanged with the rope. But here you [while conscious of such a great theft] may even bid defiance and become insolent, and no one dare call you a thief.

The same I say also of mechanics, workmen, and day-laborers, who all follow their wanton notions, and never know enough ways to overcharge people, while they are lazy and unfaithful in their work. All these are far worse than sneak-thieves, against whom we can guard with locks and bolts, or who, if apprehended, are treated in such a manner that they will not do the same again. But against these no one can guard, no one dare even look awry at them or accuse them of theft, so that one would ten times rather lose from his purse. For here are my neighbors, good friends, my own servants, from whom I expect good [every faithful and diligent service], who defraud me first of all.

Furthermore, in the market and in common trade likewise, this practise is in full swing and force to the greatest extent, where one openly defrauds another with bad merchandise, false measures, weights, coins, and by nimbleness and queer finances or dexterous tricks takes advantage of him; likewise, when one overcharges a person in a trade and wantonly drives a hard bargain, skins and distresses him. And who can recount or think of all these things? To sum up, this is the commonest craft and the largest guild on earth, and if we regard the world throughout all conditions of life, it is nothing else than a vast, wide stall, full of great thieves.

Therefore they are also called swivel-chair robbers, land- and highway-robbers, not pick-locks and sneak-thieves who snatch away the ready cash, but who sit on the chair [at home] and are styled great noblemen, and honorable, pious citizens, and yet rob and steal under a good pretext.

Yes, here we might be silent about the trifling individual thieves if we were to attack the great, powerful arch-thieves with whom lords and princes keep company, who daily plunder not only a city or two, but all Germany. Yea, where should we place the head and supreme protector of all thieves, the Holy Chair at Rome with all its retinue, which has grabbed by theft the wealth of all the world, and holds it to this day?

Kürzlich, so geht's in der Welt, daß, wer öffentlich stehlen und rauben kann, geht sicher und frei dahin, von jedermann ungestraft, und will dazu geehrt sein. Dieweil müssen die kleinen, heimlichen Diebe, so sich einmal vergriffen haben, die Schande und Strafe tragen, jene fromm und zu Ehren machen. Doch sollen sie wissen, daß sie vor Gott die größten Diebe sind, der sie auch, wie sie wert sind und verdienen, strafen wird.

Weil nun dies Gebot so weit um sich greift, wie jetzt angezeigt, ist's not, dem Pöbel [dem einfältigen Volk] wohl vorzuhalten und auszustreichen, daß man sie nicht so frei und sicher hingehen lasse, sondern [ihnen] immer Gottes Zorn vor Augen stelle und einbleue. Denn wir solches nicht Christen, sondern allermeist Buben und Schälken predigen müssen, welchen wohl billiger Richter, Stockmeister oder Meister Hans [der Henker] predigen sollte. Darum wisse ein jeglicher, daß er schuldig ist bei Gottes Ungnaden, nicht allein seinem Nächsten keinen Schaden zu tun, noch seinen Vorteil zu entwenden, noch im Kauf oder irgendeinem Handel einerlei [irgendwelche] Untreue oder Tücke zu beweisen, sondern auch sein Gut treulich zu verwahren, seinen Nutzen zu verschaffen und fördern, sonderlich so er Geld, Lohn und Nahrung dafür nimmt.

Wer nun solches mutwillig verachtet, mag wohl hingehen und dem Henker entlaufen, wird aber Gottes Zorn und Strafe nicht entgehen und, wenn er seinen Trotz und Stolz lang treibt, doch ein Landläufer und Bettler bleiben, alle Plage und Unglück dazu haben. Jetzt gehst du hin, da du solltest deines Herrn oder Frauen Gut bewahren, dafür du deinen Kropf und Bauch füllst, nimmst deinen Lohn als ein Dieb, läßt dich dazu feiern als ein Junker, als ihrer viel sind, die Herren und Frauen noch trotzen und ihnen ungern zu Lieb und Dienst täten, einen Schaden zu verwahren [verhüten].

Siehe aber zu, was du daran gewinnst, daß, wo [wenn] du dein Eigenes überkommst und zu Hause sitzest, dazu Gott mit allem Unglück helfen wird, soll sich's wieder finden und heimkommen, daß, wo du einen Heller abgebrochen oder Schaden getan hast, [du] dreißigfältig bezahlen müssest.

Desgleichen soll es Handwerksleuten und Tagelöhnern gehen, von welchen man jetzt unleidlichen Mutwillen hören und leiden muß, als wären sie Junker im fremden Gut, und jedermann müsse ihnen wohl geben, wieviel sie wollen. Solche laß nur getrost schinden, solang sie können, aber Gott wird seines Gebotes nicht vergessen und ihnen auch lohnen, wie sie gedient haben, und hängen nicht an einen grünen, sondern dürren Galgen, daß sie ihr Leben lang nicht gedeihen noch etwas vor sich bringen. Und zwar, wenn ein recht geordnet Regiment in Landen [im Lande] wäre, könnte

231] Breviter, ita iam in mundo comparatum est, ut qui propalam furari ac [R. 461 praedari novit, is concessa impunitate ab omnibus libere et secure agat, quin et honorem sibi deferri postulet; parvi interim et clancularii illi fures, semel in furto deprehensi, dedecus et poenam perferre, illorumque honestatem confirmare cogantur. Verumtamen sciant illi se coram Deo fures esse omnium maximos, cui et dignas, quas meriti sunt, poenas sunt daturi.

232] Cum itaque hoc praeceptum tam multa, ut ostensum est modo, complectatur, necessarium est, ut haec vulgo diligenter proponantur et explanentur, neve tam secure et libere eos abire patiamur, sed subinde iram Dei eis ob oculos ponamus et inculcemus. Neque enim talia Christianis, verum omnium maxime nebulonibus praedicamus, quibus multo iustius iudex aut minister carceris aut **233**] carnifex praedicaret. Quapropter quilibet sciat, qui quidem iratum Deum experiri nolit, sibi praeceptum esse, ut non solum proximo non damnum inferat aut eius intervertat commodum, neque in commerciis aut contractibus ulla perfidia, simulatione aut dolo malo eundem circumducat, sed etiam ut eius bona magna cum fide tueatur, eius commoditatem, quoad eius fieri potest, promoveat, praecipue quando suam operam argento, mercede ac victu pensandam locavit proximo.

234] Iam quicunque haec temere contemperit, effugerit ille fortasse manus carnificis, at ipsius Dei iram et poenam nunquam effugiet. Et quamquam ad tempus hac sua utatur ferocia, circumforaneus erro tamen et mendicus manebit, omnes plagas et infortunia ex**235**] perturus. Iam quidem alio te vocat animi tui prolubium, ubi res herilis singulari quadam fide tibi procuranda fuerat, tu gulae interim ac ventri tuo servis, non secus ac fur mercedem tuam accipiens, contendens etiam ob istam tuam perfidam negligentiam coli et honorari. Huius generis permultos est videre iam ministros ac famulos, qui non [R. 462 contenti omnia perfide et maligne agere, insuper cum heris suis etiam superbe et ferociter delitigant, neque tantum humanitatis aut fidei lubentes ostenderent, ut damnum aliquod antevertendo praecaverent.

236] Sed attende, precor, animum, quidnam hac ratione lucri sis consecuturus, nempe ut, ubi ducta uxore ipse propriae domus curam susceperis (ad quod tibi Deus omnium inauspicatissime opem suam non denegabit), haec tua perfidia ad te ipsum redeat, fiatque, ut ubi hero tuo prius vel unius oboli fraudem feceris aut damnum dederis, trigesies id tuo maximo malo persolvas.

237] Pari ratione artificibus quoque et mercenariis sua pensabitur perfidia, a quibus iam non dicendam planeque intolerabilem libidinem et audire et perferre cogimur, quasi in alienis bonis obtinerent dominium, aut quivis, quodcunque postulassent, citra contradictio**238**] nem mox numerare cogeretur. Hisce omnibus permitte sane, ut audacter proximum iniquissimis exactionibus deglubant ac tondeant, quamdiu poterunt: equidem Deus sui praecepti non erit immemor, illisque ipsis debita praemia redditurus est, eosque non in

This is, in short, the course of the world: whoever can steal and rob openly goes free and secure, unmolested by any one, and even demands that he be honored. Meanwhile the little sneak-thieves, who have once trespassed, must bear the shame and punishment to render the former godly and honorable. But let them know that in the sight of God they are the greatest thieves, and that He will punish them as they are worthy and deserve.

Now, since this commandment is so far-reaching [and comprehensive], as just indicated, it is necessary to urge it well and to explain it to the common people, not to let them go on in their wantonness and security, but always to place before their eyes the wrath of God, and inculcate the same. For we have to preach this not to Christians, but chiefly to knaves and scoundrels, to whom it would be more fitting for judges, jailers, or Master Hannes [the executioner] to preach. Therefore let every one know that it is his duty, at the risk of God's displeasure, not only to do no injury to his neighbor, nor to deprive him of gain, nor to perpetrate any act of unfaithfulness or malice in any bargain or trade, but faithfully to preserve his property for him, to secure and promote his advantage, especially when one accepts money, wages, and one's livelihood for such service.

He now who wantonly despises this may indeed pass along and escape the hangman, but he shall not escape the wrath and punishment of God; and when he has long practised his defiance and arrogance, he shall yet remain a tramp and beggar, and, in addition, have all plagues and misfortune. Now you are going your way [wherever your heart's pleasure calls you] while you ought to preserve the property of your master and mistress, for which service you fill your crop and maw, take your wages like a thief, have people treat you as a nobleman; for there are many that are even insolent towards their masters and mistresses, and are unwilling to do them a favor or service by which to protect them from loss.

But reflect what you will gain when, having come into your own property and being set up in your home (to which God will help with all misfortunes), it [your perfidy] will bob up again and come home to you, and you will find that where you have cheated or done injury to the value of one mite, you will have to pay thirty again.

Such shall be the lot also of mechanics and day-laborers of whom we are now obliged to hear and suffer such intolerable maliciousness, as though they were noblemen in another's possessions, and every one were obliged to give them what they demand. Just let them continue practising their exactions as long as they can; but God will not forget His commandment, and will reward them according as they have served, and will hang them, not upon a green gallows, but upon a dry one, so that all their life they shall neither pros-

man ſolchem Mutwillen bald ſteuern und wehren, wie vorzeiten bei den Römern geweſen iſt, da man ſolchen flugs auf die Haube griff [ſie beim Schopf nahm], daß ſich andere daran ſtoßen mußten.

virentem crucem, sed plane in aridam furcam suspensurus, ut per omnem aetatem infelices nihil unquam bonorum consequantur. Et pro-
239] fecto, si rempublicam haberemus bonis legibus institutam, facile ac citra moram eius-modi hominum libido atque temeritas coerceri posset atque infringi, qualem olim apud Romanos morem fuisse legimus, ubi talium homuncionum improbitatem acerbissimis poenis, ut alii inde exemplum sibi sumerent, coercebant.

Alſo ſoll es allen andern gelingen, ſo aus dem offenen, freien Markt nichts denn ein Schindeleich [einen Schindanger] und Raubhaus machen, da man täglich die Armen überſetzt [überfordert], neue Beſchwerung und Teurung macht, und jeglicher des Markts braucht nach ſeinem Mutwillen, trotzet und ſtolzet dazu, als habe er gut Fug und Recht, das Seine ſo teuer zu geben, als ihn gelüſtet, und ſoll ihm niemand dreinreden. Denen wollen wir zwar zuſehen, [ſie] ſchinden, zwacken und geizen laſſen, aber Gott vertrauen (der es doch ohnedas tun wird), daß er, wenn du lange geſchunden und geſchreppelt [mühſam zuſammengeſcharrt] haſt, einen Segen darüber ſpreche, daß dir dein Korn auf dem Boden, dein Bier im Keller, dein Vieh im Stall verderbe; ja, wo du jemand um einen Gulden täuſcheſt und vervorteilſt, ſoll dir's den ganzen Haufen wegroſten und freſſen, daß du ſein nimmer froh werdeſt.

240] Nihilo felicius aliis quoque sua debet cadere avaritia et milvina rapacitas, qui e foro et macello publico, quod omnibus servire debebat, lustra praedonum et locum latrocinii constituunt, ubi quotidie indignis modis gravantur miseri, novis subinde inductis oneribus et caritatis rationibus. Ac quisque [R. 463 foro pro sua libidine, utque illi visum fuerit, abutitur, ad hoc intolerabiliter superbiens atque ferociens, quasi iure sibi hoc liceat, sua, quam maximo velit pretio, divendere, tantum abest, ut aliquis eam ob rem illi oblique ob-
241] murmuret. Horum omnium spectatores erimus, permissuri, ut pro arbitratu suo alios deglubant, spolient, mutilent, lacerent, rapiant ac omnibus modis suae avaritiae serviant. In
242] Deo tamen fiduciam nostram habebimus, alioqui etiam hoc ipsum facturo, ut ea benedictione, ubi diu multumque alios degluberis, neque parum boni corraseris, tuas opes proſperet, ut frumentum tuum in horreo, cerevisia tua in cellario, pecus tuum in stabulo pereat, imo potius, ubi proximum tuum vel aureo defraudaveris, tu de tota summa ac sorte periclitans in dubium venias, ut ita absumpta et ablata evanescat etiam cum pulvisculo, ut nunquam ullam ex ea voluptatem capias.

Solches ſehen und erfahren wir zwar vor Augen täglich erfüllt werden, daß kein geſtohlen und fälſchlich gewonnen Gut gedeiht. Wieviel ſind ihrer, ſo Tag und Nacht ſcharren und kratzen und doch keines Hellers reicher werden, und ob ſie viel ſammeln, doch ſo viel Plage und Unglück müſſen haben, daß ſie es nicht mit Freuden genießen noch auf ihre Kinder erben können. Aber weil ſich niemand daran kehrt, und [wir] hingehen, als ging's uns nichts an, muß er uns anders heimſuchen und mores lehren, daß er eine Landſchatzung über die andere über uns ſchicke, oder einen Haufen Landsknechte zu Gaſte lade, die uns auf eine Stunde Kaſten und Beutel räumen und nicht aufhören, weil [ſolange] wir einen Heller behalten, dazu zu Dank Haus und Hof verbrennen und verheeren, Weib und Kinder ſchänden und umbringen.

243] Hoc verum esse equidem quotidianis experimentis discimus, nullam rem aut furto aut fraude paratam possessori lucro esse. Quot enim esse putas, qui diu noctuque corradendis et cumulandis opibus se excruciant, qui tamen ne teruncio quidem ditiores evadunt? Et quamquam multum cumulent, tot tamen plagis et calamitatibus affecti sunt, ut cum voluptate ac gaudio rebus partis frui nequeant, neque liberis suis eam hereditatem
244] relinquant. Verum enim vero cum neminem haec moveant atque non secus, ac si nostra nihil interesset, agamus, necesse est, ut alia ratione nos invisat et sapere doceat, ut nempe novis subinde exactionibus exsugamur, aut numeroso quodam peregrinorum militum exercitu nos adoriatur, qui in unius horulae spatio ita cistas et marsupia nostra exenterent, nec ante depraedandi finem [R. 464 faciant, quam nobis nullus obolus maneat reliquus; adhaec vastata passim patria aedes nobis exurant etiam, neque non uxores et liberos nostros affectos ignominia perimant.

Und Summa, ſtiehlſt du viel, ſo verſiehe dich gewißlich, daß dir noch ſo viel [noch einmal ſo viel] geſtohlen werde, und wer mit Gewalt und Unrecht raubt und gewinnt, einen andern leide, der ihm auch alſo mitſpiele. Denn die Kunſt kann Gott meiſterlich, weil jedermann den andern beraubt und ſtiehlt, daß er einen Dieb mit dem andern ſtraft; wo[her] wollte man ſonſt Galgen und Stricke genug nehmen?

245] Et ut summatim dicam, multum furans certo tibi pollicere, multo plura te furto amissurum. Tum qui per vim atque iniuriam rapto vivit et lucro servit, ut alteri incommodet, ille alium nanciscetur, a quo paria accepturus est. Deus enim huius artis est scientissimus, quandoquidem quisque alterum rapinis ac furto compilat, ut furem fure, latronem latrone puniat. Ubi alias sufficiens nobis suppeteret ad puniendos fures et patibulorum et laqueorum copia?

Wer ihm nun will ſagen laſſen, der wiſſe, daß [es] Gottes Gebot iſt und für keinen Scherz will gehalten ſein. Denn ob du uns verachteſt, betreugſt [betrügſt], ſtiehlſt und raubſt, wollen wir's

246] Iam qui amicis dictis commonetur, ille certum habeat Dei esse praeceptum, quod in iocum converti nolit. Nam etsi nos deceperis, contempseris aut furto et rapinis

per nor accumulate anything. And indeed, if there were a well-ordered government in the land, such wantonness might soon be checked and prevented, as was the custom in ancient times among the Romans, where such characters were promptly seized by the pate in a way that others took warning.

No more shall all the rest prosper who change the open free market into a carrion-pit of extortion and a den of robbery, where the poor are daily overcharged, new burdens and high prices are imposed, and every one uses the market according to his caprice, and is even defiant and brags as though it were his fair privilege and right to sell his goods for as high a price as he please, and no one had a right to say a word against it. We will indeed look on and let these people skin, pinch, and hoard, but we will trust in God, — who will, however, do this of His own accord, — that, after you have been skinning and scraping for a long time, He will pronounce such a blessing on your gains that your grain in the garner, your beer in the cellar, your cattle in the stalls shall perish; yea, where you have cheated and overcharged any one to the amount of a florin, your entire pile shall be consumed with rust, so that you shall never enjoy it.

And indeed, we see and experience this being fulfilled daily before our eyes, that no stolen or dishonestly acquired possession thrives. How many there are who rake and scrape day and night, and yet grow not a farthing richer! And though they gather much, they must suffer so many plagues and misfortunes that they cannot relish it with cheerfulness nor transmit it to their children. But as no one minds it, and we go on as though it did not concern us, God must visit us in a different way and teach us manners by imposing one taxation after another, or billeting a troop of soldiers upon us, who in one hour empty our coffers and purses, and do not quit as long as we have a farthing left, and in addition, by way of thanks, burn and devastate house and home, and outrage and kill wife and children.

And, in short, if you steal much, depend upon it that again as much will be stolen from you; and he who robs and acquires with violence and wrong will submit to one who shall deal after the same fashion with him. For God is master of this art, that since every one robs and steals from the other, He punishes one thief by means of another. Else where should we find enough gallows and ropes?

Now, whoever is willing to be instructed, let him know that this is the commandment of God, and that it must not be treated as

zwar noch zukommen [dulden] und deinen Hochmut ausstehen, leiden und dem Vaterunser nach vergeben und [uns deiner] erbarmen; denn wir wissen, daß die Frommen doch genug haben müssen, und du dir selbst mehr denn einem andern Schaden tust.

compilaveris; tuam quidem iniuriam aequo animo tolerabimus, fortasse propterea non illico fame perituri, tibique, quemadmodum nos docet Oratio Dominica, omnium iniuriarum concessa venia condonabimus tuique miserebimur. Probi enim et iusti non possunt non exuberare copia, tuque tibi longe maius detrimentum quam alteri concilias.

Aber da hüte dich vor, wenn das liebe Armut (welches jetzt viel ist) kommt, so um den täglichen Pfennig kaufen und zehren muß, und du zufährst, als müßte jedermann deiner Gnade leben, schindest und schabst bis auf den Grat [Knochen], dazu mit Stolz und Übermut abweist, dem du solltest geben und schenken, so geht es dahin elend und betrübt, und weil es [solches] niemandem klagen kann, schreit und ruft es gen Himmel — da hüte dich (sage ich abermal) als vor dem Teufel selbst. Denn solch Seufzen und Rufen wird nicht scherzen, sondern einen Nachdruck haben, der dir und aller Welt zu schwer werden wird. Denn es wird den treffen, der sich der armen, betrübten Herzen annimmt und nicht will ungerochen [ungerächt] lassen. Verachtest du es aber und trotzest, so siehe, wen du auf dich geladen hast; wird dir's gelingen und wohl gehen, sollst du Gott und mich vor aller Welt Lügner schelten.

247] Sed hic, obsecro, fac attento sis animo tibique caveas, ubi pauperes (quorum iam magnus est numerus) venerint, quibus nummis diurno labore partis omnia mercanda sunt, tuque non secus agis, quam si omnibus e tua gratia pendendum sit, ad vivum usque deglubens ac rodens, quos etiam superbe a te dimissos abigis inhumanissime, quibus dare debebas et largiri gratuito. Illi quidem misere a te abeunt et affecti tristitia, et cum neminem habeant, cui ista conquerantur, sublata in coelum voce Deum ultorem invocant. Haec, inquam, iterum atque iterum repetens moneo, ut caveas tamquam ipsum cacodaemonem. Tales pauperum gemitus et imprecationes ioculares non erunt, sed vim in se habebunt, quae et tibi et universo mundo erit [R. 465 intolerabilis, atque ad eum pertingent, qui egenorum et afflictorum cura afficitur ac iniuriam illis illatam non patitur inultam. Quodsi haec superbe contempseris aut etiam irriseris, tum vide, quem inimicum tibi feceris. Si enim prospere tibi ceciderit, tum Deum et me coram mundo universo mendacii coarguas licet.

Wir haben genug vermahnt, gewarnt und gewehrt; wer es nicht achten noch glauben will, den lassen wir gehen, bis er's erfahre. Doch muß man dem jungen Volk solches einbilden [einprägen], daß sie sich hüten und dem alten, unbändigen Haufen nicht nachfolgen, sondern Gottes Gebot vor Augen halten, daß nicht Gottes Zorn und Strafe auch über sie gehe. Uns gebührt nicht weiter, denn zu sagen und zu strafen mit Gottes Wort; aber daß man solchem öffentlichen Mutwillen steure, da gehören Fürsten und Obrigkeit zu, die selbst Augen und den Mut hätten, Ordnung zu stellen und zu halten in allerlei Händel und Kauf, auf daß das Armut nicht beschwert und verdrückt [unterdrückt] würde, noch sie sich mit fremden Sünden beladen dürften.

248] Nos abunde satis admonuimus ac dehortati sumus; qui ista neglexerit, aut non crediderit, hunc missum faciemus, donec suo malo harum rerum fecerit periculum. Iuventuti tamen haec studiose inculcanda sunt, ut sibi caveat, nec veteris et indomitae multitudinis insequatur vestigia, et mandatum Dei in conspectu habeat, ne et ipsam comprehen-
249] dat ira et poenae divinae. Nostrum officium non latius protenditur, quam ut hominum flagitia indicemus eademque Verbo Dei puniamus. Verum ut tam aperta et manifesta depraedandi ac furandi libido coerceatur, principum et magistratus interest, qui si ipsi oculos haberent et animum, in omnibus negotiis atque commerciis certam rationem atque ordinem constituendi et conservandi, neque pauperes gravarentur et opprimerentur, neque semet ipsos alienis peccatis onerarent.

Das sei genug davon gesagt, was stehlen heiße, daß man's nicht so eng spanne, sondern gehen lasse, so weit als wir mit dem Nächsten zu tun haben. Und kurz in eine Summa, wie in den vorigen, zu fassen, ist dadurch verboten, erstlich dem Nächsten Schaden und Unrecht zu tun (wie mancherlei Weise zu erdenken sind, Hab' und Gut abzubrechen, [zu] verhindern und vorzuhalten [vorzuenthalten]), auch solches nicht bewilligen noch gestatten, sondern wehren und vorkommen, und wiederum geboten, sein Gut [zu] fördern, bessern und, wo er Not leidet, helfen, mitteilen, vorstrecken beide Freunden und Feinden.

250] Sed iam satis superque dictum est, quid sit furari, ne tam angustis id metis concludatur, sed eo usque sinatur protendi, quousque nostra cum proximo exercenda negotia protenduntur. Et ut compendio quodam rei summam, sicut in aliis praeceptis factitavimus, perstringam, illud hoc praecepto cautum est: primum, ne quam iniuriam inferamus proximo (qualescunque tandem et quam multiplices rationes excogitari possunt opes atque substantiam alienam imminuendi, decurtandi, impediendi, alienandi) neque his consentiamus aut haec fieri patiamur, sed prohibeamus ac omnibus modis eius damnum antevertamus.

251] Contra vero praeceptum est, ut eius bona promoveamus augeamusque, atque, ubi [R. 466 necessitate pressus est, eius inopiam benigne sublevemus, illi impertiamus, prae manu aliquid demus, quo fruatur, cum amicis tum inimicis.

Wer nun gute Werke sucht und begehrt, wird hier übrig genug finden, die Gott von Herzen an-

252] Iam qui bona opera quaerit aut cupit facere, hic abunde satis inveniet, quae Deo ex

a jest. For although you despise us, defraud, steal, and rob, we will indeed manage to endure your haughtiness, suffer, and, according to the Lord's Prayer, forgive and show pity; for we know that the godly shall nevertheless have enough, and you injure yourself more than another.

But beware of this: When the poor man comes to you (of whom there are so many now) who must buy with the penny of his daily wages and live upon it, and you are harsh to him, as though every one lived by your favor, and you skin and scrape to the bone, and, besides, with pride and haughtiness turn him off to whom you ought to give for nothing, he will go away wretched and sorrowful, and since he can complain to no one, he will cry and call to heaven, — then beware (I say again) as of the devil himself. For such groaning and calling will be no jest, but will have a weight that will prove too heavy for you and all the world. For it will reach Him who takes care of the poor sorrowful hearts, and will not allow them to go unavenged. But if you despise this and become defiant, see whom you have brought upon you: if you succeed and prosper, you may before all the world call God and me a liar.

We have exhorted, warned, and protested enough; he who will not heed or believe it may go on until he learns this by experience. Yet it must be impressed upon the young that they may be careful not to follow the old lawless crowd, but keep their eyes fixed upon God's commandment, lest His wrath and punishment come upon them too. It behooves us to do no more than to instruct and reprove with God's Word; but to check such open wantonness there is need of the princes and government, who themselves would have eyes and the courage to establish and maintain order in all manner of trade and commerce, lest the poor be burdened and oppressed nor they themselves be loaded with other men's sins.

Let this suffice as an explanation of what stealing is, that it be not taken too narrowly, but made to extend as far as we have to do with our neighbors. And briefly, in a summary, as in the former commandments, it is herewith forbidden, in the first place, to do our neighbor any injury or wrong (in whatever manner supposable, by curtailing, forestalling, and withholding his possessions and property), or even to consent or allow such a thing, but to interpose and prevent it. And, on the other hand, it is commanded that we advance and improve his possessions, and in case he suffers want, that we help, communicate, and lend both to friends and foes.

Whoever now seeks and desires good works will find here more than enough such as are heartily acceptable and pleasing to God, and

genehm und gefällig sind, dazu mit trefflichem Segen begnadet und überschüttet, daß es reichlich soll vergolten werden, was wir unserm Nächsten zu Nutz und Freundschaft tun, wie auch der König Salomo lehrt Prov. 19: „Wer sich des Armen erbarmt, der leihet dem HErrn; der wird ihm wieder vergelten seinen Lohn.“ Da hast du einen reichen HErrn, der dir gewiß genug ist und nichts wird gebrechen noch mangeln lassen; so kannst du mit fröhlichem Gewissen hundertmal mehr genießen, denn du mit Untreue und Unrecht erschreppelst [erschindest, zusammenscharrst]. Wer nun des Segens nicht mag, der wird Zorn und Unglück genug finden.

Das achte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht falsch Zeugnis reden wider deinen Nächsten.

Über unsern eigenen Leib, ehelich Gemahl und zeitlich Gut haben wir noch einen Schatz, nämlich Ehre und gut Gerücht, welches wir auch nicht entbehren können. Denn es gilt nicht, unter den Leuten in öffentlicher Schande, von jedermann verachtet, zu leben. Darum will Gott des Nächsten Leumund, Glimpf [guten Namen] und Gerechtigkeit so wenig als Geld und Gut genommen oder verkürzt haben, auf daß ein jeglicher vor seinem Weibe, Kind, Gesinde und Nachbar ehrlich bestehe [in Ehren dastehe]. Und zum ersten ist der gröbste Verstand dieses Gebots, wie die Worte lauten: „Du sollst nicht falsch Zeugnis reden“, auf öffentlich Gericht gestellt, da man einen armen unschuldigen Mann verklagt und durch falsche Zeugen unterdrückt, damit er gestraft werde an Leib, Gut oder Ehre.

Das scheint nun jetzt, als gehe es uns wenig an, aber bei den Juden ist's gar ein trefflich, gemein Ding gewesen. Denn das Volk war in seinem, ordentlichem Regiment gefaßt, und wo noch ein solch Regiment ist, da geht's ohne diese Sünde nicht ab. Ursache ist diese: denn wo Richter, Bürgermeister, Fürst oder andere Obrigkeit sitzt, da fehlt es nimmer, es geht nach der Welt Lauf, daß man niemand gerne beleidigen will, heuchelt und redet nach Gunst, Geld, Hoffnung oder Freundschaft; darüber muß ein armer Mann mit seiner Sache verdrückt [unterdrückt werden], unrecht haben und Strafe leiden. Und ist eine gemeine Plage in der Welt, daß im Gericht selten fromme Leute sitzen.

Denn es gehört vor allen andern Dingen ein frommer Mann zu einem Richter und nicht allein ein frommer, sondern auch ein weiser, bescheidener, ja auch ein kühner und kecker Mann; also auch gehört ein kecker, dazu vornehmlich ein frommer Mann zum Zeugen. Denn wer alle Sachen recht richten und mit dem Urteil hindurchreißen soll, wird oftmals gute Freunde, Schwäger, Nachbarn, Reiche und Gewaltige erzürnen, die ihm viel dieanimo perplacent et grata sunt, adhaec quae incredibili quadam benedictione remuneratur et amplissime cumulat, ut abunde compensetur nobis, quidquid officii ac humanitatis proximo exhibuerimus. Quemadmodum sapientissimus etiam docet Salomon Prov. 19, 17: *Foeneratur Domino, qui miseretur pauperis, et vicissitudinem suam reddet ei.* Habes hic **253**] opulentum Dominum, qui tibi procul dubio solvendo est, nec patietur ulla te premi aut urgeri penuria, quo adiutore tranquilla conscientia in centuplo plus frui potes, quam cum perfidia aut iniuria proximi corradere. Iam qui hanc benedictionem nauseabundus fastidit, ille irarum et infortunii abunde inveniet.

Praeceptum VIII.

254] Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium.

255] Praeter corpus proprium, legitimam coniugem et rem familiarem adhuc alius thesaurus nobis superest, nempe nominis et famae aequabilis atque inviolatae praeclarum testimonium, quo nequaquam carere possumus. Neque enim praestat, ut fama parum secunda vivamus inter homines, aperte infamia nota**256**] biles et contempti omnibus. Quocirca Deus proximi famam, nomen et iustitiam nihilo magis vult imminui aut decurtari quam argentum et opes eius patere furto aut depraedationibus, ne quis aut uxoris aut liberorum aut familiae aut etiam vicini laboret **257**] infamia. Ac primum quidem crassior huius praecepti sensus, quemadmodum [R. 467 ipsa verba sonant (*Non loqueris contra proximum tuum falsum testimonium*), ad negotia forensia referendus est, ubi miser aliquis et innocens accusatur falsisque testibus opprimitur, ut luendo poenas aut corporis aut rei aut famae in periculum veniat.

258] Iam hoc perinde apparet, quasi parum ad nos pertineat. Ceterum apud Iudaeos res fuit vehementer usitata et communis, siquidem populus optimis legibus gubernabatur. Et ubi etiam hodie est respublica ad hunc modum instituta, non potest non ei peccato locus esse. Cuius rei haec causa est: Ubi enim pro tribunali iudices, consules, principes aut alii magistratus cognoscendis causis dant operam, hic fieri non potest, quin pro huius mundi usitata consuetudine res agatur; nemo libenter potentiorem laedere sustinet, sed quisque assentatur et loquitur ad gratiam, victus aut nummis aut spe aut amicitia. Unde fit, ut miser aliquis victus et oppressus causa cadere ac poenas pendere cogatur. Estque communis quaedam in mundo clades atque calamitas, quod iudicio perraro praesunt viri boni et integri.

259] Neque enim quivis ei rei invenitur appositus, sed cumprimis necesse est, ut is, qui iudicis functurus est officio, vir sit probus et pius, et non tantum probus, verum etiam prudens sit et perspicax, nec minori audacia et animi fortitudine praeditus. Non secus quoque operae pretium, ut, qui testem acturus est, vir sit fortis ac vitae inculpatae. Qui enim in omnibus causis semper iuste iudicare,

in addition are favored and crowned with excellent blessings, that we are to be richly compensated for all that we do for our neighbor's good and from friendship; as King Solomon also teaches Prov. 19, 17: *He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will He pay him again.* Here, then, you have a rich Lord, who is certainly sufficient for you, and who will not suffer you to come short in anything or to want; thus you can with a joyful conscience enjoy a hundred times more than you could scrape together with unfaithfulness and wrong. Now, whoever does not desire the blessing will find wrath and misfortune enough.

The Eighth Commandment.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

Over and above our own body, spouse, and temporal possessions, we have yet another treasure, namely, honor and good report [the illustrious testimony of an upright and unsullied name and reputation], with which we cannot dispense. For it is intolerable to live among men in open shame and general contempt. Therefore God wishes the reputation, good name, and upright character of our neighbor to be taken away or diminished as little as his money and possessions, that every one may stand in his integrity before wife, children, servants, and neighbors. And in the first place, we take the plainest meaning of this commandment according to the words (*Thou shalt not bear false witness*), as pertaining to the public courts of justice, where a poor innocent man is accused and oppressed by false witnesses in order to be punished in his body, property, or honor.

Now, this appears as if it were of little concern to us at present; but with the Jews it was quite a common and ordinary matter. For the people were organized under an excellent and regular government; and where there is still such a government, instances of this sin will not be wanting. The cause of it is that where judges, burgomasters, princes, or others in authority sit in judgment, things never fail to go according to the course of the world; namely, men do not like to offend anybody, flatter, and speak to gain favor, money, prospects, or friendship; and in consequence a poor man and his cause must be oppressed, denounced as wrong, and suffer punishment. And it is a common calamity in the world that in courts of justice there seldom preside godly men.

For to be a judge requires above all things a godly man, and not only a godly, but also a wise, modest, yea, a brave and bold man; likewise, to be a witness requires a fearless and especially a godly man. For a person who is to judge all matters rightly and carry

nen oder schaden können; darum muß er gar blind sein, Augen und Ohren zugetan, nicht sehen noch hören denn stracks vor sich, was ihm vorkommt, und dem nach schließen.

Darum ist nun erstlich dies Gebot gestellt, daß ein jeglicher seinem Nächsten helfe zu seinem Rechten und dasselbe nicht hindern noch beugen lasse, sondern fördere und stracks darüber halte, Gott gebe [gleichviel ob] es sei Richter oder Zeuge, und treffe an [betreffe], was es wolle. Und sonderlich ist hiermit unsern Herren Juristen ein Ziel gesteckt, daß sie zusehen, recht und aufgericht [aufrichtig] mit den Sachen umgehen, was recht ist, recht bleiben lassen und wiederum nicht verdrehen noch vermänteln oder [ver]schweigen, unangesehen Geld, Gut, Ehre oder Herrschaft. Das ist ein Stück und der gröbste Verstand dieses Gebots von allem, das vor Gericht geschieht.

Danach greift es gar viel weiter, wenn man's soll ziehen ins geistliche Gericht oder Regiment; da geht's also, daß ein jeglicher wider seinen Nächsten fälschlich zeugt. Denn wo fromme Prediger und Christen sind, die haben vor der Welt das Urteil, daß sie Ketzer, abtrünnige, ja aufrührerische und verzweifelte Bösewichte heißen. Dazu muß sich Gottes Wort aufs schändlichste und giftigste verfolgen, lästern, lügenstrafen, verkehren und fälschlich ziehen und deuten lassen. Aber das gehe seinen Weg; denn es ist der blinden Welt Art, daß sie die Wahrheit und Gottes Kinder verdammt und verfolgt und doch für keine Sünde achtet.

Zum dritten, so uns allzumal belangt, ist in diesem Gebot verboten alle Sünde der Zunge, dadurch man dem Nächsten mag Schaden tun oder zu nahe sein. Denn falsch Zeugnis reden ist nichts anderes denn Mundwerk. Was man nun mit Mundwerk wider den Nächsten tut, das will Gott gewehrt haben, es seien falsche Prediger mit der Lehre und Lästern, falsche Richter und Zeugen mit dem Urteil oder sonst außer dem Gericht mit Lügen und Übelreden. Daher gehört sonderlich das leidige, schändliche Laster: afterreden oder verleumden, damit uns der Teufel reitet, davon viel zu reden wäre. Denn es ist eine gemeine schädliche Plage, daß jedermann lieber Böses denn Gutes von dem Nächsten hört sagen, und wiewohl wir selbst so böse sind, daß wir nicht leiden können, daß uns jemand ein bös Stück nachsage, sondern jeglicher gerne wollte, daß alle Welt Goldenes von ihm redete, doch können wir nicht hören, daß man das Beste von andern sage.

Derhalben sollen wir merken, solche Untugend zu meiden, daß niemand zugelassen [erlaubt] ist, seinen Nächsten öffentlich zu [ver]urteilen und

neque vim aut iniuriam inferre iustitiae voluerit, ei saepicule amici, affines, cognati, vicini, potentes ac divites laedendi erunt et offendendi, qui multum illi aut obesse aut prodesse queant. Quocirca omnino caecus sit oportet, ut clausis et auribus et oculis nihil audiat aut videat, praeterquam quae illi exponuntur, ut secundum illa ferat sententiam.

260] Primum ergo eo tendit huius praecepti constitutio, ut quivis proximo in [R. 468 eius iure tuendo ferat suppetias neque obstet, neve alio malitiose torqueat aut torqueri sinat, verum omnibus modis promoveat illique interrite patrocinetur, sive iudicis sive testis personam obtinuerit, quaecunque tandem res **261**] in contentionem venerit. Cumprimis vero hoc loco iureperitis meta praefixa est, quo diligenter videant, ut causas forenses iuste tractent atque integre, ut, quod iustum est, iustum esse patiantur, et contra, ne suis imposturis et technis nigra in candida vertant et prava recta faciant, aut verum reticentes tacitum praetereant, nullo respectu pecuniarum, opum, dignitatis atque potentiae habito. Et haec est una pars huius praecepti et sensus aliquanto crassior de omnibus, quae aguntur in iudicio.

262] Deinde multo latius patet, si in spirituale iudicium aut regimen referatur, ubi ita agitur, ut quivis adversus proximum suum falsum loquatur testimonium. Ubicunque enim gentium probi agunt Christiani et praedicatores, eo iam damnati sunt coram mundo iudicio, ut pro haereticis et apostatis habeantur, imo potius ut seditiosi et perditissimi latrones dicantur et aestimentur. Adhaec Dei quoque Verbum turpissime et virulentissime insectationem patitur, blasphematur, mendacii arguitur, malitiose pervertitur et falso huc et illuc torquetur ac depravatur. Sed haec in praesentia quidem missa faciamus. Ea enim caeci mundi natura est, ut veritatem et filios Dei improbe condemnet et iniuriose insectetur, neque tamen hoc factum peccati loco aestimet.

263] Tertio, quod ad nos omnes pertinet, omne peccatum linguae, quo famam proximi denigrare aut laedere possumus, hoc praecepto interdictum est. Nam loqui falsum testimonium nihil aliud quam oris et linguae opus est. Iam quacunque ratione linguae operibus proximus offenditur, hoc Deus prohibet, [R. 469 sive illud fiat per falsos doctores, perversa doctrina et blasphemiis, sive per iniquos testes et iudices, falso iudicio, sive extra forum men**264**] daciis et linguae virulentia. Hucque imprimis pertinet detestabile illud vitium detractionis sive calumniae, quod diabolus penitus nobis insevit et inspiravit, de quo perquam multa verba facienda forent. Est enim haec quaedam perniciosa et communis calamitas, ut quivis mala de proximo quam bona audire malit. Et quamquam ipsi tam sumus mali, ut, si quis mali quid de nobis referat, ferre id non possimus, sed quivis optaret, ut nemo non optima et aurea quaeque de se praedicaret, audire tamen non possumus, ut et de aliis optima praedicentur.

Quare ad devitandum hoc vitium discamus **265**] nemini videlicet concessum esse proximum suum propalam iudicare et obiurgare,

them through with his decision will often offend good friends, relatives, neighbors, and the rich and powerful, who can greatly serve or injure him. Therefore he must be quite blind, have his eyes and ears closed, neither see nor hear, but go straight forward in everything that comes before him, and decide accordingly.

Therefore this commandment is given first of all that every one shall help his neighbor to secure his rights, and not allow them to be hindered or twisted, but shall promote and strictly maintain them, no matter whether he be judge or witness, and let it pertain to whatsoever it will. And especially is a goal set up here for our jurists that they be careful to deal truly and uprightly with every case, allowing right to remain right, and, on the other hand, not perverting anything [by their tricks and technical points turning black into white and making wrong out to be right], nor glossing it over or keeping silent concerning it, irrespective of a person's money, possession, honor, or power. This is one part and the plainest sense of this commandment concerning all that takes place in court.

Next, it extends very much further, if we are to apply it to spiritual jurisdiction or administration; here it is a common occurrence that every one bears false witness against his neighbor. For wherever there are godly preachers and Christians, they must bear the sentence before the world that they are called heretics, apostates, yea, seditious and desperately wicked miscreants. Besides, the Word of God must suffer in the most shameful and malicious manner, being persecuted, blasphemed, contradicted, perverted, and falsely cited and interpreted. But let this pass; for it is the way of the blind world that she condemns and persecutes the truth and the children of God, and yet esteems it no sin.

In the third place, what concerns us all, this commandment forbids all sins of the tongue whereby we may injure or approach too closely to our neighbor. For to bear false witness is nothing else than a work of the tongue. Now, whatever is done with the tongue against a fellow-man God would have prohibited, whether it be false preachers with their doctrine and blasphemy, false judges and witnesses with their verdict, or outside of court by lying and evil-speaking. Here belongs particularly the detestable, shameful vice of speaking behind a person's back and slandering, to which the devil spurs us on, and of which there would be much to be said. For it is a common evil plague that every one prefers hearing evil to hearing good of his neighbor; and although we ourselves are so bad that we cannot suffer that any one should say anything bad about us, but every one would much rather that all the world should speak of him in terms of gold, yet we cannot bear that the best is spoken about others.

Therefore, to avoid this vice we should note that no one is allowed publicly to judge and

[zu] strafen, ob er ihn gleich sieht sündigen, er habe denn Befehl zu richten und [zu] strafen. Denn es ist gar ein großer Unterschied zwischen den zweien: Sünde richten und Sünde wissen. Wissen magst du sie wohl, aber richten sollst du sie nicht. Sehen und hören kann ich wohl, daß mein Nächster sündigt, aber gegen andere nachzusagen habe ich keinen Befehl. Wenn ich nun zufahre, richte und urteile, so falle ich in eine Sünde, die größer ist denn jene. Weißt du es aber, so tue nicht anders, denn mache aus den Ohren ein Grab und scharre es zu, bis daß dir befohlen werde, Richter zu sein und von Amts wegen zu strafen.

Das heißen nun Afterreder, die es nicht bei dem Wissen bleiben lassen, sondern fortfahren und ins Gericht greifen, und wenn sie ein Stücklein von einem andern wissen, tragen sie es in alle Winkel, kitzeln und krauen [kratzen] sich, daß sie mögen eines andern Unlust rühren wie die Säue, so sich im Kot wälzen und mit dem Rüssel darin wühlen. Das ist nichts anderes, denn Gott in sein Gericht und Amt fallen, urteilen und strafen mit dem schärfsten Urteil. Denn kein Richter höher strafen kann noch weiter fahren, denn daß er sage: Dieser ist ein Dieb, Mörder, Verräter usw. Darum wer sich solches untersteht, vom Nächsten zu sagen, greift ebenso weit als Kaiser und alle Obrigkeit. Denn ob du das Schwert nicht führst, so brauchst du doch deiner giftigen Zunge, dem Nächsten zu Schand' und Schaden.

Darum will Gott gewehrt haben, daß niemand dem andern übel nachrede, wenn er's gleich schuldig ist, und dieser [es] wohl weiß; viel weniger, so er's nicht weiß und allein vom Hörensagen genommen hat. Sprichst du aber: Soll ich's denn nicht sagen, wenn es die Wahrheit ist? Antwort: Warum trägst du es nicht vor ordentliche Richter? Ja, ich kann's nicht öffentlich bezeugen [mit Zeugen beweisen]; so möchte man mir vielleicht übers Maul fahren und [mich] übel abweisen. Ei, lieber, reuchst du [riechst du] den Braten, traust du nicht [getraust du dich nicht], vor geordneten Personen zu stehen und zu verantworten, so halte auch das Maul; weißt du es aber, so wisse es für dich, nicht für einen andern; denn wo du es weiter sagst, ob es gleich wahr ist, so bestehst du doch wie ein Lügner, weil du es nicht kannst wahr machen, tust dazu wie ein Bösewicht. Denn man soll niemand seine Ehre und Gerücht nehmen, es sei ihm denn zuvor genommen öffentlich.

Also heißt nun falsch Gezeugnis [Zeugnis] alles, was man nicht, wie sich's gehört, überweisen [beweisen] kann. Darum, was nicht mit genugsamer Beweisung offenbar ist, soll niemand offenbar machen noch für Wahrheit sagen, und Summa: was heimlich ist, soll man heimlich bleiben lassen oder je heimlich strafen, wie wir hören werden.

tametsi eundem peccantem videat, nisi prius iudicandi et puniendi potestatem concreditam **266**] acceperit. Multo enim haec duo seiuncta sunt discrimine: peccatum iudicare et peccati esse conscium. Nosse quidem potes peccatum, verum tuum non est idem quoque iudicare. Proximum meum peccantem audire et videre possum, verum ut eundem quoque traducam apud alios, sua peccata palam faciendo, in mandatis non habeo. Iudicans ergo alium et condemnans in maius et gravius delictum prolabor, quam ille erat obnoxius. Itaque si alicuius delicti conscius es, nihil aliud facies, quam ut obstructis ore et auribus sepultum relinquas in pectore, donec iudicis provincia tibi tradita fuerit et officium puniendi commissum.

267] Iam illi dicuntur obtrectatores seu quadruplatores, qui non contenti sunt se alienorum delictorum esse conscios, verum iudicandi quoque partes sibi sumunt, atque, ubi quidpiam de alio resciverint, in omnes id diffundunt angulos passim deferentes, [R. 470 semet voluptuose titillantes et perfricantes alterius sordes movendo, quemadmodum lutulenta sus in suo coeno se volutat et rostrum **268**] foede immergit. Et hoc nihil aliud est, quam Deo in iudicium et officium eius procaciter irrumpere, ac iudicio omnium acerbissimo condemnare atque punire. Neque enim ullus iudex quempiam graviore potest punire supplicio, quam si dixerit: Hic fur est, hic homicida est, proditor est etc. Quare quicunque tantum sibi sumpserit audaciae, ut non vereatur de proximo quidvis petulanter evomere, ille tantum sibi sumit potestatis, quantum Caesar et omnes magistratus sibi vindicant. Nam quamquam gladii potestatem non usurpes, tua tamen maledica, mordaci et virulenta lingua uteris, qua bacchans in proximum eius famae perpetuas maculas inuris.

269] Eam ob rem Deus prohibet, ne quis alterum maledico dente carpat, aut alteri probrose detrahat, etiamsi reus sit ille, et hic rem probe compertam habeat; multo minus vero, quando rei ipsius ignarus ex aliorum tantum relatu quid accepit. Dices autem: **270**] Cur vero reticerem, cum verum esse certus sim? Respondeo: Cur non defers eum ad legitimum iudicem? Sed, inquis, hoc ipsum certo testimonio non possum evincere, unde periculum est, ne falso intentatae calumniae poenas incurram. Hinc illae lacrimae, hoc illud est, quod pertimescis. Quodsi non tantum tibi fidis, ut coram ordinatis personis rem transigas atque respondeas, vide, ut os tuum etiam privatim compescas digito. Sin autem conscius es, tibi scias, non alteri. Ubi enim latius sparseris, etsi verum fuerit, non nisi impudenter mendax eris, cum verum id esse evincere nequeas: adhaec sceleratum nebulonem et sycophantam agis. Nemo enim per calumniam suo nomine aut fama fraudandus est, nisi ante propalam damnatus iudicis sententia ea dispoliatus est.

271] Proinde falsum loqui testimonium omne illud loqui dicitur, quod aliquem [R. 471 fecisse aperte, et quemadmodum decet, non **272**] possumus evincere. Quocirca quidquid sufficienti testimonio nondum satis manifestum est, hoc nemini revelandum est aut pro vero referendum. Et in summa, quidquid occultum

reprove his neighbor, although he may see him sin, unless he have a command to judge and to reprove. For there is a great difference between these two things, judging sin and knowing sin. You may indeed know it, but you are not to judge it. I can indeed see and hear that my neighbor sins, but I have no command to report it to others. Now, if I rush in, judging and passing sentence, I fall into a sin which is greater than his. But if you know it, do nothing else than turn your ears into a grave and cover it, until you are appointed to be judge and to punish by virtue of your office.

Those, then, are called slanderers who are not content with knowing a thing, but proceed to assume jurisdiction, and when they know a slight offense of another, carry it into every corner, and are delighted and tickled that they can stir up another's displeasure [baseness], as swine roll themselves in the dirt and root in it with the snout. This is nothing else than meddling with the judgment and office of God, and pronouncing sentence and punishment with the most severe verdict. For no judge can punish to a higher degree nor go farther than to say: "He is a thief, a murderer, a traitor," etc. Therefore, whoever presumes to say the same of his neighbor goes just as far as the emperor and all governments. For although you do not wield the sword, you employ your poisonous tongue to the shame and hurt of your neighbor.

God therefore would have it prohibited, that any one speak evil of another even though he be guilty, and the latter know it right well; much less if he do not know it, and have it only from hearsay. But you say: Shall I not say it if it be the truth? Answer: Why do you not make accusation to regular judges? Ah, I cannot prove it publicly, and hence I might be silenced and turned away in a harsh manner [incur the penalty of a false accusation]. "Ah, indeed, do you smell the roast?" If you do not trust yourself to stand before the proper authorities and to make answer, then hold your tongue. But if you know it, know it for yourself and not for another. For if you tell it to others, although it be true, you will appear as a liar, because you cannot prove it, and you are, besides, acting like a knave. For we ought never to deprive any one of his honor or good name unless it be first taken away from him publicly.

False witness, then, is everything which cannot be properly proved. Therefore, what is not manifest upon sufficient evidence no one shall make public or declare for truth; and, in short, whatever is secret should be allowed to remain secret, or, at any rate, should be

Darum, wo dir ein unnütz Maul vorkommt, das einen andern austrägt und verleumdet, so rede ihm frisch unter Augen, daß er schamrot werde, so wird mancher das Maul halten, der sonst einen armen Menschen ins Geschrei bringt, daraus er schwerlich wieder kommen kann. Denn Ehre und Glimpf [guter Name] ist bald genommen, aber nicht bald wieder[ge]geben.

et arcanum est, hoc in occulto sinendum est, aut occulte, quemadmodum audiemus, redar-
273] guendum. Quare ubicunque in detractorem incideris, alterius dicta ac facta contumeliose deferentem ac petulanter in quempiam debacchantem, audacter huic in os obsiste, ut pudore suffundatur. Ita futurum est, ut crebro quis os suum obstruat, qui alioqui miserum aliquem in ora hominum pestifera detractione diffunderet, eas notas ac maculas inusturus, quas aegre aut nunquam possis eluere. Praeclari enim nominis ac integrae famae testimonium cito alicui eripitur, sed semel ereptum non perinde facile recuperatur.

Also siehst du, daß kurzum verboten ist, von dem Nächsten etwas Böses zu reden, doch ausgenommen weltliche Obrigkeit, Prediger, Vater und Mutter, daß man dennoch dies Gebot so verstehe, daß das Böse nicht ungestraft bleibe. Wie man nun laut des fünften Gebots niemand schaden soll am Leibe, doch ausgezogen [besonders ausgenommen] Meister Hansen [den Henker], der seines Amts halben dem Nächsten kein Gutes, sondern nur Schaden und Böses tut und nicht wider Gottes Gebot sündigt, darum daß Gott solch Amt von seinetwegen geordnet hat; denn er ihm die Strafe seines Gefallens vorbehalten hat, wie er im ersten Gebot dräuet: also auch, wiewohl ein jeglicher für seine Person niemand richten noch verdammen soll, doch, wo es die nicht tun, denen es befohlen ist, sündigen sie ja so wohl, als der's außer dem Amt von sich selbst täte. Denn hier fordert die Not, von dem Übel zu reden, Klagen vor[zu]bringen, [zu] fragen und zeugen, und geht nicht anders zu denn mit einem Arzt, der zuweilen dem, den er heilen soll, an heimliche Orte sehen und greifen muß. Also sind Obrigkeit, Vater und Mutter, ja auch Brüder und Schwestern und sonst gute Freunde untereinander schuldig, wo es not und nütze ist, Böses zu strafen.

274] Ita vides, in universum interdictum esse mali quidpiam loqui de proximo, exceptis tamen magistratibus, concionatoribus et parentibus, ut hoc praeceptum ita intelligatur, ne vitia impunita maneant. Iam quemadmodum quinto praecepto neminem iubemur laedere, excepto tamen carnifice, qui ex officio nemini commodat, sed irrogatis suppliciis officit omnibus, neque tamen praeceptum Dei transgreditur, propterea quod Deus huius officii procurationem sua gratia constituerit; nam poenarum irrogationem, suae voluntati reservavit, ut in praecepto primo minatur: ita quoque, quamquam nemo, quantum ad propriam personam attinet, alium iudicare neque damnare debeat, tamen ubi hoc non faciunt ii, quibus hoc demandatum est, equidem ii non minus peccant ob negligentiam quam illi, qui extra officium hoc iniussi faciunt. Hic enim exigit necessitas, ut de vitiis sermo habeatur, ut accusentur, deferantur in iudicio, perquirantur et testimonio comprobentur. [R. 472
275] Neque secus agitur, quam cum medico, qui nonnunquam aegroti, quem curandum suscepit, loca arcana contueri et contrectare necessitate cogitur. Ita quoque magistratus, parentes, fratres atque sorores, tum qui amici sunt inter se, hoc mutuo obstringuntur officio, ut, ubi utile fuerit ac necessarium, alter alterius vicissim reprehendat vitia.

Das wäre aber die rechte Weise, wenn man die Ordnung nach dem Evangelio hielte Matth. 18, da Christus spricht: „Sündiget dein Bruder an dir, so gehe hin und strafe ihn zwischen dir und ihm allein." Da hast du eine köstliche, feine Lehre, die Zunge wohl zu regieren, die wohl zu merken ist wider den leidigen Mißbrauch. Danach richte dich nun, daß du nicht so bald den Nächsten anderswo austrageſt und ihm nachredeſt, sondern ihn heimlich vermahneſt, daß er sich bessere. Desgleichen auch wenn dir ein anderer etwas zu Ohren trägt, was dieser oder jener getan hat, lehre ihn auch also, daß er hingehe und strafe ihn selbst, wo er's gesehen hat; wo nicht, daß er das Maul halte.

276] Ceterum haec recta esset ratio obiurgandi vitia, si ordinem praescriptum in evangelio observaremus, ubi Christus inquit Matth. 18, 15: *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus, vade et corrige eum inter te et ipsum solum.* Vides hic praeclaram doctrinam tibi propositam, qua linguam gubernabis, quae etiam diligenter animadvertenda est contra perniciosum detrahendi abusum et vitium. Ad huius itaque doctrinae amussim tuam vitam institue, ne tam cito proximi tui famam in vulgus efferas, eumque foede ac turpiter traducas, sed occulte corripias ac moneas, ut mutata vita resipiscat. Similiter alium quoque aliquid tibi susurrantem aut deferentem, quid hic aut alter flagitiose designaverit, doce facere, ut eat illumque ipsum corripiat, si viderit; sin minus, ut os a detractione clausum teneat.

Solches magst du auch lernen aus täglichem Hausregiment. Denn so tut der Herr im Haus; wenn er sieht, daß der Knecht nicht tut, was er soll, so spricht er ihm selbst zu. Wenn er aber so toll wäre, ließe den Knecht daheim sitzen und ginge heraus auf die Gassen, den Nachbarn über ihn zu klagen, würde er freilich müssen hören: Du Narr, was geht's uns an? Warum sagst du

277] Hoc etiam discere potes ex quotidiana rei familiaris procuratione. Ita enim agere solet paterfamilias, videns servum suum cessare aut suo non fungentem gnaviter officio, ipse per se eundem obiurgat et admonet officii. Verum si tam vecors esset et amens animi, ut, relicto domi compressis (quod aiunt) manibus desidente servo, in forum progressus servilem

secretly reproved, as we shall hear. Therefore, if you encounter an idle tongue which betrays and slanders some one, contradict such a one promptly to his face, that he may blush; thus many a one will hold his tongue who else would bring some poor man into bad repute, from which he would not easily extricate himself. For honor and a good name are easily taken away, but not easily restored.

Thus you see that it is summarily forbidden to speak any evil of our neighbor, however, the civil government, preachers, father and mother excepted, on the understanding that this commandment does not allow evil to go unpunished. Now, as according to the Fifth Commandment no one is to be injured in body, and yet Master Hannes [the executioner] is excepted, who by virtue of his office does his neighbor no good, but only evil and harm, and nevertheless does not sin against God's commandment, because God has on His own account instituted that office; for He has reserved punishment for His own good pleasure, as He threatens in the First Commandment, — just so also, although no one has a right in his own person to judge and condemn anybody, yet if they to whose office it belongs fail to do it, they sin as well as he who would do so of his own accord, without such office. For here necessity requires one to speak of the evil, to prefer charges, to investigate and testify; and it is not different from the case of a physician who is sometimes compelled to examine and handle the patient whom he is to cure in secret parts. Just so governments, father and mother, brothers and sisters, and other good friends, are under obligation to each other to reprove evil wherever it is needful and profitable.

But the true way in this matter would be to observe the order according to the Gospel, Matt. 18, 15, where Christ says: *If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone.* Here you have a precious and excellent teaching for governing well the tongue, which is to be carefully observed against this detestable misuse. Let this, then, be your rule, that you do not too readily spread evil concerning your neighbor and slander him to others, but admonish him privately that he may amend [his life]. Likewise, also, if some one report to you what this or that one has done, teach him, too, to go and admonish him personally, if he have seen it himself; but if not, that he hold his tongue.

The same you can learn also from the daily government of the household. For when the master of the house sees that the servant does not do what he ought, he admonishes him personally. But if he were so foolish as to let the servant sit at home, and went on the streets to complain of him to his neighbors,

es ihm selbst nicht? Siehe, das wäre nun recht brüderlich gehandelt, daß dem Übel geraten würde und dein Nächster bei Ehren bliebe. Wie auch Christus daselbst sagt: „Höret er dich, so hast du deinen Bruder gewonnen." Da hast du ein groß, trefflich Werk getan; denn meinst du, daß ein gering Ding sei, einen Bruder gewinnen? Laß alle Mönche und heiligen Orden mit allen ihren Werken zu Haufe geschmelzt hervortreten, ob sie den Ruhm können aufbringen, daß sie einen Bruder gewonnen haben.

socordiam vicinis conquereretur, haud dubie ab iisdem audire cogeretur: Quid vero hoc nostra interest, o caput multis modis ridicu-
278] lum? Cur illi ipsi ista non exprobras? Ecce, ad hunc quidem modum fraterne ageres, ut emendarent [emendarentur] vitia, et proximi tui fama maneret salva atque integra. Sicut etiam Christus ipse eodem loco testatur, inquiens: *Si te audierit, animam fratris tui lucratus es.* Ita quidem magni ac [R. 473 memorabilis operis auctor exstitisses. Aut tu forte rem leviculam esse existimas fratrem lucrifacere? Sine vero omnes monachos ac sacros ordines ad unum in unam massam conflatos prodire, num tantam sibi laudem vindicare possint, se suis operibus vel unum lucratos esse fraterculum.

Weiter lehrt Christus: „Will er dich aber nicht hören, so nimm noch einen oder zween zu dir, auf daß alle Sache bestehe auf zweier oder dreier Zeugen Mund", also daß man je mit dem selbst handle, den es belangt, und nicht hinter seinem Wissen ihm nachrede. Will aber solches nicht helfen, so trage es dann öffentlich vor die Gemeinde, es sei vor weltlichem oder geistlichem Gericht. Denn hier stehst du nicht allein, sondern hast jene Zeugen mit dir, durch welche du den Schuldigen überweisen kannst, darauf der Richter gründen, urteilen und strafen kann. So kann man ordentlich und recht dazu kommen, daß man dem Bösen wehrt oder bessert; sonst, wenn man einen andern mit dem Maul umträgt durch alle Winkel und den Unflat rührt, wird niemand gebessert, und danach, wenn man stehen und zeugen soll, will man's nicht gesagt haben. Darum geschähe solchen Mäulern recht, daß man ihnen den Kitzel wohl büßte [die Lust zum Verleumden entgelten ließe und so austriebe], daß sich andere daran stießen. Wenn du es deinem Nächsten zur Besserung oder aus Liebe der Wahrheit tätest, würdest du nicht heimlich schleichen noch den Tag und Licht scheuen.

279] Eodem loco Christus docet ulterius: *Si autem te non audierit, adiunge tibi adhuc unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum,* ita ut semper res ipsa cum eo transigatur, cuius maxime interest, ne quid prorsus absenti maledice detra-
280] hatur. Porro, si haec omnia ad emendandum fratrem parum erunt valida aut efficacia, defer haec omnia propalam iudicanda ecclesiae sive spiritualibus sive saecularibus magistratibus. Neque enim hic solus causam agis, sed habes duos illos testes tibi coniunctos, accusationem tuam comprobantes, cui innixus iudex intrepide iudicare et poenam irrogare potest. Ac tum quidem legitimo iure ac ordine eo perveniri potest, ut malorum improbitas aut coerceatur aut in melius emen-
281] detur. Alioqui quando alius passim detractionibus infamatus passim per omnes urbis angulos traducitur, tantumque sordes commoventur, nemo emendatur, ac deinceps, ubi res comprobanda erit testimonio, quisque
282] a se dictum esse pernegat. Quapropter rectissime cum hisce detractoribus ageretur, ut gravissimas intemperantis linguae poenas luentes omnem maledicendi et obtrectandi voluntatem amitterent, ut alii inde exemplum sumen-
283] tes linguae virulentiam dediscerent. Si haec fierent a te in rem proximi, aut veritatis amore faceres, clandestinis ac furtivis calumniis rem non ageres, neque diem et solem lucifugae instar vitares.

Das alles ist nun von heimlichen Sünden gesagt. Wo aber die Sünde ganz öffentlich ist, daß Richter und jedermann wohl weiß, so kannst du ihn ohne alle Sünde meiden und fahren lassen, als der sich selbst zuschanden gemacht hat, dazu auch öffentlich von ihm zeugen. Denn was offenbar am Tage ist, da kann kein Afterreden noch falsch Richten oder Zeugen sein; als, daß wir jetzt den Papst mit seiner Lehre strafen, so öffentlich in Büchern an [den] Tag gegeben und in aller Welt ausgeschrien ist. Denn wo die Sünde öffentlich ist, soll auch billig öffentliche Strafe folgen, daß sich jedermann davor wisse zu hüten.

284] Haec omnia hactenus de occultis peccatis dicta sunt. Ceterum ubi peccatum plane manifestum est, ut neque iudici neque [R. 474 cuiquam obscurum sit, tunc sine omni peccato illius commercium vitare eumque missum facere potes, ut eum, qui se ultro exposuerit dedecori. Ubi enim res manifeste liquet omnibus, ibi neque obtrectationi neque falso iudicio neque improbis testibus locus relinquitur; veluti quum hodie Romanum pontificem tamquam antichristum falsae doctrinae coarguimus, quam editis in lucem libris passim divulgavit et per totum orbem infinitarum animarum exitio proclamatam disseminavit. Ubi enim peccatum manifestum est, ibi non iniuria et poena manifesta illud consequitur, ut quivis exemplis monitus illud cavere possit.

Also haben wir nun die Summa und gemeinen Verstand von diesem Gebot, daß niemand seinem Nächsten, beide Freund und Feind, mit der Zunge schädlich sein noch Böses von ihm reden soll, Gott gebe, es sei wahr oder erlogen, so es nicht aus Befehl oder zur Besserung geschieht; sondern seine Zunge brauchen und dienen lassen, von jedermann das Beste zu reden, des Nächsten Sünde und Ge-

285] Ita iam huius praecepti summam et communem intellectum paucis explicatum habemus, ne quis suo proximo, aeque amico atque inimico, linguae maledica petulantia noceat, neve male de eo loquatur, sive verum illud sive confictum, cum neque ex mandato id faciat, neque in usum aut aedificationem proximi; sed ita sua lingua utatur, ut eius

he would no doubt be told: "You fool, what does that concern us? Why do you not tell it to him?" Behold, that would be acting quite brotherly, so that the evil would be stayed, and your neighbor would retain his honor. As Christ also says in the same place: *If he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.* Then you have done a great and excellent work; for do you think it is a little matter to gain a brother? Let all monks and holy orders step forth, with all their works melted together into one mass, and see if they can boast that they have gained a brother.

Further, Christ teaches: *But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established.* So he whom it concerns is always to be treated with personally, and not to be spoken of without his knowledge. But if that do not avail, then bring it publicly before the community, whether before the civil or the ecclesiastical tribunal. For then you do not stand alone, but you have those witnesses with you by whom you can convict the guilty one, relying on whom the judge can pronounce sentence and punish. This is the right and regular course for checking and reforming a wicked person. But if we gossip about another in all corners, and stir the filth, no one will be reformed, and afterwards when we are to stand up and bear witness, we deny having said so. Therefore it would serve such tongues right if their itch for slander were severely punished, as a warning to others. If you were acting for your neighbor's reformation or from love of the truth, you would not sneak about secretly nor shun the day and the light.

All this has been said regarding secret sins. But where the sin is quite public so that the judge and everybody know it, you can without any sin avoid him and let him go, because he has brought himself into disgrace, and you may also publicly testify concerning him. For when a matter is public in the light of day, there can be no slandering or false judging or testifying; as, when we now reprove the Pope with his doctrine, which is publicly set forth in books and proclaimed in all the world. For where the sin is public, the reproof also must be public, that every one may learn to guard against it.

Thus we have now the sum and general understanding of this commandment, to wit, that no one do any injury with the tongue to his neighbor, whether friend or foe, nor speak evil of him, no matter whether it be true or false, unless it be done by commandment or for his reformation, but that every

brechen zudecken, entschuldigen und mit seiner Ehre beschönen [beschönigen] und schmücken. Ursache soll sein allermeist diese, so Christus im Evangelio anzeucht [anzieht] und damit alle Gebote gegen den Nächsten will gefaßt haben: „Alles, was ihr wollet, daß euch die Leute tun sollen, das tut ihr ihnen auch."

Auch lehrt solches die Natur an unserm eigenen Leibe, wie St. Paulus 1 Kor. 12 sagt: „Die Glieder des Leibes, so uns dünken die schwächsten sein, sind die nötigsten, und die uns dünken die unehrlichsten sein, denselbigen legen wir am meisten Ehre an, und die uns übel anstehen, die schmückt man am meisten." Das Angesicht, Augen, Nase und Mund deckt niemand zu, denn sie [be]dürfen's nicht, als an ihm selbst die ehrlichsten Glieder, so wir haben; aber die allergebrechlichsten, deren wir uns schämen, deckt man mit allem Fleiß; da muß Hände, Augen samt dem ganzen Leibe helfen decken und verhüllen. Also sollen auch wir alle untereinander, was an unserm Nächsten unehrlich und gebrechlich ist, schmücken und mit allem, so wir vermögen, zu seinen Ehren dienen, helfen und förderlich sein; und wiederum wehren, was ihm mag zu Unehren [ge]reichen. Und ist sonderlich eine feine, edle Tugend, wer alles, was er vom Nächsten hört reden (so nicht öffentlich böse ist), wohl auslegen und aufs beste deuten oder je zugut halten kann wider die giftigen Mäuler, die sich fleißen [befleißigen], wo sie etwas ergröbeln [ausspionieren] und erhaschen können, am Nächsten zu tadeln, und aufs ärgste ausecken [auslegen] und verkehren, wie jetzt vornehmlich dem lieben Gotteswort und seinen Predigern geschieht.

Darum sind in diesem Gebot gar mächtig viel gute Werke gefaßt, die Gott aufs höchste wohlgefallen und überflüssig Gut und Segen mit sich bringen, wenn sie nur die blinde Welt und falschen Heiligen erkennen wollten. Denn es ist nichts an [am] und im ganzen Menschen, das mehr und weiter beide Gutes schaffen und Schaden tun kann in geistlichen und weltlichen Sachen denn die Zunge, so doch das kleinste und schwächste Glied ist.

Das neunte und zehnte Gebot.

Du sollst nicht begehren deines Nächsten Haus. Du sollst nicht begehren seines Weibes [sein Weib], Knecht, Magd, Vieh, oder was sein ist.

Diese zwei Gebote sind fast den Juden sonderlich gegeben, wiewohl sie uns dennoch auch zum Teil betreffen. Denn sie legen sie nicht aus von Unkeuschheit noch Diebstahl, weil davon droben genug verboten ist, hielten's auch dafür, sie hätten jene alle gehalten, wenn sie äußerlich die Werke getan oder nicht getan hätten. Darum hat Gott

patrocinium prosit ac serviat aeque omnibus, de universis ac item singulis honorificam mentionem faciendo, ut illorum peccata atque defectus officiose contegat, amice excuset suoque
286] ipsius honore amanter exornet. Ad quod hac potissimum causa provocandi essemus, quam Christus ipse indicat in evangelio, quaque quodam quasi compendio omnia praecepta erga proximum observanda comprehensa voluit, inquiens [Matth. 7, 12]: *Quidquid volueritis, ut faciant vobis homines, hoc etiam facite illis.*

287] Quin etiam natura ipsa in proprio quemque corpore hoc docet, quemadmodum Paulus 1 Cor. 12, 22 sq. inquit: *Membra corporis, quae videntur infirmiora esse, necessariora sunt, et quae putamus ignobiliora esse membra corporis, his honorem abundantiorem circumdamus, et quae inhonesta sunt nostra, abundantiorem honestatem habent.* Faciem, oculos, nares, os nemo contegit, neque [R. 475 enim egent, ut velentur, ut quae per se membra sunt honestissima omnium, quae habemus. Ceterum infirmissima quaeque, quorum nos pudet, si conspicerentur, illa omni studio conteguntur, atque hic quidem manus, oculi una cum universo corpore in hisce tegendis et
288] velandis occupati sunt. Non secus nobis quoque inter nos faciendum est, ut, quidquid in proximo nostro parum fuerit honorificum et infirmum, hoc accurate exornemus ac omnibus viribus eius honori tuendo serviamus, opitulemur, eius famam ampliorem faciamus et contra, quidquid illi possit aut ignominiae aut dedecori esse, studiose propulsemus. Est-
289] que praecipue haec praeclara virtus et illustris, qui omnia, quaecunque de proximo dicta audierit (si non manifesta fuerint flagitia), in optimam partem interpretari noverit, aut aequi bonique consulere, contra linguas venenatas atque pestiferas, quibus unice studio est, ut, si quid expiscentur et arripiant, quod in proximo reprehendere queant, illud pessime interpretentur aut malitiose pervertant, quemadmodum iam omnium maxime Dei Verbo eiusque doctoribus solet contingere.

290] Sunt itaque in hoc praecepto valde multa bona opera, quae et Deo summe placent et abunde multum benedictionis et bonorum secum apportant, si modo ea perdita huius mundi caecitas et falsi illi sanctuli agnoscere
291] vellent. Neque enim quidquam est in toto homine, quod longe lateque perinde plus bonorum, ac itidem plus malorum, aeque cum in spiritualibus tum in mundanis negotiis operari potest, atque lingua, quamquam omnium membrorum et minimum sit et invalidissimum.

Praeceptum IX. et X.

292] **Non concupisces domum proximi tui. Nec desiderabis uxorem eius, non servum, non ancillam, non bovem, non asinum nec** [R. 476 **omnia, quae illius sunt.**

293] Haec duo posteriora praecepta Iudaeis peculiariter data sunt, quamquam ad nos quoque nonnulla ex parte pertineant. Neque enim de prava carnis libidine aut furto illa interpretantur aut intelligunt, quae supra abunde interdicta sunt. Putabant quoque alia omnia sancte se servasse, si externe fecissent

one employ his tongue and make it serve for the best of every one else, to cover up his neighbor's sins and infirmities, excuse them, palliate and garnish them with his own reputation. The chief reason for this should be the one which Christ alleges in the Gospel, in which He comprehends all commandments respecting our neighbor, Matt. 7, 12: *Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*

Even nature teaches the same thing in our own bodies, as St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 12, 22: *Much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble are necessary; and those members of the body which we think to be less honorable, upon these we bestow more abundant honor; and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.* No one covers his face, eyes, nose, and mouth, for they, being in themselves the most honorable members which we have, do not require it. But the most infirm members, of which we are ashamed, we cover with all diligence; hands, eyes, and the whole body must help to cover and conceal them. Thus also among ourselves should we adorn whatever blemishes and infirmities we find in our neighbor, and serve and help him to promote his honor to the best of our ability, and, on the other hand, prevent whatever may be discreditable to him. And it is especially an excellent and noble virtue for one always to explain advantageously and put the best construction upon all he may hear of his neighbor (if it be not notoriously evil), or at any rate to condone it over and against the poisonous tongues that are busy wherever they can pry out and discover something to blame in a neighbor, and that explain and pervert it in the worst way; as is done now especially with the precious Word of God and its preachers.

There are comprehended therefore in this commandment quite a multitude of good works which please God most highly, and bring abundant good and blessing, if only the blind world and the false saints would recognize them. For there is nothing on or in entire man which can do both greater and more extensive good or harm in spiritual and in temporal matters than the tongue, though it is the least and feeblest member.

The Ninth and Tenth Commandments.

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife, nor his man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor his cattle, nor anything that is his.

These two commandments are given quite exclusively to the Jews; nevertheless, in part they also concern us. For they do not interpret them as referring to unchastity or theft, because these are sufficiently forbidden above. They also thought that they had kept all those when they had done or not done the

dieſe zwei hinzugeſetzt, daß man's auch halte für Sünde und verboten, des Nächſten Weib oder Gut [zu] begehren und einerlei Weiſe [auf irgendeine Weiſe] danach zu ſtehen, und ſonderlich darum, weil in dem jüdiſchen Regiment Knechte und Mägde nicht, wie jetzt, frei waren, um Lohn zu dienen, wie lang ſie wollten, ſondern des Herrn eigen mit Leib, und was ſie hatten, wie das Vieh und ander Gut; dazu auch ein jeglicher über ſein Weib die Macht hatte, ſie durch einen Scheidebrief öffentlich von ſich zu laſſen und eine andere zu nehmen. Da mußten ſie nun untereinander die Fahr ſtehen [auf die Gefahr gefaßt ſein], wenn jemand eines andern Weib gerne gehabt hätte, daß er irgendeine Urſache nehme, beide ſein Weib von ſich zu tun und dem andern ſeines auch zu entfremden, daß er's mit gutem Fug [Recht] zu ſich brächte. Das war nun bei ihnen keine Sünde noch Schande, ſo wenig als jetzt mit dem Geſinde, wenn ein Hausherr ſeinem Knecht oder Magd Urlaub gibt oder einer dem andern ſonſt abdringt.

Darum haben ſie nun (ſage ich) dieſe Gebote alſo gedeutet, wie es auch recht iſt (wiewohl es auch etwas weiter und höher geht), daß niemand dem andern das Seine, als Weib, Geſinde, Haus und Hof, Acker, Wieſen, Vieh, denke und vornehme, an ſich zu bringen, auch mit gutem Schein und Behelf, doch mit des Nächſten Schaden. Denn droben im ſiebenten Gebot iſt die Untugend verboten, da man fremdes Gut zu ſich reißt oder dem Nächſten vorhält [vorenthält], dazu man kein Recht haben kann. Hier aber iſt auch gewehrt, dem Nächſten nichts abzuſpannen [abſpenſtig zu machen, abzulocken], ob man gleich mit Ehren vor der Welt dazu kommen kann, daß dich niemand zeihen noch tadeln darf, als habeſt du es mit Unrecht erobert.

Denn die Natur ſo geſchickt [geartet] iſt, daß niemand dem andern ſo viel als ihm ſelbſt gönnt, und ein jeglicher, ſoviel er immer kann, zu ſich bringt, ein anderer bleibe, wo er kann. Und wollen noch dazu fromm ſein, können uns aufs feinſte ſchmücken und den Schalk bergen, ſuchen und dichten ſo behende Fündlin [Kniffe] und ſchwinde [liſtige] Griffe (wie man jetzt täglich aufs beſte erdenkt), als aus den Rechten gezogen, dürfen uns darauf kecklich berufen und trotzen und wollen ſolches nicht Schalkheit, ſondern Geſcheidigkeit [Geſcheitheit] und Vorſichtigkeit genannt haben. Dazu helfen auch Juriſten und Rechtſprecher, ſo das Recht lenken und dehnen, wie es zur Sache helfen will, die Worte zwacken und zu Behelf nehmen, unangeſehen Billigkeit und des Nächſten Notdurft. Und Summa, wer in ſolchen Sachen der geſchickteſte und geſcheiteſte iſt, dem hilft das Recht am beſten, wie ſie auch ſprechen: Vigilantibus iura subveniunt.

Darum iſt dies letzte Gebot nicht für die böſen Buben vor der Welt, ſondern eben für die Frömmſten geſtellt, die da wollen gelobt ſein, redaut non fecissent opera. Eam ob rem Deus haec duo aliis praeceptis adiecit, ut haec quoque pro peccatis aestimentur: uxorem aut rem proximi concupiscere aut aliquo pacto **294**] pro ea potiunda conari. Et hoc eam ob causam potissimum, cum in Iudaismo servi et ancillae non, ut nunc, erant liberi, ut huic aut illi mercede conducti pro suo arbitratu, quamdiu libuisset, serviissent; sed domino erant proprie mancipati, una cum corpore et rebus omnibus, quemadmodum pecora et re**295**] liqua substantia. Adhaec ea quoque potestas in uxorem suam cuique erat libera, ut illam dato libello repudii a se posset dimittere ac aliam ducere. Iam in hoc vicissim inter se periclitabantur, ne quis alterius uxoris cupidus, sumpta alicubi occasione, et suae repudium renuntiaret et alteri suam ereptam ipse aliquo modo et praetextu ficto consequeretur. Iam hoc apud Iudaeos non habebatur dedecorosum, multo minus, quam quod apud nos iam cum mancipiis agitur, quando paterfamilias servum aut ancillam e servitio repudiat aut alius alium alio quovis modo suis ministris privat.

296] Proinde haec praecepta ita, inquam, interpretati sunt, et recte quidem (tametsi et latius aliquanto pateant), ne quis cogitaret vel in animum induceret rem alterius, nempe uxorem, familiam, domum, agros, prata, pecora, sibi vindicare, etiamsi ea res cum aliquo honestatis praetextu fieri possit, neque [R. 477 tamen citra damnum proximi. Supra enim praecepto septimo illud interdictum est vitium, quo aliena bona alteri eripiuntur et per vim possidentur, id quod nullo iure fieri potest. Hic vero ea quoque animi pravitas et versutia interdicta est, ne quid proximo persuasione aliqua e manibus auferamus, etiamsi coram mundo illud honeste fieri possit, ne quis exprobrare tibi queat, te per vim et iniuriam id esse consecutum.

297] Ita enim natura comparatum est, ut nemo tantum faveat alteri quantum sibi, et quisque, quantum potest, tantum ad se per fas atque nefas rapiat, non valde sollicitus, quid **298**] relinquatur alteri. Adhaec probi etiam haberi volumus, eamque animi versutiam atque improbitatem pulcherrime ornare atque tegere novimus, diu noctuque tam ingeniosas technas atque imposturas inquirimus atque fingimus (quemadmodum quotidie iam acutissime excogitantur et inveniuntur), quasi e iure ac legibus petitas. Neque veremur, iis freti decipulis e iure falso citatis, ferociter et superbe omnibus obsistere, neque improbitatem aut nequitiam hanc, sed industriam ac **299**] providentiam nominari volumus. His omnibus suffragantur et opitulantur quoque iuris periti atque legum doctores, qui, si qua spes improbi nummi affulserit, ius per vim torquent ac trahunt, prout causae servire posse videtur, verbula in commodum suum excerpentes, posthabita et aequitate et proximi necessitate. Atque ut in summa dicam, qui hac in re omnium fuerit ingeniosissimus et exercitatissimus, huic iura omnium fortissime suffragantur, ut et inquiunt ipsi: Vigilantibus iura subveniunt.

300] Quare postremum hoc praeceptum non improbis in mundo nebulonibus conditum est, sed iis, qui volunt esse vita inculpatissima,

external act. Therefore God has added these two commandments in order that it be esteemed as sin and forbidden to desire or in any way to aim at getting our neighbor's wife or possessions; and especially because under the Jewish government man-servants and maid-servants were not free as now to serve for wages as long as they pleased, but were their master's property with their body and all they had, as cattle and other possessions. Moreover, every man had power over his wife to put her away publicly by giving her a bill of divorce, and to take another. Therefore they were in constant danger among each other that if one took a fancy to another's wife, he might allege any reason both to dismiss his own wife and to estrange the other's wife from him, that he might obtain her under pretext of right. That was not considered a sin nor disgrace with them; as little as now with hired help, when a proprietor dismisses his man-servant or maid-servant, or takes another's servants from him in any way.

Therefore (I say) they thus interpreted these commandments, and that rightly (although their scope reaches somewhat farther and higher), that no one think or purpose to obtain what belongs to another, such as his wife, servants, house and estate, land, meadows, cattle, even with a show of right or by a subterfuge, yet with injury to his neighbor. For above, in the Seventh Commandment, the vice is forbidden where one wrests to himself the possessions of others, or withholds them from his neighbor, which he cannot do by right. But here it is also forbidden to alienate anything from your neighbor, even though you could do so with honor in the eyes of the world, so that no one could accuse or blame you as though you had obtained it wrongfully.

For we are so inclined by nature that no one desires to see another have as much as himself, and each one acquires as much as he can; the other may fare as best he can. And yet we pretend to be godly, know how to adorn ourselves most finely and conceal our rascality, resort to and invent adroit devices and deceitful artifices (such as now are daily most ingeniously contrived) as though they were derived from the law codes; yea, we even dare impertinently to refer to it, and boast of it, and will not have it called rascality, but shrewdness and caution. In this lawyers and jurists assist, who twist and stretch the law to suit it to their cause, stress words and use them for a subterfuge, irrespective of equity or their neighbor's necessity. And, in short, whoever is the most expert and cunning in these affairs finds most help in law, as they themselves say: *Vigilantibus iura subveniunt* [that is, The laws favor the watchful].

This last commandment therefore is given not for rogues in the eyes of the world, but just for the most pious, who wish to be praised

liche und aufrichtige Leute heißen, als die wider die vorigen Gebote nichts verschulden, wie vornehmlich die Juden sein wollten und noch viel große Junker, Herren und Fürsten. Denn der andere gemeine Haufe gehört noch weit herunter in das siebente Gebot, als die nicht viel danach fragen, wie sie das Ihre mit Ehren und Recht gewinnen.

So begibt sich nun solches am meisten in den Händeln, so auf Recht gestellt werden, dadurch man vornimmt, dem Nächsten etwas abzugewinnen und ihn von dem Seinen abezuschüpfen [wegzustoßen]. Als (daß wir Exempel geben) wenn man hadert und handelt um groß Erbfall, liegende Güter usw., da führt man herzu und nimmt zu Hilfe, was einen Schein des Rechten haben will, mutzt und schmückt's also hervor, daß das Recht diesem zufallen muß, und behält das Gut mit solchem Titel, daß niemand keine Klage noch Anspruch dazu hat. Item, wenn jemand gern ein Schloß, Stadt, Grafschaft oder sonst etwas Großes hätte und treibt so viel Finanzerei [Betrug, Ränke] durch Freundschaft und womit er kann, daß es einem andern ab- und ihm zugesprochen wird, dazu mit Brief und Siegel bestätigt, daß [es] mit fürstlichem Titel und redlich gewonnen heiße.

Desgleichen auch in gemeinen Kaufhändeln, wo einer dem andern etwas behendiglich aus der Hand rückt, daß jener muß hinnach sehen, oder ihn übereilt und betreugt [betrügt], woran er seinen Vorteil und Genieß ersieht, daß jener vielleicht aus Not oder Schuld nicht erhalten noch ohne Schaden lösen kann, auf daß er's halb oder mehr gefunden habe, und muß gleichwohl nicht mit Unrecht genommen oder entwendet, sondern redlich gekauft sein. Da heißt's: Der erste, der beste, und: Jeglicher sehe auf seine Schanz [Gelegenheit, Vorteil]; ein anderer habe, was er kann! Und wer wollte so klug sein, alles zu erdenken, wieviel man mit solchem hübschen Schein kann zu sich bringen? Das die Welt für kein Unrecht hält und nicht sehen will, daß damit der Nächste enhindernbracht [zurückgebracht, benachteiligt] wird und lassen muß, das er nicht ohne Schaden entbehren kann, so doch niemand ist, der ihm [sich] solches wollte getan haben; daran wohl zu spüren ist, daß solcher Behelf und Schein falsch ist.

qui laudari cupiunt et videri longe omnium optimi et integerrimi, ut qui adversus priora praecepta nihil prorsus deliquerint. Quales praecipue Iudaei esse contendebant, et [R. 478 nunc multi adhuc magni proceres, nobiles et principes. Etenim alia illa communis turba et fex popularis ad locum multo inferiorem, nempe praeceptum septimum, releganda est, ut cui non nimium curae est, qua laude aut integritate sua bona sibi paraverit.

301] Iam haec potissimum in his negotiis usu venire solent, quae in contentionem forensem perducta sunt, quibus decretum est proximo a nonnulla parte bonorum excusso aliquid eripere. Veluti exempli gratia, cum de pingui atque opulenta aliqua hereditate contentio est, aut si quando aliae res magnae in medium vocantur. Hic quisque ad tuendam suae causae aequitatem adducit, quidquid uspiam vel speciem iusti obtinet, quod tanto verborum apparatu exornat, ut illi ius suffragari cogatur, eoque titulo erepta bona retinet, ut nemo posthac iis de rebus cum eo pedem **302**] (quod aiunt) conferre audeat. Praeterea si quis aut arci aut civitati aut comitatui aut alioqui rei magnae adiecit oculum, ac tantum largitionibus vel per amicos vel quavis ratione alia efficere potest, ut alio inde pulso sibi adiudicetur possessio, eademque adhaec litteris et sigillis confirmetur, ut titulo principali et honeste acquisita esse dicatur.

303] Similiter quoque in vulgaribus illis et publicis commerciis et contractibus, ubi alter alteri e manibus aliquid prompta quadam astutia eripit, ut alteri illi tamquam lupo hianti discedendum sit, aut alioqui alterum iniqua contractione urget et obruit, nonnulla spe lucri aut emolumenti ad se redituri conspecta, quam alter ille aut pressus necessitate aut aeris alieni magnitudine victus sine dispendio obtinere aut assequi non potest, ut dimidium aut etiam amplius dimidio invenerit et lucrifecerit. Neque tamen hoc inique partum aut vi ereptum, verum iustus contractus dicendus est. Hoc non est aliud, quam [R. 479 quod dicitur: Potior est, qui prior ad dandum est. Et quisque sui emolumenti rationem habeat, foroque utatur, non admodum sollici-**304**] tus, quid proximus habeat. Et quis velit esse tam solers ac perspicax, ut omnes defraudandi ac imponendi rationes ac vias excogitaret, quibus honesta quadam specie aliquid insidiose eripientes alteri nobis vindicamus? Quod tamen mundi iudicio ut inique actum aut inhonestum non existimatur, neque legibus vindicatur; sed neque videt quisquam ita proximum opprimi eidemque eripi, quo citra singulare dispendium carere non potest; cum tamen pro certo constet esse neminem, qui haec sibi ab alio fieri velit aut aequo animo sustineat, ut facile appareat eiusmodi praetextus et effugia mala esse et improba.

Also ist's nun vorzeiten auch mit den Weibern zu[ge]gangen; da kunnten [konnten, kannten] sie solche Fündlein [klug ersonnenen Kniffe], wenn einem eine andere gefiel, daß er durch sich oder andere (wie denn mancherlei Mittel und Wege zu erdenken waren) zurichtete, daß ihr Mann einen Unwillen auf sie warf, oder sie sich gegen ihn sperrte und so stellte, daß er sie mußte von sich tun und diesem lassen. Solches hat ohne Zweifel stark regiert im Gesetze [im alten Testament], wie man auch im Evangelio liest von dem

305] Ad hunc quoque modum apud antiquos agebatur in re uxoria, ubi tales technas comminiscebantur, adlubescente et arridente alicuius oculis alterius coniuge, ut per se aut alios (velut multiplices erant harum fraudum struendarum viae) tantum efficeret, ut maritus cum uxore simultatem susciperet, aut illa marito adversaretur neque in omnibus eius voluntati esset morigera, ita ut repudiatam cogeretur a sese dimittere ac alteri concedere. Hic abducendarum uxorum mos haud dubie

and be called honest and upright people, since they have not offended against the former commandments, as especially the Jews claimed to be, and even now many great noblemen, gentlemen, and princes. For the other common masses belong yet farther down, under the Seventh Commandment, as those who are not much concerned whether they acquire their possessions with honor and right.

Now, this occurs most frequently in cases that are brought into court, where it is the purpose to get something from our neighbor and to force him out of his own. As (to give examples), when people quarrel and wrangle about a large inheritance, real estate, etc., they avail themselves of, and resort to, whatever has the appearance of right, so dressing and adorning everything that the law must favor their side, and they keep the property with such title that no one can make complaint or lay claim thereto. In like manner, if any one desire to have a castle, city, duchy, or any other great thing, he practises so much financiering through relationships, and by any means he can, that the other is judicially deprived of it, and it is adjudicated to him, and confirmed with deed and seal and declared to have been acquired by princely title and honestly.

Likewise also in common trade where one dexterously slips something out of another's hand, so that he must look after it, or surprises and defrauds him in a matter in which he sees advantage and benefit for himself, so that the latter, perhaps on account of distress or debt, cannot regain or redeem it without injury, and the former gains the half or even more; and yet this must not be considered as acquired by fraud or stolen, but honestly bought. Here they say: First come, first served, and every one must look to his own interest, let another get what he can. And who can be so smart as to think of all the ways in which one can get many things into his possession by such specious pretexts? This the world does not consider wrong [nor is it punished by laws], and will not see that the neighbor is thereby placed at a disadvantage, and must sacrifice what he cannot spare without injury. Yet there is no one who wishes this to be done to him; from which we can easily perceive that such devices and pretexts are false.

Thus it was done formerly also with respect to wives: they knew such devices that if one were pleased with another woman, he personally or through others (as there were many ways and means to be invented) caused her husband to conceive a displeasure toward her, or had her resist him and so conduct herself that he was obliged to dismiss her and leave her to the other. That sort of thing undoubtedly prevailed much under the Law, as

Könige Herodes, daß er seines eigenen Bruders Weib noch bei seinem Leben freite, welcher doch ein ehrbarer, frommer Mann sein wollte, wie ihm auch St. Markus Zeugnis gibt. Aber solch Exempel, hoffe ich, soll bei uns nicht statthaben, weil im neuen Testament den Ehelichen verboten ist, sich voneinander zu scheiden, es wäre denn in solchem Fall, daß einer dem andern eine reiche Braut mit Behendigkeit entrückte. Das ist aber bei uns nicht seltsam [selten], daß einer dem andern seinen Knecht oder Dienstmagd abspannt [abspenstig, abwendig macht] und entfremdet oder sonst mit guten Worten abdringt.

Es geschehe nun solches alles, wie es wolle, so sollen wir wissen, daß Gott nicht haben will, daß du dem Nächsten etwas, das ihm gehört, also entziehst, daß er's entbehre und du deinen Geiz füllst, ob du es gleich mit Ehren vor der Welt behalten kannst; denn es ist eine heimliche, meuchlinge Schalkheit und, wie man spricht, unter dem Hütlein gespielt, daß man's nicht merken soll. Denn ob du gleich hingehst, als habest du niemand unrecht getan, so bist du doch deinem Nächsten zu nahe [getreten], und heißt es nicht gestohlen noch betrogen, so heißt es dennoch des Nächsten Guts begehrt, das ist, danach gestanden und ihm abwendig gemacht ohne seinen Willen, und nicht wollen gönnen, das ihm Gott beschert hat. Und ob dir's der Richter und jedermann lassen muß, so wird dir's doch Gott nicht lassen; denn er sieht das Schalksherz und der Welt Tücke wohl, welche, wo man ihr einen Finger breit einräumt, nimmt sie eine Elle lang dazu, und auch öffentlich Unrecht und Gewalt folgt.

Also lassen wir diese Gebote bleiben in dem gemeinen Verstand, daß erstlich geboten sei, daß man des Nächsten Schaden nicht begehre, auch nicht dazu helfe noch Ursache gebe, sondern ihm gönne und lasse, was er hat, dazu fördere und erhalte, was ihm zu Nutz und Dienst geschehen mag, wie wir wollten uns getan haben, also daß es sonderlich wider die Abgunst und den leidigen Geiz gestellt sei, auf daß Gott die Ursache und Wurzel aus dem Wege räume, daher alles entspringt, dadurch man dem Nächsten Schaden tut, darum er's auch deutlich mit den Worten setzt: „Du sollst nicht begehren" usw. Denn er will vornehmlich das Herz rein haben, wiewohl wir's, solange wir hier leben, nicht dahin bringen können, also daß dies wohl ein Gebot bleibt wie die andern alle, das uns ohne Unterlaß beschuldigt und anzeigt, wie fromm wir vor Gott sind.

apud Iudaeos frequens fuit et usitatus; quemadmodum in evangelio quoque de Herode legitur, qui uxorem fratris sui adhuc vivi sibi ducebat, qui tamen alioqui vir iustus et integer vitae haberi contendebat, sicut Marcus (6, 20) illi quoque fert testimonium. Ceterum **306**] eiusmodi exempla spero apud nos locum non habitura, cum in novo testamento legibus intercepta sit et antiquata repudiandi licentia, nisi fortasse quispiam alteri sponsam egregie dotatam quadam versipelli vafritie e faucibus praeriperet. Porro autem, ut alter alteri servos aut ancillas abalienet aut alioqui blandis verbis persuasus [persuasos] abducat, equidem apud nostrates non est rarum aut insolens.

307] Iam quocunque modo hic dolus [R. 480 malus fieri potest, sciendum est Deum nolle pati, ut tu aliquid detrahas proximo, quod suum est, ut ille egeat tuque tuae servias avaritiae, etsi illud non contradicente mundo honorifice retinere posses. Est enim occulta quaedam et insidiosa sycophantia, qua (quemadmodum dicitur) fucum fecisti proximo, ne animadverti ac deprehendi possit. Nam tametsi perinde te geras, quasi nemini feceris iniuriam, plus iusto tamen onerosus exstitisti proximo. Etsi neque furti neque fraudis insimulandus es, certum tamen est te rem proximi concupiisse, hoc est, pro ea consequenda laborasse, praeter voluntatem eius abalienasse, eidemque, quod divina liberalitate consecutus **308**] est, invidiose non favisse. Et quamquam neque iudex neque quisquam alius tibi id audeat eripere vicissim, neque tamen Deus itidem eo te pacate frui permittet. Ipse enim fraudulentum pectus et mundi huius vafritiem acute perspicit, quae, ubi vel lati digiti libertatem atque licentiam consecuta fuerit, mox omnem modum excedit ac denique in apertam vim atque iniuriam prorumpit.

309] Huius ergo praecepti communis intellectus est: primum, ut hoc cautum sit, ne damnum proximi desideremus, neque ad id adiutores simus, vel re vel consilio causam nocendi proximo suppeditantes, verum ei, quidquid habuerit, candide faveamus sinamusque. Adhaec, ut omnibus officiis promoventes ab iniuria quoque res suas defendamus, quemadmodum cupimus idem ab alio nobis **310**] fieri et contingere. Ita ut praecipue hoc praeceptum ad invidiam et foedam insatiabilemque habendi cupidinem respiciat, quo Deus causam atque adeo ipsam radicem funditus evulsam auferat e medio, unde omnes proximo nocendi viae ac rationes pullulant. Unde illud quoque hisce verbis expresse [R. 481 et significanter extulit: *Non desiderabis* etc. Cordis enim puritatem cumprimis quaeritat, tametsi eandem plene, quoad in humanis agemus, nunquam consequemur. Ita ut hoc praeceptum cum ceteris omnibus facile praeceptum maneat, quod citra intermissionem nos accuset iudicetque, quam probi coram Deo simus.

Beschluß der zehn Gebote.

So haben wir nun die zehn Gebote, einen Ausbund [das Beste, Vorzüglichste] göttlicher Lehre, was wir tun sollen, daß unser ganzes Leben Gott gefalle, und den rechten Born und Röhre, aus und in welchen quellen und gehen müssen [muß] alles,

Conclusio Decalogi.

311] Iam ergo explanata utcunque habemus decem praecepta, potiorem divinae doctrinae summam indicantia, quid nobis faciendum sit, ut tota vita nostra Deo probetur et placeat. Praeterea fontem ipsum ac scaturiginem, ex

also we read in the Gospel of King Herod that he took his brother's wife while he was yet living, and yet wished to be thought an honorable, pious man, as St. Mark also testifies of him. But such an example, I trust, will not occur among us, because in the New Testament those who are married are forbidden to be divorced, except in such a case where one [shrewdly] by some stratagem takes away a rich bride from another. But it is not a rare thing with us that one estranges or alienates another's man-servant or maid-servant, or entices them away by flattering words.

In whatever way such things happen, we must know that God does not wish that you deprive your neighbor of anything that belongs to him, so that he suffer the loss and you gratify your avarice with it, even if you could keep it honorably before the world; for it is a secret and insidious imposition practised under the hat, as we say, that it may not be observed. For although you go your way as if you had done no one any wrong, you have nevertheless injured your neighbor; and if it is not called stealing and cheating, yet it is called coveting your neighbor's property, that is, aiming at possession of it, enticing it away from him without his will, and being unwilling to see him enjoy what God has granted him. And although the judge and every one must leave you in possession of it, yet God will not leave you therein; for He sees the deceitful heart and the malice of the world, which is sure to take an ell in addition whereever you yield to her a finger's breadth, and at length public wrong and violence follow.

Therefore we allow these commandments to remain in their ordinary meaning, that it is commanded, first, that we do not desire our neighbor's damage, nor even assist, nor give occasion for it, but gladly wish and leave him what he has, and, besides, advance and preserve for him what may be for his profit and service, as we should wish to be treated. Thus these commandments are especially directed against envy and miserable avarice, God wishing to remove all causes and sources whence arises everything by which we do injury to our neighbor, and therefore He expresses it in plain words: *Thou shalt not covet,* etc. For He would especially have the heart pure, although we shall never attain to that as long as we live here; so that this commandment will remain, like all the rest, one that will constantly accuse us and show how godly we are in the sight of God!

Conclusion of the Ten Commandments.

Thus we have the Ten Commandments, a compend of divine doctrine, as to what we are to do in order that our whole life may be pleasing to God, and the true fountain and channel from and in which everything must

was gute Werke sein sollen, also daß außer den zehn Geboten kein Werk noch Wesen gut und Gott gefällig kann sein, es sei so groß und köstlich vor der Welt, wie es wolle. Laß nun sehen, was unsere großen Heiligen rühmen können von ihren geistlichen Orden und großen, schweren Werken, die sie erdacht und aufgeworfen haben, und diese fahren lassen, gerade als wären diese viel zu gering oder allbereit längst ausgerichtet.

qua ebulliant et in quam redeant vicissim omnia, quaecunque bonorum operum nomine censenda sunt, ita ut extra decem praecepta nullum bonum opus, quod quidem Deo placere possit, esse existimandum sit, quamlibet tandem coram mundo aut bonum aut magnum **312**] aut speciosum esse videatur. Sine iam vicissim videamus, quid nostri magni illi heroes sanctitate spectabiles iactare possint de spiritualibus suis et difficillimis operibus, quae ipsi ultro excogitarunt sibique facienda proposuerunt, et haec a Deo praecepta missa faciunt, quasi leviora et viliora aut iamdudum praestita essent.

Ich meine je, man sollte hier alle Hände voll zu schaffen haben, daß man diese hielte: Sanftmut, Geduld und Liebe gegen Feinde, Keuschheit, Wohltat usw., und was solche Stücke mit sich bringen. Aber solche Werke gelten und scheinen nicht vor der Welt Augen; denn sie sind nicht seltsam und aufgeblasen, an sonderliche eigene Zeit, Stätte, Weise und Gebärde geheftet, sondern gemeine tägliche Hauswerke, so ein Nachbar gegen den andern treiben kann; darum haben sie kein Ansehen.

313] Ego equidem in ea sum sententia, cuivis abunde hic praescriptum esse, quod efficiat, *ὅσσον τις δύναται χερσίν τε ποσίν τε* nempe ut haec diligenter servaremus mansuetudinem, patientiam et amicum erga inimicos animum, castitatem, commodandi promptitudinem atque id genus alia, quae his virtutibus annexa sunt. Verum eiusmodi opera nihil splendoris et auctoritatis coram mundo habent. Neque enim rara et nova sunt et fastu turgida, certis temporibus, locis, personis, ritibus, habitibus destinata, sed communia, protrita et domestica, quae vicinus erga vicinum exercere potest; eam ob rem nullius sunt auctoritatis et pretii.

Jene aber sperren Augen und Ohren auf, dazu helfen sie selbst mit großem Gepränge, Kost [Aufwand] und herrlichem Gebäu und schmücken sie hervor, daß alles gleißen und leuchten muß. Da räuchert man, da singt und klingt man, da zündet man Kerzen und Lichter an, daß man vor diesen keine andern hören noch sehen könne. Denn daß da ein Pfaff in einer gülden Kasel [in einem goldenen Meßkleid] steht, oder ein Laie den ganzen Tag in der Kirche auf den Knien liegt, das heißt ein köstlich Werk, das niemand genug loben kann. Aber daß ein armes Meidlin [Mädchen] eines jungen Kindes wartet und treulich tut, was ihr befohlen ist, das muß nichts heißen; was sollten sonst Mönche und Nonnen in ihren Klöstern suchen?

314] Porro autem illa alia hominum [R. 482 et ora et oculos in se convertunt, quae ipsi quoque sumptuosissimis ceremoniis, magnis, impensis regiis aedificiis provehunt atque ita exornant, ut omnia summe niteant ac splendeant. Ibi thura incenduntur ac thymiamata, ibi pulsatur et cantillatur planeque omnia concentu perstrepunt. Alibi incenduntur cerei, ut prae his alia neque videri neque audiri queant. Nam quod sacrificus quispiam picturata auro casula amictus conspicitur, aut laicus quispiam per totum diem flexis innititur genibus in ecclesia, secum, nescio quid, murmurans, hoc vero opus speciosum et praeclarum dicitur, quod a nemine sufficienter laudari potest. Ceterum, quod misera aliqua puellula infanti in cunis posito sedulo servit ac fideliter, quod illi demandatum est, facit, illud vero nullius pretii habendum est. Quid enim aliud ventrosi monachi et lascivae ac prurientes libidine moniales in monasteriis suis quaeritarent?

Siehe aber, ist das nicht eine verfluchte Vermessenheit der verzweifelten Heiligen, so da sich unterstehen, höher und besser Leben und Stände zu finden, denn die zehn Gebote lehren, geben vor (wie gesagt), es sei ein schlecht [ein ordinäres, geringes] Leben für den gemeinen Mann, ihres aber sei für die Heiligen und Vollkommenen, und sehen nicht, die elenden, blinden Leute, daß kein Mensch [es] so weit bringen kann, daß er eins von den zehn Geboten halte, wie es zu halten ist, sondern noch beide der Glaube und das Vaterunser zu Hilfe kommen muß (wie wir hören werden), dadurch man solches suche und bitte und ohne Unterlaß empfange? Darum ist ihr Rühmen geradeso viel, als wenn ich rühmte und sagte: Ich habe zwar nicht einen Groschen zu bezahlen, aber zehn Gulden traue ich wohl zu bezahlen.

315] Vide vero, an non haec detestabilis quaedam sit istorum desperatorum hominum praesumptio, qua sibi tantum sumunt, ut audeant sublimiorem vitam et ordines invenire, quam decem praecepta docent, affirmantes, ut dictum est, vitam esse simplicem ac leviculam, tantumque vulgo observandam et sectandam, suam vero sanctis et perfectis convenientem **316**] et propositam. Neque vident calamitosi illi et talpis longe caeciores homines nullum hominem eo rem deducere posse, ut vel uni praeceptorum perfecte satisfaciat, ut satisfaciendum est, sed subvenire nobis necesse sit, sicut audiemus, et fidem et orationem, qua praeceptorum servandorum vim atque virtutem quaeramus ac precemur indesinenterque accipiamus. Quapropter eorum iactantia non est alia, quam si iactarem et dicerem: [R. 483 Equidem neque grossum habeo, quem debitoribus meis numerem, decem tamen aureos perfacile exsolvam.

arise and flow that is to be a good work, so that outside of the Ten Commandments no work or thing can be good or pleasing to God, however great or precious it be in the eyes of the world. Let us see now what our great saints can boast of their spiritual orders and their great and grievous works which they have invented and set up, while they let these pass, as though they were far too insignificant, or had long ago been perfectly fulfilled.

I am of opinion, indeed, that here one will find his hands full, [and will have enough] to do to observe these, namely, meekness, patience, and love towards enemies, chastity, kindness, etc., and what such virtues imply. But such works are not of value and make no display in the eyes of the world; for they are not peculiar and conceited works, and restricted to particular times, places, rites, and customs, but are common, every-day domestic works which one neighbor can practise toward another; therefore they are not of high esteem.

But the other works cause people to open their eyes and ears wide, and men aid to this effect by the great display, expense, and magnificent buildings with which they adorn them, so that everything shines and glitters. There they waft incense, they sing and ring bells, they light tapers and candles, so that nothing else can be seen or heard. For when a priest stands there in a surplice embroidered with gilt, or a layman continues all day upon his knees in church, that is regarded as a most precious work which no one can sufficiently praise. But when a poor girl tends a little child and faithfully does what she is told, that is considered nothing; for else what should monks and nuns seek in their cloisters?

But see, is not that a cursed presumption of those desperate saints who dare to invent a higher and better life and estate than the Ten Commandments teach, pretending (as we have said) that this is an ordinary life for the common man, but that theirs is for saints and perfect ones? And the miserable blind people do not see that no man can get so far as to keep one of the Ten Commandments as it should be kept, but both the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer must come to our aid (as we shall hear), by which that [power and strength to keep the commandments] is sought and prayed for and received continually. Therefore all their boasting amounts to as much as if I boasted and said: To be sure, I have not a penny to make payment with, but I confidently undertake to pay ten florins.

Das rede und treibe ich darum, daß man doch des leidigen Mißbrauchs, der so tief eingewurzelt hat und noch jedermann anhängt, los werde und sich gewöhne, in allen Ständen auf Erden allein hierher zu sehen und sich damit zu bekümmern. Denn man wird noch lange keine Lehre noch Stände aufbringen, die den zehn Geboten gleich sind, weil sie so hoch sind, daß sie niemand durch Menschenkraft erlangen kann, und wer sie erlangt, ist ein himmlischer, engelischer Mensch, weit über alle Heiligkeit der Welt. Nimm sie nur vor und versuche dich wohl, lege alle Kraft und Macht daran, so wirst du wohl so viel zu schaffen gewinnen, daß du keine andern Werke oder Heiligkeit suchen noch achten wirst.

317] Haec propterea hoc diligentius dico et inculco identidem, ut tandem a miserando illo abusu, qui usque adeo invaluit actis profundissime radicibus et adhuc adhaeret omnibus, liberemur et assuescamus ex omnibus totius orbis ordinibus huc tantum intentos habere oculos, deque his esse solliciti. Nullo enim unquam tempore ullam doctrinam aut vitae ordines inveniemus, quae decem praeceptis aut pares sint aut conferendi, cum ita sint sublimia, ut ea nullus homo unquam suis viribus assequi queat. Et qui eadem assecutus fuerit, coelestis et angelicus homo perhibendus est, longe lateque omnem mundi sanctitatem ex-
318] cedens. Tantum vide, ut ea tibi proponas, tuique in iis ipsis periculum non segniter facias, omnes virium tuarum nervos intendens et exercens, ac illico senties tantum tibi superesse negotii, ut supervacaneum existimaveris alia sanctitatis aut praestantioris vitae opera ambitiose curare atque quaerere.

Das sei genug von dem ersten Teil der gemeinen christlichen Lehre, soviel not ist, beide zu lehren und vermahnen; doch müssen wir, zu beschließen, wiederholen den Text, so dazu gehört, welchen wir auch droben im ersten Gebot gehandelt haben, auf daß man lerne, was Gott darauf will gewendet haben, daß man die zehn Gebote wohl lerne treiben und üben.

319] Et haec de prima parte cum ad monendum tum docendum dicta sufficiant. Ut tamen aptius ei rei finis imponatur, illa nobis verba hic repetenda sunt, quae supra quoque in primo praecepto explanavimus, ut discamus, quantum operis Deus impendi velit decem praeceptis probe perdiscendis, inculcandis et exercendis.

Ich, der HErr, dein Gott, bin ein eifriger Gott, der über die, so mich hassen, die Sünde der Väter heimsucht an den Kindern bis ins dritte und vierte Glied; aber denen, so mich lieben und meine Gebote halten, tue ich wohl in tausend Glied.

320] Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus fortis zelotes, visitans iniquitatem patrum in filios in tertiam et quartam generationem, qui me oderunt, et faciens misericordiam in millia his, qui diligunt me et custodiunt praecepta mea.

Dieser Zusatz, wiewohl er (wie oben gehört) zuvörderst zum ersten Gebot angehängt ist, so ist er doch um aller Gebote willen gesetzt, als die sich sämtlich hierher ziehen und darauf gerichtet sollen sein. Darum habe ich gesagt, man solle der Jugend auch solches vorhalten und einbleuen [einprägen], daß sie es lerne und behalte, auf daß man sehe, was uns dringen und zwingen soll, solche zehn Gebote zu halten, und soll es nicht anders ansehen, denn als sei dies Stück zu einem jeglichen sonderlich gesetzt, also daß es in und durch sie alle gehe.

321] Haec appendix quamquam, ut supra audivimus, sub initium primo praecepto annexa est, omnium tamen praeceptorum [R. 484 gratia positum esse negare non possumus, ut quae coniunctim omnia huc referenda et dirigenda sint. Quare dixi haec quoque iuventuti proponenda et identidem occinenda esse, ut discat et tenaciter retineat, quo certum nobis fiat, quare ad huiusmodi praeceptorum observationem et adigendi et impellendi essemus. Neque aliter haec verba intuenda sunt, quam si ad unumquodque singillatim adiecta sint, ita ut in his et per haec proficiscantur omnia.

Nun ist (wie vor[hin] gesagt) in diesen Worten zusammengefaßt beide ein zornig Dräuwort und freundliche Verheißung, uns zu schrecken und warnen, dazu zu locken und reizen, auf daß man sein Wort als einen göttlichen Ernst annehme und groß achte, weil er selbst ausdrückt, wie groß ihm daran gelegen sei und wie hart er darüber halten wolle; nämlich daß er greulich und schrecklich strafen will alle, die seine Gebote verachten und übertreten, und wiederum, wie reichlich er's belohnen will, wohltun und alles Gute geben denen, die sie groß achten und gerne danach tun und leben. Damit er will gefordert haben, daß sie alle aus solchem Herzen gehen, das alleine Gott fürchtet und vor Augen hat und aus solcher Furcht alles läßt, das wider seinen Willen ist, auf daß [es] ihn nicht erzürne, und dagegen auch ihm allein vertraut und ihm zu Liebe tut, was er haben will, weil er sich so freundlich als ein Vater hören läßt und uns alle Gnade und Gutes anbeut [anbietet].

322] Iam (ut praedictum est) haec verba uno quasi fasce et terribiles minas et amicam promissionem in se complectuntur, ut nos partim et terreant et admoneant, partim amanter provocent et pelliciant, ut eius verba perinde ut divinam quandam severitatem arripiamus ac magni faciamus: quandoquidem ipse hoc tacitum non praeterit, quanti sua verba faciat aut a nobis fieri velit, tum quam severe eadem tueri decreverit, nempe quod acerbissimis suppliciis terribiliter excruciaturus sit omnes eos, qui sua praecepta contempserint ac violave-
323] rint, et vicissim, quam largiter remunerari, benefacere et omnia bona largiri velit iis, qui magni ea faciunt et libenter iuxta praescriptum eorum vivunt et agunt. Quare hoc a nobis exigit, ut omnia e tali proficiscantur pectore, quod Deum tantummodo metuat, eum unice in oculis habeat, quodque hoc metu inductum omnia illa accurate caveat, quae eius voluntati repugnare videntur, ne Deum ad

All this I say and urge in order that men might become rid of the sad misuse which has taken such deep root and still cleaves to everybody, and in all estates upon earth become used to looking hither only, and to being concerned about these matters. For it will be a long time before they will produce a doctrine or estates equal to the Ten Commandments, because they are so high that no one can attain to them by human power; and whoever does attain to them is a heavenly, angelic man, far above all holiness of the world. Only occupy yourself with them, and try your best, apply all power and ability, and you will find so much to do that you will neither seek nor esteem any other work or holiness.

Let this be sufficient concerning the first part of the common Christian doctrine, both for teaching and urging what is necessary. In conclusion, however, we must repeat the text which belongs here, of which we have treated already in the First Commandment, in order that we may learn what pains God requires to the end we may learn to inculcate and practise the Ten Commandments:

For I the Lord, thy God, am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate Me, and showing mercy unto thousands of them that love Me and keep My commandments.

Although (as we have heard above) this appendix was primarily attached to the First Commandment, it was nevertheless [we cannot deny that it was] laid down for the sake of all the commandments, as all of them are to be referred and directed to it. Therefore I have said that this, too, should be presented to and inculcated upon the young, that they may learn and remember it, in order to see what is to urge and compel us to keep these Ten Commandments. And it is to be regarded as though this part were specially added to each, so that it inheres in, and pervades, them all.

Now, there is comprehended in these words (as said before) both an angry word of threatening and a friendly promise to terrify and warn us, and, moreover, to induce and encourage us to receive and highly esteem His Word as a matter of divine earnestness, because He Himself declares how much He is concerned about it, and how rigidly He will enforce it, namely, that He will horribly and terribly punish all who despise and transgress His commandments; and again, how richly He will reward, bless, and do all good to those who hold them in high esteem, and gladly do and live according to them. Thus He demands that all our works proceed from a heart which fears and regards God alone, and from such fear avoids everything that is contrary to His will, lest it should move Him to wrath; and, on the other hand, also trusts

iracundiam provocet, et contra, quod illi unice fidat quodque in eius gratiam faciat omnia, quaecunque animo eius grata esse intelligit, quandoquidem tam amicum et paternum erga nos animum prae se fert nobisque omnibus ultro offert omnes totius inexhaustae gratiae ac bonitatis suae divitias.

Das ist auch eben die Meinung und rechte Auslegung des ersten und vornehmsten Gebots, daraus alle andern quellen und gehen sollen, also daß dies Wort: „Du sollst nicht andere Götter haben" nichts anderes aufs einfältigste will gesagt haben, denn so viel hier gefordert: Du sollst mich als deinen einigen, rechten Gott fürchten, lieben und mir vertrauen. Denn wo ein solches Herz gegen Gott ist, das hat dieses und alle andern erfüllt. Wiederum, wer etwas anderes im Himmel und auf Erden fürchtet und liebt, der wird weder dieses noch keines halten. Also hat die ganze Schrift überall dies Gebot gepredigt und getrieben, alles auf die zwei Stücke, Gottesfurcht und Vertrauen, gerichtet; und vornehmlich der Prophet David im Psalter durch und durch, als da er spricht: „Der HErr hat Gefallen an denen, die ihn fürchten und auf seine Güte warten"; als wäre das ganze Gebot mit einem Vers ausgestrichen [erklärt] und ebensoviel gesagt: Der HErr hat Gefallen an denen, die keine andern Götter haben.

Also soll nun das erste Gebot leuchten und seinen Glanz geben in die andern alle. Darum mußt du auch dies Stück lassen gehen durch alle Gebote, als die Schele [Schale] oder Bögel [Bogen, Reif] im Kranz, daß [es] Ende und Anfang zu Haufe füge und alle zusammenhalte, auf daß man's immer wiederhole und nicht vergesse, als nämlich im andern Gebot, daß man Gott fürchte und seines Namens nicht mißbrauche zu fluchen, lügen, trügen und anderer Verführung oder Büberei, sondern recht und wohl [ge]brauche mit Anrufen, Beten, Loben und Danken, aus Liebe und Vertrauen nach dem ersten Gebot geschöpft. Desgleichen soll solche Furcht, Liebe und Vertrauen treiben und zwingen, daß man sein Wort nicht verachte, sondern lerne, gerne höre, heilig halte und ehre.

Danach weiter durch die folgenden Gebote gegen den Nächsten auch also, alles aus Kraft des ersten Gebots, daß man Vater und Mutter, Herren und alle Obrigkeit ehre, [ihnen] untertan und gehorsam sei, nicht um ihretwillen, sondern [um] Gottes willen. Denn du darfst weder Vater noch Mutter ansehen noch fürchten noch [solches] ihnen zulieb tun oder lassen. Siehe aber zu, was Gott von dir haben will und gar getrost fordern wird; läßest du es, so hast du einen zornigen Richter oder wiederum [umgekehrt] einen gnädigen Vater.

Item, daß du deinem Nächsten kein Leid, Schaden noch Gewalt tust, noch einerlei Weise [in irgendeiner Weise] zu nahe seiest, es treffe seinen Leib, Gemahl, Gut, Ehre oder Recht an, wie es nacheinander geboten ist, ob du gleich Raum und

324] Et haec quoque primi ac praecipui praecepti, ex quo cetera omnia manant [R. 485 et ebulliunt, sententia est et vera ac genuina interpretatio, ita ut hoc verbum (*Non habebis Deos alienos*) nihil aliud simplicissime expositum in se complectatur quam hoc ipsum, quod hic exigitur, nempe: Tu me velut unicum et verum Deum tuum metuas, me ames, tuam fiduciam in me solum reiicias, volo. Ubi enim eiusmodi erga Deum cor erectum est, hoc et praesens et reliqua praecepta omnia ad unum complevit. Contra quicunque aliud in coelis aut in terra pertimescit et amat, neque hoc **325**] neque alia ulla servabit. Ita tota Scriptura passim hoc unum praeceptum docuit et subinde inculcavit, neque non omnia ad haec duo, nempe timorem Dei et fiduciam, retulit. Cumprimis vero propheta David nihil aliud paene per omnes psalmos docet, velut cum inquit Ps. 147, 11: *Beneplacitum est Domino super timentes eum et in eis, qui sperant super misericordia eius.* Quasi totum praeceptum unico versiculo explicatum esset, eiusque haec summa foret: Illi Deo summe placent, quibus non sunt dii alieni.

326] Ad eum modum primum praeceptum lucere debet deque se splendorem emittere, ut aliis omnibus lucem praebeat. Quamobrem haec verba per omnia praecepta penetrare debent, veluti ligneus in sertis circulus, ut finem cum principio copulent et omnia uno quasi fasce complectantur, ut subinde repetantur animo, ne memoriae excidant, nempe in secundo praecepto, ut Deum metuamus, eius nomine non foede ac impie abutamur ad exsecrandum, maledicendum, mentiendum, fallendum aliasque improbitates et vitia exercenda, verum bene et recte eo utamur, invocando, precando, laudando et gratias agendo, amore ac fiducia Dei incitati, iuxta primi praecepti constitutionem. Similiter eo ipso metu, amore atque fiducia incitandi sumus, ut eius verbum non contemptim respuamus aut delicati fastidiamus, sed avide discamus, libenter audiamus, sacrosanctum, pretiosum et honorificum habeamus.

327] Ita quoque deinceps per reliqua praecepta, virtute primi erga proximum [R. 486 observanda, gradus faciendi sunt, ut parentes, dominos ac omnes magistratus honorantes habeamus in pretio, libenter eisdem obedientes obsequamur, non quidem ob illorum, sed divinae voluntatis auctoritatem. Neque enim tibi parentes respiciendi sunt, neque quidquam illis gratificandum aut omittendum, sed eo fac respicias, quidnam rei Deus a te exigat, quod fidenter a te postulaturus est. Qua in re, si negligens fueris, iratum ac saevum iudicem, sin feceris, clementem Patrem experiere.

328] Praeterea ne quam proximo tuo iniuriam aut damnum inferas, vel vim facias, neve ulla in re illi incommodes, sive corpus eius sive coniugem sive opes, honorem aut ius spectes, veluti omnia haec ordine sunt man-

in Him alone, and from love to Him does all He wishes, because he speaks to us as friendly as a father, and offers us all grace and every good.

Just this is also the meaning and true interpretation of the first and chief commandment, from which all the others must flow and proceed, so that this word: *Thou shalt have no other gods before Me,* in its simplest meaning states nothing else than this demand: Thou shalt fear, love, and trust in Me as thine only true God. For where there is a heart thus disposed towards God, the same has fulfilled this and all the other commandments. On the other hand, whoever fears and loves anything else in heaven and upon earth will keep neither this nor any. Thus the entire Scriptures have everywhere preached and inculcated this commandment, aiming always at these two things: fear of God and trust in Him. And especially the prophet David throughout the Psalms, as when he says [Ps. 147, 11]: *The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear Him, in those that hope in His mercy.* As if the entire commandment were explained by one verse, as much as to say: The Lord taketh pleasure in those who have no other gods.

Thus the First Commandment is to shine and impart its splendor to all the others. Therefore you must let this declaration run through all the commandments, like a hoop in a wreath, joining the end to the beginning and holding them all together, that it be continually repeated and not forgotten; as, namely, in the Second Commandment, that we fear God and do not take His name in vain for cursing, lying, deceiving, and other modes of leading men astray, or rascality, but make proper and good use of it by calling upon Him in prayer, praise, and thanksgiving, derived from love and trust according to the First Commandment. In like manner such fear, love, and trust is to urge and force us not to despise His Word, but gladly to learn, hear, and esteem it holy, and honor it.

Thus continuing through all the following commandments towards our neighbor likewise, everything is to proceed by virtue of the First Commandment, to wit, that we honor father and mother, masters, and all in authority, and be subject and obedient to them, not on their own account, but for God's sake. For you are not to regard or fear father or mother, or from love of them do or omit anything. But see to that which God would have you do, and what He will quite surely demand of you; if you omit that, you have an angry Judge, but in the contrary case a gracious Father.

Again, that you do your neighbor no harm, injury, or violence, nor in any wise encroach upon him as touching his body, wife, property, honor, or rights, as all these things are commanded in their order, even though you have

Urſache dazu hätteſt, und dich kein Menſch darum ſtrafte, ſondern jedermann wohltuſt, helfeſt und förderſt, wie und wo du kannſt, allein Gott zulieb und Gefallen, in dem Vertrauen, daß er dir alles reichlich will erſtatten. Alſo ſiehſt du, wie das erſte Gebot das Haupt und Quellborn iſt, ſo durch die andern alle geht, und wiederum alle ſich zurückziehen und hangen an dieſem, daß Ende und Anfang alles ineinandergeknüpft und =gebunden iſt.

data, etsi ad haec commode perpetranda neque locus tibi deesset neque occasio, adhaec nullius hominis reprehensionem eo nomine incurreres; sed de omnibus bene merearis, omnes officiose iuves ac promoveas, quacunque ratione et ubicunque potes, tantum in hoc, ut Deo obedias, hac fiducia, eum ipsum omnia **329**] haec largiter tibi compensaturum. Ita vides, quomodo primum praeceptum caput ac fons sit, unde reliqua omnia suam trahunt originem, quodque rursus omnia alia retro pertrahat ex se pendentia, ut et finis et principium uno indissolubili nodo colligata et copulata sint.

Solches (ſage ich nun) iſt nütz und not, dem jungen Volk immer vorzuhalten, vermahnen und erinnern, auf daß ſie nicht allein wie das Vieh mit Schlägen und Zwang, ſondern in Gottesfurcht und Ehre aufgezogen werden. Denn wo man ſolches bedenkt und zu Herzen nimmt, daß es nicht Menſchentand, ſondern der hohen Majeſtät Gebote ſind, der mit ſolchem Ernſt drüber hält, zürnt und ſtraft, die ſie verachten, und wiederum ſo überſchwenglich vergilt denen, die ſie halten, daſelbſt wird ſich's ſelbſt reizen und treiben, gerne Gottes Willen zu tun. Darum iſt nicht umſonſt im alten Teſtament geboten, daß man ſollte die zehn Gebote ſchreiben an alle Wände und Ecken, ja auch an die Kleider, nicht daß man's allein laſſe da geſchrieben ſtehen und [zur] Schau trage, wie die Juden taten, ſondern daß man's ohne Unterlaß vor Augen und in ſtetem Gedächtnis habe, in alle unſerm Tun und Weſen treibe, und ein jeglicher laſſe es ſeine tägliche Übung ſein in allerlei Fällen, Geſchäften und Händeln, als ſtünde es an allen Orten geſchrieben, wo er hinſieht, ja, wo er geht oder ſteht. So würde man beide für ſich daheim in ſeinem Hauſe und gegen Nachbarn Urſache genug finden, die zehn Gebote zu treiben, daß niemand weit danach laufen dürfte [brauchte].

330] Talia, inquam, operae pretium est, ut iuventuti nunquam non proponantur, monendo inculcentur et in memoriam assidue repetendo revocentur, ut non tantum fuste ac plagis, quemadmodum pecora rationis expertia, sed etiam in timore ac cultu Dei pia quadam ratione educentur. Quicunque enim haec considerant et animi seria quadam cogitatione perpendunt, esse videlicet haec non humanae rationis commenta, sed summae maiestatis mandata, quae tanta severitate contemptores eorum punire, contra vero factores eorum inaestimabilibus bonitatis suae divitiis [R. 487 remunerari velit: illi sua sponte ad faciendam Dei voluntatem satis erunt propensi. **331**] Quare in veteri testamento non temere mandatum erat, ut decem praecepta omnibus inscriberentur parietibus, angulis et vestibus, non in hoc, ut tantum inscripta spectanda circumferrentur, quemadmodum factitare Iudaei consueverant, sed ut citra intermissionem obversarentur oculis et memoriae occurrerent in omnibus nostris negotiis et actionibus. Sint **332**] ergo cuique haec quotidiana exercitia et studia, in omnibus casibus, negotiis et officiis, ac si omnibus insculpta locis legenda occurrerent, quocunque oculorum aciem flexerit, imo potius ubicunque incesserit, aut presso vestigio steterit. Ita fiet, ut aeque et domi et foris erga vicinos semper sufficientem causam inveniamus decem praecepta exercendi, ut nemini ea incumbat necessitas illa procul petendi.

Aus dem ſieht man abermal, wie hoch dieſe zehn Gebote zu heben und preiſen ſind, über alle Stände, Gebote und Werke, ſo man ſonſt lehrt und treibt. Denn hier können wir trotzen und ſagen: Laß auftreten alle Weiſen und Heiligen, ob ſie könnten ein Werk hervorbringen als dieſe Gebote, ſo Gott mit ſolchem Ernſt fordert, und befiehlt bei ſeinem höchſten Zorn und Strafe, dazu ſo herrliche Verheißung dazuſetzt, daß er uns mit allen Gütern und Segen überſchütten will. Darum ſoll man ſie je vor allen andern lehren, teuer und wert halten als den höchſten Schatz, von Gott gegeben.

333] Ex his omnibus iam facile existimare licet aut videre, quousque haec praecepta extollenda, aut quanti tandem facienda sint prae omnibus et operibus et ordinibus, qui doceri consueverunt. Hic enim confidenter dicere possumus, ut ad unum prodeant omnes sapientes et quotquot sanctimoniae titulo superbiunt, num unum queant opus quamlibet pusillum producere, quod vel extremo horum praeceptorum opusculo aequiparandum sit, quod tanta severitate Deus a suis exigit et faciendum praecipit, tantam tamque intolerabilem transgressoribus interminatus iracundiam et contra factoribus adeo splendidas promissiones pollicitus, se nimirum inexhaustis benedictionis suae divitiis tantum non obruturum eos. Quocirca non iniuria haec praecepta omnibus aliis doctrinis anteferenda sunt, inque magno habenda pretio, tamquam thesaurus, quem a Deo accepimus, omnium pretiosissimus.

opportunity and cause to do so and no man would reprove you; but that you do good to all men, help them, and promote their interest, howsoever and wherever you can, purely from love of God and in order to please Him, in the confidence that He will abundantly reward you for everything. Thus you see how the First Commandment is the chief source and fountainhead which flows into all the rest, and again, all return to that and depend upon it, so that beginning and end are fastened and bound to each other.

This (I say) it is profitable and necessary always to teach to the young people, to admonish them and to remind them of it, that they may be brought up not only with blows and compulsion, like cattle, but in the fear and reverence of God. For where this is considered and laid to heart that these things are not human trifles, but the commandments of the Divine Majesty, who insists upon them with such earnestness, is angry with, and punishes those who despise them, and, on the other hand, abundantly rewards those who keep them, there will be a spontaneous impulse and a desire gladly to do the will of God. Therefore it is not in vain that it is commanded in the Old Testament to write the Ten Commandments on all walls and corners, yes, even on the garments, not for the sake of merely having them written in these places and making a show of them, as did the Jews, but that we might have our eyes constantly fixed upon them, and have them always in our memory, and that we might practise them in all our actions and ways, and every one make them his daily exercise in all cases, in every business and transaction, as though they were written in every place wherever he would look, yea, wherever he walks or stands. Thus there would be occasion enough, both at home in our own house and abroad with our neighbors, to practise the Ten Commandments, that no one need run far for them.

From this it again appears how highly these Ten Commandments are to be exalted and extolled above all estates, commandments, and works which are taught and practised aside from them. For here we can boast and say: Let all the wise and saints step forth and produce, if they can, a [single] work like these commandments, upon which God insists with such earnestness, and which He enjoins with His greatest wrath and punishment, and, besides, adds such glorious promises that He will pour out upon us all good things and blessings. Therefore they should be taught above all others, and be esteemed precious and dear, as the highest treasure given by God.

Das zweite Teil.

Von dem Glauben.

Bisher haben wir gehört das erste Stück christlicher Lehre und darin gesehen alles, was Gott von uns will getan und gelassen haben. Darauf folgt nun billig der Glaube, der uns vorträgt alles, was wir von Gott gewarten [erwarten] und empfangen müssen, und, aufs kürzeste zu reden, ihn ganz und gar erkennen lehrt. Welches eben dazu dienen soll, daß wir dasselbe tun können, so wir laut der zehn Gebote tun sollen. Denn sie sind (wie droben gesagt) so hoch gestellt, daß aller Menschen Vermögen viel zu gering und schwach ist, dieselben zu halten. Darum ist dies Stück ja so nötig als jenes zu lernen, daß man wisse, wie man dazu komme, woher und wodurch solche Kraft zu nehmen sei. Denn so wir könnten aus eigenen Kräften die zehn Gebote halten, wie sie zu halten sind, [be]dürften wir nichts weiter, weder Glauben noch Vaterunser. Aber ehe man solchen Nutz und Not des Glaubens ausstreicht, ist genug erstlich für die gar Einfältigen, daß sie den Glauben an ihm selbst fassen und verstehen lernen.

Aufs erste hat man bisher den Glauben geteilt in zwölf Artikel, wiewohl, wenn man alle Stücke, so in der Schrift stehen und zum Glauben gehören, einzeln fassen sollte, gar viel mehr Artikel sind, auch nicht alle deutlich mit so wenig Worten mögen ausgedrückt werden. Aber daß man's aufs leichteste und einfältigste fassen könnte, wie es für die Kinder zu lehren ist, wollen wir den ganzen Glauben kürzlich fassen in drei Hauptartikel nach den dreien Personen der Gottheit, dahin alles, was wir glauben, gerichtet ist, also daß der erste Artikel, von Gott dem Vater, erkläre die Schöpfung, der andere, von dem Sohn, die Erlösung, der dritte, von dem Heiligen Geist, die Heiligung. Als wäre der Glaube aufs allerkürzeste in so viel Worte gefaßt: Ich glaube an Gott Vater, der mich geschaffen hat; ich glaube an Gott den Sohn, der mich erlöst hat; ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, der mich heilig macht. Ein Gott und ein Glaube, aber drei Personen, darum auch drei Artikel oder Bekenntnisse. So wollen wir nun kürzlich die Worte überlaufen.

Der erste Artikel.

Ich glaube an Gott den Vater allmächtigen, Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden.

Da ist aufs allerkürzeste abgemalt und vorgebildet, was Gottes des Vaters Wesen, Wille, Tun und Werk sei. Denn weil die zehn Gebote haben vorgehalten, man solle nicht mehr denn einen Gott haben, möchte man nun fragen: Was ist denn Gott für ein Mann? Was tut er? Wie kann man ihn preisen oder abmalen und beschreiben, daß man ihn kenne? Das lehrt nun dieser und folgende Artikel, also daß der Glaube nichts anderes ist denn eine Antwort und Be-

Secunda Pars Catechismi. [R. 488

SYMBOLUM FIDEI.

1] Hactenus Catechismi, hoc est, Christianae doctrinae, primam partem audivimus, in qua, quid facere, quid omittere nos Deus velit, vidimus. Hanc deinceps iusto ordine fides subsequitur, qua nobis summatim, quid a Deo nobis exspectandum et accipiendum sit, proponitur, atque ut paucis dicam, eundem nos 2] per omnia docet cognoscere. Quae eo nobis servire ac prodesse debet, ut id, quod praecepta exigunt, facere queamus, dum ea exigentibus praeceptis facere cogimur. Nam (ut supra dictum) adeo sublimis et alta eorum est constitutio, ut omnium hominum vires longe leviores sint et invalidiores, quam ut eandem possint assequi aut contingere et ei satisfacere. Eam ob rem nihilominus necessarium est hanc partem perdiscere quam priorem, ut sciamus, quomodo praeceptis satisfacere queamus, et unde tanta vis ac virtus 3] petenda aut impetranda sit. Etenim si propriis viribus divinis praeceptis satisfacere possemus, quemadmodum illis satisfaciendum 4] est, et fide et precatione haud difficulter careremus. Prius vero quam eiusmodi et utilitas et necessitas fidei explanetur, initio sufficit pro rudibus plane, ut fidem per se comprehendant et intelligere discant.

5] Principio theologi nostri fidem hactenus in duodecim articulos diviserunt; quamquam, si omnes particulae, quas tradit Scriptura et ad fidem referendae sunt, singillatim comprehenderentur, multo plures sunt articuli, [R. 489 sed neque tam paucis verbis satis significan-6] ter possunt exprimi. Verumtamen ut quam facillime et simplicissime comprehendantur, veluti pueris tradendi sunt, totum fidei Symbolum tribus tantum principalibus articulis complectemur, iuxta tres divinitatis personas, ad quas omnia, quae credimus, referuntur et ordinantur, ita ut primus articulus, de Deo Patre, creationem explicet, secundus, de Filio, redemptionem, tertius, de Spiritu Sancto, san-7] ctificationem. Quasi fides quam brevissime tot verbis comprehensa esset: Credo in Deum Patrem, qui me creavit; credo in Deum Filium, qui me liberavit; credo in Spiritum Sanctum, qui me sanctificat. Unus Deus et una fides, verum tres personae, quare tres 8] etiam articuli et confessiones. Iam ergo ipsa fidei verba breviter percurremus.

Articulus I.

9] Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem coeli et terrae.

10] Quaenam sit Dei Patris essentia, voluntas et opus, hisce verbis compendiosissime adumbratum et propositum est. Cum enim decem praecepta docuerint non esse nisi unum Deum habendum et colendum, in quaestionem venire posset, quid Deus esset, quid operis faceret, quibus denique rebus laudandus sit aut depingendus, ut cognoscatur. Hoc iam sequens docet articulus, fidem nihil aliud esse quam responsionem quandam et confessionem

Part Second.

OF THE CREED.

Thus far we have heard the first part of Christian doctrine, in which we have seen all that God wishes us to do or to leave undone. Now, there properly follows the Creed, which sets forth to us everything that we must expect and receive from God, and, to state it quite briefly, teaches us to know Him fully. And this is intended to help us do that which according to the Ten Commandments we ought to do. For (as said above) they are set so high that all human ability is far too feeble and weak to [attain to or] keep them. Therefore it is as necessary to learn this part as the former in order that we may know how to attain thereto, whence and whereby to obtain such power. For if we could by our own powers keep the Ten Commandments as they are to be kept, we would need nothing further, neither the Creed nor the Lord's Prayer. But before we explain this advantage and necessity of the Creed, it is sufficient at first for the simple-minded that they learn to comprehend and understand the Creed itself.

In the first place, the Creed has hitherto been divided into twelve articles, although, if all points which are written in the Scriptures and which belong to the Creed were to be distinctly set forth, there would be far more articles, nor could they all be clearly expressed in so few words. But that it may be most easily and clearly understood as it is to be taught to children, we shall briefly sum up the entire Creed in three chief articles, according to the three persons in the Godhead, to whom everything that we believe is related, so that the First Article, of God the Father, explains Creation, the Second Article, of the Son, Redemption, and the Third, of the Holy Ghost, Sanctification. Just as though the Creed were briefly comprehended in so many words: I believe in God the Father, who has created me; I believe in God the Son, who has redeemed me; I believe in the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies me. One God and one faith, but three persons, therefore also three articles or confessions. Let us briefly run over the words.

Article I.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

This portrays and sets forth most briefly what is the essence, will, activity, and work of God the Father. For since the Ten Commandments have taught that we are to have not more than one God, the question might be asked, What kind of a person is God? What does He do? How can we praise, or portray and describe Him, that He may be known? Now, that is taught in this and in the following article, so that the Creed is

kenntnis der Christen, auf das erste Gebot gestellt. Als wenn man ein junges Kind fragte: Lieber, was hast du für einen Gott, was weißt du von ihm? daß es könnte sagen: Das ist mein Gott: zum ersten der Vater, der Himmel und Erde geschaffen hat; außer diesem einigen halte ich nichts für Gott, denn sonst keiner ist, der Himmel und Erde schaffen könnte.

Für die Gelehrten aber, und die etwas läuftig [bewandert, fortgeschritten] sind, kann man die Artikel alle drei weit ausstreichen und teilen in so viel Stücke, als es Worte sind. Aber jetzt für die jungen Schüler sei genug, das Nötigste anzuzeigen, nämlich, wie gesagt, daß dieser Artikel belangt die Schöpfung, daß man stehe auf dem Wort „Schöpfer Himmels und der Erden". Was ist's nun gesagt, oder was meinst du mit dem Wort: „Ich glaube an Gott Vater allmächtigen, Schöpfer" usw.? Antwort: Das meine und glaube ich, daß ich Gottes Geschöpf bin, das ist, daß er mir gegeben hat und ohne Unterlaß erhält Leib, Seele und Leben, Gliedmaßen klein und groß, alle Sinne, Vernunft und Verstand, und so fort an, Essen und Trinken, Kleider, Nahrung, Weib und Kind, Gesinde, Haus und Hof usw., dazu alle Kreaturen zu Nutz und Notdurft des Lebens dienen läßt, Sonne, Mond und Sterne am Himmel, Tag und Nacht, Luft, Feuer, Wasser, Erde, und was sie trägt und vermag, Vögel, Fische, Tiere, Getreide und allerlei Gewächs; item, was mehr leibliche und zeitliche Güter sind, gut Regiment, Friede, Sicherheit, also daß man aus diesem Artikel lerne, daß unser keiner das Leben noch alles, was jetzt erzählt ist und erzählt mag werden, von ihm selbst hat noch erhalten kann, wie klein und gering es ist; denn es alles gefaßt ist in das Wort „Schöpfer".

Darüber bekennen wir auch, daß Gott der Vater nicht allein solches alles, was wir haben und vor Augen sehen, uns gegeben hat, sondern auch täglich vor allem Übel und Unglück [uns] behütet und beschützt, allerlei Fährlichkeit und Unfall abwendet, und solches alles aus lauter Liebe und Güte, durch uns unverdient, als ein freundlicher Vater, der für uns sorgt, daß uns kein Leid widerfahre. Aber davon weiter zu sagen, gehört in die andern zwei Stücke dieses Artikels, da man spricht: „Vater allmächtigen".

Hieraus will sich's nun selbst schließen und folgen, weil uns das alles, so wir vermögen [besitzen], dazu was im Himmel und [auf] Erden ist, täglich von Gott gegeben, erhalten und bewahrt wird, so sind wir ja schuldig, ihn darum ohne Unterlaß zu lieben, loben und danken, und kürzlich, ihm ganz und gar damit zu dienen, wie er durch die zehn Gebote fordert und befohlen hat.

Hier wäre nun viel zu sagen, wenn man's sollte ausstreichen, wie wenig ihrer sind, die diesen Ar-

Christianorum ad primum praeceptum ordi-
11] natam. Velut puer interrogatus a quopiam: Quemnam Deum habes, aut quid de illo compertum tenes? respondere possit: Primum quidem hoc Deus meus est, videlicet Pater, qui coelum ac terram condidit; extra hunc unum nullum alium Deum esse credo, [R. 490 praeter hunc enim nemo est, qui sua virtute atque potentia coelum ac terram possit condere.

12] Ceterum pro doctis, et qui aliquam Scripturae cognitionem sibi paraverunt, ii tres articuli aliquanto fusius et locupletius declarari possunt inque tot partes dividi, quot verbis fidei Symbolum contextum est. Verum in praesentia pro novitiis scholasticis maxime cognitu necessaria indicasse sufficiat, nempe hunc articulum, ut diximus, ad rerum creationem pertinere, ut huic verbo innitamur: *Cre-*
13] *ator coeli et terrae.* Quid ergo haec sibi verba volunt, aut his tu significari putas: *Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem* etc.? Responsio: Hoc significari puto et credo, me Dei esse creaturam, hoc est, quod ille mihi dederit quotidieque alat sustentetque corpus, animam, vitam, membra corporis, cum parva tum magna, omnes sensus, rationem, rationis usum virtutemque intelligentiae, ac deinceps cibum et potum, amictum, commeatum, uxorem, liberos, familiam, aedes, prae-
14] dia etc. Adhaec qui omnes creaturas ad vitae meae utilitatem et necessitatem servire mihi sinit, solem, lunam et sidera coelestia, diem et noctem, aërem, ignem, aquam, terram et omnes fructus terrae, quos sua fecunditate producit, volucres, pisces et omnia frumen-
15] torum et fructuum genera. Insuper si quae sunt alia rerum corporalium et temporalium bona, ut est aequabilis reipublicae status et administratio, pax, tranquilla securitas.

16] Ita ut ex hoc articulo discamus, nostrum neminem vitam omniaque alia iam enumerata, et quae adhuc enumerari possent, a se habere neque retinere posse, quamlibet pusillum aut leve fuerit. Haec enim omnia nomine *Creatoris* comprehensa sunt.

17] Praeter haec ingenue quoque confitemur Deum Patrem non solum haec omnia, quae habemus, possidemus, coramque oculis intuemur, nobis dedisse, sed quotidie etiam [R. 491 eius tutela nos ab omnibus malis atque periculis custodiri, omnes incommoditates, ruinas atque discrimina a nobis abigente et propulsante. Quae omnia mera humanitate et bonitate sua pellectus nobis immerentibus exhibet, tamquam lenis ac clemens Pater, cui nos curae sumus, ne quid mali aut adversi nobis accidat.
18] Verum ea verbosius persequi ad reliquas duas partes pertinet, ubi dicimus: *Patrem omnipotentem.*

19] Ex his iam demonstratis facile evictum consequitur et colligitur, cum omnia, quae possidemus quaeque in coelo et in terra sunt, quotidie a Deo concessa sustententur et custodiantur, debere nos eundem indesinenter diligere, laudibus extollere, agendisque gratiis acceptorum beneficiorum esse memores, et, ut uno verbo dicam, illi prorsus atque per omnia hisce gratuito datis muneribus servire, quemadmodum hoc ipsum decem praeceptis a nobis exigit et faciendum praecepit.

20] Iam hic multis dicendum esset, si illustrare id quis vellet, quam pauci sint, qui

nothing else than the answer and confession of Christians arranged with respect to the First Commandment. As if you were to ask a little child: My dear, what sort of a God have you? What do you know of Him? he could say: This is my God: first, the Father, who has created heaven and earth; besides this only One I regard nothing else as God; for there is no one else who could create heaven and earth.

But for the learned, and those who are somewhat advanced [have acquired some Scriptural knowledge], these three articles may all be expanded and divided into as many parts as there are words. But now for young scholars let it suffice to indicate the most necessary points, namely, as we have said, that this article refers to the Creation: that we emphasize the words: *Creator of heaven and earth.* But what is the force of this, or what do you mean by these words: *I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker,* etc.? Answer: This is what I mean and believe, that I am a creature of God; that is, that He has given and constantly preserves to me my body, soul, and life, members great and small, all my senses, reason, and understanding, and so on, food and drink, clothing and support, wife and children, domestics, house and home, etc. Besides, He causes all creatures to serve for the uses and necessities of life — sun, moon, and stars in the firmament, day and night, air, fire, water, earth, and whatever it bears and produces, birds and fishes, beasts, grain, and all kinds of produce, and whatever else there is of bodily and temporal goods, good government, peace, security. Thus we learn from this article that none of us has of himself, nor can preserve, his life nor anything that is here enumerated or can be enumerated, however small and unimportant a thing it might be, for all is comprehended in the word *Creator.*

Moreover, we also confess that God the Father has not only given us all that we have and see before our eyes, but daily preserves and defends us against all evil and misfortune, averts all sorts of danger and calamity; and that He does all this out of pure love and goodness, without our merit, as a benevolent Father, who cares for us that no evil befall us. But to speak more of this belongs in the other two parts of this article, where we say: *Father Almighty.*

Now, since all that we possess, and, moreover, whatever, in addition, is in heaven and upon the earth, is daily given, preserved, and kept for us by God, it is readily inferred and concluded that it is our duty to love, praise, and thank Him for it without ceasing, and, in short, to serve Him with all these things, as He demands and has enjoined in the Ten Commandments.

Here we could say much if we were to expatiate, how few there are that believe this

tikel glauben. Denn wir gehen alle überhin [drüber hin], hören's und sagen's, sehen aber und bedenken nicht, was uns die Worte vortragen. Denn wo wir's von Herzen glaubten, würden wir auch danach tun und nicht so stolz [ein]hergehen, trotzen und uns brüsten, als hätten wir das Leben, Reichtum, Gewalt und Ehre usw. von uns selbst, daß man uns fürchten und dienen müßte, wie die unselige, verkehrte Welt tut, die in ihrer Blindheit ersoffen ist, aller Güter und Gaben Gottes allein zu ihrer Hoffart, Geiz, Lust und Wohltagen [Freude, Genuß] mißbraucht und Gott nicht einmal ansehe [ansieht], daß sie ihm dankte oder für einen HErrn und Schöpfer erkennte.

hunc articulum credunt. Hunc enim omnes praetervolamus, audientes quidem et memorantes, sed nequaquam videntes aut animo expendentes, quid ipsa verba nobis non oscitanter aut somniculose expendendum proponant. **21**] Quodsi enim haec ex animo crederemus, horum verborum iussa haud dubie capesseremus, neque tam superbe incederemus, insolenter intumescentes, quasi a nobismet ipsis aut nostra opera partis, vita, divitiis, potentia, dignitate, honoribus etc. frueremur, ut alii servitute nobis obnoxii nos pertimescere cogerentur, quemadmodum infelix ac perversus mundus factitare consuevit, qui in caecitate sua submersus est, omnibus bonis et muneribus divinitus datis tantum ad superbiam, avaritiam, voluptates et delicias turpissime abutens, neque Deum vel semel respiciens, ut illi gratias ageret, aut pro Domino ac Creatore suo eum agnosceret.

Darum sollte uns dieser Artikel alle demütigen und erschrecken, wo wir's glaubten. Denn wir sündigen täglich mit Augen, Ohren, Händen, Leib und Seele, Geld und Gut und mit allem, das wir haben, sonderlich diejenigen, so noch wider Gottes Wort fechten. Doch haben die Christen den Vorteil, daß sie sich des schuldig erkennen, ihm dafür zu dienen und gehorsam zu sein.

22] Quocirca hic articulus omnes nos [R. 492 humiliare ac conterrere debebat, si haec vera esse certo et constanter crederemus: siquidem quotidie victi carnis affectibus peccamus oculis, auribus, manibus, corpore et anima, opibus atque divitiis, breviter omnibus rebus, quascunque possidemus. Praecipue vero illi, qui etiamnum impietate instigati divino Verbo repugnant ac reluctantur. Verumtamen Christiani hanc praerogativam habent, quod se Deo Creatori suo id debere agnoscunt, ut pro acceptis bonis ipsi serviant atque obtemperent, id quod mundus facere nescit.

Derhalben sollen wir diesen Artikel täglich üben, einbilden [einprägen] und uns erinnern in allem, was uns vor Augen kommt und Gutes widerfährt, und wo wir aus Nöten oder Fährlichkeit kommen, wie uns Gott solches alles gibt und tut, daß wir daran spüren und sehen sein väterlich Herz und überschwengliche Liebe gegen uns; davon würde das Herz erwärmt und entzündet werden, dankbar zu sein und aller solcher Güter zu Gottes Ehre und Lob zu [ge]brauchen.

23] Proinde hic articulus nobis quotidie exercendus, menti infigendus et in memoriam subinde revocandus est in omnibus, quaecunque nobis obiiciuntur, quando vel bene et feliciter quae nobis eveniunt, vel quando e periculis et necessitatibus liberati emergimus, sicut Deus haec omnia nobis largitur et facit, ut in hoc certis experimentis animadvertentes discamus paternum eius erga nos animum et inaestimabilem caritatem. Ex hoc certe pectus incalescet et ad gratiarum actionem prompte agendam mirifice inflammabitur, ut omnibus eiusmodi rebus ad Dei laudem et gloriam utatur.

Also haben wir aufs kürzeste die Meinung dieses Artikels, soviel den Einfältigen erstlich not ist zu lernen, beide was wir von Gott haben und empfangen, und was wir dafür schuldig sind, welches gar eine große, treffliche Erkenntnis ist, aber viel ein höherer Schatz. Denn da sehen wir, wie sich der Vater uns gegeben hat samt allen Kreaturen und [uns] aufs allerreichlichste in diesem Leben versorgt, ohne daß er uns sonst auch mit unaussprechlichen ewigen Gütern durch seinen Sohn und Heiligen Geist überschüttet, wie wir hören werden.

24] Ita quidem paucissimis erutum atque expressum huius articuli sensum habemus, quantum simplicibus initio scire ac discere necesse est, et quid a Deo habeamus et acceperimus, et quid pro acceptis bonis eidem vicissim debeamus. Quae ingens et paene inaestimabilis est cognitio, thesaurus tamen multo praestantior. Etenim hic plane videmus, quomodo Pater cum omnibus creaturis se nobis tradiderit, quamque nos, quamdiu hac vita fruimur, rebus omnibus opulentissime instruat, praeterquam quod ineffabilibus et aeternis bonis per Filium suum ac Spiritum Sanctum amplissime cumularit, ut in sequentibus audiemus.

Der zweite Artikel.

Articulus II. [R. 493

Und an JEsum Christum, seinen einigen Sohn, unsern HErrn, der empfangen ist vom Heiligen Geist, geboren von der Jungfrau Maria, gelitten unter Pontio Pilato, gekreuzigt, gestorben und begraben, niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage auferstanden von den Toten, aufgefahren gen

25] Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus, descendit ad inferos [inferna], tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad

article. For we all pass over it, hear it and say it, but neither see nor consider what the words teach us. For if we believed it with the heart, we would also act accordingly, and not stalk about proudly, act defiantly, and boast as though we had life, riches, power, and honor, etc., of ourselves, so that others must fear and serve us, as is the practise of the wretched, perverse world, which is drowned in blindness, and abuses all the good things and gifts of God only for its own pride, avarice, lust, and luxury, and never once regards God, so as to thank Him or acknowledge Him as Lord and Creator.

Therefore, this article ought to humble and terrify us all, if we believed it. For we sin daily with eyes, ears, hands, body and soul, money and possessions, and with everything we have, especially those who even fight against the Word of God. Yet Christians have this advantage, that they acknowledge themselves in duty bound to serve God for all these things, and to be obedient to Him [which the world knows not how to do].

We ought, therefore, daily to practise this article, impress it upon our mind, and to remember it in all that meets our eyes, and in all good that falls to our lot, and wherever we escape from calamity or danger, that it is God who gives and does all these things, that therein we sense and see His paternal heart and His transcendent love toward us. Thereby the heart would be warmed and kindled to be thankful, and to employ all such good things to the honor and praise of God.

Thus we have most briefly presented the meaning of this article, as much as is at first necessary for the most simple to learn, both as to what we have and receive from God, and what we owe in return, which is a most excellent knowledge, but a far greater treasure. For here we see how the Father has given Himself to us, together with all creatures, and has most richly provided for us in this life, besides that He has overwhelmed us with unspeakable, eternal treasures by His Son and the Holy Ghost, as we shall hear.

Article II.

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried; He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right

Himmel, sitzend zur Rechten Gottes, des allmächtigen Vaters, von dannen er kommen wird, zu richten die Lebendigen und die Toten.

Hier lernen wir die andere Person der Gottheit kennen, daß wir sehen, was wir über die vorigen zeitlichen Güter von Gott haben, nämlich, wie er sich ganz und gar ausgeschüttet hat und nichts behalten, das er nicht uns gegeben habe. Dieser Artikel ist nun sehr reich und weit; aber daß wir's auch kurz und kindlich handeln, wollen wir ein Wort vor uns nehmen und darin die ganze Summa davon fassen, nämlich (wie gesagt), daß man hieraus lerne, wie wir erlöst sind, und soll stehen auf diesen Worten: „an JEsum Christum, unsern HErrn".

Wenn man nun fragt: Was glaubst du im andern Artikel von JEsu Christo? antworte aufs kürzeste: Ich glaube, daß JEsus Christus, wahrhaftiger Gottessohn, sei mein HErr [ge]worden. Was ist nun das: ein HErr werden? Das ist's, daß er mich erlöst hat von Sünden, vom Teufel, vom Tode und allem Unglück. Denn zuvor hab' ich keinen HErrn noch König gehabt, sondern bin unter des Teufels Gewalt gefangen, zum Tode verdammt, in der Sünde und Blindheit verstrickt gewesen.

Denn da wir geschaffen waren und allerlei Gutes von Gott dem Vater empfangen hatten, kam der Teufel und brachte uns in Ungehorsam, Sünde, Tod und alles Unglück, daß wir in seinem Zorn und Ungnade lagen, zu ewigem [ewiger] Verdammnis verurteilt, wie wir verwirkt und verdient hatten. Da war kein Rat, Hilfe noch Trost, bis daß sich dieser einige und ewige Gottessohn unsers Jammers und Elends aus grundloser Güte erbarmte und vom Himmel kam, uns zu helfen. Also sind nun jene Tyrannen und Stockmeister alle vertrieben, und ist an ihre Statt getreten JEsus Christus, ein HErr des Lebens, Gerechtigkeit, alles Gutes und Seligkeit, und hat uns arme verlorne Menschen aus der Hölle Rachen gerissen, gewonnen, freigemacht und wiederbracht [zurückgebracht] in des Vaters Huld und Gnade und als sein Eigentum unter seinen Schirm und Schutz genommen, daß er uns regiere durch seine Gerechtigkeit, Weisheit, Gewalt, Leben und Seligkeit.

Das sei nun die Summa dieses Artikels, daß das Wörtlein „Herr" aufs einfältigste so viel heiße als ein Erlöser, das ist, der uns vom Teufel zu Gott, vom Tode zum Leben, von [der] Sünde zur Gerechtigkeit [ge]bracht hat und dabei erhält. Die Stücke aber, so nacheinander in diesem Artikel folgen, tun nichts anderes, denn daß sie solche Erlösung erklären und ausdrücken, wie und wodurch sie geschehen sei, das ist, was ihm gestanden [was es ihn gekostet], und was er daran gewendet und gewagt hat, daß er uns gewönne und zu seiner Herrschaft brächte, nämlich daß er Mensch [ge-]

[in] coelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.

26] Hoc loco secundam Divinitatis personam discimus cognoscere, ut videamus, quid praeter bona temporalia prius enumerata Deus nobis largiri soleat, nempe quomodo omnes bonitatis suae ac divitiarum thesauros semel nobis effuderit, nihilque sibi reliquum fecerit, quod nobis utendum fruendumque non impertierit. Iam hic articulus quoque late patet estque plane fecundissimus. Verum ut et hunc breviter ac pueriliter discutiamus, unum verbum sumemus, quo totius rei summam complectemur, nempe (sicut dictum est) ut ex hoc discamus, quomodo per Christum ab omni maledictione liberati simus, quod hisce verbis nititur: *Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum* etc.

27] Iam ergo interrogatus a quopiam: Quid credis in Secundo Articulo de Iesu Christo? ad hunc modum responde paucissimis: Ego credo Iesum Christum, verum Dei Filium, Dominum meum esse factum. Quid hoc sibi vult: fieri Dominum? Hoc est, quod me liberarit sanguine suo a peccatis, diabolo, morte et omni exitio. Ante enim neque regem habebam, neque dominum, sed sub diaboli potestate atque imperio captivus tenebar, ad mortem condemnatus inque peccatis ac caecitate irretitus.

Iam enim a Deo creati cum omnis [R. 494
28] generis inaestimabilia bona a Patre accepissemus, venit diabolus, nostrae felicitati invidens, et nos suis technis in apertam Dei rebellemque inobedientiam, mortem et omnia pericula pertractos iniecit, adeo ut in eius indignatione iaceremus, perpetuae damnationi adiudicati, veluti culpa nostra promeuera-
29] mus. Hic nulla erat amplius relicta aut spes recuperandae gratiae aut consilium adipiscendae salutis aut auxilium placandi Patris aut consilium ignoscendi delicti, donec ille immortalis Patris immortalis Filius calamitosam miseriam et exitium nostrum sua profundissima bonitate miseratus de coelo nobis opem laturus descendit, nosque ab omni et peccati et mortis ac diaboli captivitate in
30] libertatem adoptionis suae asseruit. Ita quidem omnium illorum tyrannorum atque exactorum potestas profligata et oppressa est, quorum in locum successit Iesus Christus, vitae, iustitiae, salutis, iustificationis ac omnium bonorum Auctor et Dominus, qui nos miseros, aerumnosos peccatores ex inferorum faucibus eripuit, asseruit inque libertatem vindicavit, irati Patris favorem et gratiam placata indignatione conciliavit ac tamquam possessionem suam in tutelam suam nos suscepit, ut nos per suam iustitiam, sapientiam, potestatem, vitam et beatitatem regat et gubernet.

31] Sit itaque haec huius articuli summa, ut haec vocula *Dominus* simplicissime tantum significet atque Salvator seu Redemptor, hoc est, qui a diabolo ad Deum, e morte ad vitam, a peccatis ad iustitiam reduxit, in quibus et nos conservat. Porro reliquae huius articuli partes, ordine semet consequentes, nihil faciunt aliud, quam quod talem redemptionem per Christum nobis partam declarant ac exprimunt, quomodo et per quem confecta sit, hoc est, quanti Christum constiterit, et quid pro ea impetranda insumpserit, ut nos [R. 495

hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

Here we learn to know the Second Person of the Godhead, so that we see what we have from God over and above the temporal goods aforementioned; namely, how He has completely poured forth Himself and withheld nothing from us that He has not given us. Now, this article is very rich and broad; but in order to expound it also briefly and in a childlike way, we shall take up one word and sum up in that the entire article, namely (as we have said), that we may here learn how we have been redeemed; and we shall base this on these words: *In Jesus Christ, our Lord.*

If now you are asked, What do you believe in the Second Article of Jesus Christ? answer briefly: I believe that Jesus Christ, true Son of God, has become my Lord. But what is it to become Lord? It is this, that He has redeemed me from sin, from the devil, from death, and all evil. For before I had no Lord nor King, but was captive under the power of the devil, condemned to death, enmeshed in sin and blindness.

For when we had been created by God the Father, and had received from Him all manner of good, the devil came and led us into disobedience, sin, death, and all evil, so that we fell under His wrath and displeasure and were doomed to eternal damnation, as we had merited and deserved. There was no counsel, help, or comfort until this only and eternal Son of God in His unfathomable goodness had compassion upon our misery and wretchedness, and came from heaven to help us. Those tyrants and jailers, then, are all expelled now, and in their place has come Jesus Christ, Lord of life, righteousness, every blessing, and salvation, and has delivered us poor lost men from the jaws of hell, has won us, made us free, and brought us again into the favor and grace of the Father, and has taken us as His own property under His shelter and protection, that He may govern us by His righteousness, wisdom, power, life, and blessedness.

Let this, then, be the sum of this article that the little word *Lord* signifies simply as much as Redeemer, *i. e.*, He who has brought us from Satan to God, from death to life, from sin to righteousness, and who preserves us in the same. But all the points which follow in order in this article serve no other end than to explain and express this redemption, how and whereby it was accomplished, that is, how much it cost Him, and what He spent and risked that He might win us and bring us under His dominion, namely, that

worden, von dem Heiligen Geist und der Jungfrau ohne alle Sünde empfangen und geboren, auf daß er der Sünden HErr wäre; dazu gelitten, gestorben und begraben, daß er für mich genugtäte und bezahlte, was ich verschuldet habe, nicht mit Silber noch Gold, sondern mit seinem eigenen teuren Blut. Und dies alles darum, daß er mein HErr würde; denn er für sich der keines getan noch bedurft hat. Danach wieder auferstanden, den Tod verschlungen und gefressen und endlich gen Himmel gefahren und das Regiment genommen zur Rechten des Vaters, daß ihm Teufel und alle Gewalt muß untertan sein und zu den Füßen liegen so lange, bis er uns endlich am Jüngsten Tage gar scheide und sondere von der bösen Welt, Teufel, Tod, Sünde usw.

Aber diese einzelnen Stücke alle sonderlich [her=] auszustreichen, gehört nicht in die kurze Kinderpredigt, sondern in die großen Predigten über das ganze Jahr, sonderlich auf die Zeiten, so dazu geordnet sind, einen jeglichen Artikel in die Länge zu handeln, von der Geburt, Leiden, Auferstehen, Himmelfahrt Christi usw.

Auch steht das ganze Evangelium, so wir predigen, darauf, daß man diesen Artikel wohl fasse, als an dem all unser Heil und Seligkeit liegt, und [der] so reich und weit ist, daß wir immer genug daran zu lernen haben.

Der dritte Artikel.

Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist, eine heilige christliche Kirche, die Gemeinde der Heiligen, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und ein ewiges Leben. Amen.

Diesen Artikel kann ich nicht besser örtern [besser ordnen, mit passenderer Überschrift versehen] denn (wie gesagt) von der Heiligung, daß dadurch der Heilige Geist mit seinem Amt ausgedrückt und abgemalt werde, nämlich daß er heilig macht. Darum müssen wir fußen auf das Wort „Heiligen Geist", weil es so kurz gefaßt ist, daß man kein anderes haben kann. Denn es sind sonst mancherlei Geist in der Schrift, als Menschengeist, himmlische Geister und böse Geister. Aber Gottes Geist heißt allein ein heiliger Geist, das ist, der uns geheiligt hat und noch heiligt. Denn wie der Vater ein Schöpfer, der Sohn ein Erlöser heißt, so soll auch der Heilige Geist von seinem Werk ein Heiliger oder Heiligmacher heißen. Wie geht aber solch Heiligen zu? Antwort: Gleichwie der Sohn die Herrschaft überkommt, dadurch er uns gewinnt, durch seine Geburt, Sterben und Auferstehen usw., also richtet der Heilige Geist die Heiligung aus durch die folgenden Stücke, das ist, durch die Gemeinde der Heiligen oder christliche Kirche, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und das ewige Leben, das ist, daß er uns erstlich führt in seine heilige Gemeinde und in der Kirche Schoß legt, dadurch er uns predigt und [uns] zu Christo bringt.

lucrifaceret suaeque ditioni subiiceret, nempe quod homo factus et e Spiritu Sancto ac Maria virgine sine omni labe peccati conceptus et natus sit, ut esset peccati Dominus; adhaec passus, mortuus et sepultus, ut pro me satisfaceret meamque culpam, quae mihi luenda fuerat, persolveret, non auro neque argento, sed proprio et pretioso suo sanguine; et haec omnia, non ob aliam rem ullam, quam ut meus fieret Dominus. Neque enim sui gratia harum rerum quidquam fecit aut opus habuit. Post id iterum surrexit devicta atque absorpta morte, ac denique coelos conscendit, suscepta imperii administratione, sedens ad dexteram Patris, ut diaboli ac omnes potestates ad illius pedes proiectae obedire cogantur, donec nos in die novissimo prorsus ab hoc pravo saeculo, diabolo, morte, peccatis liberatos separet ac segreget.

32] Ceterum hasce partes singillatim tractare huic compendioso et pro pueris instituto sermoni non convenit, sed prolixis concionibus, quae per totius anni circulum habentur, praesertim iis temporibus, quae talibus prolixiore sermone tractandis destinata sunt, de nativitate, passione, resurrectione, ascensione Christi etc.

33] Quin etiam totum evangelium, quod praedicamus, eo tendit, ut hunc articulum probe percipiamus, ut in quo totius salutis et felicitatis nostrae summa sita est, quemque ob usum et fecunditatem suam longe lateque patentem nunquam satis perdiscere possumus.

Articulus III.

34] Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, communionem sanctorum, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

Hunc articulum non alio commodius [R. 496 **35**] quam, sicut dictum, ad sanctificationem referre possum, quod videlicet per hunc Spiritus Sanctus eiusque officium, nempe quod sanctificet, adumbretur et depingatur. Quare huic verbo nitendum est: *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum*, quod tam stricte et breviter comprehensum sit, ut aliud habere nequeamus. **36**] Sunt enim alioqui multiplices in Scriptura spiritus, veluti humani, coelestes et mali spiritus. Verum enim vero Spiritus Dei solus Sanctus Spiritus dicitur, hoc est, qui nos sanctificavit et adhuc sanctificat. Nam quemadmodum Pater creator, Filius redemptor aut salvator dicitur, ita quoque Spiritus Sanctus ab officii sui opere sanctus aut sanctificator **37**] dicendus est. Quae vero huius sanctificationis est ratio? Respondeo: Quemadmodum Filius dominium suum, quo nos sibi peculiariter vindicavit, per suam nativitatem, mortem, resurrectionem etc. consequitur, ita quoque Spiritus Sanctus sanctificationis munus exsequitur per sequentia, hoc est, per communionem sanctorum aut ecclesiam Christianorum, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Hoc est, primum nos ducit Spiritus Sanctus in sanctam communionem suam, ponens in sinum ecclesiae, per quam nos docet et Christo adducit.

He became man, conceived and born without [any stain of] sin, of the Holy Ghost and of the Virgin Mary, that He might overcome sin; moreover, that He suffered, died and was buried, that He might make satisfaction for me and pay what I owe, not with silver nor gold, but with His own precious blood. And all this, in order to become my Lord; for He did none of these for Himself, nor had He any need of it. And after that He rose again from the dead, swallowed up and devoured death, and finally ascended into heaven and assumed the government at the Father's right hand, so that the devil and all powers must be subject to Him and lie at His feet, until finally, at the last day, He will completely part and separate us from the wicked world, the devil, death, sin, etc.

But to explain all these single points separately belongs not to brief sermons for children, but rather to the ampler sermons that extend throughout the entire year, especially at those times which are appointed for the purpose of treating at length of each article — of the birth, sufferings, resurrection, ascension of Christ, etc.

Ay, the entire Gospel which we preach is based on this, that we properly understand this article as that upon which our salvation and all our happiness rest, and which is so rich and comprehensive that we never can learn it fully.

Article III.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy Christian Church, the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body; and the life everlasting. Amen.

This article (as I have said) I cannot relate better than to Sanctification, that through the same the Holy Ghost, with His office, is declared and depicted, namely, that He makes holy. Therefore we must take our stand upon the word *Holy Ghost*, because it is so precise and comprehensive that we cannot find another. For there are, besides, many kinds of spirits mentioned in the Holy Scriptures, as, the spirit of man, heavenly spirits, and evil spirits. But the Spirit of God alone is called Holy Ghost, that is, He who has sanctified and still sanctifies us. For as the Father is called Creator, the Son Redeemer, so the Holy Ghost, from His work, must be called Sanctifier, or One that makes holy. But how is such sanctifying done? Answer: Just as the Son obtains dominion, whereby He wins us, through His birth, death, resurrection, etc., so also the Holy Ghost effects our sanctification by the following parts, namely, by the communion of saints or the Christian Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting; that is, He first leads us into His holy congregation, and places us in the bosom of the Church, whereby He preaches to us and brings us to Christ.

Denn weder du noch ich könnten immermehr [je] etwas von Christo wissen noch an ihn glauben und [ihn] zum HErrn kriegen, wo es nicht durch die Predigt des Evangelii von dem Heiligen Geist würde angetragen und uns in Bosem [in den Busen] geschenkt. Das Werk ist geschehen und ausgerichtet; denn Christus hat uns den Schatz erworben und gewonnen durch sein Leiden, Sterben und Auferstehen usw. Aber wenn das Werk verborgen bliebe, daß niemand [es] wüßte, so wäre es umsonst und verloren. Daß nun solcher Schatz nicht begraben bliebe, sondern angelegt und genossen würde, hat Gott das Wort ausgehen und verkündigen lassen, darin den Heiligen Geist [ge=] geben, uns solchen Schatz und Erlösung heimzubringen und zu[zu]eignen. Darum ist das Heiligen nichts anderes, denn zu dem HErrn Christo bringen, solch Gut zu empfangen, dazu wir von uns selbst nicht kommen könnten.

So lerne nun diesen Artikel aufs deutlichste verstehen. Wenn man fragt: Was meinst du mit den Worten: „Ich glaube an den Heiligen Geist"? daß du könnest antworten: Ich glaube, daß mich der Heilige Geist heilig macht, wie sein Name ist. Womit tut er aber solches? oder was ist seine Weise und Mittel dazu? Antwort: Durch die christliche Kirche, Vergebung der Sünden, Auferstehung des Fleisches und das ewige Leben. Denn zum ersten hat er eine sonderliche Gemeinde in der Welt, welche ist die Mutter, so einen jeglichen Christen zeugt und trägt durch das Wort Gottes, welches er offenbart und treibt, die Herzen erleuchtet und anzündet, daß sie es fassen, annehmen, daran hangen und dabei bleiben.

Denn wo er's nicht predigen läßt und im Herzen erweckt, daß man's faßt, da ist's verloren, wie unter dem Papsttum geschehen ist, da der Glaube ganz unter die Bank gesteckt und niemand Christum für einen HErrn erkannt hat, noch den Heiligen Geist für den, der da heilig macht, das ist, niemand hat geglaubt, daß Christus also unser HErr wäre, der uns ohne unsere Werke und Verdienste solchen Schatz gewonnen hätte, und uns dem Vater angenehm gemacht. Woran hat es denn gemangelt? Daran, daß der Heilige Geist nicht ist dagewesen, der solches hätte offenbart und predigen lassen, sondern Menschen und böse Geister sind dagewesen, die uns haben gelehrt, durch unsere Werke selig zu werden und Gnade [zu] erlangen. Darum ist's auch keine christliche Kirche; denn wo man nicht von Christo predigt, da ist kein Heiliger Geist, welcher die christliche Kirche macht, beruft und zusammenbringt, außer welcher niemand zu dem HErrn Christo kommen kann.

Das sei genug von der Summa dieses Artikels. Weil aber die Stücke, so darin erzählt, für die Einfältigen nicht so gar klar sind, wollen wir sie auch überlaufen.

Die heilige christliche Kirche heißt der Glaube communionem sanctorum, eine Gemeinschaft der

38] Siquidem neque ego neque tu quidquam de Christo scire possemus, aut in eum credere aut pro Domino consequi, nisi per evangelii praedicationem Spiritus Sancti opera nobis offerretur et ultro donaretur. Opus quidem ipsum completum est. Christus enim thesaurum nobis impetravit et peperit sua passione, morte et resurrectione etc. Verum si in occulto manens delitesceret, nec quisquam aliquid de eo exploratum haberet, nemini esset usui, sed plane inutilis et deperditus. Ne ergo eiusmodi thesaurus sepultus iaceat, sed eo in usum verso fruantur homines, [R. 497 Deus Verbum suum emisit praedicandum et invulgandum omnibus, in quo Spiritum Sanctum largitus est, ut eiusmodi thesauri nos **39**] faceret compotes. Quare sanctificare nihil aliud est, quam ad Christum adducere, ad suscipiendum bona per Christum nobis parta, ad quae per nosmet ipsos nunquam pervenire possemus.

40] Iam ergo quam fieri potest significantissime, hunc articulum disce intelligere, ut interrogatus, quid hisce verbis significari putas: *Credo in Spiritum Sanctum?* prompte respondere possis: Credo Spiritus Sancti opera me sanctificari, cui rei nomen eius **41**] testimonio est. Qua autem re illud facit, aut qua ratione quove medio ad hoc utitur? Responsio: Per Christianorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectio**42**] nem et vitam aeternam. Primum enim singularem in mundo communionem obtinet; haec mater est, haec quemlibet Christianum parturit ac alit per Verbum, quod Spiritus Sanctus revelat et praedicat, et per quod pectora illuminat et accendit, ut Verbum accipiant, amplectantur, illi adhaerescant inque eo perseverent.

43] Ubicunque enim gentium Spiritus Sanctus Verbum Dei praedicare non sinit inque corde excitat, ut accipiatur, ibi frustra est ac deperditum. Quemadmodum dominante papatu accidit, ubi fides prorsus neglecta et obscurata iacuit, nemo Christum pro Domino cognovit, neque Spiritum Sanctum pro eo, qui sanctificaret, habuit, hoc est, nemo credidit Christum eum esse Dominum, qui sine operibus et meritis nostris tantum thesaurum nobis peperisset, nosque Patri reconciliasset. Et **44**] quid tandem in causa fuit? Hoc scilicet, quod Spiritus Sanctus praesto non fuerit, qui talia de Christo revelasset et praedicare sivisset; verum homines et mali daemones praesto fuerunt, qui docuerunt propriis [R. 498 operibus consequendam esse salutem et irati **45**] Patris gratiam impetrandam. Eam ob rem neque Christianorum fuit communio. Ubi enim de Christo nihil docetur, ibi neque ullus est Spiritus Sanctus, qui Christianorum communionem solet constituere, convocare ac in unum cogere, citra cuius opem et operam nemo ad Christum Dominum pervenire potest.

46] Haec quidem de summa huius articuli sufficiant. Cum vero partes ac membra in eo enumerata pro captu simplicium non omnino clara sint, ea quoque paucis percurremus.

47] Sanctam Christianorum ecclesiam communionem sanctorum fides nominat. Utrum-

For neither you nor I could ever know anything of Christ, or believe on Him, and obtain Him for our Lord, unless it were offered to us and granted to our hearts by the Holy Ghost through the preaching of the Gospel. The work is done and accomplished; for Christ has acquired and gained the treasure for us by His suffering, death, resurrection, etc. But if the work remained concealed so that no one knew of it, then it would be in vain and lost. That this treasure, therefore, might not lie buried, but be appropriated and enjoyed, God has caused the Word to go forth and be proclaimed, in which He gives the Holy Ghost to bring this treasure home and appropriate it to us. Therefore sanctifying is nothing else than bringing us to Christ to receive this good, to which we could not attain of ourselves.

Learn, then, to understand this article most clearly. If you are asked: What do you mean by the words: *I believe in the Holy Ghost?* you can answer: I believe that the Holy Ghost makes me holy, as His name implies. But whereby does He accomplish this, or what are His method and means to this end? Answer: By the Christian Church, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. For, in the first place, He has a peculiar congregation in the world, which is the mother that begets and bears every Christian through the Word of God, which He reveals and preaches, [and through which] He illumines and enkindles hearts, that they understand, accept it, cling to it, and persevere in it.

For where He does not cause it to be preached and made alive in the heart, so that it is understood, it is lost, as was the case under the Papacy, where faith was entirely put under the bench, and no one recognized Christ as his Lord or the Holy Ghost as his Sanctifier, that is, no one believed that Christ is our Lord in the sense that He has acquired this treasure for us, without our works and merit, and made us acceptable to the Father. What, then, was lacking? This, that the Holy Ghost was not there to reveal it and cause it to be preached; but men and evil spirits were there, who taught us to obtain grace and be saved by our works. Therefore it is not a Christian Church either; for where Christ is not preached, there is no Holy Ghost who creates, calls, and gathers the Christian Church, without which no one can come to Christ the Lord. Let this suffice concerning the sum of this article. But because the parts which are here enumerated are not quite clear to the simple, we shall run over them also.

The Creed denominates the holy Christian Church, *communionem sanctorum*, a communion of saints; for both expressions, taken to-

Heiligen; denn es ist beides einerlei zusammengefaßt, aber vorzeiten [ist] das eine Stück nicht dabeigewesen, ist auch übel und unverständlich verdeutscht: „eine Gemeinschaft der Heiligen". Wenn man's deutlich geben sollte, müßte man's auf deutsche Art gar anders reden [ausdrücken]; denn das Wort ecclesia heißt eigentlich auf deutsch eine Versammlung. Wir sind aber gewohnt des Wörtleins „Kirche", welches die Einfältigen nicht von einem versammelten Haufen, sondern von dem geweihten Hause oder Gebäu verstehen, wiewohl das Haus nicht sollte eine Kirche heißen, ohne allein darum, daß der Haufe darin zusammenkommt; denn wir, die zusammenkommen, machen und nehmen uns einen sonderlichen Raum und geben dem Hause nach dem Haufen einen Namen.

Also heißt das Wörtlein „Kirche" eigentlich nichts anderes denn eine gemeine Sammlung und ist von Art nicht deutsch, sondern griechisch (wie auch das Wort ecclesia), denn sie heißen's auf ihre Sprache kyria, wie man's auch lateinisch curiam nennt. Darum sollt's auf recht deutsch und unsere Muttersprache heißen: eine christliche Gemeinde oder Sammlung oder aufs allerbeste und klärste: eine heilige Christenheit.

Also auch das Wort communio, das daran gehängt ist, sollte nicht „Gemeinschaft", sondern „Gemeinde" heißen. Und ist nichts anderes denn die Glosse oder Auslegung, da jemand hat wollen deuten, was die christliche Kirche heiße. Dafür haben die Unsern, so weder Lateinisch noch Deutsch gekonnt haben, gemacht: „Gemeinschaft der Heiligen", so doch keine deutsche Sprache so redet noch versteht. Aber recht deutsch zu reden, sollte es heißen: „eine Gemeinde der Heiligen", das ist, eine Gemeinde, darin eitel Heilige sind, oder noch klärlicher: „eine heilige Gemeinde". Das rede ich darum, daß man die Worte „Gemeinschaft der Heiligen" verstehe, weil es so in die Gewohnheit eingerissen ist, daß schwerlich wieder herauszureißen ist, und muß bald [sofort] Ketzerei sein, wo man ein Wort ändert.

Das ist aber die Meinung und Summa von diesem Zusatz: Ich glaube, daß da sei ein heiliges Häuflein und Gemeinde auf Erden eitler Heiligen, unter einem Haupt, Christo, durch den Heiligen Geist zusammenberufen in einem Glauben, Sinn und Verstand, mit mancherlei Gaben, doch einträchtig in der Liebe, ohne Rotten und Spaltung. Derselben bin ich auch ein Stück und Glied, aller Güter, so sie hat, teilhaftig und Mitgenosse, durch den Heiligen Geist dahin gebracht und eingeleibt dadurch, daß ich Gottes Wort gehört habe und noch höre, welches ist der Anfang hineinzukommen. Denn vorhin, ehe wir dazu[ge]kommen sind, sind wir gar des Teufels gewesen, als die von Gott und von Christo nichts gewußt haben. So bleibt der Heilige Geist bei der heiligen Gemeinde oder Christenheit bis auf den Jüngsten Tag, dadurch er uns holt, und braucht sie dazu, das Wort zu führen und zu treiben, dadurch er die Heiligung macht und mehrt,

que enim idem coniunctim significat. Olim vero alterum adiectum non erat, planeque male et inepte lingua nobis vernacula expositum est. Quodsi significanter enuntiandum esset, Germanico sermone prorsus aliter proferendum foret. Siquidem haec vox *ecclesia* proprie nihil aliud quam congregationem signi-
48] ficat. Porro nos Germani hanc dictionem *Kirche* usurpare consuevimus, quam simplices non de congregata multitudine, sed de consecratis templis aut aedificiis intelligunt. Tametsi sacra domus ecclesia dicenda non est, nisi propterea quod hominum multitudo in ea convenire soleat. Nos enim, qui convenimus praecipuum locum confluendi nobis delegimus, atque ita domui secundum multitudinem nominis quoque appellationem imponimus.

Ita haec Germanica vocula *Kirche* proprie nihil aliud significat quam congregationem, neque vox Germana est, sed Graeca, sicut etiam *ἐκκλησία*. Illi enim sua lingua *κυρίαν*, quemadmodum Latini curiam, nominant. Quamobrem recto Germanorum sermone Christianorum communio seu congregatio (*eine christliche Gemeinde oder Sammlung*) [R. 499 aut omnium optime et clarissime sancta Christianitas (*eine heilige Christenheit*) dicenda fuerat.

49] Ita quoque haec dictiuncula *communio*, quae alteri annexa est, non *Gemeinschaft*, sed *Gemeinde* interpretanda fuerat. Neque aliam ob rem, quam interpretandi gratia, priori adiecta est, qua quispiam haud dubie exponere voluit, quid Christianorum esset ecclesia. Pro quo nostri, qui et Germanae et Latinae linguae iuxta imperiti fuere, transtulerunt *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen*, cum tamen nulla Germanorum lingua ita loquatur aut intelligat. Verum recta et genuina Germanorum lingua vertenda erat: *eine Gemeinde der Heiligen, sanctorum communio*, hoc est, eiusmodi communio, in qua nonnisi sancti versantur, aut adhuc significantius, *eine heilige Gemeinde*,
50] hoc est, sancta communio. Haec ideo dico, ut verba sane et recte intelligantur, cum haec consuetudo usque adeo usu recepta inveteraverit, ut vix unquam ex hominum animis evelli possit et statim haeresin esse oporteat, ubi verbulum aliquod immutatum fuerit.

51] Huius autem appendicis haec summa est: Credo in terris esse quandam sanctorum congregatiunculam et communionem ex mere sanctis hominibus coactam, sub uno capite Christo, per Spiritum Sanctum convocatam in una fide, eodem sensu et sententia, multiplicibus dotibus exornatam, in amore tamen unanimem et per omnia concordem, sine sectis
52] et schismatibus. Horum me quoque partem et membrum esse constanter credo, omnium bonorum, quaecunque habent, participem ac municipem, Spiritus Sancti opera eo perductum, iisdem uno corpore unitum, per hoc, quod Verbum Dei audierim atque etiamnum audio, quod principium est in hanc communionem ingrediendi. Ante enim, quam ad hanc pervenimus, penitus sub potestate eramus diaboli, ut ii, quibus de Deo ac Christo prorsus nihil comperte exploratum fuerat.
53] Quin etiam Spiritus Sanctus a sanctorum

gether, are identical. But formerly the one [the second] expression was not there, and it has been poorly and unintelligibly translated into German eine *Gemeinschaft* der Heiligen, a communion of saints. If it is to be rendered plainly, it must be expressed quite differently in the German idiom; for the word *ecclesia* properly means in German *eine Versammlung*, an assembly. But we are accustomed to the word *church*, by which the simple do not understand an assembled multitude, but the consecrated house or building, although the house ought not to be called a church, except only for the reason that the multitude assembles there. For we who assemble there make and choose for ourselves a particular place, and give a name to the house according to the assembly.

Thus the word *Kirche* (*church*) means really nothing else than a common assembly, and is not German by idiom, but Greek (as is also the word *ecclesia*); for in their own language they call it *kyria*, as in Latin it is called *curia*. Therefore in genuine German, in our mother-tongue, it ought to be called a Christian congregation or assembly (*eine christliche Gemeinde oder Sammlung*), or, best of all and most clearly, holy Christendom (*eine heilige Christenheit*).

So also the word *communio*, which is added, ought not to be rendered communion (*Gemeinschaft*), but congregation (*Gemeinde*). And it is nothing else than an interpretation or explanation by which some one meant to explain what the Christian Church is. This our people, who understood neither Latin nor German, have rendered *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen* (communion of saints), although no German language speaks thus, nor understands it thus. But to speak correct German, it ought to be *eine Gemeinde der Heiligen* (a congregation of saints), that is, a congregation made up purely of saints, or, to speak yet more plainly, *eine heilige Gemeinde*, a holy congregation. I say this in order that the words *Gemeinschaft der Heiligen* (communion of saints) may be understood, because the expression has become so established by custom that it cannot well be eradicated, and it is treated almost as heresy if one should attempt to change a word.

But this is the meaning and substance of this addition: I believe that there is upon earth a little holy group and congregation of pure saints, under one head, even Christ, called together by the Holy Ghost in one faith, one mind, and understanding, with manifold gifts, yet agreeing in love, without sects or schisms. I am also a part and member of the same, a sharer and joint owner of all the goods it possesses, brought to it and incorporated into it by the Holy Ghost by having heard and continuing to hear the Word of God, which is the beginning of entering it. For formerly, before we had attained to this, we were altogether of the devil, knowing nothing of God and of Christ. Thus, until the last day, the Holy Ghost abides with the holy congregation

daß sie täglich zunehme und stark werde im Glauben und seinen Früchten, so er schafft.

communione seu Christianitate non [R. 506 discedit, sed cum ea usque ad consummationem saeculi perseverat, per quam nos adducit, eiusque in hoc utitur adminiculo, ut Verbum praedicet atque exerceat, per quod sanctificationem efficit, communionem amplificans, ut quotidianis incrementis crescat et in fide eiusque fructibus, quos producit, corroborata fortis evadat.

Danach weiter glauben wir, daß wir in der Christenheit haben Vergebung der Sünden, welches geschieht durch die heiligen Sakramente und Absolution, dazu allerlei Trostsprüche des ganzen Evangelii. Darum gehört hierher, was von den Sakramenten zu predigen ist, und, Summa, das ganze Evangelium und alle Ämter der Christenheit, welches auch not ist, daß [es] ohne Unterlaß gehe. Denn wiewohl Gottes Gnade durch Christum erworben ist, und die Heiligkeit durch den Heiligen Geist gemacht, durch Gottes Wort in der Vereinigung der christlichen Kirche, so sind wir doch nimmer ohne Sünde unsers Fleisches halben, so wir noch am Halse tragen.

54] Praeterea cernimus etiam nobis in hac Christianitate esse remissionem peccatorum propositam, quae fit per sacramenta et absolutionem ecclesiae, adhaec multiplices totius evangelii sententias, bonae spei ac consolationis plenissimas. Quare huc ea pertinent, quae de sacramentis et deinde de sacramentorum usu atque praestantia tradenda sunt et in summa totum evangelium ac omnia Christianitatis officia, quae, ut assidue exerceantur et sedulo, summe necessarium est. Etenim quamquam Dei gratia per Christum impetrata est et sanctificatio per Spiritum Sanctum facta, per Verbum divinum in unitate ecclesiae catholicae, nunquam tamen nos a peccatis sumus vacui, et hoc carnis nostrae gratia, quam adhuc adhaerentem humeris nostris circumferimus.

Darum ist alles in der Christenheit dazu geordnet, daß man da täglich eitel Vergebung der Sünden durchs Wort und Zeichen hole, unser Gewissen zu trösten und aufzurichten, solange wir hier leben. Also macht der Heilige Geist, daß, ob wir gleich Sünde haben, doch sie uns nicht schaden kann, weil wir in der Christenheit sind, da eitel Vergebung der Sünden ist, beide daß uns Gott vergibt, und wir untereinander vergeben, tragen und aufhelfen.

55] Quocirca omnia in Christianitate eo adornata sunt, ut quotidie meras peccatorum condonationes auferamus, et verbis et signis ad hoc constitutis, ad consolandam et erigendam conscientiam, quamdiu in hac vita futuri sumus. Ita facit Spiritus Sancti gratia, ut, quamquam peccatis simus contaminati, non tamen nobis noceant in Christianitate constitutis, ubi nihil aliud quam assidua et indesinens est peccatorum remissio, cum quam nobis Deus largitur, tum qua nobis inter nos vicissim utimur, ignoscentes, sufferentes et erigentes nos invicem.

Außer der Christenheit aber, da das Evangelium nicht ist, ist auch keine Vergebung nicht, wie auch keine Heiligkeit da sein kann. Darum haben sich alle selbst herausgeworfen und gesondert, die nicht durchs Evangelium und Vergebung der Sünden, sondern durch ihre Werke Heiligkeit suchen und verdienen wollen.

56] Sed etiam extra hanc Christianitatem, ubi huic evangelio locus non est, neque [R. 501 ulla est peccatorum remissio, quemadmodum nec ulla sanctificatio adesse potest. Quocirca ab hac ecclesia omnes ii semet sua sponte abalienarunt, qui non per evangelii gratiam et peccatorum condonationem, sed propriis operibus sanctificationem quaerunt ac venantur ac promereri contendunt.

Indes aber, weil die Heiligkeit angefangen ist und täglich zunimmt, warten wir, daß unser Fleisch hingerichtet [getötet] und mit allem Unflat bescharrt [verscharrt, begraben] werde, aber herrlich hervorkomme und auferstehe zu ganzer und völliger Heiligkeit in einem neuen ewigen Leben. Denn jetzt bleiben wir halb und halb rein und heilig, auf daß der Heilige Geist immer an uns arbeite durch das Wort und täglich Vergebung austeile bis in jenes Leben, da nicht mehr Vergebung wird sein, sondern ganz und gar reine und heilige Menschen, voller Frömmigkeit und Gerechtigkeit, entnommen und ledig von Sünde, Tod und allem Unglück, in einem neuen unsterblichen und verklärten Leibe.

57] Sed enim in hoc, quando sanctificationis opus inchoatum est et quotidie augetur, exspectamus, ut haec nostra caro cum omnibus suis sordibus et vitiis abolita et sepulta computrescat, verum praeclare et magnifice iterum prodeat et exsurgat a mortuis ad perfectam et absolutam sanctitatem, nova atque 58] immortali vita animata. Iam enim tantum ex dimidio puri ac sancti sumus, ut Spiritus Sanctus subinde habeat, quod divini Verbi praedicatione in nobis eluat ac purificet, tum in dies singulos remissionem peccatorum distribuat, usque in futuram vitam, ubi remissioni locus non erit amplius, sed homines in universum ab omni peccatorum contagio puri et sancti, pleni omni probitate atque iustitia, subtracti et liberati a peccatis, morte et omni exitio, in novam, perpetuam, glorificatam et transfiguratam vitam traducentur.

Siehe, das alles soll des Heiligen Geistes Amt und Werk sein, daß er auf Erden die Heiligkeit anfange und täglich mehre durch die zwei Stücke,

59] Ecce, haec omnia Spiritus Sancti sunt officia et opera, ut hic in terris sanctificationem exordiatur, eandemque quotidie per haec

or Christendom, by means of which He fetches us to Christ and which He employs to teach and preach to us the Word, whereby He works and promotes sanctification, causing it [this community] daily to grow and become strong in the faith and its fruits which He produces.

We further believe that in this Christian Church we have forgiveness of sin, which is wrought through the holy Sacraments and Absolution, moreover, through all manner of consolatory promises of the entire Gospel. Therefore, whatever is to be preached concerning the Sacraments belongs here, and, in short, the whole Gospel and all the offices of Christianity, which also must be preached and taught without ceasing. For although the grace of God is secured through Christ, and sanctification is wrought by the Holy Ghost through the Word of God in the unity of the Christian Church, yet on account of our flesh which we bear about with us we are never without sin.

Everything, therefore, in the Christian Church is ordered to the end that we shall daily obtain there nothing but the forgiveness of sin through the Word and signs, to comfort and encourage our consciences as long as we live here. Thus, although we have sins, the [grace of the] Holy Ghost does not allow them to injure us, because we are in the Christian Church, where there is nothing but [continuous, uninterrupted] forgiveness of sin, both in that God forgives us, and in that we forgive, bear with, and help each other.

But outside of this Christian Church, where the Gospel is not, there is no forgiveness, as also there can be no holiness [sanctification]. Therefore all who seek and wish to merit holiness [sanctification], not through the Gospel and forgiveness of sin, but by their works, have expelled and severed themselves [from this Church].

Meanwhile, however, while sanctification has begun and is growing daily, we expect that our flesh will be destroyed and buried with all its uncleanness, and will come forth gloriously, and arise to entire and perfect holiness in a new eternal life. For now we are only half pure and holy, so that the Holy Ghost has ever [some reason why] to continue His work in us through the Word, and daily to dispense forgiveness, until we attain to that life where there will be no more forgiveness, but only perfectly pure and holy people, full of godliness and righteousness, removed and free from sin, death, and all evil, in a new, immortal, and glorified body.

Behold, all this is to be the office and work of the Holy Ghost, that He begin and daily increase holiness upon earth by means of these

christliche Kirche und Vergebung der Sünden. Wenn wir aber verwesen, wird er's ganz auf einen Augenblick vollführen und uns ewig dabei erhalten durch die letzten zwei.

Daß aber hier steht „Auferstehung des Fleisches", ist auch nicht wohl deutsch geredet. Denn wo wir Deutschen Fleisch hören, denken wir nicht weiter denn in die Scherren [an die Fleischläden]. Auf recht deutsch aber würden wir also reden: „Auferstehung des Leibes" oder Leichnams. Doch liegt nicht große Macht dran, so man nur die Worte recht versteht.

Das ist nun der Artikel, der da immerdar im Werk gehen und bleiben muß. Denn die Schöpfung haben wir nun hinweg, so ist die Erlösung auch ausgerichtet; aber der Heilige Geist treibt sein Werk ohne Unterlaß bis auf den Jüngsten Tag, dazu er verordnet eine Gemeinde auf Erden, dadurch er alles redet und tut. Denn er seine Christenheit noch nicht zusammen[ge]bracht noch die Vergebung ausgeteilt [hat]. Darum glauben wir an den, der uns täglich herzuholt durch das Wort und den Glauben gibt, mehrt und stärkt durch dasselbe Wort und Vergebung der Sünden, auf daß er uns, wenn das alles ausgerichtet, und wir dabei bleiben, der Welt und allem Unglück absterben, endlich gar und ewig heilig mache, welches wir jetzt durchs Wort im Glauben warten.

Siehe, da hast du das ganze göttliche Wesen, Willen und Werk, mit ganz kurzen und doch reichen Worten aufs allerfeinste abgemalt, darin all unsere Weisheit steht, so über aller Menschen Weisheit, Sinne und Vernunft geht und schwebt. Denn alle Welt, wiewohl sie mit allem Fleiß danach getrachtet hat, was doch Gott wäre, und was er im Sinn hätte und täte, so hat sie doch der keines je erlangen mögen [können]. Hier aber hast du es alles aufs allerreichste; denn da hat er selbst offenbart und aufgetan den tiefsten Abgrund seines väterlichen Herzens und eitel unaussprechlicher Liebe in allen drei Artikeln. Denn er hat uns eben dazu geschaffen, daß er uns erlöste und heiligte, und über das, daß er uns alles [ge]geben und eingetan [eingeräumt] hatte, was im Himmel und auf Erden ist, hat er uns auch seinen Sohn und Heiligen Geist [ge]geben, durch welche er uns zu sich brächte. Denn wir könnten (wie droben erklärt) nimmermehr dazu kommen, daß wir des Vaters Huld und Gnade erkennten ohne durch den HErrn Christum, der ein Spiegel ist des väterlichen Herzens, außer welchem wir nichts sehen denn einen zornigen und schrecklichen Richter. Von Christo aber könnten wir auch nichts wissen, wo es nicht durch den Heiligen Geist offenbart wäre.

Darum scheiden und sondern diese Artikel des Glaubens uns Christen von allen andern Leuten auf Erden. Denn was außer der Christenheit ist,

duo augeat, nempe per sanctorum ecclesiam et peccatorum remissionem. Porro ubi iam soluti in cinerem computruerimus, hoc ipsum in momento oculi plene absoluturus est et purificaturus, in qua perpetuo nos retinebit duobus articulis posterioribus.

60] Quod autem hic ponitur (*Auferstehung des Fleisches, carnis resurrectionem*), ne hoc quidem valde apte et bene lingua nostra vernacula expressum est. Etenim carnem audientes non ulterius cogitamus quam de macello. Verum recte et genuine loquendo Germanice diceremus *Auferstehung des Leibes oder Leichnams*, hoc est, corporis resurrectionem. [R. 502 Attamen res est momenti non magni, dummodo verborum sensum recte percipiamus.

61] Iam hic ille est articulus, cuius opus semper fervere debet et efficax persistere. Rerum enim creationem accepimus, sed et redemptionem iam effectam habemus. Porro autem Spiritus Sanctus citra intermissionem nobis sanctificandis opus suum perficit usque in extremum diem, ad quod communionem destinat, per quam omnia facit et loquitur. **62]** Nondum Christianos suos omnes coegit, neque remissionis distribuendae officio prorsus perfunctus est. Eam ob rem in hunc credimus, qui quotidie nos divini Verbi praedicatione attrahit et adsciscit, fidemque impertit, auget atque corroborat per Verbum illud et remissionem peccatorum, ut nos his omnibus perfecte absolutis, nobisque iisdem constanter adhaerentibus et mundo ac omnibus periculis iam mortuis, denique prorsus per omnia sanctos faciat, id quod iam per Verbum in fide exspectamus.

63] Ecce, hoc loco totam Divinitatis essentiam, voluntatem et operationem verbis equidem admodum brevibus, attamen opulentis et fecundis, artificiose depictam habes, in quibus omnis nostra sapientia sita est, omnem humanam sapientiam, rationem ac sensum longe lateque excedens ac superans. Nam universus mundus, quamquam sedula pervestigatione iam inde ab initio elaborarit, quidnam Deus esset, aut quid haberet animi, seu cui operi intentus esset, nihil tamen harum rerum unquam intelligentia aut ratione assequi potuit; hic vero omnia haec copiosissime in numerato **64]** habes. Hic enim ipse in omnibus tribus articulis profundissimam abyssum paterni sui pectoris et meras ardentissimi et ineffabilis amoris sui flammas manifestavit reservavitque. Quippe ob id ipsum nos creavit, [R. 503 ut nos redimeret et sanctificaret, et praeterea, quae nobis possidenda et utenda subiecit, quaecunque uspiam in coelo et in terra cernuntur, Filium quoque suum et Spiritum Sanctum nobis largitus est, per quos nos ad se **65]** attraheret. Neque enim unquam (ut supra ostensum est) eo propriis viribus pervenire possemus, ut Patris favorem ac gratiam cognosceremus, nisi per Iesum Christum, Dominum nostrum, qui paterni animi erga nos speculum est, extra quem nihil nisi iratum et truculentum videmus iudicem. Sed neque de Christo quidquam scire possemus, si non per Spiritum Sanctum nobis revelatum esset.

66] Proinde ii articuli nostrae fidei nos Christianos ab omnibus aliis, qui sunt in terris, hominibus separant. Quicunque enim

two things, the Christian Church and the forgiveness of sin. But in our dissolution He will accomplish it altogether in an instant, and will forever preserve us therein by the last two parts.

But the term *Auferstehung des Fleisches* (resurrection of the flesh) here employed is not according to good German idiom. For when we Germans hear the word *Fleisch* (flesh), we think no farther than of the shambles. But in good German idiom we would say *Auferstehung des Leibes*, or *Leichnams* (resurrection of the body). However, it is not a matter of much moment, if we only understand the words aright.

This, now, is the article which must ever be and remain in operation. For creation we have received; redemption, too, is finished. But the Holy Ghost carries on His work without ceasing to the last day. And for that purpose He has appointed a congregation upon earth by which He speaks and does everything. For He has not yet brought together all His Christian Church nor dispensed forgiveness. Therefore we believe in Him who through the Word daily brings us into the fellowship of this Christian Church, and through the same Word and the forgiveness of sins bestows, increases, and strengthens faith, in order that when He has accomplished it all, and we abide therein, and die to the world and to all evil, He may finally make us perfectly and forever holy; which now we expect in faith through the Word.

Behold, here you have the entire divine essence, will, and work depicted most exquisitely in quite short and yet rich words, wherein consists all our wisdom, which surpasses and exceeds the wisdom, mind, and reason of all men. For although the whole world with all diligence has endeavored to ascertain what God is, what He has in mind and does, yet has she never been able to attain to [the knowledge and understanding of] any of these things. But here we have everything in richest measure; for here in all three articles He has Himself revealed and opened the deepest abyss of his paternal heart and of His pure unutterable love. For He has created us for this very object, that He might redeem and sanctify us; and in addition to giving and imparting to us everything in heaven and upon earth, He has given to us even His Son and the Holy Ghost, by whom to bring us to Himself. For (as explained above) we could never attain to the knowledge of the grace and favor of the Father except through the Lord Christ, who is a mirror of the paternal heart, outside of whom we see nothing but an angry and terrible Judge. But of Christ we could know nothing either, unless it had been revealed by the Holy Ghost.

These articles of the Creed, therefore, divide and separate us Christians from all other

es seien Heiden, Türken, Juden oder falsche Christen und Heuchler, ob sie gleich nur einen wahrhaftigen Gott glauben und anbeten, so wissen sie doch nicht, was er gegen ihnen [wie er gegen sie] gesinnt ist, können sich auch keiner Liebe noch Gutes zu ihm versehen, darum sie im ewigen Zorn und Verdammnis bleiben. Denn sie den HErrn Christum nicht haben, dazu mit keinen Gaben durch den Heiligen Geist erleuchtet und begnadet sind.

Aus dem siehst du nun, daß der Glaube gar viel eine andere Lehre ist denn die zehn Gebote; denn diese lehrt wohl, was wir tun sollen, jene aber sagt, was uns Gott tue und gebe. Die zehn Gebote sind auch sonst in aller Menschen Herzen geschrieben, den Glauben aber kann keine menschliche Klugheit begreifen, und muß allein vom Heiligen Geist gelehrt werden. Darum macht jene Lehre noch keinen Christen, denn es bleibt noch immer Gottes Zorn und Ungnade über uns, weil wir's nicht halten können, was Gott von uns fordert; aber diese bringt eitel Gnade, macht uns fromm und Gott angenehm. Denn durch diese Erkenntnis kriegen wir Lust und Liebe zu allen Geboten Gottes, weil wir hier sehen, wie sich Gott ganz und gar mit allem, das er hat und vermag [besitzt], uns gibt, zu Hilfe und Steuer, die zehn Gebote zu halten: der Vater alle Kreaturen, Christus alle seine Werke, der Heilige Geist alle seine Gaben.

Das sei jetzt genug vom Glauben, einen Grund zu legen für die Einfältigen, daß man sie nicht überlade, auf daß [sie], wenn sie die Summa davon verstehen, danach selbst weiter nachtrachten, und was sie in der Schrift lernen, hierher ziehen und immerdar in reicherem Verstand zunehmen und wachsen; denn wir haben doch täglich, solange wir hier leben, daran zu predigen und zu lernen.

extra Christianitatem sunt, sive gentiles sive Turcae sive Iudaei aut falsi etiam Christiani et hypocritae, quamquam unum tantum et verum Deum esse credant et invocent, neque tamen certum habent, quo erga eos animatus sit animo, neque quidquam favoris aut gratiae de Deo sibi polliceri audent aut possunt, quamobrem in perpetua manent ira et damnatione. Neque enim habent Christum Dominum, neque ullis Spiritus Sancti donis et dotibus illustrati et donati sunt.

67] Ex hoc iam clare vides et cognoscis fidem longe aliam esse doctrinam, quam sunt decem praecepta. Nam haec docent quidem, quid faciendum sit, illa vero indicat, quid Deus nobis fecerit et praestiterit. Decem praecepta alioqui etiam omnium hominum cordibus inscripta sunt, ceterum fides nulli humanae sapientiae est comprehensibilis, sed a solo Spiritu Sancto tradenda et docenda est. **68**] Eam ob rem praeceptorum doctrina nondum ullum Christianum facit. Semper [R. 504 enim Dei ira atque indignatio nobis incumbit, quamdiu servare nequimus, quod Deus praeceptis suis a nobis exigit. Haec vero, nempe fidei doctrina, meram gratiam secum apportat, et haec iustos Deoque nos acceptos facit. **69**] Per huius doctrinae cognitionem amorem ac voluptatem Dei praeceptorum faciendorum consequimur, videntes hic, quomodo Deus prorsus se nobis tradiderit cum omnibus, quae possidet, ut praesenti ope et auxilio in perficiendis praeceptis nos sublevet, Pater quidem omnibus suis creaturis, Christus vero omnibus suis operibus, porro autem Spiritus Sanctus omnibus suis dotibus.

70] Haec quidem in praesentia de fide, fundamenti pro simplicibus locandi gratia, dicta sufficiant, ne obruantur multitudine, ut huius rei intellecta iam probe summa ipsi postea hanc rem latius indagent et, quidquid in Scripturis didicerint, huc referant, ac subinde locupletiorem intellectum quotidianis incrementis consequantur. Quotidie enim haec, quamdiu hic vivimus, docentes et discentes vix unquam satis discemus aut docebimus.

Das dritte Teil, vom Gebet.

Das Vaterunser.

Wir haben nun gehört, was man tun und glauben soll, darin das beste und seligste Leben steht. Folgt nun das dritte Stück, wie man beten soll. Denn weil es mit uns also getan ist, daß kein Mensch die zehn Gebote vollkommen halten kann, ob er gleich angefangen hat zu glauben, und sich der Teufel mit aller Gewalt samt der Welt und unserm eigenen Fleisch dawider sperrt, ist nichts so not, denn daß man Gott immerdar in [den] Ohren liege, rufe und bitte, daß er den Glauben und Erfüllung der zehn Gebote uns gebe, erhalte und mehre und alles, was uns im Wege liegt und daran hindert, hinwegräume. Daß wir aber wüßten, was und wie wir beten sollen, hat uns unser HErr Christus selbst Weise und Worte gelehrt, wie wir sehen werden.

Tertia Catechismi Pars.

ORATIO DOMINICA.

1] Hactenus audivimus, quid nobis cum faciendum tum credendum sit, quibus in rebus optima et felicissima vita sita sit. Sequitur iam deinceps pars tertia, docens, quomodo **2**] orandum sit. Cum enim ita nobiscum comparatum esse videamus, ut nemo hominum decem praecepta plene et perfecte servare queat, tametsi credere inceperit, et diabolus huic nostro conatui summo studio, una [R. 505 cum mundi ac propriae carnis nostrae illecebris, obluctetur ac renitatur, nihil perinde necessarium est, quam ut assiduis precibus divinas aures fatigemus et obtundamus, ut fidem et praeceptorum satisfactionem nobis largiri, sustentare atque adaugere, tum et quidquid ad eam nobis impedimento est, omne **3**] hoc e medio tollere dignetur. Sed enim, ne nobis obscurum foret, quid et quomodo orare debeamus, Dominus noster, Iesus Christus, ipse nos rationem et verba orandi docuit, quemadmodum mox audiemus.

people upon earth. For all outside of Christianity, whether heathen, Turks, Jews, or false Christians and hypocrites, although they believe in, and worship, only one true God, yet know not what His mind towards them is, and cannot expect any love or blessing from Him; therefore they abide in eternal wrath and damnation. For they have not the Lord Christ, and, besides, are not illumined and favored by any gifts of the Holy Ghost.

From this you perceive that the Creed is a doctrine quite different from the Ten Commandments; for the latter teaches indeed what we ought to do, but the former tells what God does for us and gives to us. Moreover, apart from this, the Ten Commandments are written in the hearts of all men; the Creed, however, no human wisdom can comprehend, but it must be taught by the Holy Ghost alone. The latter doctrine [of the Law], therefore, makes no Christian, for the wrath and displeasure of God abide upon us still, because we cannot keep what God demands of us; but this [namely, the doctrine of faith] brings pure grace, and makes us godly and acceptable to God. For by this knowledge we obtain love and delight in all the commandments of God, because here we see that God gives Himself entire to us, with all that He has and is able to do, to aid and direct us in keeping the Ten Commandments — the Father, all creatures; the Son, His entire work; and the Holy Ghost, all His gifts.

Let this suffice concerning the Creed to lay a foundation for the simple, that they may not be burdened, so that, if they understand the substance of it, they themselves may afterwards strive to acquire more, and to refer to these parts whatever they learn in the Scriptures, and may ever grow and increase in richer understanding. For as long as we live here, we shall daily have enough to do to preach and to learn this.

Part Third.

OF PRAYER.

The Lord's Prayer.

We have now heard what we must do and believe, in which things the best and happiest life consists. Now follows the third part, how we ought to pray. For since we are so situated that no man can perfectly keep the Ten Commandments, even though he have begun to believe, and since the devil with all his power, together with the world and our own flesh, resists our endeavors, nothing is so necessary as that we should continually resort to the ear of God, call upon Him, and pray to Him, that He would give, preserve, and increase in us faith and the fulfilment of the Ten Commandments, and that He would remove everything that is in our way and opposes us therein. But that we might know what and how to pray, our Lord Christ has Himself taught us both the mode and the words, as we shall see.

Ehe wir aber das Vaterunser nacheinander erklären, ist wohl am nötigsten, vorhin die Leute zu vermahnen und reizen zum Gebet, wie auch Christus und die Apostel getan haben, und soll nämlich das erste sein, daß man wisse, wie wir um Gottes Gebots willen schuldig sind zu beten. Denn so haben wir gehört im andern Gebot: „Du sollst Gottes Namen nicht unnützlich führen", daß darin gefordert werde, den heiligen Namen preisen und in aller Not anrufen oder beten. Denn anrufen ist nichts anderes denn beten, also daß es streng und ernstlich geboten ist, so hoch als alle andern [Gebote]: keinen andern Gott haben, nicht töten, nicht stehlen usw.; daß niemand denke, es sei gleich so viel [es sei einerlei], ich bete oder bete nicht; wie die groben Leute hingehen in solchem Wahn und Gedanken: Was sollte ich beten? Wer weiß, ob Gott mein Gebet achtet oder hören will? Bete ich nicht, so betet ein anderer; und kommen also in die Gewohnheit, daß sie nimmermehr beten, und nehmen zu Behelf [zum Vorwand unsere Worte], da wir falsche und Heuchelgebete verwerfen, als lehrten wir, man solle oder dürfe nicht beten.

4] Prius tamen, quam ipsam orationem particulatim tractandam aggrediamur, vehementer operae pretium esse videtur, homines ad orandum ostensis nonnullis argumentis et persuasionibus hortari et provocare, veluti Christus quoque et apostoli fecisse leguntur. Et 5] hoc quidem primo loco recensendum est, ut non ignoremus divini praecepti iussu nobis orandum esse. Ita enim in secundo praecepto audivimus: *Non assumes nomen Domini Dei tui in vanum*, quibus verbis hoc simul exigitur, ut sanctum Dei nomen laudemus, idemque in omnibus necessitatibus precando invocemus. Invocare enim nihil aliud est, quam preces ad 6] Deum fundere, ita ut severe atque adeo serio praeceptum sit, quam omnia alia minaciter interdicta: non habendos esse alienos deos, non occidendum, non furandum etc., ne quis temere in eam opinionem veniat, ut existimet, perinde esse, oret necne; quemadmodum nonnulli crassi et inculti homines factitare consueverunt, in eiusmodi cogitationes descendentes: Quid vero multis orarem, cum nesciam, num Deus preces meas curet et audiat necne? Quodsi non oravero, oret alius. Ex quo tandem in eam consuetudinem deveniunt, ut nunquam quidquam orent, praetexentes tandem suae pigritiae aut ignavae impietati potius, nos falsas et hypocriticas oratiunculas [R. 506 reiicere, quasi vero nos unquam docuissemus, non esse orandum.

Das ist aber je wahr, was man bisher für Gebete getan hat, geplärrt und getönt in der Kirche usw., ist freilich kein Gebet gewesen; denn solch äußerlich Ding, wo es recht geht, mag eine Übung für die jungen Kinder, Schüler und Einfältigen sein und mag gesungen oder gelesen heißen, es heißt aber nicht eigentlich gebetet. Das heißt aber gebetet, wie das andere Gebot lehrt: „Gott anrufen in allen Nöten". Das will er von uns haben, und soll nicht in unser[er] Willkür stehen, sondern [wir] sollen und müssen beten, wollen wir Christen sein, sowohl als wir sollen und müssen Vater und Mutter und der Obrigkeit gehorsam sein; denn durch das Anrufen und Bitten wird der Name Gottes geehrt und nützlich gebraucht. Das sollst du vor allen Dingen merken, daß man damit schweige [zum Schweigen bringe] und zurückstoße solche Gedanken, die uns davonhalten und abschrecken. Denn gleichwie es nichts gilt, daß ein Sohn zum Vater sagen wollte: Was liegt an meinem Gehorsam? Ich will hingehen und tun, was ich kann, es gilt doch gleich so viel; sondern da steht das Gebot: du sollst und mußt es tun: also auch hier steht es nicht in meinem Willen zu tun und zu lassen, sondern soll und muß gebetet sein [* bei Gottes Zorn und Ungnade.

Das soll man nun vor allen Dingen fassen und merken, daß man damit schweige und zurückschlage die Gedanken, so uns davonhalten und abschrecken, als liege keine große Macht daran, ob wir nicht beten, oder sei denen befohlen, die heiliger und mit Gott besser daran sind denn wir; wie denn das menschliche Herz von Natur so verzweifelt ist, daß es immer vor Gott fleucht [flieht] und denkt, er wolle und möge unsers Gebets nicht, weil wir Sünder sind und nichts denn Zorn verdient haben. Wider solche Gedanken (sage ich) sollen wir dies Gebot ansehen und uns zu Gott kehren, auf daß wir ihn durch solchen Ungehorsam nicht höher er-

7] Quamquam hoc diffiteri non possumus, eas orationes, quae hactenus factae sunt, stentoreis clamoribus in ecclesiis vociferando et tonando etc., non fuisse orationes. Eiusmodi enim res externae, ubi harum rectus est usus, puerorum, scholasticorum ac simplicium esse possunt exercitia, legendo aut cantando consistentia, proprie tamen orationes aut 8] preces existimandae non sunt. Sed enim hoc denique orare dicitur, quemadmodum secundum praeceptum docet, *Deum tempore necessitatis invocare.* Hoc a nobis exigit, neque res est nostri arbitrii, verum orare debemus et cogimur, si modo Christiani perhiberi volumus, aeque atque parentibus et magistratibus omnibus obedientiae officiis obtemperare cogimur. Siquidem invocando et precando nomen 9] Dei colitur et utiliter usurpatur. Quemadmodum enim hoc non valet, si filius ad patrem diceret: Quid Deus meam obedientiam curat, et quid commodi mea tibi praestare potest obedientia? Ego vadam facturus, quod potero, perinde est, sive morigerus sim necne. Verum hic exstat praeceptum Dei; velis, nolis, facias oportet. Ita quoque hic, ut omittas aut facias, in tuo arbitratu situm non est, sed omnino orandum est, nisi Dei iram et indignationem incurrere velis.

10] Atque haec diligenter et ante omnia sunt notanda, ut his reprimamus et expellamus cogitationes, quibus ab orando abstrahimur et deterremur, quasi parum [parvi] momenti res sit non orare, aut quasi, ut orent, mandatum sit iis tantum, qui sanctitate excellant et in maiore apud Deum gratia sint quam nos; quemadmodum humanum cor tam desperatum et natura perversum esse experimur, ut semper Deum fugiat et cogitet Deum aversari nostras preces, cum simus [R. 507 peccatores et nihil aliud quam iram meriti 11] simus. Ad has cogitationes repellendas

But before we explain the Lord's Prayer part by part, it is most necessary first to exhort and incite people to prayer, as Christ and the apostles also have done. And the first matter is to know that it is our duty to pray because of God's commandment. For thus we heard in the Second Commandment: *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain,* that we are there required to praise that holy name, and call upon it in every need, or to pray. For to call upon the name of God is nothing else than to pray. Prayer is therefore as strictly and earnestly commanded as all other commandments: to have no other God, not to kill, not to steal, etc. Let no one think that it is all the same whether he pray or not, as vulgar people do, who grope in such delusion and ask, Why should I pray? Who knows whether God heeds or will hear my prayer? If I do not pray, some one else will. And thus they fall into the habit of never praying, and frame a pretext, as though we taught that there is no duty or need of prayer, because we reject false and hypocritical prayers.

But this is true indeed that such prayers as have been offered hitherto when men were babbling and bawling in the churches were no prayers. For such external matters, when they are properly observed, may be a good exercise for young children, scholars, and simple persons, and may be called singing or reading, but not really praying. But praying, as the Second Commandment teaches, is to *call upon God in every need.* This He requires of us, and has not left it to our choice. But it is our duty and obligation to pray if we would be Christians, as much as it is our duty and obligation to obey our parents and the government; for by calling upon it and praying the name of God is honored and profitably employed. This you must note above all things, that thereby you may silence and repel such thoughts as would keep and deter us from prayer. For just as it would be idle for a son to say to his father, "Of what advantage is my obedience? I will go and do what I can; it is all the same"; but there stands the commandment, Thou shalt and must do it, so also here it is not left to my will to do it or leave it undone, but prayer shall and must be offered at the risk of God's wrath and displeasure.

This is therefore to be understood and noted before everything else, in order that thereby we may silence and repel the thoughts which would keep and deter us from praying, as though it were not of much consequence if we do not pray, or as though it were commanded those who are holier and in better favor with God than we; as, indeed, the human heart is by nature so despondent that it always flees from God and imagines that He does not wish or desire our prayer, because we are sinners and have merited nothing but wrath. Against such thoughts (I say) we should re-

zürnen. Denn durch solch Gebot gibt er genugsam zu verstehen, daß er uns nicht von sich stoßen noch verjagen will, ob wir gleich Sünder sind, sondern vielmehr zu sich ziehen, daß wir uns vor ihm demütigen, solchen unsern Jammer und Not klagen, um Gnade und Hilfe bitten. Daher liest man in der Schrift, daß er auch zürnt über die, so um ihrer Sünde willen geschlagen worden, daß sie sich nicht wieder zu ihm kehrten und durch das Gebet wider seinen Zorn gelegt und Gnade gesucht haben].

rursum dico hoc praeceptum nobis esse considerandum, ut ad Deum convertamur, ne ista inobedientia gravius eum irritemus. Hoc enim mandato (ut scilicet oremus) satis ipse ostendit se non velle nos et preces nostras reiicere, a se abigere et pellere, etiamsi simus peccatores, sed magis allicere ad se, ut coram ipso humiliemur et nostras miserias et aerumnas ipsi aperiamus, et gratiam opemque eius imploremus. Hinc in Scriptura Sacra legitur Deum etiam irasci iis, qui propter peccata sua percussi et puniti ad Deum converti et oratione sua irae eius se quasi opponere et gratiam implorare noluerunt.

Daraus sollst du nun schließen und denken, weil es so hoch geboten ist zu beten, daß beileibe niemand sein Gebet verachten soll, sondern groß und viel davon halten, und nimm immer das Gleichnis von den andern Geboten. Ein Kind soll beileibe nicht seinen Gehorsam gegen Vater und Mutter verachten, sondern immer gedenken: Das Werk ist ein Werk des Gehorsams, und das ich tue, tue ich nicht anderer Meinung, denn daß [es] in dem Gehorsam und Gottes Gebot geht, darauf ich könnte gründen und fußen und solches groß achten, nicht um meiner Würdigkeit willen, sondern um des Gebots willen. Also auch hier; was und wofür wir bitten, sollen wir so ansehen, als von Gott gefordert und in seinem Gehorsam getan, und also denken: Meinethalben wäre es nichts, aber darum soll es gelten, daß [es] Gott geboten hat. Also soll ein jeglicher, was er auch zu bitten hat, immer vor Gott kommen mit dem Gehorsam dieses Gebots.

12] Ex hoc iam ita collige ac cogita, cum tantopere nobis iniunctum sit, ut oremus, ne quo modo quispiam suas preces contemnat, sed magni aestimet et magnifice de illis sen-
13] tiat. Ac subinde similitudinem ex aliis praeceptis petas. Puer nequaquam suam erga parentes obedientiam leviter ducere debet, verum semper cogitare: Hoc opus obedientiae est, et quidquid facio, non alio animo facio, quam quod in obedientia et praecepto Dei versor, cui inniti possum, atque hoc ipsum magni pendere, non quidem meae dignitatis gratia, sed propter praeceptum. Ad eundem plane modum et hic, quidquid et pro quacunque re Deum oraverimus, ita intuendum est, quasi a Deo exactum inque eius obedientia factum, atque ita cogitare oportet: Quantum ad me quidem attinet, haec oratio nullius est habenda momenti aut pretii, quia peccator sum; verum ob id respuenda non est, cum Deus orare mihi praeceperit. Ita cuique, quamcunque tandem rem precibus impetrare statuit, semper ad Deum huius praecepti obedientia veniendum est.

Darum bitten wir und vermahnen aufs fleißigste jedermann, daß man solches zu Herzen nehme und in keinem Weg unser Gebet verachte. Denn man bisher also gelehrt hat in's Teufels Namen, daß niemand solches geachtet hat und gemeint, es wäre genug, daß das Werk getan wäre, Gott erhört's oder hört's nicht. Das heißt das Gebet in die Schanze geschlagen [auf gut Glück gebetet] und auf Abenteuer hin gemurrt [aufs Geratewohl hergeleiert]; darum ist es ein verloren Gebet. Denn wir uns solche Gedanken lassen irren [irremachen] und abschrecken: Ich bin nicht heilig noch würdig genug; wenn ich so fromm und heilig wäre als St. Petrus oder Paulus, so wollte ich beten. Aber nur weit hinweg mit solchen Gedanken! Denn eben das Gebot, das St. Paulus [ge]troffen hat, das trifft mich auch, und ist ebensowohl um meinetwillen das andere Gebot gestellt als um seinetwillen, daß er kein besser noch heiliger Gebot zu rühmen hat.

14] Quocirca omnes homines per Christum obtestamur et hortamur, quam fieri [R. 508 potest diligentissime, ut haec denique nobis cordi sint, neve ullo pacto nostras orationes tamquam rem nihili aspernemur. Ita enim hactenus in mali genii nomine docti sunt homines, ut nemo harum rerum ullam curam susceperit, aestimaritque satis superque actum esse, modo opus orandi factum esset; Deus hoc exaudiret necne, non magnopere laborabatur. Sed hoc est orationem et invocationem nauci facere, aut loqui ventis ac litori, ita nequiquam murmurando; ob id inutilis
15] quoque et infrugifera fuit oratio. Eius enim generis cogitationibus conturbamur et absterremur: Ego quidem sanctus non sum neque satis dignus; quodsi tanta probitate ac vitae sanctimonia praecellerem, ut divus Petrus aut Paulus, libenter orare vellem. Sed procul hinc aufer ex animo istiusmodi cogitationes. Nam hoc ipso praecepto, quo Pau-

lus orare iussus est, etiam nos orare iubemur. Neque minus in mei gratiam quam eius hoc secundum praeceptum constitutum est, ut non liceat illi sanctius iactare praeceptum aut praestantius.

Darum sollst du so sagen: Mein Gebet, das ich tue, ist ja so köstlich, heilig und Gott gefällig, als St. Paulus' und der Allerheiligsten. Ursache: denn ich will ihn gerne lassen heiliger sein der Person halben, aber des Gebots halben nicht, weil Gott das Gebet nicht der Person halben ansieht, sondern seines Worts und Gehorsams halben.

16] Quare ita tibi dicendum est: Meae preces, quas ad Deum fundo, nihilo sunt deteriores aut profaniores aut Deo minus acceptae, quam fuere Pauli et omnium etiam sanctissimorum. Ratio est: Perlibenter illis, quantum ad personam attinet, cedam vitae sanctimonia, verum praecepto nequaquam. Certum

gard this commandment and turn to God, that we may not by such disobedience excite His anger still more. For by this commandment He gives us plainly to understand that He will not cast us from Him nor chase us away, although we are sinners, but rather draw us to Himself, so that we might humble ourselves before Him, bewail this misery and plight of ours, and pray for grace and help. Therefore we read in the Scriptures that He is angry also with those who were smitten for their sin, because they did not return to Him and by their prayers assuage His wrath and seek His grace.

Now, from the fact that it is so solemnly commanded to pray, you are to conclude and think, that no one should by any means despise his prayer, but rather set great store by it, and always seek an illustration from the other commandments. A child should by no means despise his obedience to father and mother, but should always think: This work is a work of obedience, and what I do I do with no other intention than that I may walk in the obedience and commandment of God, on which I can settle and stand firm, and esteem it a great thing, not on account of my worthiness, but on account of the commandment. So here also, what and for what we pray we should regard as demanded by God and done in obedience to Him, and should reflect thus: On my account it would amount to nothing; but it shall avail, for the reason that God has commanded it. Therefore everybody, no matter what he has to say in prayer, should always come before God in obedience to this commandment.

We pray, therefore, and exhort every one most diligently to take this to heart and by no means to despise our prayer. For hitherto it has been taught thus in the devil's name that no one regarded these things, and men supposed it to be sufficient to have done the work, whether God would hear it or not. But that is staking prayer on a risk, and murmuring it at a venture; and therefore it is a lost prayer. For we allow such thoughts as these to lead us astray and deter us: I am not holy or worthy enough; if I were as godly and holy as St. Peter or St. Paul, then I would pray. But put such thoughts far away, for just the same commandment which applied to St. Paul applies also to me; and the Second Commandment is given as much on my account as on his account, so that he can boast of no better or holier commandment.

Therefore you should say: My prayer is as precious, holy, and pleasing to God as that of St. Paul or of the most holy saints. This is the reason: For I will gladly grant that he is holier in his person, but not on account of the commandment; since God does not regard prayer on account of the person, but on account of His word and obedience thereto. For

Denn auf das Gebot, darauf alle Heiligen ihr Gebet setzen, setze ich meines auch; dazu bete ich eben das, darum sie allzumal bitten oder gebeten haben; so ist mir's ja so hoch und mehr vonnöten denn jenen großen Heiligen.

Das sei das erste und nötigste Stück, daß all unser Gebet sich gründen und stehen soll auf Gottes Gehorsam, nicht angesehen unsere Person, wir seien Sünder oder fromm, würdig oder unwürdig. Und sollen wissen, daß Gott [es] in keinen Scherz will geschlagen haben, sondern zürnen und strafen, wo wir nicht bitten, sowohl als er allen andern Ungehorsam straft; danach, daß er unser Gebet nicht will lassen umsonst und verloren sein. Denn wo er dich nicht erhören wollte, würde er dich nicht heißen beten und so streng Gebot darauf schlagen.

Zum andern soll uns desto mehr treiben und reizen, daß Gott auch eine Verheißung dazu getan und zugesagt hat, daß es soll ja und gewiß sein, was wir bitten, wie er spricht im 50. Psalm: „Rufe mich an zur Zeit der Not, so will ich dich erretten." Und Christus im Evangelio Matth. 7: „Bittet, so wird euch gegeben usw.; denn ein jeglicher, wer da bittet, der empfähet." Solches sollte je unser Herz erwecken und anzünden, mit Lust und Liebe zu beten, weil er mit seinem Wort bezeugt, daß ihm unser Gebet herzlich wohlgefalle, dazu gewißlich erhört und gewährt sein soll, auf daß wir's nicht verachten noch in [den] Wind schlagen und auf ungewiß bitten.

Solches kannst du ihm aufrücken [vorhalten] und sprechen: Hier komme ich, lieber Vater, und bitte, nicht aus meinem Vornehmen noch auf eigene Würdigkeit, sondern auf dein Gebot und Verheißung, so mir nicht fehlen noch lügen kann. Wer nun solcher Verheißung nicht glaubt, soll abermal wissen, daß er Gott erzürnt, als der ihn aufs höchste unehrt und Lügen straft.

Über das soll uns auch locken und ziehen, daß Gott neben dem Gebot und Verheißung zuvorkommt und selbst die Worte und Weise stellt und uns in [den] Mund legt, wie und was wir beten sollen, auf daß wir sehen, wie herzlich er sich unserer Not annimmt, und je nicht daran zweifeln, daß ihm solch Gebet gefällig sei und gewißlich erhört werde, welches gar ein großer Vorteil ist vor allen andern Gebeten, so wir selbst erdenken möchten. Denn da würde das Gewissen immer in Zweifel stehen und sagen: Ich habe gebeten, aber wer weiß, wie es ihm gefällt, oder ob ich die [das] rechte Maß und Weise [ge]troffen habe. Darum ist auf Erden kein edler Gebet zu finden denn das tägliche Vaterunser, weil es solch trefflich Zeugnis hat, daß [es] Gott herzlich gerne hört, dafür wir nicht der Welt Gut sollten nehmen.

Und ist auch darum also vorgeschrieben, daß wir sehen und bedenken die Not, so uns dringen und zwingen soll, ohne Unterlaß zu beten. Denn wer da bitten will, der muß etwas bringen, vortragen

enim habeo Deum nequaquam orationem personae gratia respicere, sed propter verbum suum atque obedientiam sibi praestitam atque exhibitam. Ei enim praecepto, cui omnes sancti orando innixi sunt, ego quoque precans innitor; adhaec eadem ipsa precor, quae ipsi omnes ad unum precantur aut precati sunt.

17] Haec quidem prima huius exhortationis pars sit et omnium maxime necessaria, ut omnis nostra oratio divinae obedientiae innitatur, nullo nostrae personae respectu, sive iusti simus sive peccatores, digni an [R. 509 **18**] indigni. Et sciendum est Deum nullo modo aeque laturum, ut ista in iocum convertantur, sed graviter nos et acerbe puniturum, si segnes in orando fuerimus, non secus ac omnem aliam inobedientiam punire solet; deinde, quod nostras preces frustra ac temere effundi non patietur. Si enim te audire nollet, ut orares, nunquam tam severe tibi praecepisset.

19] Alterum, quod nos ad orandum hoc impensius instigare debebat, hoc est, quod Deus orationi quoque promissionem adiunxerit, pollicitus certo fore, quidquid orantes petierimus. Quemadmodum hoc testatur Psalmus 50, 15: *Invoca me in die tribulationis, et eripiam te.* Et Christus Matth. 7, 7: *Petite et dabitur vobis* etc. *Quicunque enim petit, accipit.* His **20**] utique promissionibus pectora nostra excitanda erant et inflammanda, ut cum voluptate et amore Deum invocaremus, cum ipse suomet verbo testatum faciat, sibi nostras orationes impense placere easque exauditum iri, ne ipsi eas respuamus aut nihili pendamus, in incertum orantes.

21] Haec igitur illi potes obiicere, ita dicens: Venio ad te, carissime Pater, oratum, non quidem ex proprio arbitrio aut proposito aut propria dignitate adductus, sed tuo praecepto ac promisso incitatus, quae mihi nequaquam mentiuntur. Iam qui tali promissioni fidem non habet, iterum sciat se Deum ad iracundiam provocasse, ut qui summa eum afficit contumelia ac mendacii insimulat.

22] Praeter haec etiam hoc ipso ad orandum non mediocriter pellicendi et pertrahendi essemus, quod Deus iuxta praeceptum et promissionem etiam antevertit nos, ipse verba ac modum orandi nobis praescribens, ac velut praemansum in os inserens, quomodo et quid nos orare oporteat, ut videamus, quam amanter necessitas nostra sibi curae sit, neque ullo pacto dubitemus nostras orationes sibi [R. 510 **23**] placere, easque certo exaudiri. Quare sane dominica seu ab ipso Domino praescripta nobis oratio longe antecellit omnes reliquas, quas ipsi excogitare possemus. Etenim in his conscientia semper futura esset in dubio atque dictura: Oravi quidem, ceterum ignoro, quomodo illi placuerit, aut num legitimum modum ac mensuram orandi assecutus sim. Quapropter hac nobilior in terris non potest inveniri precatio, cum tam praeclara habeat testimonia, quod Deo tam ex animo arrideat, pro qua totius orbis divitias commutare non debeamus.

24] Quin etiam eam ob rem certis verbis praescripta est, ut videamus et in animum revocemus necessitatem, qua ad indesinenter orandum adigendi et impellendi essemus.

on the commandment on which all the saints rest their prayer I, too, rest mine. Moreover, I pray for the same thing for which they all pray and ever have prayed; besides, I have just as great a need of it as those great saints, yea, even a greater one than they.

Let this be the first and most important point, that all our prayers must be based and rest upon obedience to God, irrespective of our person, whether we be sinners or saints, worthy or unworthy. And we must know that God will not have it treated as a jest, but be angry, and punish all who do not pray, as surely as He punishes all other disobedience; next, that He will not suffer our prayers to be in vain or lost. For if He did not intend to answer your prayer, He would not bid you pray and add such a severe commandment to it.

In the second place, we should be the more urged and incited to pray because God has also added a promise, and declared that it shall surely be done to us as we pray, as He says Ps. 50, 15: *Call upon Me in the day of trouble: I will deliver thee.* And Christ in the Gospel of St. Matthew, 7, 7: *Ask, and it shall be given you. For every one that asketh receiveth.* Such promises ought certainly to encourage and kindle our hearts to pray with pleasure and delight, since He testifies with His [own] word that our prayer is heartily pleasing to Him, moreover, that it shall assuredly be heard and granted, in order that we may not despise it or think lightly of it, and pray at a venture.

This you can hold up to Him and say: Here I come, dear Father, and pray, not of my own purpose nor upon my own worthiness, but at Thy commandment and promise, which cannot fail or deceive me. Whoever, therefore, does not believe this promise must know again that he excites God to anger as a person who most highly dishonors Him and reproaches Him with falsehood.

Besides this, we should be incited and drawn to prayer because in addition to this commandment and promise God anticipates us, and Himself arranges the words and form of prayer for us, and places them upon our lips as to how and what we should pray, that we may see how heartily He pities us in our distress, and may never doubt that such prayer is pleasing to Him and shall certainly be answered; which [the Lord's Prayer] is a great advantage indeed over all other prayers that we might compose ourselves. For in them the conscience would ever be in doubt and say: I have prayed, but who knows how it pleases Him, or whether I have hit upon the right proportions and form? Hence there is no nobler prayer to be found upon earth than the Lord's Prayer which we daily pray, because it has this excellent testimony, that God loves to hear it, which we ought not to surrender for all the riches of the world.

And it has been prescribed also for this reason that we should see and consider the distress which ought to urge and compel us to

und nennen, des er begehrt; wo nicht, so kann es kein Gebet heißen.

Darum haben wir billig der Mönche und Pfaffen Gebete verworfen, die Tag und Nacht feindlich [wie Feinde] heulen und murren; aber ihrer keiner denkt um ein Haar breit zu bitten, und wenn man alle Kirchen samt den Geistlichen zusammenbrächte, so müßten sie bekennen, daß sie nie von Herzen um ein Tröpflein Weins gebeten hätten. Denn ihrer keiner je hat aus Gottes Gehorsam und Glauben der Verheißung vorgenommen zu beten, auch keine Not angesehen, sondern nicht weiter gedacht (wenn man's aufs beste ausgerichtet hat), denn ein gut Werk zu tun, damit sie Gott bezahlten, als die nicht von ihm nehmen, sondern nur ihm geben wollten.

Wo aber ein recht Gebet sein soll, da muß ein Ernst sein, daß man seine Not fühle, und solche Not, die uns drückt und treibt zu rufen und schreien; so geht denn das Gebet von sich selbst, wie es gehen soll, daß man keines Lehrens [bedarf, wie man sich dazu bereiten und Andacht schöpfen soll. Die Not aber, so uns beide für uns und jedermann anliegen soll, wirst du reichlich genug im Vaterunser finden; darum soll es auch dazu dienen, daß man sich derselben daraus erinnere, sie betrachte und zu Herzen nehme, auf daß wir nicht laß werden zu beten. Denn wir haben alle genug, das uns mangelt; es fehlt aber daran, daß wir's nicht fühlen noch sehen. Darum auch Gott haben will, daß du solche Not und Anliegen klagest und anziehest, nicht daß er's nicht wisse, sondern daß du dein Herz entzündest, desto stärker und mehr zu begehren, und nur den Mantel weit ausbreitest und auftust, viel zu empfangen.

Darum sollten wir uns von Jugend auf gewöhnen, ein jeglicher für alle seine Not, wo er nur etwas fühlt, das ihn anstößt, und auch anderer Leute, unter welchen er ist, täglich zu bitten, als für Prediger, Obrigkeit, Nachbarn, Gesinde, und immer (wie gesagt) Gott sein Gebot und Verheißung aufrücken [vorhalten] und wissen, daß er's nicht will verachtet haben. Das sage ich darum, denn ich wollte gerne, daß man solches wieder in die Leute brächte, daß sie lernten recht beten und nicht so roh und kalt hingehen, davon sie täglich ungeschickter werden zu beten; welches auch der Teufel haben will und mit allen Kräften dazu hilft; denn er fühlt wohl, was [es] ihm für Leid und Schaden tut, wenn das Gebet recht im Schwange geht.

Denn das sollen wir wissen, daß all unser Schirm und Schutz allein in dem Gebet steht.

Etenim qui orare voluerit, necessum est, ut is aliquid apportet, exponat et nominatim perstringat, quod petiit; quod nisi fit, non potest dici precatio.

25] Merito itaque reiecimus omnium monachorum ac sacrificorum hactenus factas orationes, qui diu quidem ac noctu laboriose admodum ululant et murmurant, at interim nullus eorum unquam vel pro titivillitio orare decrevit, et si in unum locum omnes ecclesiae rudentium asinorum officinae una cum toto omnium religiosorum examine congregarentur, non possent non fateri se nunquam ex corde vel pro minima vini guttula Deum orasse. Neque enim quisquam illorum unquam aut Dei obedientia adductus aut fide promissionis pellectus orare statuit, neque ullam necessitatem intuitus est, sed non ultra cogitavit (quando preculae vel optime demurmuratae sunt), quam bonum opus facere, quo diurnum pensum Deo persolveret, ut qui non ab eo accipiunt, sed tantum illi dare volunt.

26] Ceterum ubi oratio recte instituta esse debet, necessum est, ut seria sit precatio, ut quis necessitatem sentiat, qua premitur [R. 511 et ad invocandum et clamandum impellitur. Atque ita demum fit, ut recta, quemadmodum par est, ad Deum fundatur oratio, ut nullo doctore opus sit, quomodo aliquis ad orandum se praeparet aut unde devotionem hauriat. **27]** Necessitatem vero, quae cum pro nobis tum pro aliis nobis cordi esse debet, abunde satis in oratione a Christo nobis praescripta invenies, quae etiam ad hanc rem nobis servire debet, ut ex illa necessitatis saepe admoneamur, ne ad orandum segnes reddamur. Sunt enim non parum multa, quae desunt nobis omnibus; hoc tamen unum cumprimis in omnibus desideratur, quod nemo nostrum ea videat aut sentiat. Quare Deus a nobis hoc summe contendit, ut eam necessitatem, qua premeris, orans conqueraris atque exponas, non quod ignoret ipse, verum ut tu cor tuum accendas ad impensius ac fortius petendum, utque sinum pallii tui saltem quam latissime distendas et aperias ad multa percipiendum.

28] Quocirca statim a pueritia assuescere conveniebat, ut quisque privatim pro sua necessitate, quamcunque tandem sibi obiectam persentisceret, tum etiam pro aliis hominibus, quibuscum versatur, quotidie precaretur, veluti pro concionatoribus, magistratibus, vicinis, familia et aliis; semperque Deum (ut dictum est) sui praecepti promissionisque admoneret, nihil haesitans eundem suas preces **29]** exauditurum. Haec propterea dico, perlibenter enim velim, ut his probe perceptis homines iterum recte orare perdiscerent, neque tam horridam et incultam atque ab omni devotionis affectu alienam vitam viverent, a qua in dies singulos ad precationes faciendas ineptiores evadunt, quod et diabolus anxie desiderat, omnibus viribus eo instigans et iuvans; neque enim obscure sentit, quantum detrimenti sibi afferre soleat oratio fervens et sedula.

30] Hoc enim scire debemus, omnem [R. 512 tutelam ac defensionem nostram unice adeo in

pray without ceasing. For whoever would pray must have something to present, state, and name which he desires; if not, it cannot be called a prayer.

Therefore we have rightly rejected the prayers of monks and priests, who howl and growl day and night like fiends; but none of them think of praying for a hair's breadth of anything. And if we would assemble all the churches, together with all ecclesiastics, they would be obliged to confess that they have never from the heart prayed for even a drop of wine. For none of them has ever purposed to pray from obedience to God and faith in His promise, nor has any one regarded any distress, but (when they had done their best) they thought no further than this, to do a good work, whereby they might repay God, as being unwilling to take anything from Him, but wishing only to give Him something.

But where there is to be a true prayer, there must be earnestness. Men must feel their distress, and such distress as presses them and compels them to call and cry out; then prayer will be made spontaneously, as it ought to be, and men will require no teaching how to prepare for it and to attain to the proper devotion. But the distress which ought to concern us most, both as regards ourselves and every one, you will find abundantly set forth in the Lord's Prayer. Therefore it is to serve also to remind us of the same, that we contemplate it and lay it to heart, lest we become remiss in prayer. For we all have enough that we lack, but the great want is that we do not feel nor see it. Therefore God also requires that you lament and plead such necessities and wants, not because He does not know them, but that you may kindle your heart to stronger and greater desires, and make wide and open your cloak to receive much.

Therefore, every one of us should accustom himself from his youth daily to pray for all his wants, whenever he is sensible of anything affecting his interests or that of other people among whom he may live, as for preachers, the government, neighbors, domestics, and always (as we have said) to hold up to God His commandment and promise, knowing that He will not have them disregarded. This I say because I would like to see these things brought home again to the people that they might learn to pray truly, and not go about coldly and indifferently, whereby they become daily more unfit for prayer; which is just what the devil desires, and for what he works with all his powers. For he is well aware what damage and harm it does him when prayer is in proper practise.

For this we must know, that all our shelter and protection rest in prayer alone. For we

Denn wir sind dem Teufel viel zu schwach samt seiner Macht und Anhang, so sich wider uns legen, daß sie uns wohl könnten mit Füßen zertreten. Darum müssen wir denken und zu den Waffen greifen, damit die Christen sollen gerüstet sein, wider den Teufel zu bestehen. Denn was meinst du, das bisher so große Dinge ausgerichtet habe, unserer Feinde Ratschlagen, Vornehmen, Mord und Aufruhr gewehrt oder gedämpft, dadurch uns der Teufel samt dem Evangelio gedacht hat unterzudrücken [zu unterdrücken], wo nicht etlicher frommer Leute Gebet als eine eiserne Mauer auf unserer Seite dazwischen[ge]kommen wäre? Sie sollten sonst selbst gar viel ein ander Spiel gesehen haben, wie der Teufel ganz Deutschland in seinem eigenen Blut verderbt hätte. Jetzt aber mögen sie es getrost verlachen und ihren Spott haben; wir wollen aber dennoch beide ihnen und dem Teufel allein durch das Gebet Manns genug sein, wo wir nur fleißig anhalten und nicht laß werden. Denn wo irgendein frommer Christ bittet: Lieber Vater, laß doch deinen Willen geschehen! so spricht er droben: Ja, liebes Kind, es soll ja sein und geschehen dem Teufel und aller Welt zu Trotz.

oratione sitam esse. Multo enim viribus imbecilliores sumus, quam ut cum diabolo eiusque sociis auxiliaribus nos infestantibus aequo Marte depugnare queamus, adeo ut nos profligatos tantum pedibus conculcare possent. Ideo nobis impense danda est opera, ut ea arma manibus arripiamus, quibus instructi **31**] Christiani diabolo queant resistere. Quid enim putas hactenus tam magnas res effecisse, inimicorum, nostrorum consiliis discutiendis, insidiis detegendis, caedibus tollendis, seditionibus clanculariis opprimendis et exstinguendis, quibus diabolus nos una cum evangelio penitus opprimere cogitabat, nisi aliquot proborum ac piorum hominum obstitisset oratio ac tamquam murus aeneus se interposuisset et nos defendisset? Alioqui et ipsi adversarii nostri longe cruentiorem tragoediam vidissent, quomodo nempe diabolus totam Germaniam in suo proprio sanguine submersisset. Nunc vero salse haec illi et confidenter rideant licet et pro ludibrio habeant; nos tamen et ipsis et diabolo solius orationis adminiculo sat fortes erimus, dummodo diligenter oraverimus, **32**] nec segnes facti fuerimus. Ubicunque enim probus ac pius Christianus orat: Coelestis ac omnipotens Pater, precor, ut tuam voluntatem fieri sinas, illico in sublimi respondet Deus: Optime fili, plane hoc tibi persuadeas futurum, ad retundendam diaboli mundique ferociam.

Das sei nun zur Vermahnung gesagt, daß man vor allen Dingen lerne das Gebet groß und teuer achten und einen rechten Unterschied wisse zwischen dem Plappern und etwas bitten. Denn wir verwerfen mitnichten das Gebet, sondern das lauter unnütze Geheule und Gemurre verwerfen wir; wie auch Christus selbst lange Gewäsche verwirft und verbeut [verbietet]. Nun wollen wir das Vaterunser aufs kürzeste und klärlichste handeln. Da sind nun in sieben Artikel oder Bitten nacheinander gefaßt alle Not, so uns ohne Unterlaß belangt [so ohne Unterlaß an uns herantritt], und eine jegliche so groß, daß sie uns treiben sollte, unser Leben lang daran zu bitten.

33] Hactenus haec monendi gratia dicta sint, ut ante omnia discamus orationem magni facere, veroque discrimine discernere verbosum multiloquium ab oratione aliquid petente. Nequaquam enim precationes reiicimus, verum nonnisi mere inutilem illum boatum ac murmur damnamus; quemadmodum ipse quoque Christus in oratione molestam et ad ostentationem compositam battologiam damnat [R. 513 **34**] ac prohibet. Iam vero ipsam orationem ab eodem nobis traditam paucis tractabimus, et quam fieri potest clarissime. Sunt autem in his septem articulis sive precationibus omnes necessitates ordine comprehensae, quae nobis subinde contingunt, et unaquaeque harum ita magna est et vehemens, ut ea per omnem vitam nostram ad orandum impellendi essemus.

Die erste Bitte.

Geheiligt werde dein Name.

Das ist nun etwas finster und nicht wohl deutsch geredet; denn auf unsere Muttersprache würden wir also sprechen: Himmlischer Vater, hilf, daß nur dein Name möge heilig sein. Was ist's nun gebetet, daß sein Name heilig werde? Ist er nicht vorhin heilig? Antwort: Ja, er ist allezeit heilig in seinem Wesen, aber in unserm [Ge]Brauch ist er nicht heilig. Denn Gottes Name ist uns gegeben, weil wir Christen [ge]worden und getauft sind, daß wir Gottes Kinder heißen und die Sakramente haben, dadurch er uns mit ihm verleibt, also daß alles, was Gottes ist, zu unserm Brauch dienen soll.

Da ist nun die große Not, dafür wir am meisten sorgen sollen, daß der Name seine Ehre habe, heilig und hehr gehalten werde als unser höchster Schatz und Heiligtum, so wir haben, und daß wir als die frommen Kinder darum bitten, daß sein

Prima Precatio [Petitio].

35] Sanctificetur nomen tuum.

36] Hoc aliquanto obscurius dictum est, nec significanter expressum. Lingua enim nobis vernacula ita diceremus: Coelestis Pater, fac, quaeso, ut tantum nomen tuum sanctum sit. **37**] Quid ergo sibi vult haec oratio, ut nomen eius sanctum fiat? Annon antea sanctum est? Responsio: Imo vero nunquam non sanctum est in sua essentia, at in usu nostro sanctum non est. Dei enim nomen nobis datum et inditum est, posteaquam Christiani facti et baptizati sumus, ut filii Dei vocemur et sacramenta habeamus, per quae illi uniti et copulati sumus, ita ut omnia, quaecunque Dei sunt, usui nostro servire debeant.

38] Ceterum hic iam nobis magna necessitas incumbit et imponitur, quae nobis cumprimis curae esse debet, et nomini divino suus honor habeatur, ut sancte ac reverenter tractetur, veluti thesaurus noster unicus, quo

are far too feeble to cope with the devil and all his power and adherents that set themselves against us, and they might easily crush us under their feet. Therefore we must consider and take up those weapons with which Christians must be armed in order to stand against the devil. For what do you think has hitherto accomplished such great things, has checked or quelled the counsels, purposes, murder, and riot of our enemies, whereby the devil thought to crush us, together with the Gospel, except that the prayer of a few godly men intervened like a wall of iron on our side? They should else have witnessed a far different tragedy, namely, how the devil would have destroyed all Germany in its own blood. But now they may confidently deride it and make a mock of it; however, we shall nevertheless be a match both for themselves and the devil by prayer alone, if we only persevere diligently and not become slack. For whenever a godly Christian prays: Dear Father, let Thy will be done, God speaks from on high and says: Yes, dear child, it shall be so, in spite of the devil and all the world.

Let this be said as an exhortation, that men may learn, first of all, to esteem prayer as something great and precious, and to make a proper distinction between babbling and praying for something. For we by no means reject prayer, but the bare, useless howling and murmuring we reject, as Christ Himself also rejects and prohibits long palavers. Now we shall most briefly and clearly treat of the Lord's Prayer. Here there is comprehended in seven successive articles, or petitions, every need which never ceases to relate to us, and each so great that it ought to constrain us to keep praying it all our lives.

The First Petition.

Hallowed be Thy name.

This is, indeed, somewhat obscure, and not expressed in good German, for in our mother-tongue we would say: Heavenly Father, help that by all means Thy name may be holy. But what is it to pray that His name may be holy? Is it not holy already? Answer: Yes, it is always holy in its nature, but in our use it is not holy. For God's name was given us when we became Christians and were baptized, so that we are called children of God and have the Sacraments, by which He so incorporates us in Himself that everything which is God's must serve for our use.

Here now the great need exists for which we ought to be most concerned, that this name have its proper honor, be esteemed holy and sublime as the greatest treasure and sanctuary

Name, der sonst im Himmel heilig ist, auch auf Erden bei uns und aller Welt heilig sei und bleibe.

Wie wird er nun unter uns heilig? Antwort, aufs deutlichste, so man's sagen kann: Wenn beide unsere Lehre und Leben göttlich und christlich ist. Denn weil wir in diesem Gebet Gott unsern Vater heißen, so sind wir schuldig, daß wir uns allenthalben halten und stellen wie die frommen Kinder, daß er unser nicht Schande, sondern Ehre und Preis habe.

Nun wird er von uns entweder mit Worten oder mit Werken verunheiligt (denn was wir auf Erden machen, muß entweder Wort oder Werk, Reden oder Tun sein). Zum ersten also, wenn man predigt, lehrt und redet unter Gottes Namen, das doch falsch und verführerisch ist, daß sein Name die Lüge schmücken und verkaufen [annehmbar aufputzen] muß. Das ist nun die größte Schande und Unehre göttliches Namens; danach auch, wo man gröblich den heiligen Namen zum Schandeckel führt mit Schwören, Fluchen, Zaubern usw. Zum andern auch mit öffentlichem bösen Leben und Werken, wenn die, so Christen und Gottes Volk heißen, Ehebrecher, Säufer, geizige Wänste, neidisch und Afterreder sind; da muß abermal Gottes Name um unsertwillen mit Schanden bestehen und gelästert werden. Denn gleichwie es einem leiblichen Vater eine Schande und Unehre ist, der ein böses, ungeratenes Kind hat, das mit Worten und Werken wider ihn handelt, daß er um seinetwillen muß verachtet und geschmäht werden, also auch [ge]reicht es auch zu Gottes Unehre, so wir, die nach seinem Namen genannt sind und allerlei Güter von ihm haben, anders lehren, reden und leben denn fromme und himmlische Kinder, daß er hören muß, daß man von uns sagt, wir müssen nicht Gottes, sondern des Teufels Kinder sein.

Also siehst du, daß wir eben das in diesem Stück bitten, so Gott im andern Gebot fordert, nämlich, daß man seines Namens nicht mißbrauche zu schwören, fluchen, lügen, trügen usw., sondern nützlich brauche zu Gottes Lob und Ehre. Denn wer Gottes Namen zu irgendeiner Untugend braucht, der entheiligt und entweiht diesen heiligen Namen, wie man vorzeiten eine Kirche entweiht hieß, wenn ein Mord oder andere Büberei darin begangen war, oder wenn man eine Monstranz oder Heiligtum unehrte, als das wohl an ihm selbst heilig und doch im [Ge]Brauch unheilig ward. Also ist dies Stück leicht und klar, wenn man nur die Sprache versteht, daß heiligen heißt so viel, als auf unsere Weise loben, preisen und ehren, beide mit Worten und Werken.

Da siehe nun, wie hoch solch Gebet vonnöten ist. Denn weil wir sehen, wie die Welt so voll Rotten und falscher Lehrer ist, die alle den heiligen Namen

nobis non maior est aut amplior; utque nos tamquam probi liberi ab hoc Patre precibus contendamus, ut nomen suum, quod alioqui in coelis per omnia sanctum est, etiam in terris apud nos inque universo orbe sanctum sit ac maneat.

39] Porro autem nomen eius quomodo inter nos sanctificatur aut sanctum fit? Responsio, ut quam apertissime potero dicam: Cum et doctrina et vita nostra divina et Christiana fuerit. Cum enim hac oratione Deum [R. 514 Patrem nostrum compellemus, utique debemus, ut in omnibus ita nos geramus, quemadmodum probos liberos aequum est, ne illi simus dedecori, sed laudi atque honori.

40] Iam vero eius nomen a nobis aut verbis aut factis indigne violatum profanatur (quidquid enim in terris agimus, aut verbo aut 41] facto comprehenditur). Ac primum quidem ad hunc modum, quando sub divini nominis praetextu id praedicatur, docetur ac dicitur, quod falsum est atque erroneum, et quo seducuntur homines, ita ut eius nomine comandum ac exornandum sit mendacium, atque etiam venalius faciendum. Hoc iam summum dedecus est et contumelia, qua sacratissimum nomen Dei Patris nostri indignissimis modis 42] contaminatur et afficitur. Deinde quoque quoties foede ac turpiter nomine Dei abutimur peierando, exsecrando, maledicendo, in- 43] cantando etc. Tertio quoque vita et operibus manifeste malis ac nefariis, cum ii, qui Christiani et populus Dei vocantur, sunt adulteri, vinolenti, avari, invidiosi, obtrectatores, maledici. Hic iterum gloriosum Dei nomen nostri gratia contumeliae ac dedecori exponi- 44] tur. Sicut enim corporali patri filius male moratus ac degener infamiae est ac turpitudini, qui et dictis et factis praecepta paterna transgreditur, nobilitans semet flagitiis, ut eius gratia ab omnibus contemptus notetur ignominia: ita quoque Deo vergit in contumeliam, si nos, qui iuxta nominis eius appellationem vocati sumus atque ab eodem omnigena bona accepimus, aliter docuerimus, locuti fuerimus, vixerimus, atque pios ac coelestes filios Dei decet, adeo ut ob hoc ipsum male audire cogatur, nos videlicet non esse filios Dei, sed filios diaboli.

45] Ita clare vides hoc articulo idem nos orare, quod in secundo praecepto Deus a nobis exigit, nimirum ne eius nomine prave [R. 515 abutamur iurando, detestando, mentiendo, fallendo etc., sed utiliter idem ad Dei honorem et gloriam usurpemus. Quicunque enim divino nomine alicuius vitii tegendi gratia abutitur, ille hoc sanctum nomen profanat, violat, conspurcat atque contaminat, non secus atque olim sacrae domus profanatae dicebantur caede humana conspersae, aut alioqui foeda aliqua turpitudine in iisdem flagitiose perpetrata dehonestatae, aut si res sacra contumeliose afficeretur, ut quae per se quidem sancta esset, 46] ipso tamen usu profana fieret. Est ergo hic articulus iam intellectu facilis, tantum verbis recte perceptis, ut sanctificare tantum significet ac laudare, extollere, honorem habere cum verbis tum operibus.

47] Iam vero ipse vide, quam ista precatio omnibus modis sit necessaria. Cum enim haud obscure videamus, quam mundus refer-

that we have; and that as godly children we pray that the name of God, which is already holy in heaven, may also be and remain holy with us upon earth and in all the world.

But how does it become holy among us? Answer, as plainly as it can be said: When both our doctrine and life are godly and Christian. For since in this prayer we call God our Father, it is our duty always to deport and demean ourselves as godly children, that He may not receive shame, but honor and praise from us.

Now the name of God is profaned by us either in words or in works. (For whatever we do upon the earth must be either words or works, speech or act.) In the first place, then, it is profaned when men preach, teach, and speak in the name of God what is false and misleading, so that His name must serve to adorn and to find a market for falsehood. That is, indeed, the greatest profanation and dishonor of the divine name. Furthermore, also when men, by swearing, cursing, conjuring, etc., grossly abuse the holy name as a cloak for their shame. In the second place, also by an openly wicked life and works, when those who are called Christians and the people of God are adulterers, drunkards, misers, envious, and slanderers. Here again must the name of God come to shame and be profaned because of us. For just as it is a shame and disgrace to a natural father to have a bad, perverse child that opposes him in words and deeds, so that on its account he suffers contempt and reproach, so also it brings dishonor upon God if we who are called by His name and have all manner of goods from Him teach, speak, and live in any other manner except as godly and heavenly children, so that people say of us that we must be not God's, but the devil's children.

Thus you see that in this petition we pray just for that which God demands in the Second Commandment; namely, that His name be not taken in vain to swear, curse, lie, deceive, etc., but be usefully employed to the praise and honor of God. For whoever employs the name of God for any sort of wrong profanes and desecrates this holy name, as aforetime a church was considered desecrated when a murder or any other crime had been committed in it, or when a pyx or relic was desecrated, as being holy in themselves, yet become unholy in use. Thus this point is easy and clear if only the language is understood, that to hallow is the same as in our idiom to praise, magnify, and honor both in word and deed.

Here, now, learn how great need there is of such prayer. For because we see how full the world is of sects and false teachers, who all

zum Deckel und Schein ihrer Teufelslehre führen, sollten wir billig ohne Unterlaß schreien und rufen wider solche alle, beide, die fälschlich predigen und glauben, und was unser Evangelium und reine Lehre ansicht, verfolgt und dämpfen will, als Bischöfe, Tyrannen, Schwärmer usw.; item auch für uns selbst, die wir Gottes Wort haben, aber nicht dankbar dafür sind noch danach leben, wie wir sollen. Wenn du nun solches von Herzen bittest, kannst du gewiß sein, daß [es] Gott wohlgefällt; denn Lieberes wird er nicht hören, denn daß seine Ehre und Preis vor und über alle Dinge gehe, sein Wort rein gelehrt, teuer und wert gehalten werde.

tus sit propemodum infinitis sectis et falsis doctoribus, omnibus divinum nomen suae diabolicae doctrinae praetexentibus, non iniuria nobis indesinenter clamandum erat adversus omnes ita scelerate divino nomine abutentes, hoc est, aeque adversus falsa docentes at prava superstitiose credentes, tum quidquid evangelium et sanam doctrinam nostram temere impugnat, ut sunt mitrati episcopi, tyranni, suermeri etc. Praeterea pro nobismet ipsis quoque, qui Verbum Dei habemus, sed qui non grati sumus, neque tanti muneris memores, neque perinde, ut Verbo docemur, 48] vivimus. Haec devote atque ex animo orans, certus esse potes Deo summe placere tuam orationem. Neque enim quidquam audiet gratius aut amantius, quam quod eius honor et gloria prae omnibus rebus passim unice floreat ac vigeat, eius Verbum sincere doceatur ac carum et pretiosum aestimetur.

Die zweite Bitte.

Dein Reich komme.

Wie wir im ersten Stück gebeten haben, das Gottes Ehre und Namen betrifft, daß Gott wehre, daß die Welt nicht ihre Lüge und Bosheit darunter schmücke, sondern hehr und heilig halte beide mit Lehre und Leben, daß er an uns gelobt und gepreiset werde: also bitten wir hier, daß auch sein Reich kommen solle. Aber gleichwie Gottes Name an ihm selbst heilig ist, und wir doch bitten, daß er bei uns heilig sei, also kommt auch sein Reich ohne unser Bitten von sich selbst; doch bitten wir gleichwohl, daß es zu uns komme, das ist, unter uns und bei uns gehe, also daß wir auch ein Stück seien, darunter sein Name geheiligt werde und sein Reich im Schwange gehe.

Was heißt nun Gottes Reich? Antwort: Nichts anderes, denn wie wir droben im Glauben gehört haben, daß Gott seinen Sohn, Christum, unsern HErrn, in die Welt geschickt, daß er uns erlöste und freimachte von der Gewalt des Teufels und zu sich brächte und regierte als ein König der Gerechtigkeit, des Lebens und Seligkeit wider Sünde, Tod und böses Gewissen. Dazu er auch seinen Heiligen Geist [ge]geben hat, der uns solches heimbrächte durch sein heiliges Wort und [uns] durch seine Kraft im Glauben erleuchtete und stärkte.

Derhalben bitten wir nun hier zum ersten, daß solches bei uns kräftig werde, und sein Name so gepreiset durch das heilige Wort Gottes und christlich Leben, beide, daß wir, die es angenommen haben, dabei bleiben und täglich zunehmen, und daß es bei andern Leuten einen Zufall [Beifall] und Anhang gewinne und gewaltiglich durch die Welt gehe, auf daß ihrer viele zu dem Gnadenreich kommen, der Erlösung teilhaftig werden, durch den Heiligen Geist herzu[ge]bracht, auf daß wir also allesamt in einem Königreich, jetzt angefangen, ewiglich bleiben.

Denn „Gottes Reich zu uns kommen" geschieht auf zweierlei Weise, einmal hier zeitlich durch das Wort und den Glauben, zum andern ewig, durch die Offenbarung. Nun bitten wir solches beides,

Secunda Precatio [Petitio].

Adveniat regnum tuum. [R. 516

49] Quemadmodum primo articulo precati sumus ea, quae ad honorem et gloriam nominis Dei pertinent, ut prohibeat Deus, ne sui nominis praetextu mundus sua mendacia atque malitiam insidiose celet ac tegat, sed ipse eius gloriam claram habeat et inviolabilem cum in doctrina tum in vita, ut per nos celebretur et extollatur laudibus: ita quoque hic pre-
50] camur, ut regnum eius veniat. Verum sicut nomen Dei per se sanctum est, nos tamen oramus, ut apud nos quoque sanctum sit, ita quoque regnum eius ultro venit citra nostram precationem; nihilominus tamen precamur, ut ad nos veniat, id est, inter nos et apud nos versetur, ita ut nos quoque pars simus eorum, inter quos nomen eius sanctificetur et eius regnum floreat.

51] Quid autem regnum Dei dicitur? Responsio: Nihil aliud, quam quod supra in Symbolo fidei audivimus, quod Deus Filium suum Iesum Christum in mundum miserit, ut nos a diaboli potentia et captivitate redimeret inque libertatem assereret et ad se perductos regeret, veluti rex iustitiae, vitae, salutis et felicitatis, adversus peccatum, mortem et malam conscientiam. Ad quod etiam Spiritum Sanctum largitus est, qui talia nobis offerret per sanctum Verbum suum, perque virtutem suam nos in fide illuminaret et fortificaret.

52] Eam ob rem hic primum precamur, ut id, quod Christus nobis impetravit, apud nos fiat efficax, ut eius nomen celebretur per sanctum Dei Verbum et vitam pie et Christiane institutam, ut et nos, qui accepimus, illud constanter retineamus et quotidie in eo crescamus, ac idem ab aliis certatim arripiatur et potenter per mundum dominetur, ut multi ad regnum gratiae perveniant, redemptionis fiant participes, per Spiritum Sanctum [R. 517 adducti, ut omnes ita in huius regis regno hic inchoato perpetuo maneamus.

53] Siquidem *regnum Dei* duplici ratione *ad nos venire* dicitur, semel in hoc mundo temporaliter per Verbum et fidem, deinde aeternaliter, et hoc per revelationem. Iam

wear the holy name as a cover and sham for their doctrines of devils, we ought by all means to pray without ceasing, and to cry and call upon God against all such as preach and believe falsely and whatever opposes and persecutes our Gospel and pure doctrine, and would suppress it, as bishops, tyrants, enthusiasts, etc. Likewise also for ourselves who have the Word of God, but are not thankful for it, nor live as we ought according to the same. If now you pray for this with your heart, you can be sure that it pleases God; for He will not hear anything more dear to Him than that His honor and praise is exalted above everything else, and His Word is taught in its purity and is esteemed precious and dear.

The Second Petition.

Thy kingdom come.

As we prayed in the First Petition concerning the honor and name of God that He would prevent the world from adorning its lies and wickedness with it, but cause it to be esteemed sublime and holy both in doctrine and life, so that He may be praised and magnified in us, so here we pray that His kingdom also may come. But just as the name of God is in itself holy, and we pray nevertheless that it be holy among us, so also His kingdom comes of itself, without our prayer, yet we pray nevertheless that it may come to us, that is, prevail among us and with us, so that we may be a part of those among whom His name is hallowed and His kingdom prospers.

But what is the kingdom of God? Answer: Nothing else than what we learned in the Creed, that God sent His Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, into the world to redeem and deliver us from the power of the devil, and to bring us to Himself, and to govern us as a King of righteousness, life, and salvation against sin, death, and an evil conscience, for which end He has also bestowed His Holy Ghost, who is to bring these things home to us by His holy Word, and to illumine and strengthen us in the faith by His power.

Therefore we pray here in the first place that this may become effective with us, and that His name be so praised through the holy Word of God and a Christian life that both we who have accepted it may abide and daily grow therein, and that it may gain approbation and adherence among other people and proceed with power throughout the world, that many may find entrance into the Kingdom of Grace, be made partakers of redemption, being led thereto by the Holy Ghost, in order that thus we may all together remain forever in the one kingdom now begun.

For *the coming of God's Kingdom to us* occurs in two ways; first, here in time through the Word and faith; and secondly, in eternity forever through revelation. Now

daß es komme zu denen, die noch nicht darin sind, und zu uns, die es überkommen haben, durch täglich Zunehmen und künftig in dem ewigen Leben. Das alles ist nichts anderes denn so viel gesagt: Lieber Vater, wir bitten, gib uns erstlich dein Wort, daß das Evangelium rechtschaffen durch die Welt gepredigt werde; zum andern, daß [es] auch durch den Glauben angenommen werde, in uns wirke und lebe, daß also dein Reich unter uns gehe durch das Wort und Kraft des Heiligen Geistes und des Teufels Reich niedergelegt werde, daß er kein Recht noch Gewalt über uns habe, so lange, bis es endlich gar zerstört, die Sünde, Tod und Hölle vertilgt werde, daß wir ewig leben in voller Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit.

Aus dem siehst du, daß wir hier nicht um eine Parteken [ein geringes Almosen] oder zeitlich, vergänglich Gut bitten, sondern um einen ewigen, überschwenglichen Schatz und alles, was Gott selbst vermag [besitzt], das viel zu groß ist, daß ein menschlich Herz solches dürfte in [den] Sinn nehmen zu begehren, wo er's nicht selbst geboten hätte zu bitten. Aber weil er Gott ist, will er auch die Ehre haben, daß er viel mehr und reichlicher gibt, denn jemand begreifen kann, als ein ewiger, unvergänglicher Quell, der, je mehr er ausfleußt [ausfließt] und übergeht, je mehr er von sich gibt und nichts höher von uns begehrt, denn daß man viel und große Dinge von ihm bitte, und wiederum zürnt, wenn man nicht getrost bittet und fordert.

Denn gleich als wenn der reichste, mächtigste Kaiser einen armen Bettler hieße bitten, was er nur begehren möchte, und bereit wäre, groß kaiserlich Geschenk zu geben, und der Narr nicht mehr denn eine Hofsuppe [Bettelsuppe, wie sie auf dem Hofe verteilt wird] bettelte, würde er billig als ein Schelm und Böjewicht gehalten, als der aus kaiserlicher Majestät Befehl seinen Hohn und Spott triebe und nicht wert wäre, vor seine Augen zu kommen. Also [ge]reicht es auch Gott zu großer Schmach und Unehre, wenn wir, denen er so viele unaussprechliche Güter anbeut [anbietet] und zusagt, solches verachten, oder nicht getrauen zu empfangen und kaum um ein Stück Brots [uns] unterwinden zu bitten.

Das ist alles des schändlichen Unglaubens Schuld, der sich nicht so viel Gutes zu Gott versieht, daß er ihm den Bauch ernähre, [ge]schweige, daß er solche ewige Güter sollte ungezweifelt von Gott gewarten. Darum sollen wir uns dawider stärken und dies lassen das erste sein zu bitten, so wird man freilich alles andere auch reichlich haben, wie Christus lehrt: „Trachtet am ersten nach dem Reich Gottes, so soll euch solches alles zufallen." Denn wie sollte er uns an Zeitlichem mangeln und darben lassen, weil er das Ewige und Unvergängliche verheißt?

utrumque hoc precamur, ut et ad eos veniat, qui nondum in eo versantur, et ad nos, qui illud consecuti sumus, quotidianis incrementis auctum, et in futuro in vita aeterna et im-
54] mortali consummandum. Horum omnium non alius quam hic sensus est: Coelestis ac omnipotens Pater, precamur te, ut nobis initio tuum Verbum impertire digneris, ut evangelium pure ac sincere per mundum praedicetur. Deinde, ut per fidem quoque susceptum in nobis operetur ac vivat, ut ita regnum tuum inter nos erectum vigeat per Verbum ac virtutem Spiritus Sancti, ut regnum diaboli abolitum prorsus exstirpetur, ne quid iuris aut potestatis illi in nos relinquatur, donec prorsus subversum fuerit, peccatis, morte et orco exstinctis, ut nos perpetuo in perfecta iustitia ac felicitate vivamus.

55] Ex his omnibus vides nos hoc loco non pro frusto panis aut re aliqua temporali et transitoria precari, sed pro aeterno thesauro, cuius pretium est inaestimabile. Breviter pro omnibus iis, quae Deus ipse possidet, quae multo maiora sunt, quam ut homo animo concipere auderet eam fiduciam tanta postulandi, nisi ipse haec petenda nobis in mandatis de-
56] disset. Verum quoniam Deus est, et quidem omnipotens, eum etiam honorem sibi vindicat, ut multo plura ac magnificentiora largiatur, quam ullus queat mente comprehendere, veluti fons perennis et indesinens, qui, quo largius ac copiosius manando exundat, hoc liberalius semet effundit. Nec quidquam impensius a nobis flagitat, quam ut multa et magna ab eo postulemus, et contra [R. 518 nobis infensus est, nihil audacter et confidenter a sua benignitate petentibus et postulantibus.

57] Nam veluti cum opulentissimus et potentissimus caesar alicui mendico eam optionem et precandi libertatem offerret, ut, quodcunque eius ferret animus, a se optaret et peteret, se paratum esse munera plane regia et magnifica largiri petenti, ille vero stolidus non plus sordido postularet sorbitio: merito utique ille pro scelerato nebulone et homine nequam haberetur, qui caesareae maiestatis mandatum ludibrio haberet, neque dignus esset amplius, qui in conspectum caesaris admitteretur. Ita quoque Deo extreme contumeliosum est tanta tamque ineffabilia bona nobis offerenti et pollicitanti, si eius inexhaustam benignitatem contemnamus, aut nos certo consecuturos non speremus, ac vix pro frusto panis impetrando precari sustineamus.

58] Verum enim vero omnis haec culpa impiae incredulitati nostrae assignanda est, non tantum bonitatis de Deo sibimet pollicenti, ut crederet ventrem a Deo nutritum iri, omitto, ut indubie speraret aliquando eiusmodi bona immortalia se consecuturum. Quare contra nos muniamus, hocque imprimis petamus, atque ita demum reliqua quoque omnia abunde habebimus, veluti Christus ipse docet [Matth. 6, 33]: *Quaerite primum regnum Dei, et cetera omnia adiicientur vobis.* Quomodo enim pateretur rerum temporalium nos urgeri inopia, cum aeterna et coelestia bona se nobis certo daturum persancte receperit?

we pray for both these things, that it may come to those who are not yet in it, and, by daily increase, to us who have received the same, and hereafter in eternal life. All this is nothing else than saying: Dear Father, we pray, give us first Thy Word, that the Gospel be preached properly throughout the world; and secondly, that it be received in faith, and work and live in us, so that through the Word and the power of the Holy Ghost Thy kingdom may prevail among us, and the kingdom of the devil be put down, that he may have no right or power over us, until at last it shall be utterly destroyed, and sin, death, and hell shall be exterminated, that we may live forever in perfect righteousness and blessedness.

From this you perceive that we pray here not for a crust of bread or a temporal, perishable good, but for an eternal inestimable treasure and everything that God Himself possesses; which is far too great for any human heart to think of desiring if He had not Himself commanded us to pray for the same. But because He is God, He also claims the honor of giving much more and more abundantly than any one can comprehend, — like an eternal, unfailing fountain, which, the more it pours forth and overflows, the more it continues to give, — and He desires nothing more earnestly of us than that we ask much and great things of Him, and again is angry if we do not ask and pray confidently.

For just as when the richest and most mighty emperor would bid a poor beggar ask whatever he might desire, and were ready to give great imperial presents, and the fool would beg only for a dish of gruel, he would be rightly considered a rogue and a scoundrel, who treated the command of his imperial majesty as a jest and sport, and was not worthy of coming into his presence: so also it is a great reproach and dishonor to God if we, to whom He offers and pledges so many unspeakable treasures, despise the same, or have not the confidence to receive them, but scarcely venture to pray for a piece of bread.

All this is the fault of the shameful unbelief which does not look to God for as much good as will satisfy the stomach, much less expects without doubt such eternal treasures of God. Therefore we must strengthen ourselves against it, and let this be our first prayer; then, indeed, we shall have all else in abundance, as Christ teaches [Matt. 6, 33]: *Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.* For how could He allow us to suffer want and to be straitened in temporal things when He promises that which is eternal and imperishable?

Die dritte Bitte.

Dein Wille geschehe, wie im Himmel, also auch auf Erden.

Bisher haben wir gebeten, daß sein Name von uns geehrt werde und sein Reich unter uns gehe; in welchen zweien ganz begriffen ist, was Gottes Ehre und unsere Seligkeit belangt, daß wir Gott samt allen seinen Gütern zu eigen kriegen. Aber hier ist nun ja so große Not, daß wir solches festhalten und uns nicht lassen davonreißen. Denn wie in einem guten Regiment nicht allein müssen sein, die da bauen und wohl regieren, sondern auch die da wehren, schützen und fest darüber halten, also auch hier: wenn wir gleich für die höchste Not gebeten haben, um das Evangelium, Glauben und Heiligen Geist, daß er uns regiere, aus des Teufels Gewalt erlöse, so müssen wir auch bitten, daß er seinen Willen geschehen lasse. Denn es wird sich gar wunderlich anlassen, wenn wir dabei bleiben sollen, daß wir viel Anstöße und Püffe darüber müssen leiden von dem allem, so sich untersteht, die zwei vorigen Stücke zu hindern und zu wehren.

Denn niemand glaubt, wie sich der Teufel dawidersetzt und -sperrt, als der nicht leiden kann, daß jemand recht lehre oder glaube, und tut ihm über die Maßen weh, daß er muß seine Lügen und Greuel, unter dem schönsten Schein göttliches Namens geehrt, aufdecken lassen und mit allen Schanden stehen, dazu aus dem Herzen getrieben werden und einen solchen Riß in sein Reich lassen geschehen. Darum tobt und wütet er als ein zorniger Feind mit aller seiner Macht und Kraft, hängt an sich alles, was unter ihm ist; dazu nimmt er zu Hilfe die Welt und unser eigen Fleisch. Denn unser Fleisch ist an ihm selbst faul und zum Bösen geneigt, ob wir gleich Gottes Wort angenommen haben und glauben. Die Welt aber ist arg und böse; da hetzt er an, bläst und schürt zu, daß er uns hindere, zurücktreibe, fälle und wieder unter seine Gewalt bringe. Das ist all sein Wille, Sinn und Gedanken, danach er Tag und Nacht trachtet und keinen Augenblick feiert, braucht alle Künste, Tücke, Weise und Wege dazu, die er immer erdenken kann.

Darum müssen wir uns gewißlich des versehen und erwägen, so wir Christen sein wollen, daß wir den Teufel samt allen seinen Engeln und die Welt zu Feinden haben, die uns alles Unglück und Herzeleid anlegen. Denn wo Gottes Wort gepredigt, angenommen oder geglaubt wird und Frucht schafft, da soll das liebe heilige Kreuz auch nicht außen bleiben. Und denke nur niemand, daß er Frieden haben werde, sondern hinansetzen müsse, was er auf Erden hat: Gut, Ehre, Haus und Hof, Weib und Kind, Leib und Leben. Das tut nun unserm Fleisch und alten Adam weh; denn es heißt festhalten und mit Geduld leiden, wie man

Tertia Petitio.

59] Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, sic etiam in terra.

60] Hactenus, ut nomen eius a nobis [R. 519 sanctificetur et colatur, tum praeterea, ut eius regnum inter nos vigeat, precati sumus; quibus duobus plene comprehensum est, quidquid ad Dei honorem et nostram salutem pertinet, ut Deum cum omnibus suis divitiis peculiariter consequamur. Verum hic alia rursus nobis incumbit et vehemens quidem necessitas, ut tantas una cum Deo acceptas divitias constanter ac firmiter retineamus, neque nos **61]** ullo modo avelli inde patiamur. Nam quemadmodum in republica bonis legibus constituta non tantum eos esse oportet, qui aedilium, praetorum et praefectorum partes obeant, hoc est, qui publicis praesint aedificiis et officiorum procurationibus, sed etiam qui imperatores agant, qui hostiles incursiones propellant, qui ab omni vi atque iniuria patriam tueantur sedulo: ita quoque hic, quamquam pro eo, quod nobis summe necessarium est, oravimus, nempe ut evangelii fieremus compotes, neque non fidei ac Spiritus Sancti participes, qui nos regat, e diaboli potestate liberet, illud tamen nobis quoque nihilo segnius orandum est, ut voluntatem suam fieri patiatur Deus. Ut enim in cognita veritate persistamus, mirae exorientur tragoediae, multaeque impugnationes et casus nobis erunt sufferendi ab omnibus iis, qui duo priora summa ope impedire nituntur atque subvertere.

62] Nemo enim facile credit, quam diabolus omnibus repugnet viribus, ut qui ferre non potest quemquam recte docere aut sincere credere, neque illi quidquam potest accidere aegrius atque dolentius, quam quod videt nugaces et abominabiles doctrinas suas sub speciosissimo Dei nomine adoratas, iam exorta luce evangelii, detegi, atque ita turpiter subsannari, insuper e pectoribus hominum evelli, talique clade regni sui pomeria imminui. Quocirca tamquam inimicus ira percitus fremit insaniens, omnique exercitus sui robore [R. 520 nos incurrit et adoritur. Praeterea omnium **63]** suorum copias sibi adiungens, mundi quoque et propriae carnis nostrae socia arma auxilio sibi deposcit. Etenim caro nostra per se pigra est et prona ad malum, tametsi Verbum Dei apprehenderimus et credamus. Porro autem mundus extreme malus et improbus. Hunc in nos omnibus modis incitat, instigans ac provocans, ut obiecto impedimento nos retrahat, prosternat ac denuo victos iterum suo **64]** imperio subiiciat. Haec tota sua voluntas est, has cogitationes versat in animo, hoc diu noctuque molitur, nec momento quidem quieti indulget et otio, omnibus suis artibus, dolis, insidiis, rationibus, modis viisque utens, quascunque excogitare poterit.

65] Quare non est, quod quidquam certius nobis futurum polliceamur, si nobis animus est esse Christianis, quam cum diabolo et omnibus angelis eius, neque non cum mundo, nobis suscipiendas esse inimicitias, nos omnibus modis et omni molestiae genere vexaturis et infestaturis. Ubicunque enim gentium evangelium praedicatum, acceptum aut creditum fuerit et fructus produxerit, ibi necessario crucis quoque persecutiones consequuntur. Neque est, quod quisquam cogitet se pacate et tranquille victurum, sed semel iacta alea periclitandum esse de omnibus, quae-

The Third Petition.

Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven.

Thus far we have prayed that God's name be honored by us, and that His kingdom prevail among us; in which two points is comprehended all that pertains to the honor of God and to our salvation, that we receive as our own God and all His riches. But now a need just as great arises, namely, that we firmly keep them, and do not suffer ourselves to be torn therefrom. For as in a good government it is not only necessary that there be those who build and govern well, but also those who make defense, afford protection and maintain it firmly, so here likewise, although we have prayed for the greatest need, for the Gospel, faith, and the Holy Ghost, that He may govern us and redeem us from the power of the devil, we must also pray that His will be done. For there will be happenings quite strange if we are to abide therein, as we shall have to suffer many thrusts and blows on that account from everything that ventures to oppose and prevent the fulfilment of the two petitions that precede.

For no one believes how the devil opposes and resists them, and cannot suffer that any one teach or believe aright. And it hurts him beyond measure to suffer his lies and abominations, that have been honored under the most specious pretexts of the divine name, to be exposed, and to be disgraced himself, and, besides, be driven out of the heart, and suffer such a breach to be made in his kingdom. Therefore he chafes and rages as a fierce enemy with all his power and might, and marshals all his subjects, and, in addition, enlists the world and our own flesh as his allies. For our flesh is in itself indolent and inclined to evil, even though we have accepted and believe the Word of God. The world, however, is perverse and wicked; this he incites against us, fans and stirs the fire, that he may hinder and drive us back, cause us to fall, and again bring us under his power. Such is all his will, mind, and thought, for which he strives day and night, and never rests a moment, employing all arts, wiles, ways, and means whichever he can invent.

If we would be Christians, therefore, we must surely expect and reckon upon having the devil with all his angels and the world as our enemies, who will bring every possible misfortune and grief upon us. For where the Word of God is preached, accepted, or believed, and produces fruit, there the holy cross cannot be wanting. And let no one think that he shall have peace; but he must risk what-

uns angreift, und fahren laſſen, was man uns nimmt.

cunque in terris uspiam possidet, de fortunis, honore, fama, aedibus, coniuge, liberis, familia, denique etiam de vita et capite proprio.

66] Hoc iam nostrae carni, nempe Adamo veteri, vehementer dolet, neque tamen malis cedendum est, sed magno animo constanter perseverandum et contra fortius eundum, ut invicta animi tolerantia, quibuscunque iniuriis impugnati fuerimus, perferamus eaque aequo animo mittamus, quaecunque per vim nobis erepta fuerint.

Darum iſt je ſo große Not als in allen andern [Bitten], daß wir ohne Unterlaß bitten: Lieber Vater, dein Wille geſchehe, nicht des Teufels und unſerer Feinde Wille, noch alles des, ſo dein heiliges Wort verfolgen und dämpfen will oder dein Reich hindern; und gib uns, daß wir alles, was drüber zu leiden iſt, mit Geduld tragen und überwinden, daß unſer armes Fleiſch aus Schwachheit oder Trägheit nicht weiche noch abfalle!

67] Eam ob rem aeque necessarium est, ut in omnibus aliis indesinenter oremus: [R. 521 Tua voluntas, precor, fiat, optime Pater, non diaboli neque inimicorum nostrorum neque omnium illorum, qui tuum sacratissimum Verbum insectantur quaerentes illud opprimere, aut regnum tuum impedire. Largire quoque nobis eam animi patientiam, ut, quaecunque nobis propterea toleranda sunt, patienter sufferamus atque vincamus, ne miseranda nostra caro, victa imbecillitate aut pigritia, repudiata cruce turpiter tergiversetur.

Siehe, alſo haben wir aufs einfältigſte in dieſen drei Stücken die Not, ſo Gott ſelbſt betrifft, doch alles um unſertwillen; denn es gilt allein uns, was wir bitten, nämlich alſo, wie geſagt, daß auch in uns geſchehe, das ſonſt außer uns geſchehen muß. Denn wie auch ohne unſer Bitten ſein Name geheiligt werden und ſein Reich kommen muß, alſo muß auch ſein Wille geſchehen und durchdringen, obgleich der Teufel mit all ſeinem Anhang faſt [ſehr] dawider rumoren, zürnen und toben und ſich unterſtehen, das Evangelium ganz auszutilgen. Aber um unſertwillen müſſen wir bitten, daß ſein Wille auch unter uns wider ſolch ihr Toben unverhindert gehe, daß ſie nichts ſchaffen [ausrichten] können, und wir wider alle Gewalt und Verfolgung feſt dabei bleiben und ſolchen Willen Gottes uns gefallen laſſen.

68] Ecce, ita simplicissime his tribus petitionibus necessitatem ipsi Deo incumbentem habemus, verumtamen propter nos. Nobis enim tantum seritur ac metitur, si quid oraverimus, nempe ita (sicut dictum est), ut in nobis quoque illud fiat, quod alioqui etiam extra nos fieri oportet. Nam quemadmodum eius nomen etiam nobis non orantibus sanctificari et regnum eius venire debet, ita quoque voluntas eius non potest non fieri, quamquam diabolus cum omnibus suis auxiliaribus copiis ei repugnet, irascatur et insaniat summa ope nitens totum evangelium subvertere. Verum propter nosmet ipsos nobis orandum est, ut eius voluntas inter nos etiam adversus eiusmodi illorum insanias completa locum inveniat, ut omnis illorum conatus frustra sit, et nos adversus omnem iniuriarum vim atque insectationem inconcussi perseveremus ac talem Dei voluntatem nobis nunquam displicere sinamus.

Solch Gebet ſoll nun jetzt unſer Schutz und Wehr ſein, die zurückſchlage und niederlege alles, was der Teufel, Papſt, Biſchöfe, Tyrannen und Ketzer wider unſer Evangelium vermögen. Laß ſie allzumal zürnen und ihr Höchſtes verſuchen, ratſchlagen und beſchließen, wie ſie uns dämpfen und ausrotten wollen, daß ihr Wille und Rat fortgehe; dawider ſoll ein Chriſt oder zwei mit dieſem einigen Stück unſere Mauer ſein, daran ſie anlaufen und zu Scheitern gehen. Den Troſt und Trotz haben wir, daß des Teufels und aller unſerer Feinde Wille und Vornehmen ſoll und muß untergehen und zunichte werden, wie ſtolz, ſicher und gewaltig ſie ſich wiſſen; denn wo ihr Wille nicht gebrochen und gehindert würde, ſo könnte ſein Reich auf Erden nicht bleiben noch ſein Name geheiligt werden.

69] Talis, inquam, oratio iam nunc nostra debet esse tutela et propugnatio, quae fuget prosternatque omne, quidquid diabolus, episcopi, tyranni et haeretici adversus evangelium nostrum insidiose moliuntur. Permitte sane, ut omnes magno erga nos irascantur stomacho, omnem (quod aiunt) moventes lapidem, ut collatis in unum consiliis decernant, quomodo nos velint opprimere, subvertere, evellere, ut suae voluntatis et consilii fiant compotes. Horum omnium improbis consiliis et perfidis conspirationibus unum atque [R. 522 alterum Christianum hac armatum precatiuncula non verebor opponere, ille noster murus erit et propugnaculum, quo victi ac profligati **70**] foede succumbent. Hanc equidem consolationem habemus et hanc fiduciam obtinemus, certo fore, ut diaboli ac omnium inimicorum nostrorum voluntas atque consilium facta irrita evanescant, quamlibet tandem ferociter insolescant, aut semet securos et potentes esse confidant. Nisi enim illorum voluntas intercepta infringeretur, regnum Dei locum in terris non haberet, sed neque nomen eius sanctificaretur.

Die vierte Bitte.

Unſer täglich Brot gib uns heute.

Quarta Petitio.

71] Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie.

Hier bedenken wir nun den armen Brotkorb, unſers Leibes und zeitlichen Lebens Notdurft, und iſt ein kurz, einfältig Wort, greift aber auch ſehr

72] Hoc loco *χοίνικος καὶ καρδόπου* memores sumus, hoc est, victus nostri alendo corpori et temporali vitae sustentandae neces-

ever he has upon earth — possessions, honor, house and estate, wife and children, body and life. Now, this hurts our flesh and the old Adam; for the test is to be steadfast and to suffer with patience in whatever way we are assailed, and to let go whatever is taken from us.

Hence there is just as great need, as in all the others, that we pray without ceasing: "Dear Father, Thy will be done, not the will of the devil and of our enemies, nor of anything that would persecute and suppress Thy holy Word or hinder Thy kingdom; and grant that we may bear with patience and overcome whatever is to be endured on that account, lest our poor flesh yield or fall away from weakness or sluggishness."

Behold, thus we have in these three petitions, in the simplest manner, the need which relates to God Himself, yet all for our sakes. For whatever we pray concerns only us, namely, as we have said, that what must be done anyway without us, may also be done in us. For as His name must be hallowed and His kingdom come without our prayer, so also His will must be done and succeed, although the devil with all his adherents raise a great tumult, are angry and rage against it, and undertake to exterminate the Gospel utterly. But for our own sakes we must pray that even against their fury His will be done without hindrance also among us, that they may not be able to accomplish anything and we remain firm against all violence and persecution, and submit to such will of God.

Such prayer, then, is to be our protection and defense now, is to repel and put down all that the devil, Pope, bishops, tyrants, and heretics can do against our Gospel. Let them all rage and attempt their utmost, and deliberate and resolve how they may suppress and exterminate us, that their will and counsel may prevail: over and against this one or two Christians with this petition alone shall be our wall against which they shall run and dash themselves to pieces. This consolation and confidence we have, that the will and purpose of the devil and of all our enemies shall and must fail and come to naught, however proud, secure, and powerful they know themselves to be. For if their will were not broken and hindered, the kingdom of God could not abide on earth nor His name be hallowed.

The Fourth Petition.

Give us this day our daily bread.

Here, now, we consider the poor bread-basket, the necessaries of our body and of the temporal life. It is a brief and simple word,

weit um sich. Denn wenn du täglich Brot nennst und bittest, so bittest du alles, was dazu gehört, das tägliche Brot zu haben und genießen, und dagegen auch wider alles, so dasselbe hindert. Darum mußt du deine Gedanken wohl auftun und ausbreiten, nicht allein in [den] Backofen oder Mehlkasten, sondern ins weite Feld und ganze Land, so das tägliche Brot und allerlei Nahrung trägt und uns bringt. Denn wo es Gott nicht wachsen ließe, segnete und auf dem Lande erhielte, würden wir nimmer kein Brot aus dem Backofen [* nehmen] noch auf den Tisch zu legen haben.

Und daß wir's kürzlich fassen, so will diese Bitte mit eingeschlossen haben alles, was zu diesem ganzen Leben in der Welt gehört, weil wir allein um deswillen das tägliche Brot haben müssen. Nun gehört nicht allein zum Leben, daß unser Leib sein Futter und Decke und andere Notdurft habe, sondern auch, daß wir unter den Leuten, mit welchen wir leben und umgehen, in täglichem Handel und Wandel und allerlei Wesen mit Ruhe und Frieden hinkommen; Summa, alles, was beide häuslich und nachbarlich oder bürgerlich Wesen und Regiment belangt. Denn wo diese zwei gehindert werden, daß sie nicht gehen, wie sie gehen sollen, da ist auch des Lebens Notdurft gehindert, daß [es] endlich nicht kann erhalten werden. Und ist wohl das Allernötigste, für weltliche Obrigkeit und Regiment zu bitten, als durch welches uns Gott allermeist unser täglich Brot und alle Gemach [alle Annehmlichkeiten] dieses Lebens erhält. Denn ob wir gleich aller Güter von Gott die Fülle haben überkommen, so können wir doch desselben [derselben] keines behalten noch sicher und fröhlich [ge]brauchen, wo er uns nicht ein beständig, friedlich Regiment gäbe. Denn wo Unfriede, Hader und Krieg ist, da ist das tägliche Brot schon genommen oder je gewehrt.

Darum möchte man billig in eines jeglichen frommen Fürsten Schild ein Brot setzen für einen Leuen [Löwen] oder Rautenkranz [Laubkranz im sächsischen Wappen aus Rautenblättern] oder auf die Münze für das Gepräge schlagen, zu erinnern beide, sie und die Untertanen, daß wir durch ihr Amt Schutz und Frieden haben und ohne sie das liebe Brot nicht essen noch behalten können. Darum sie auch aller Ehren wert sind, daß man ihnen dazu gebe, was wir sollen und können, als denen, durch welche wir alles, was wir haben, mit Frieden und Ruhe genießen, da wir sonst keinen Heller behalten würden; dazu, daß man auch für sie bitte, daß Gott desto mehr Segen und Gutes durch sie uns gebe.

Also sei aufs kürzeste angezeigt und entworfen, wie weit dies Gebet geht durch allerlei Wesen auf Erden. Daraus möchte nun jemand ein lang Gebet machen und mit vielen Worten alle solche Stücke, so darein gehören, verzählen [aufzählen],

sarii. Est autem verbum perbreve ac simplex, sed tamen late patens. Ubi enim panem quotidianum precaris ac nominas, ibi omnia, quae ad quotidiani panis fruitionem pertinent, precaris, et rursus eadem opera deprecaris etiam omnia, quae huic impedimento esse possunt. Quare cogitationes tuae tibi probe aperiendae sunt et dilatandae, ne tantum in angustiis mactrae ac clibani consistas, sed in spatiosum campum evageris, panem quotidianum et omnis generis alimenta nobis producentem. Nisi enim Deus e terris fruges sineret excrescere, insuper easdem benediceret et a calamitate defenderet, nunquam pistum panem e clibano extraheremus aut discumbentibus proponeremus.

73] Ut autem compendiose dicamus, haec petitio conclusa in se complectitur omnia, quaecunque ad hanc vitam in hoc [R. 523 saeculo traducendam pertinent, cuius solius gratia quotidiano pane opus habemus. Iam non tantum ad hanc vitam sufficit, ut corpori nostro prospectum sit, unde alatur et tegatur aliaque habeat necessaria, verum etiam, ut cum iis hominibus, quibuscum conversamur et vivimus, quibuscum commercia et omnis generis negotia et contractus sociamus et exercemus, pacata ac tranquilla temporis conditione fruamur, et in summa, quidquid ad politicam, civilem et domesticam rerum administrationem pertinet. Etenim ubicunque locorum et domesticae et civilis administrationis usus interceptus aut conturbatus fuerit, ut perpetuum tenorem quietis obtinere nequeat, ibi quoque vitae alimenta intercepta sunt, planeque de victu nostro actum est. Est-
74] que prorsus res omnium maxime necessaria, diligenter orare pro magistratibus, quippe quorum tutela et opera Deus nobis potissimum victus copiam huiusque vitae tranquillam conditionem conservat. Nam quamquam omnibus rebus a Deo datis abundaremus affluentissime, harum tamen nullam retinere possumus, neque etiam cum securitate frui et gaudio, nisi constantem et pacatam reipublicae administrationem nobis tribuerit. Ubi enim motus vigent et tumultus fervent bellici, hic quoque panis quotidianus subtractus est aut ad minimum impeditus.

75] Quare cuiusque boni et vigilantis principis insignia multo iustius pane insignirentur quam leonis imagine aut sertis rutae, aut ipsa moneta imaginis loco panes insculpto [insculpti] aptius cuderentur, admonendi gratia cum eos tum ipsorum quoque subditos, esse videlicet principes, quorum officio tutelam ac pacem haberemus, neque sine illis aut panem edere aut eundem nos servare posse. Cuius rei gratia omni etiam honore digni sunt, ut illis per nos benigne detur, quidquid ex officio dare debemus et possumus, veluti iis, [R. 524 quorum beneficio omnibus, quaecunque possidemus, molliter ac quiete fruimur, cum alioqui ne assem quidem eramus servaturi. Adhaec, ut pro illis ipsis quoque oremus, nostri est officii, ut per eos Deus plus benedictionis et bonorum nobis largiri dignetur.

76] Sit ergo ita paucissimis indicatum et delineatum, quousque haec protendatur oratio, nempe per omnia huius vitae negotia atque commercia. Ex his iam aliquis prolixas preculas posset componere ac multis verbis omnes

but it has a very wide scope. For when you mention and pray for daily bread, you pray for everything that is necessary in order to have and enjoy daily bread and, on the other hand, against everything which interferes with it. Therefore you must open wide and extend your thoughts not only to the oven or the flour-bin, but to the distant field and the entire land, which bears and brings to us daily bread and every sort of sustenance. For if God did not cause it to grow, and bless and preserve it in the field, we could never take bread from the oven or have any to set upon the table.

To comprise it briefly, this petition includes everything that belongs to our entire life in the world, because on that account alone do we need daily bread. Now for our life it is not only necessary that our body have food and covering and other necessaries, but also that we spend our days in peace and quiet among the people with whom we live and have intercourse in daily business and conversation and all sorts of doings, in short, whatever pertains both to the domestic and to the neighborly or civil relation and government. For where these two things are hindered [intercepted and disturbed] that they do not prosper as they ought, the necessaries of life also are impeded, so that ultimately life cannot be maintained. And there is, indeed, the greatest need to pray for temporal authority and government, as that by which most of all God preserves to us our daily bread and all the comforts of this life. For though we have received of God all good things in abundance, we are not able to retain any of them or use them in security and happiness, if He did not give us a permanent and peaceful government. For where there are dissension, strife, and war, there the daily bread is already taken away, or at least checked.

Therefore it would be very proper to place in the coat-of-arms of every pious prince a loaf of bread instead of a lion, or a wreath of rue, or to stamp it upon the coin, to remind both them and their subjects that by their office we have protection and peace, and that without them we could not eat and retain our daily bread. Therefore they are also worthy of all honor, that we give to them for their office what we ought and can, as to those through whom we enjoy in peace and quietness what we have, because otherwise we would not keep a farthing; and that, in addition, we also pray for them that through them God may bestow on us the more blessing and good.

Let this be a very brief explanation and sketch, showing how far this petition extends through all conditions on earth. Of this any one might indeed make a long prayer, and with many words enumerate all the things

als nämlich, daß wir bitten, daß uns Gott gebe Essen und Trinken, Kleider, Haus und Hof und gesunden Leib, dazu das Getreide und Früchte auf dem Felde wachsen und wohl geraten lasse; danach auch daheim wohl haushalten helfe, fromm Weib, Kinder und Gesinde gebe und bewahre, unsere Arbeit, Handwerk oder was wir zu tun haben, gedeihen und gelingen lasse, treue Nachbarn und gute Freunde beschere usw.; item, Kaiser, Königen und allen Ständen und sonderlich unserm Landesfürsten, allen Räten, Oberherren und Amtleuten Weisheit, Stärke und Glück gebe, wohl zu regieren und wider Türken und alle Feinde zu siegen, den Untertanen und gemeinem Haufen Gehorsam, Frieden und Eintracht untereinander zu leben; und wiederum, daß er uns behüte vor allerlei Schaden des Leibes und Nahrung, Ungewitter, Hagel, Feuer, Wasser, Gift, Pestilenz, Viehsterben, Krieg und Blutvergießen, teurer Zeit, schädlichen Tieren, bösen Leuten usw. Welches alles gut ist, den Einfältigen einzubilden [einzuprägen], daß solches und dergleichen von Gott muß gegeben und von uns gebeten sein.

partes, quae huc referendae sunt, singillatim percensere, nimirum haec nos orare, ut Deus nobis praestet victus et amictus copiam, domum, prosperam corporis valetudinem, utque fruges in agris magno cum foenore laetas provenire sinat. Deinde ut domi quoque rei familiaris procurationem adiuvet, ut uxorem pudicam, probos liberos, bene moratam det familiam et servet incolumem, nostrum laborem, opificium aut quamcunque tandem rem efficiendam habemus, prosperet atque promoveat, fideles vicinos ac bonos amicos nobis **77**] iungat et offerat etc. Praeterea ut caesari, regibus et omnibus ordinibus, cumprimis vero nostrae ditionis principi eiusque consiliariis, proceribus atque praefectis sapientiam, fortitudinem et prosperitatem bene regnandi suppeditet atque adversus Turcas et omnes inimicos victoriam, subditis vero et communi plebeculae obedientiam, pacem et mutuam **78**] inter sese vivendi concordiam. Contra, ut nos ab omnibus detrimentis victus ac vitae custodiat, a perniciosis tempestatibus, a saeva grandine, a calamitosis incendiis, a tristibus aquarum inundationibus, a veneno, ab annis pestiferis, a pecorum letali contagio, a belli saevitia et caedibus, ab annonae difficultate, ab exitiosis bestiis, a pravis hominibus, a virulentis **79**] linguis etc. Haec enim omnia diligenter inculcare simplicibus non est inutile, haec videlicet atque similia a Deo dari oportere et ab eodem precibus impetranda esse. [R. 525

Vornehmlich aber ist dies Gebet auch gestellt wider unsern höchsten Feind, den Teufel. Denn das ist all sein Sinn und Begehren, solches alles, was wir von Gott haben, zu nehmen oder [zu] hindern, und läßt ihm nicht genügen, daß er das geistliche Regiment hindere und zerstöre, damit daß er die Seelen durch seine Lügen verführe und unter seine Gewalt bringe, sondern wehrt und hindert auch, daß kein Regiment noch ehrbarlich und friedlich Wesen auf Erden bestehe. Da richtet er so viel Hader, Mord, Aufruhr und Krieg an, item Ungewitter, Hagel, das Getreide und Vieh zu verderben, die Luft zu vergiften usw. Summa, es ist ihm leid, daß jemand einen Bissen Brots von Gott habe und mit Frieden esse; und wenn es in seiner Macht stünde, und unser Gebet (nächst Gott) nicht wehrete, würden wir freilich keinen Halm auf dem Felde, keinen Heller im Hause, ja nicht eine Stunde das Leben behalten, sonderlich die, so Gottes Wort haben und gerne wollten Christen sein.

80] Potissimum autem haec oratio contra hostem etiam nobis infensissimum, nempe diabolum, adornata est. Haec enim omnis eius est cogitatio et desiderium, ut haec omnia, quaecunque a Deo impertita habemus, nobis auferat. Neque contentus est rerum spiritualium procurationem foede conturbare, ut animas suis nugis seductas suo imperio subiiciat, verum manibus pedibusque obstat etiam enixe studendo, ne qua in terris externarum rerum administratio aut civilis status honeste et pacate institutus diu consistat, unde tot passim lites, iurgia, caedes, motus, seditiones, tumultus et bella concitat. Insuper tempestates et grandines emittit e nubibus aut contagione pecus inficit aut corrupto coeli tractu **81**] aërem reddit pestilentem et tabificum. In summa, maxime discruciatur animo, unum aliquem vel bolum panis nos a Deo habere reliquum eoque pacate vesci. Et si in illius potestate esset constitutum, nec post Deum oratio nostra obstaret, sane ne culmum quidem in agris servaremus incolumem, neque salvum obolum in marsupio, imo nec unius horulae usuram ad vivendum nobis concederet, cumprimis vero iis, qui Verbum Dei habent et vere Christiani esse ex animo cupiunt.

Siehe, also will uns Gott anzeigen, wie er sich aller unserer Not annimmt und so treulich auch für unsere zeitliche Nahrung sorgt; und wiewohl er solches reichlich gibt und erhält, auch den Gottlosen und Buben, doch will er, daß wir darum bitten, auf daß wir erkennen, daß wir's von seiner Hand empfangen und darin seine väterliche Güte gegen uns spüren. Denn wo er die Hand abzeucht [abzieht], so kann es doch nicht endlich gedeihen noch erhalten werden, wie man wohl täglich sieht und fühlt. Was ist jetzt für eine Plage in der Welt allein mit der bösen Münze, ja mit täglicher Beschwerung und Aufsetzen [Daraufschlagen, Wucher] in gemeinem Handel, Kauf und Arbeit derer, die nach ihrem Mutwillen das liebe Armut [die lieben Armen] drücken und ihr täg-

82] Ecce, ad hunc quidem modum Deus nobis indicat, quomodo omnes necessitates nostrae sibi curae sint, tum quam fideliter etiam temporalis victus nostri rationem habeat. Et **83**] quamquam hunc impiis etiam hominibus et improbis nebulonibus affatim suppeditare soleat atque tueri, nihilominus tamen vult, ut pro eo consequendo oremus, ut certo cognoscamus nos haec omnia ab eius munificentia et liberalitate accipere, quo ita eius paternam bonitatem erga nos propensam non dubiis argumentis perspiciamus. Ubi enim manum suam aut clauserit aut subtraxerit, [R. 526 nihil feliciter provenire potest aut denique retineri, id quod quotidie verissimum esse ex**84**] perimur. Quam enim hodie miseriam non

that are included therein, as that we pray God to give us food and drink, clothing, house, and home, and health of body; also that He cause the grain and fruits of the field to grow and mature well; furthermore, that He help us at home towards good housekeeping, that He give and preserve to us a godly wife, children, and servants, that He cause our work, trade, or whatever we are engaged in to prosper and succeed, favor us with faithful neighbors and good friends, etc. Likewise, that He give to emperors, kings, and all estates, and especially to the rulers of our country and to all counselors, magistrates, and officers, wisdom, strength, and success that they may govern well and vanquish the Turks and all enemies; to subjects and the common people, obedience, peace, and harmony in their life with one another; and on the other hand, that He would preserve us from all sorts of calamity to body and livelihood, as lightning, hail, fire, flood, poison, pestilence, cattle-plague, war and bloodshed, famine, destructive beasts, wicked men, etc. All this it is well to impress upon the simple, namely, that these things come from God, and must be prayed for by us.

But this petition is especially directed also against our chief enemy, the devil. For all his thought and desire is to deprive us of all that we have from God, or to hinder it; and he is not satisfied to obstruct and destroy spiritual government in leading souls astray by his lies and bringing them under his power, but he also prevents and hinders the stability of all government and honorable, peaceable relations on earth. There he causes so much contention, murder, sedition, and war, also lightning and hail to destroy grain and cattle, to poison the air, etc. In short, he is sorry that any one has a morsel of bread from God and eats it in peace; and if it were in his power, and our prayer (next to God) did not prevent him, we would not keep a straw in the field, a farthing in the house, yea, not even our life for an hour, especially those who have the Word of God and would like to be Christians.

Behold, thus God wishes to indicate to us how He cares for us in all our need, and faithfully provides also for our temporal support. And although He abundantly grants and preserves these things even to the wicked and knaves, yet He wishes that we pray for them, in order that we may recognize that we receive them from His hand, and may feel His paternal goodness toward us therein. For when He withdraws His hand, nothing can prosper nor be maintained in the end, as, indeed, we daily see and experience. How much trouble there is now in the world only on account of bad coin, yea, on account of daily

lich Brot entziehen! Welches wir zwar müssen leiden; sie aber mögen sich vorsehen, daß sie nicht das gemeine Gebet [die Fürbitte der Christen] verlieren und sich hüten, daß dies Stücklein im Vaterunser nicht wider sie gehe.

patimur, adulterina saltem moneta, imo potius quotidianis aggravationibus et exactionibus in publicis commerciis, contractibus, negotiis, laboribus, eorum videlicet, qui pauperes pro sua libidine opprimunt, eorundemque victum decurtant et imminuunt? Quod quidem nobis perferendum est; ceterum illi sibi prospiciant, ne communis orationis iacturam faciant, sibi etiam atque caventes, ne hanc Orationis Dominicae particulam sibi adversam habeant.

Die fünfte Bitte.

Und verlaß [erlaß, vergib] uns unsere Schuld, als wir verlassen [vergeben] unsern Schuldigern.

Dies Stück trifft nun unser armes und elendes Leben an, welches, ob wir gleich Gottes Wort haben, glauben, seinen Willen tun und leiden und uns von Gottes Gabe und Segen nähren, geht es doch ohne Sünde nicht ab; denn wir noch täglich straucheln und zu viel tun [nicht Maß halten], weil wir in der Welt leben unter den Leuten, die uns viel zuleide tun und Ursache geben zu Ungeduld, Zorn, Rache usw.; dazu den Teufel hinter uns haben, der uns auf allen Seiten zusetzt und sicht (wie gehört) wider alle vorigen Stücke, daß nicht möglich ist, in solchem steten Kampf allezeit festzustehen.

Darum ist hier abermal große Not zu bitten und rufen: Lieber Vater, verlaß uns unsere Schuld! Nicht daß er auch ohne und vor unserm Bitten nicht die Sünde vergebe (denn er hat uns das Evangelium, darin eitel Vergebung ist, geschenkt, ehe wir darum gebeten oder jemals danach gesonnen haben); es ist aber darum zu tun, daß wir solche Vergebung erkennen und annehmen. Denn weil das Fleisch, darin wir täglich leben, derart ist, daß es Gott nicht traut und glaubt und sich immerdar regt mit bösen Lüsten und Tücken, daß wir täglich mit Worten und Werken, mit Tun und Lassen sündigen, davon das Gewissen zu Unfrieden kommt, daß [es] sich vor Gottes Zorn und Ungnade fürchtet und also den Trost und Zuversicht aus dem Evangelio sinken läßt, so ist ohne Unterlaß vonnöten, daß man hierher laufe und Trost hole, das Gewissen wieder aufzurichten.

Solches aber soll nun dazu dienen, daß uns Gott den Stolz breche und [uns] in der Demut halte. Denn er hat ihm [sich] vorbehalten das Vorteil [das Vorrecht], ob jemand wollte auf seine Frömmigkeit pochen und andere verachten, daß er sich selbst ansehe und dies Gebet vor Augen stelle, so wird er finden, daß er ebenso fromm ist [daß er nicht frömmer ist] als die andern, und müssen alle vor Gott die Federn [wie der stolze Pfau] niederschlagen und froh werden, daß wir zu der Vergebung kommen. Und denke es nur niemand, solange wir hier leben, dahin zu bringen, daß er solcher Vergebung nicht [be]dürfe. Summa, wo er nicht ohne Unterlaß vergibt, so sind wir verloren.

So ist nun die Meinung dieser Bitte, daß Gott nicht wollte unsere Sünde ansehen und vorhalten,

Quinta Petitio.

85] **Et remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.**

86] Hic articulus miseram et aerumnosam vitam nostram attingit, quae, quamquam Dei Verbum habeamus, credamus, eius voluntatem faciamus et perferamus, eiusque donis ac benedictionibus alamur, peccatis tamen vacua et immunis non est, adeo ut adhuc quotidie prolabamur modumque excedamus, in mundo viventes cum hominibus, multa nobis aegre facientibus, causamque impatientiae, iracundiae, ultionis et similium exhibentibus. Ad-
87] haec diabolum a tergo nos infestantem habemus, qui ab omni parte nos impugnat, contraque priores (ut dictum est) articulos omnibus modis decertat, ita ut non sit possibile in tam frequenti et assiduo certamine non quandoque succumbere.

88] Quamobrem hic iterum magna necessitudo orandi nobis incumbit: Optime Pater, remitte nobis debita nostra! Non quod non ante aut citra nostram precationem [R. 527 peccata nobis non remiserit (siquidem evangelium nobis dono dedit, in quo merae peccatorum condonationes continentur, priusquam pro illo impetrando oravimus, aut illud nobis in animum venit). Verum propterea nobis orandum est, ut talem remissionem agnosca-
89] mus et accipiamus. Cum enim carnis, in qua vivimus quotidie, ea sit indoles et ingenium, ut Deo non fidat et credat, semper pravis sit dedita concupiscentiis, ut in dies singulos dictis ac factis, faciendo et omittendo peccemus, quare conscientiae tranquillitas conturbatur, ut Dei iram atque indignationem perhorrescat, et ita consolationem et fiduciam evangelii amittat, peropus est quotidie atque adeo citra intermissionem huc cursitare, consolationis petendae gratia, qua conscientiam iterum erectam sublevemus.

90] Verum enim vero hoc eo valere debet, ut Deus insolescentis animi tumorem nobis infringat, inque humilitate retineat. Eam enim sibi praerogativam soli praeservavit, ut, si quis ob suam probitatem sibi nimium placere, eam confidenter iactare velit, aliosque arroganter contemnere, ad se reversus semet ipsum intueatur, hancque orationem sibi ante oculos ponat, ita fore, ut mox inveniat se aliis nihilo meliorem esse. Omnibus enim nobis coram Deo cristae demittendae et contrahendae sunt, ac gaudendum, ut remissionis fiamus parti-
91] cipes. Nec quisquam inducat animum eo se rem perducturum, ut, quamdiu hic vivimus, non opus habeat ea remissione. In summa, nisi citra intermissionem remittat Deus, actum est de nobis.

92] Iam itaque huius precationis hic est sensus, ne Deus peccata nostra intueatur, neve

oppression and raising of prices in common trade, bargaining and labor on the part of those who wantonly oppress the poor and deprive them of their daily bread! This we must suffer indeed; but let them take care that they do not lose the common intercession, and beware lest this petition in the Lord's Prayer be against them.

The Fifth Petition.

And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us.

This part now relates to our poor miserable life, which, although we have and believe the Word of God, and do and submit to His will, and are supported by His gifts and blessings, is nevertheless not without sin. For we still stumble daily and transgress because we live in the world among men who do us much harm and give us cause for impatience, anger, revenge, etc. Besides, we have Satan at our back, who sets upon us on every side, and fights (as we have heard) against all the foregoing petitions, so that it is not possible always to stand firm in such a persistent conflict.

Therefore there is here again great need to call upon God and to pray: Dear Father, forgive us our trespasses. Not as though He did not forgive sin without and even before our prayer (for He has given us the Gospel, in which is pure forgiveness before we prayed or ever thought about it). But this is to the intent that we may recognize and accept such forgiveness. For since the flesh in which we daily live is of such a nature that it neither trusts nor believes God, and is ever active in evil lusts and devices, so that we sin daily in word and deed, by commission and omission, by which the conscience is thrown into unrest, so that it is afraid of the wrath and displeasure of God, and thus loses the comfort and confidence derived from the Gospel; therefore it is ceaselessly necessary that we run hither and obtain consolation to comfort the conscience again.

But this should serve God's purpose of breaking our pride and keeping us humble. For in case any one should boast of his godliness and despise others, God has reserved this prerogative to Himself, that the person is to consider himself and place this prayer before his eyes, and he will find that he is no better than others, and that in the presence of God all must lower their plumes, and be glad that they can attain forgiveness. And let no one think that as long as we live here he can reach such a position that he will not need such forgiveness. In short, if God does not forgive without ceasing, we are lost.

It is therefore the intent of this petition that God would not regard our sins and hold

was wir täglich verdienen, sondern mit Gnaden gegen uns handeln und vergeben, wie er verheißen hat, und also ein fröhlich und unverzagt Gewissen geben, vor ihm zu stehen und zu bitten. Denn wo das Herz nicht mit Gott recht steht und solche Zuversicht schöpfen kann, so wird es nimmermehr sich dürfen unterstehen zu beten. Solche Zuversicht aber und fröhlich Herz kann nirgend herkommen, es wisse denn, daß ihm die Sünden vergeben seien.

Es ist aber dabei ein nötiger und doch tröstlicher Zusatz angehängt: „als wir vergeben unsern Schuldigern". Er hat's verheißen, daß wir sollen sicher sein, daß uns alles vergeben und geschenkt sei, doch sofern, daß wir auch unserm Nächsten vergeben. Denn wie wir gegen Gott täglich viel verschulden, und er doch aus Gnaden alles vergibt, also müssen auch wir unserm Nächsten immerdar vergeben, so uns Schaden, Gewalt und Unrecht tut, böse Tücke beweist usw. Vergibst du nun nicht, so denke auch nicht, daß dir Gott vergebe; vergibst du aber, so hast du den Trost und Sicherheit, daß dir im Himmel vergeben wird, nicht um deines Vergebens willen; denn er tut es frei umsonst, aus lauter Gnade, weil er's verheißen hat, wie das Evangelium lehrt; sondern daß er uns solches zur Stärke und Sicherheit als zum Wahrzeichen setze neben der Verheißung, die mit diesem Gebete stimmt, Lucä am 6.: „Vergebet, so wird euch vergeben." Darum sie auch Christus bald nach dem Vaterunser wiederholt und spricht Matthäi am 6.: „Denn so ihr den Menschen ihre Fehle vergebet, so wird euch euer himmlischer Vater auch vergeben" usw.

meritis nostris debita praemia reddat, sed nobiscum clementer agat, peccatorum concedens veniam, quemadmodum pollicitus est, atque ita nobis laetam ac interritam largiatur conscientiam, qua animati coram eo et stare et precari queamus. Ubi enim cordi cum [R. 528 Deo non recte convenit, neque talem haurire potest fiduciam, nunquam in perpetuum aliquid ab eo precari sustinebit. Porro autem eiusmodi fiducia et animus laetitia gestiens non aliunde venire potest, quam si certo sciat peccata sibi esse remissa.

93] Verum huic precationi necessarium, attamen consolationis plenum, adiectum est auctarium: *Sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.* Pollicitus est, ut securi essemus, omnia peccata nobis esse remissa et condonata, ita tamen, ut nos vicissim proximo nostro offensiunculas, quibus ab eo laesi 94] sumus, benigne remittamus. Nam quemadmodum nos quotidie nostris peccatis Deum offendimus, et tamen ille omnia nobis benigne ignoscendo condonat, ita nostri quoque erit officii proximo subinde dare veniam, qui damno, vi atque iniuria nos afficit, dolo malo nobiscum agit etc. Si gravaris ignoscere pro- 95] ximo, non est, quod tibi pollicearis aut cogites, Deum tibi tua peccata condonaturum. Sin autem benigne ignoveris aliis, ea tibi consolatio et securitas proposita est, ut in coelo 96] quoque certo tibi ignoscatur. Et hoc quidem non propter tuam ignoscentiam aut veniam, quam largiris proximo; libere enim facit et gratuito ex mera gratia, cum illud se facturum receperit, quemadmodum docet evangelium: verum ut nos certos ac securos faciat, tamquam symbolo seu certo signo una cum promissione proposito, quae huic orationi consonat Luc. 6, 37: *Remittite, et remittetur vobis.* Eam ob rem Christus quoque Matth. 6, 14 illico post traditam orandi rationem repetit, inquiens: *Si enim remiseritis hominibus peccata eorum, remittet et vobis Pater vester coelestis delicta vestra.*

Darum ist nun solches Zeichen bei diesem Gebet mit angeheftet, daß, wenn wir bitten, [wir] uns der Verheißung erinnern und also denken: Lieber Vater, darum komme und bitte ich, daß du mir vergebest, nicht daß ich mit Werken genugtun oder verdienen könne, sondern weil du es verheißen hast und das Siegel dran gehängt, daß [es] so gewiß sein solle, als habe ich eine Absolution, von dir selbst gesprochen. Denn wieviel die Taufe und Sakrament, äußerlich zum Zeichen gestellt, schaffen, so viel vermag auch dies Zeichen, unser Gewissen zu stärken und fröhlich zu machen, und ist vor andern eben darum gestellt, daß wir's alle Stunde könnten brauchen und üben, als das wir allezeit bei uns haben.

97] Proinde huic orationi tale signum annexum est, ut nos orantes promissionis admoneat, ut ita cogitemus: Optime Pater, ideo ad te oratum venio, ut mihi ignoscas [R. 529 propitius, non quod operibus queam satisfacere aut veniam a te promereri, sed cum tu hoc nobis promiseris, adiecta etiam sphragide, ut tam certus sim veniae, ac si dictam a te 98] absolutionem accepissem. Quantum enim baptismus et sacramentum, pro externo signo constitutum, praestat, tantum etiam hoc signum conscientiam nostram corroborare atque exhilarare potest, estque ideo institutum pro aliis, ut hoc omnibus horis uti et frui queamus, ut re, quam semper nobiscum in parato habeamus.

Die sechste Bitte.

Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung.

Wir haben nun genug gehört, was [es] für Mühe und Arbeit will haben, daß man das alles, so man bittet, erhalte und dabei bleibe, daß [es] dennoch nicht ohne Gebrechen und Straucheln abgeht. Dazu, ob wir gleich Vergebung und gut Gewissen überkommen haben und ganz losgesprochen sind, so ist es doch mit dem Leben so getan, daß einer heute steht und morgen davonfällt. Darum müssen wir abermal bitten, ob wir nun fromm

Sexta Petitio.

99] Et ne inducas nos in tentationem.

100] Iam quidem satis superque audivimus, quantum requirat laboris et operis omnia, quaecunque precamur, retinere et in illis constanter perseverare, tamen vel sic vix fieri posse, ut non labamur et hallucinemur. Adhaec quamquam erratorum veniam et conscientiae tranquillitatem consequamur, ac per omnia a peccatis perpurgati simus, ita tamen vitae nostrae ratio comparata est, ut hodie

up to us what we daily deserve, but would deal graciously with us, and forgive, as He has promised, and thus grant us a joyful and confident conscience to stand before Him in prayer. For where the heart is not in right relation towards God, nor can take such confidence, it will nevermore venture to pray. But such a confident and joyful heart can spring from nothing else than the [certain] knowledge of the forgiveness of sin.

But there is here attached a necessary, yet consolatory addition: *As we forgive.* He has promised that we shall be sure that everything is forgiven and pardoned, yet in the manner that we also forgive our neighbor. For just as we daily sin much against God, and yet He forgives everything through grace, so we, too, must ever forgive our neighbor who does us injury, violence, and wrong, shows malice toward us, etc. If, therefore, you do not forgive, then do not think that God forgives you; but if you forgive, you have this consolation and assurance, that you are forgiven in heaven, not on account of your forgiving, — for God forgives freely and without condition, out of pure grace, because He has so promised, as the Gospel teaches, — but in order that He may set this up for our confirmation and assurance for a sign alongside of the promise which accords with this prayer, Luke 6, 37: *Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven.* Therefore Christ also repeats it soon after the Lord's Prayer, and says, Matt. 6, 14: *For if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you,* etc.

This sign is therefore attached to this petition, that, when we pray, we remember the promise and reflect thus: Dear Father, for this reason I come and pray Thee to forgive me, not that I can make satisfaction, or can merit anything by my works, but because Thou hast promised and attached the seal thereto that I should be as sure as though I had absolution pronounced by Thyself. For as much as Baptism and the Lord's Supper, appointed as external signs, effect, so much also this sign can effect to confirm our consciences and cause them to rejoice. And it is especially given for this purpose, that we might use and practise it every hour, as a thing that we have with us at all times.

The Sixth Petition.

And lead us not into temptation.

We have now heard enough what toil and labor is required to retain all that for which we pray, and to persevere therein, which, however, is not achieved without infirmities and stumbling. Besides, although we have received forgiveness and a good conscience and are entirely acquitted, yet is our life of such a nature that one stands to-day and to-morrow

sind und mit gutem Gewissen gegen Gott stehen, daß er uns nicht lasse zurückfallen und der Anfechtung oder Versuchung weichen.

Die Versuchung aber oder (wie es unsere Sachsen von alters her nennen) Bekörunge [Verführung durch Zureden] ist dreierlei: des Fleisches, der Welt und des Teufels. Denn im Fleisch wohnen wir und tragen den alten Adam am Halse, der regt sich und reizt uns täglich zur Unzucht, Faulheit, Fressen und Saufen, Geiz und Täuscherei, den Nächsten zu betrügen und übersetzen [zu überfordern] und, Summa, zu allerlei bösen Lüsten, so uns von Natur ankleben, und dazu [wir] erregt werden durch anderer Leute Gesellschaft, Exempel, Hören und Sehen, welche oftmals auch ein unschuldiges Herz verwunden und entzünden.

Danach ist [kommt] die Welt, so uns mit Worten und Werken beleidigt und treibt zu Zorn und Ungeduld. Summa, da ist nichts denn Haß und Neid, Feindschaft, Gewalt und Unrecht, Untreue, Rächen, Fluchen, Schelten, Afterreden, Hoffart und Stolz mit überflüssigem Schmuck, Ehre, Ruhm und Gewalt, da niemand will der Geringste sein, sondern obenan sitzen und vor jedermann gesehen sein.

Dazu kommt nun der Teufel, hetzt und bläst auch allenthalben zu; aber sonderlich treibt er, was das Gewissen und geistliche Sachen betrifft, nämlich daß man beide Gottes Wort und Werk in [den] Wind schlage und verachte, daß er uns vom Glauben, Hoffnung und Liebe reiße und bringe zu Mißglauben, falscher Vermessenheit und Verstockung oder wiederum [umgekehrt] zur Verzweiflung, Gottes Verleugnung und Lästerung und andern unzähligen greulichen Stücken. Das sind nun Stricke und Netze, ja die rechten feurigen Pfeile, die nicht Fleisch und Blut, sondern der Teufel aufs allergiftigste ins Herz scheußet [schießt].

Das sind je große, schwere Fahr [Gefahren] und Anfechtungen, so ein jeglicher Christ tragen muß, wenn auch jegliche für sich alleine wäre; auf daß wir je getrieben werden, alle Stunden zu rufen und bitten, weil [solange] wir in dem schändlichen Leben sind, da man uns auf allen Seiten zusetzt, jagt und treibt, daß uns Gott nicht lasse matt und müde werden und wieder zurückfallen in Sünde, Schande und Unglauben; denn sonst ist's unmöglich, auch die allergeringsten Anfechtungen zu überwinden.

Solches heißt nun: „nicht einführen in Versuchung", wenn er uns Kraft und Stärke gibt zu widerstehen, doch die Anfechtung nicht weggenommen noch aufgehoben. Denn Versuchung und Reizung kann niemand umgehen, weil wir im Fleisch leben und den Teufel um uns haben, und wird nichts anderes draus, wir müssen Anfechtung

unus aliquis stet, postero die cadat. Quapropter iterum nobis orandum est, ne nos iam probitatem et iustitiam consecutos, et pacata erga Deum conscientia versantes, retro prolabi ac tentationum impugnationibus cedere sinat.

101] Est autem triplex tentatio seu (ut Saxones nostri iam olim locuti sunt) conversio [persuasio, seductio], videlicet carnis, **102]** mundi et diaboli. Siquidem in carne versamur ac veterem Adamum humeris nostris circumferimus, hic suis movetur affectibus, et nos subinde provocat ac pellicit ad turpitudinem, ad socordiam, ad crapulam et ingluviem, ad avaritiam et fraudulentiam, ad decipiendum et defraudandum proximum, et, ut in summa dicam, ad omnes pravas cupiditates, quae natura nobis insitae sunt, quaeque in nobis saepenumero excitantur, ab aliis [R. 530 videlicet sodalibus, perniciosis exemplis, audiendo et videndo; quae non raro vel Davidis animum, vel si uspiam adhuc fuit incorruptior, possint inflammare atque corrumpere.

103] Deinde huic succedit mundus, a quo et dictis et factis offendimur, ac plane ad iracundiam et impatientiam compellimur. Atque ut summatim virtutes mundanas perstringam, hic nihil aliud videre est quam odium et invidentiam, inimicitias, simultates, iurgia, vim, iniurias, perfidiam, ultionem, maledicentiam, convicia, contumelias, superbiam et insolentiam, nimio ornatu, honore, iactantia atque potentia semet efferentem, ubi nemo posteriores ferre sustinet, sed reliquos omnes sua pompa post se relinquere studet.

104] Hic succenturiatus accedit nunc diabolus, passim instigans ac provocans. Verum praecipue in his perturbandis occupatus est, quae ad conscientiam et spiritualia negotia pertinent, nimirum ut ex aequo et Verbum et opera Dei ventis et aurae, quod dicitur, committamus et contemnamus, ut a fide et caritate nos avellat et in superstitionem, pravam nostri fiduciam et cordis indurationem aut in extremam desperationem et Dei abnegationem et exsecrationem aliaque innumera et detestanda piacula iterum nos praecipitet. Hi iam sunt laquei et retia, imo potius illa ignita tela, quae nequaquam caro et sanguis, verum diabolus in corda humana omnium venenatissime torquet et iaculatur.

105] Haec equidem magna sunt et ardua pericula nec levium tentationum impugnationes, quae cuique Christianorum perferendae sunt, graves abunde, si harum una sola tantum toleranda esset. Inde omnibus horis ad orandum Deumque invocandum compellimur, quamdiu in hac calamitosa vita constituti ab omnibus partibus impugnamur, infestamur et fugamur, ne Deus nos defessos patiatur occumbere atque ita demum iterum in [R. 531 peccata, dedecus et incredulitatem prolabi. Absque hoc enim impossibile est vel levissimam tentatiunculam vincere.

106] Iam hoc dicitur *non in tentationem inducere,* quoties vim ac robur resistendi nobis suppeditat, neque tamen tentatione sublata aut adempta. Neque enim quisquam tentationem aut illectamenta devitare potest, donec in carne vitam egerit, et diaboli copiis circumvallatus fuerit. Et velimus nolimus, tenta-

falls. Therefore, even though we be godly now and stand before God with a good conscience, we must pray again that He would not suffer us to relapse and yield to trials and temptations.

Temptation, however, or (as our Saxons in olden times used to call it) *Bekoerunge*, is of three kinds, namely, of the flesh, of the world, and of the devil. For in the flesh we dwell and carry the old Adam about our neck, who exerts himself and incites us daily to inchastity, laziness, gluttony and drunkenness, avarice and deception, to defraud our neighbor and to overcharge him, and, in short, to all manner of evil lusts which cleave to us by nature, and to which we are incited by the society, example and what we hear and see of other people, which often wound and inflame even an innocent heart.

Next comes the world, which offends us in word and deed, and impels us to anger and impatience. In short, there is nothing but hatred and envy, enmity, violence and wrong, unfaithfulness, vengeance, cursing, raillery, slander, pride and haughtiness, with superfluous finery, honor, fame, and power, where no one is willing to be the least, but every one desires to sit at the head and to be seen before all.

Then comes the devil, inciting and provoking in all directions, but especially agitating matters that concern the conscience and spiritual affairs, namely, to induce us to despise and disregard both the Word and works of God, to tear us away from faith, hope, and love, and bring us into misbelief, false security, and obduracy, or, on the other hand, to despair, denial of God, blasphemy, and innumerable other shocking things. These are indeed snares and nets, yea, real fiery darts which are shot most venomously into the heart, not by flesh and blood, but by the devil.

Great and grievous, indeed, are these dangers and temptations which every Christian must bear, even though each one were alone by himself, so that every hour that we are in this vile life where we are attacked on all sides, chased and hunted down, we are moved to cry out and to pray that God would not suffer us to become weary and faint and to relapse into sin, shame, and unbelief. For otherwise it is impossible to overcome even the least temptation.

This, then, is *leading us not into temptation*, to wit, when He gives us power and strength to resist, the temptation, however, not being taken away or removed. For while we live in the flesh and have the devil about us, no one can escape temptation and allure-

leiden, ja darin stecken; aber da bitten wir für, daß wir nicht hineinfallen und darin ersaufen.

Darum ist's viel ein ander Ding, Anfechtung fühlen und darein verwilligen oder ja dazu sagen. Fühlen müssen wir sie alle, wiewohl nicht alle einerlei, sondern etliche mehr und schwerer, als die Jugend vornehmlich vom Fleisch; danach was erwachsen und alt wird, von der Welt; die andern aber, so mit geistlichen Sachen umgehen, das ist, die starken Christen, vom Teufel. Aber solch Fühlen, weil es wider unsern Willen ist und wir sein lieber los wären, kann niemand schaden. Denn wo man's nicht fühlte, könnte es keine Anfechtung heißen. Bewilligen aber ist, wenn man ihm den Zaum läßt [ihm die Zügel schießen läßt], nicht dawider steht noch bittet.

Derhalben müssen wir Christen des gerüstet sein und täglich gewarten, daß wir ohne Unterlaß angefochten werden, auf daß niemand so sicher und unachtsam hingehe, als sei der Teufel weit von uns, sondern allenthalben der Streiche gewarten und ihm versetzen [entgegentreten, den Streich parieren]. Denn ob ich jetzt keusch, geduldig, freundlich bin und in festem Glauben stehe, soll [so kann] der Teufel noch diese Stunde einen solchen Pfeil ins Herz treiben, daß ich kaum bestehen bleibe. Denn er ist ein solcher Feind, der nimmer abläßt noch müde wird, daß, wo eine Anfechtung aufhört, gehen immer andere und neue auf.

Darum ist kein Rat noch Trost denn hierher gelaufen, daß man das Vaterunser ergreife und von Herzen mit Gott rede: Lieber Vater, du hast mich heißen beten, laß mich nicht durch die Versuchung zurückfallen! so wirst du sehen, daß sie ablassen muß und sich endlich gewonnen geben. Sonst, wo du mit deinen Gedanken und eigenem Rat [dich] unterstehst, dir zu helfen, wirst du es nur ärger machen und dem Teufel mehr Raum geben. Denn er hat einen Schlangenkopf, welcher, wo er eine Lücke gewinnt, darein er schliefen [schlüpfen] kann, so geht der ganze Leib hinnach unaufgehalten; aber das Gebet kann ihm wehren und ihn zurücktreiben.

Die siebente und letzte Bitte.

Sondern erlöse uns von dem Übel. Amen.

Im Griechischen lautet das Stücklein also: Erlöse oder behüte uns von dem Argen oder Boshaftigen, und sieht eben, als rede er vom Teufel, als wollte er alles auf einen Haufen fassen, daß die ganze Summa alles Gebets geht wider unsern Hauptfeind. Denn er ist der, so solches alles, was wir bitten, unter uns hindert, Gottes Namen oder Ehre, Gottes Reich und Willen, das tägliche Brot, fröhlich, gut Gewissen usw.

Darum schlagen wir solches endlich zusammen und sagen: Lieber Vater, hilf doch, daß wir des Unglücks alles los werden! Aber nichtsdestoweniger

tiones nobis sufferendae sunt, atque etiam in illis ipsis nobis versandum est. Porro autem hoc deprecamur, ne in easdem prolabamur et in iis submergamur.

107] Quare longe alia res est, tentationes persentire et iisdem consentire. Persentire omnes cogimur, neque tamen easdem omnes, sed nonnulli plures et graviores; veluti iuventus praecipue carnis tentationibus infestatur; deinde, qui ad maturam et constantem aetatem pervenerunt, iam grandiores facti, a mundo tentantur; alii vero, qui rebus spiritualibus sunt impliciti, nimirum fortes illi **108]** Christiani, a diabolo. Verum eiusmodi tentationum sensus, quando praeter voluntatem nostram nobis obiiciuntur, nemini nocere possunt. Nisi enim sentirentur, tentationes dici non possent. Porro tum demum consentimus illis, quando laxatis habenis iisdem indulgemus, neque vi neque oratione repugnantes.

109] Quapropter convenit nos Christianos esse instructos ac quotidie assiduam tentationum pugnam exspectare, ne quis tam oscitanter et secure in utramvis (quod aiunt) aurem dormiat, quasi diabolus procul a nobis absit, sed, ubi ictus praevidendi et declinandi sunt, diligenter advigilet. Quippe quamquam modo purus et castus sim, sim etiam patiens, mitis et dulcis, stans firma fide munitus, fieri tamen potest, ut hac hora diabolus tam pestifero et violento telo cor meum configat, ut vix queat persistere. Eiusmodi enim hostis est, qui nunquam cessat aut defatigatur, adeo ut, ubi una tentationis procella impugnandi finem [R. 532 fecerit, subinde decem aliae suboriantur.

110] Quapropter in tanta difficultate non aliud relinquitur consilium aut remedium, quam ad hanc orationem confugiendi, ac cum Deo ex corde ita loquendi: Tu me orare iussisti, optime Pater; fac, precor, ne victus tentationibus retro in antiquam flagitiorum lernam prolabar. Hoc facto videbis ac senties eas desinere ac minui, easdemque victas her-**111]** bam tibi porrecturas. Alioqui si tuis cogitationibus et proprio consilio tibi opem ferre annisus fueris, rem malam tantum deteriorem facies, ac diabolo maiorem te impugnandi occasionem praebebis. Siquidem serpentinum caput habet, quod ubi foramen, per quod irrepere poterit, nactum fuerit, totum corpus nemine obstante illico subsequitur; ceterum oratione fugari ac repelli potest.

Ultima Petitio.

112] Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

113] Graeci codices hoc loco ita habent: *ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.* Quae verba perinde sonare videntur, quasi loquatur de diabolo, quasi velit uno fasce omnia perstringere, ut huius orationis summa adversus hostem nostrum capitalissimum instituta sit. Ille enim is est, qui ea omnia, quae oramus, summo studio impedire conatur, nempe Dei nomen seu gloriam, Dei regnum et voluntatem, panem quotidianum, pacatam et laetam conscientiam etc.

114] Quamobrem haec omnia summatim complectemur orantes: Carissime Pater, da, precor, ut ab omni malo atque infortunio libe-

ments; and it cannot be otherwise than that we must endure trials, yea, be engulfed in them; but we pray for this, that we may not fall and be drowned in them.

To feel temptation is therefore a far different thing from consenting or yielding to it. We must all feel it, although not all in the same manner, but some in a greater degree and more severely than others; as, the young suffer especially from the flesh, afterwards, they that attain to middle life and old age, from the world, but others who are occupied with spiritual matters, that is, strong Christians, from the devil. But such feeling, as long as it is against our will and we would rather be rid of it, can harm no one. For if we did not feel it, it could not be called a temptation. But to consent thereto is when we give it the reins and do not resist or pray against it.

Therefore we Christians must be armed and daily expect to be incessantly attacked, in order that no one may go on in security and heedlessly, as though the devil were far from us, but at all times expect and parry his blows. For though I am now chaste, patient, kind, and in firm faith, the devil will this very hour send such an arrow into my heart that I can scarcely stand. For he is an enemy that never desists nor becomes tired, so that when one temptation ceases, there always arise others and fresh ones.

Accordingly, there is no help or comfort except to run hither and to take hold of the Lord's Prayer, and thus speak to God from the heart: Dear Father, Thou hast bidden me pray; let me not relapse because of temptations. Then you will see that they must desist, and finally acknowledge themselves conquered. Else if you venture to help yourself by your own thoughts and counsel, you will only make the matter worse and give the devil more space. For he has a serpent's head, which if it gain an opening into which he can slip, the whole body will follow without check. But prayer can prevent him and drive him back.

The Seventh and Last Petition.

But deliver us from evil. Amen.

In the Greek text this petition reads thus: Deliver or preserve us from the Evil One, or the Malicious One; and it looks as if He were speaking of the devil, as though He would comprehend everything in one, so that the entire substance of all our prayer is directed against our chief enemy. For it is he who hinders among us everything that we pray for: the name or honor of God, God's kingdom and will, our daily bread, a cheerful good conscience, etc.

Therefore we finally sum it all up and say: Dear Father, pray, help that we be rid of all these calamities. But there is nevertheless

ger ist auch mit eingeschlossen, was uns Böses widerfahren mag unter des Teufels Reich: Armut, Schande, Tod und kürzlich aller unseliger Jammer und Herzeleid, so auf Erden unzählig viel ist. Denn der Teufel, weil er nicht allein ein Lügner, sondern auch ein Totschläger ist, ohne Unterlaß auch nach unserm Leben trachtet und sein Mütlein kühlt, wo er uns zu Unfall und Schaden am Leibe bringen kann. Daher kommt's, daß er manchem den Hals bricht oder [ihn] von Sinnen bringt, etliche im Wasser ersäuft und viele dahin treibt, daß sie sich selbst umbringen, und zu viel andern schrecklichen Fällen. Darum haben wir auf Erden nichts zu tun, denn ohne Unterlaß wider diesen Hauptfeind zu bitten; denn wo uns Gott nicht erhielte, wären wir keine Stunde vor ihm sicher.

Daher siehst du abermal, wie Gott für alles, was uns auch leiblich anficht, will gebeten sein, daß man nirgend keine Hilfe denn bei ihm suche und gewarte. Solches hat er aber zum letzten gestellt; denn sollen wir von allem Übel behütet und los werden, muß zuvor sein Name in uns geheiligt [werden], sein Reich bei uns sein und sein Wille geschehen. Danach will er uns endlich vor Sünden und Schanden behüten, daneben von [vor] allem, was uns weh tut und schädlich ist.

Also hat uns Gott aufs kürzeste vorgelegt alle Not, die uns immer anliegen mag, daß wir je keine Entschuldigung haben [nicht] zu beten. Aber da liegt die Macht an, daß wir auch lernen „Amen" dazu sagen, das ist, nicht zweifeln, daß es gewißlich erhört sei und geschehen werde. Denn es ist nichts anderes denn eines ungezweifelten Glaubens Wort, der da nicht auf Ebenteuer [auf gut Glück, aufs Geratewohl] betet, sondern weiß, daß ihm Gott nicht leugt [lügt], weil er's verheißen hat zu geben. Wo nun solcher Glaube nicht ist, da kann auch kein recht Gebet sein.

Darum ist's ein schädlicher Wahn derer, die also beten, daß sie nicht dürfen von Herzen ja dazu sagen und gewißlich schließen, daß Gott erhört, sondern bleiben in dem Zweifel und sagen: Wie sollte ich so kühn sein und rühmen, daß Gott mein Gebet erhöre? Bin ich doch ein armer Sünder usw.

Das macht, daß sie nicht auf Gottes Verheißung, sondern auf ihre Werke und eigene Würdigkeit sehen, damit sie Gott verachten und Lügen strafen; derhalben sie auch nichts empfangen, wie St. Jakobus sagt: „Wer da betet, der bete im Glauben und zweifle nicht. Denn wer da zweifelt, ist gleich wie eine Woge des Meeres, so vom Winde getrieben und gewebt [bewegt] wird. Solcher Mensch denke nur nicht, daß er etwas von Gott empfangen werde." Siehe, so viel ist Gott daran gelegen, daß wir gewiß sollen sein, daß wir nicht umsonst bitten und in keinem Wege unser Gebet verachten.

115] remur. Nihilominus tamen ea quoque una inclusa sunt, quaecunque mala sub regno diaboli nobis possunt contingere, cuius generis sunt egestas, dedecus, mors et breviter omnium calamitatum et miseriarum tragoedia, quae in terris multiplex et immensa est. Nam [R. 533 diabolus, cum non tantum mendax, verum etiam homicida sit, nunquam non nobis insidiose necem machinatur, ut animo suo morem gerat, nobis in periculosos casus praecipitatis aut damno corporis affectis. Inde fit, ut complures fracta cervice perimat, multos immissa insania rationis usu privet, nonnullos in undis submersos suffocet ac multos ad mortem voluntariam sibimet consciscendam adigat aut alios quospiam casus terribiles subire compellat. **116**] Quare nihil aliud in terris nobis superest operis, quam ut indesinenter adversus capitalem hunc hostem oremus. Nisi enim divinitus conservaremur, ne unicam quidem horam ab insidiis eius tuti essemus.

117] Ex his iam dictis facile perspicis, quomodo Deus pro omnibus rebus, etiam iis, quae corporales sunt, rogari postulat, ut nusquam alibi quam apud eum unice ullum quaeratur **118**] aut exspectetur auxilium. Ceterum hoc ultimo loco posuit. Si enim ab omnibus malis custodiri et liberari cupimus, necessum est, ut antea nomen eius in nobis sanctificetur, regnum eius penes nos sit, voluntas eius fiat. His, inquam, ante peractis, tum demum nos a peccatis, ab ignominia custodiet, praeterea ab omnibus aliis, quae aut dolori aut perniciosa nobis esse queant.

119] Ita nobis Deus omnes necessitates nostras, quibus premimur, compendiosissime proposuit, ne qua nobis relinqueretur negligendae orationis excusatio. Verum in hoc summa vis orationis sita est, ut dicere quoque discamus *Amen*, hoc est, non haesitare, orationem nostram certo esse exauditam et futurum esse, quod precati sumus. Nihil enim aliud est, quam non haesitantis fidei verbum, non orantis temere, sed scientis Deum non mentiri, **120**] posteaquam audiendi facilitatem et certitudinem pollicitus est. Iam ubicunque talis fides non est, hic neque verae orationi [R. 534 locus esse potest.

121] Quare perniciosa quaedam illorum est opinio ita orantium, ut non audeant Amen quoque ad finem orationis adiicere, hoc est, certo concludere se exaudiri, verum in dubio perseverant dicentes: Qui vero tantum mihi sumerem, ut iactarem Deum meas preces exaudivisse, cum me peccatorem esse non ignorem etc.?

122] Huius rei causa est, quod non ad promissionem Dei, sed ad opus proprium suamque dignitatem respiciant. Unde fit, ut suis orationibus Deum tantum subsannent et mendacii **123**] coarguant. Hinc quoque quamlibet prolixe orantes consequuntur nihil, quemadmodum divus Iacobus inquit [1, 6]: *Qui orat, in fide oret, nihil haesitans. Qui enim haesitat, similis est fluctui maris, qui a vento movetur et circumfertur; non ergo existimet homo ille, quod accipiat aliquid a Domino.* Ecce, tanti **124**] refert apud Deum, ut certi simus nos non frustra orare, et ut nullo modo preces nostras vilipendamus.

also included whatever evil may happen to us under the devil's kingdom — poverty, shame, death, and, in short, all the agonizing misery and heartache of which there is such an unnumbered multitude on the earth. For since the devil is not only a liar, but also a murderer, he constantly seeks our life, and wreaks his anger whenever he can afflict our bodies with misfortune and harm. Hence it comes that he often breaks men's necks or drives them to insanity, drowns some, and incites many to commit suicide, and to many other terrible calamities. Therefore there is nothing for us to do upon earth but to pray against this arch-enemy without ceasing. For unless God preserved us, we would not be safe from him even for an hour.

Hence you see again how God wishes us to pray to Him also for all the things which affect our bodily interests, so that we seek and expect help nowhere else except in Him. But this matter He has put last; for if we are to be preserved and delivered from all evil, the name of God must first be hallowed in us, His kingdom must be with us, and His will be done. After that He will finally preserve us from sin and shame, and, besides, from everything that may hurt or injure us.

Thus God has briefly placed before us all the distress which may ever come upon us, so that we might have no excuse whatever for not praying. But all depends upon this, that we learn also to say *Amen*, that is, that we do not doubt that our prayer is surely heard, and [what we pray] shall be done. For this is nothing else than the word of undoubting faith, which does not pray at a venture, but knows that God does not lie to him, since He has promised to grant it. Therefore, where there is no such faith, there cannot be true prayer either.

It is, therefore, a pernicious delusion of those who pray in such a manner that they dare not from the heart say yea and positively conclude that God hears them, but remain in doubt and say, How should I be so bold as to boast that God hears my prayer? For I am but a poor sinner, etc.

The reason for this is, they regard not the promise of God, but their own work and worthiness, whereby they despise God and reproach Him with lying, and therefore they receive nothing. As St. James says [1, 6]: *But let him ask in faith, nothing wavering; for he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, driven with the wind and tossed. For let not that man think that he shall receive anything of the Lord.* Behold, such importance God attaches to the fact that we are sure we do not pray in vain, and that we do not in any way despise our prayer.

Das vierte Teil.

Von der Taufe.

Wir haben nun ausgerichtet die drei Hauptstücke der gemeinen christlichen Lehre. Über dieselbe [außer diesen] ist noch zu sagen von unsern zwei Sakramenten, von Christo eingesetzt, davon auch ein jeglicher Christ zum wenigsten einen gemeinen kurzen Unterricht haben soll, weil ohne dieselben kein Christ sein kann, wiewohl man leider bisher nichts davon gelehrt hat. Zum ersten aber nehmen wir vor uns die Taufe, dadurch wir erstlich in die Christenheit genommen werden. Daß man's aber wohl fassen könne, wollen wir's ordentlich handeln und allein dabei bleiben, was uns nötig ist zu wissen. Denn wie man's erhalten und verfechten müsse wider die Ketzer und Rotten, wollen wir den Gelehrten befehlen.

Aufs erste muß man vor allen Dingen die Worte wohl wissen, darauf die Taufe gegründet ist, und dahin alles geht, was davon zu sagen ist, nämlich da der HErr Christus spricht Matthäi am letzten:

Gehet hin in alle Welt, lehret alle Heiden und taufet sie im Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes.

Item, Marci am letzten Kapitel:

Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig. Wer aber nicht glaubet, der wird verdammt.

In diesen Worten sollst du zum ersten merken, daß hier steht Gottes Gebot und Einsetzung, daß man nicht zweifle, die Taufe sei ein göttlich Ding, nicht von Menschen erdacht noch erfunden. Denn so wohl als ich sagen kann: die zehn Gebote, Glauben und Vaterunser hat kein Mensch aus seinem Kopf gesponnen, sondern sind von Gott selbst offenbart und gegeben, so kann ich auch rühmen, daß die Taufe kein Menschentand sei, sondern von Gott selbst eingesetzt, dazu ernstlich und streng geboten, daß wir uns müssen taufen lassen, oder sollen nicht selig werden, daß man nicht denke, es sei so leichtfertig [gleichgültig] Ding, als einen neuen roten Rock anziehen. Denn da liegt die höchste Macht an, daß man die Taufe trefflich, herrlich und hoch halte, darüber wir allermeist streiten und fechten, weil die Welt jetzt so voll Rotten ist, die da schreien, die Taufe sei ein äußerlich Ding, äußerlich Ding aber sei kein nütze. Aber laß äußerlich Ding sein, als es immer kann; da steht aber Gottes Wort und Gebot, so die Taufe einsetzt, gründet und bestätigt. Was aber Gott einsetzt und gebeut [gebietet], muß nicht vergeblich, sondern eitel köstlich Ding sein, wenn es auch dem Ansehen nach geringer denn ein Strohhalm wäre. Hat man bisher können großachten, wenn der Papst mit seinen Briefen und Bullen Ablaß austeilte, Altar oder Kirchen bestätigte, allein um der Briefe und Siegel willen, so sollen wir die Taufe viel höher und köstlicher halten, weil es Gott befohlen hat, dazu in seinem Namen geschieht; denn also lauten die Worte: „Gehet hin,

Quarta Pars Catechismi.

DE BAPTISMO.

1] Hactenus tres principales communis Christianae doctrinae partes exsecuti sumus. Praeter has superest, ut de duobus quoque sacramentis ab ipso Christo institutis disseramus, de quibus cuivis Christiano ad minimum brevis quaedam institutio tenenda est: quandoquidem his ignoratis nemo Christianus esse potest, tametsi hactenus nihil prorsus recti, nihil sani de his traditum est populo. 2] Primum vero ipsum baptismum tractandum nobis proponemus, per quem pri- [R. 535 mitus in Christianorum communionem cooptamur. Ut vero recte percipiatur, ordine cuncta explicabimus, tantum ea tradituri, quae cognitu erunt necessaria. Quomodo enim adversus haereticos baptismus defendendus sit, hoc doctis relinquentes commendabimus.

3] Principio operae pretium est ipsa verba exacte nosse, in quibus fundatus est baptismus, et ad quae omnia respiciunt, quae de baptismo tractanda sunt, nempe ubi Christus inquit, Matthaei ultimo, v. 19:

4] Euntes in mundum universum, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.

Item Marci ultimo, v. 16:

5] Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit. Qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur.

6] In his verbis primum tibi notandum et expendendum venit, hic exstare Dei mandatum et institutionem, ne dubitemus baptismum rem divinam esse, non ab hominibus excogitatam aut inventam. Nam quemadmodum pro certo dicere possum, Decem Praecepta, Symbolum Fidei, Orationem Dominicam nullum hominem e suo capite produxisse, sed ab ipso Deo data et manifestata esse: ita non minus vere iactare possum baptismum non esse humanae rationis commentum, sed ab ipso Deo institutum, adhaec severe praeceptum, ut nosmet baptizandos offeramus aut non salvari nos posse, ne quis in eam cogitationem forte veniat, rem esse tam leviculam, ac rubeam 7] novam tunicam induere. In hoc enim summa vis et virtus pendet, ut baptismum veluti rem praeclaram ac pretiosam [R. 536 magni aestimemus. De eo enim vel maxime pugnamus et dimicamus: siquidem iam mundus ita refertus est sectis vociferantibus baptismum esse rem externam, rem externam 8] vero nullius esse usus aut momenti. Verum pone esse rem quomodocunque externam; hic autem exstat Dei verbum et mandatum, quo baptismus instituitur, fundatur et confirmatur. Quidquid autem Deus instituit et faciendum praecipit, certe non rem nihili, sed rem pretiosam et utilem esse necesse est, tametsi quoad externam faciem stramineo culmo vilior 9] esset. Potuimus hactenus per multa saecula magni facere papam literis ac bullis suis

Part Fourth.

OF BAPTISM.

We have now finished the three chief parts of the common Christian doctrine. Besides these we have yet to speak of our two Sacraments instituted by Christ, of which also every Christian ought to have at least an ordinary, brief instruction, because without them there can be no Christian; although, alas! hitherto no instruction concerning them has been given. But, in the first place, we take up Baptism, by which we are first received into *the Christian Church.* However, in order that it may be readily understood, we will treat of it in an orderly manner, and keep only to that which it is necessary for us to know. For how it is to be maintained and defended against heretics and sects we will commend to the learned.

In the first place, we must above all things know well the words upon which Baptism is founded, and to which everything refers that is to be said on the subject, namely, where the Lord Christ speaks in the last chapter of Matthew, v. 19:

Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Likewise in St. Mark, the last chapter, v. 16:

He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.

In these words you must note, in the first place, that here stand God's commandment and institution, lest we doubt that Baptism is divine, not devised nor invented by men. For as truly as I can say, No man has spun the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer out of his head, but they are revealed and given by God Himself, so also I can boast that Baptism is no human trifle, but instituted by God Himself, moreover, that it is most solemnly and strictly commanded that we must be baptized or we cannot be saved, lest any one regard it as a trifling matter, like putting on a new red coat. For it is of the greatest importance that we esteem Baptism excellent, glorious, and exalted, for which we contend and fight chiefly, because the world is now so full of sects clamoring that Baptism is an external thing, and that external things are of no benefit. But let it be ever so much an external thing, here stand God's Word and command which institute, establish, and confirm Baptism. But what God institutes and commands cannot be a vain, but must be a most precious thing, though in appearance it were of less value than a straw. If hitherto people could consider it a great thing when the Pope with his letters and bulls dispensed indulgences and confirmed altars and churches, solely because of the letters and seals, we

taufet", aber nicht in eurem, sondern in Gottes Namen.

vanissimis distribuentem indulgentias, altaria aut templa confirmantem, tantum propter concessa sigilla et literas. Quanto maiore in pretio atque existimatione nobis baptismus habendus est, cuius ipse Christus auctor exstitit, quem ipse praecepit, instituit ac in cuius nomine administratur. Ita enim verba sonant: *Ite et baptizate*, sed non in vestro, verum in Dei nomine.

Denn „in Gottes Namen getauft werden" ist nicht von Menschen, sondern von Gott selbst getauft werden. Darum ob es gleich durch des Menschen Hand geschieht, so ist es doch wahrhaftig Gottes eigen Werk, daraus ein jeglicher selbst wohl schließen kann, daß es viel höher ist denn kein Werk, von einem Menschen oder Heiligen getan. Denn was kann man für Werke größer machen denn Gottes Werk?

10 Siquidem *baptizari in nomine Dei* non est ab hominibus, sed ab ipso Deo baptizari. Quapropter, quamquam manu hominis administratur, revera tamen proprium Dei opus censendum et habendum est. Ex quo quivis haud difficulter potest colligere baptismi opus multo esse sublimius et praestantius quam ullum opus factum ab ullo divorum aut hominum. Quae enim opera possunt esse dicive maiora quam Dei opera?

Aber hier hat der Teufel zu schaffen, daß er uns mit falschem Schein blende und von Gottes Werk auf unser Werk führe. Denn das hat viel einen köstlicheren Schein, daß ein Kartäuser viel schwere große Werke tut, und halten alle viel mehr von dem, das wir selbst tun und verdienen. Aber die Schrift lehrt also: wenn man gleich aller Mönche Werke auf einen Haufen schlüge, wie köstlich sie gleißen mögen, so wären sie doch nicht so edel und gut, als wenn Gott einen Strohhalm aufhübe. Warum? Darum, daß die Person edler und besser ist. Nun muß man hier nicht die Person nach den Werken, sondern die Werke nach der Person achten, von welcher sie ihren Adel nehmen müssen. Aber das will die tolle Vernunft nicht achten, und weil es nicht gleißt wie die Werke, so wir tun, so soll es nicht gelten.

11] Sed enim hic omni studio occupatus est diabolus, ut factitia quadam larva et facie nos decipiat et a Dei opere ad nostrum opus nos abducat. Multo enim splendidius et praeclarius esse videtur, Carmelitam quempiam magna et laboriosa quaedam facere opera, et nos ipsi multo maioris opera et merita nostra **12**] quam Dei aestimamus. Verum Scriptura ita docet: quamquam omnium monachorum opera, quantumvis nitentia, in unum [R. 537 conflata cumularentur, neque tamen tam pretiosa habenda forent, quam si Deus tantum stipulam humo sustulerit. Quid ita? Propterea, quod persona nobilior est atque excellentior. Iam vero hoc loco persona nequaquam iuxta opera, verum opera iuxta personam aestimanda sunt, a qua dignitatem mutuantur **13**] et pretium. Verum hic insana ratio perverse ac praepostere iudicans ita existimat, cum non perinde splendidam faciem baptismus prae se ferre soleat atque opera, quae ipsa facit, nullius etiam momenti esse baptismum.

Aus diesem lerne nun einen richtigen Verstand fassen und antworten auf die Frage, was die Taufe sei, nämlich also, daß sie nicht ein bloß, schlecht Wasser ist, sondern ein Wasser in Gottes Wort und Gebot gefaßt und dadurch geheiligt, daß [sie] nichts anderes ist denn ein Gotteswasser; nicht daß das Wasser an ihm selbst edler sei denn andere Wasser, sondern daß Gottes Wort und Gebot dazukommt.

Darum ist's ein lauter Bubenstück und des Teufels Gespött, daß jetzt unsere neuen Geister, die Taufe zu lästern, Gottes Wort und Ordnung davonlassen und nicht anders ansehen denn das Wasser, das man aus dem Brunnen schöpft, und danach dahergeifern: Was sollte eine Hand voll Wassers der Seele helfen? Ja, Lieber, wer weiß das nicht, daß Wasser Wasser ist, wenn es Voneinandertrennens soll gelten? Wie darfst du aber so in Gottes Ordnung greifen und das beste Kleinod davonreißen, damit es Gott verbunden und eingefaßt hat und nicht will getrennt haben? Denn das ist der Kern in dem Wasser, Gottes Wort oder Gebot und Gottes Name, welcher Schatz größer und edler ist denn Himmel und Erde.

14] Ex his iam memoratis sanum intellectum percipe atque interrogatus, quid baptismus sit, ita responde: non esse prorsus aquam simplicem, sed eiusmodi, quae verbo et praecepto Dei comprehensa et illi inclusa sit et per hoc sanctificata, ita ut nihil aliud sit quam Dei seu divina aqua; non quod aqua haec per sese quavis alia sit praestantior, sed quod ei verbum ac praeceptum Dei accesserit.

Also fasse nun den Unterschied, daß viel ein ander Ding ist Taufe denn alle andern Wasser: nicht des natürlichen Wesens halben, sondern daß hier etwas Edleres dazukommt; denn Gott selbst seine Ehre hinansetzt, seine Kraft und Macht daran legt. Darum ist es nicht allein ein natür-

15] Quocirca mera sycophantia est et diaboli illusio, quod hodie nostri novi spiritus, ut blasphement et contumelia afficiant baptismum, verbum et institutionem Dei ab eo divellunt, nec aliter intuentur eum, quam aquam e puteo haustam ac deinceps ita blasphemo ore blaterant: Quid vero utilitatis manus aquae plena praestaret animae? Quis **16**] vero adeo vecors et inops animi est, qui hoc ignoret, divulsis baptismi partibus aquam esse aquam? Qua vero fronte tu tibi tantum sumis, ut non verearis ab ordinatione Dei pretiosissimum κειμήλιον avellere, quo Deus illam constrinxit et inclusit, neque inde divelli vult aut seiungi? Quippe verbum Dei aut praeceptum, item nomen Dei in aqua ipse solet esse nucleus, qui thesaurus ipso coelo et terra omnibus modis nobilior est et praestantior.

17] Ad hunc ergo modum ita discerne, longe aliam rem esse baptismum atque omnes alias aquas: non naturalis essentiae gratia, sed quod huic aliquid praestantioris rei [R. 538 adiungitur. Ipse enim Deus baptismum suo honestat nomine suaque virtute confirmat.

ought to esteem Baptism much more highly and more precious, because God has commanded it, and, besides, it is performed in His name. For these are the words, *Go ye, baptize;* however, not in your name, but in the name of God.

For *to be baptized in the name of God* is to be baptized not by men, but by God Himself. Therefore, although it is performed by human hands, it is nevertheless truly God's own work. From this fact every one may himself readily infer that it is a far higher work than any work performed by a man or a saint. For what work greater than the work of God can we do?

But here the devil is busy to delude us with false appearances, and lead us away from the work of God to our own works. For there is a much more splendid appearance when a Carthusian does many great and difficult works; and we all think much more of that which we do and merit ourselves. But the Scriptures teach thus: Even though we collect in one mass the works of all the monks, however splendidly they may shine, they would not be as noble and good as if God should pick up a straw. Why? Because the person is nobler and better. Here, then, we must not estimate the person according to the works, but the works according to the person, from whom they must derive their nobility. But insane reason will not regard this, and because Baptism does not shine like the works which we do, it is to be esteemed as nothing.

From this now learn a proper understanding of the subject, and how to answer the question what Baptism is, namely thus, that it is not mere ordinary water, but water comprehended in God's Word and command, and sanctified thereby, so that it is nothing else than a divine water; not that the water in itself is nobler than other water, but that God's Word and command are added.

Therefore it is pure wickedness and blasphemy of the devil that now our new spirits, to mock at Baptism, omit from it God's Word and institution, and look upon it in no other way than as water which is taken from the well, and then blather and say: How is a handful of water to help the soul? Aye, my friend, who does not know that water is water if tearing things asunder is what we are after? But how dare you thus interfere with God's order, and tear away the most precious treasure with which God has connected and enclosed it, and which He will not have separated? For the kernel in the water is God's Word or command and the name of God, which is a treasure greater and nobler than heaven and earth.

Comprehend the difference, then, that Baptism is quite another thing than all other water; not on account of the natural quality, but because something more noble is here added; for God Himself stakes His honor, His power and might on it. Therefore it is

lich Wasser, sondern ein göttlich, himmlisch, heilig und selig Wasser, und wie man's mehr loben kann, alles um des Worts willen, welches ist ein himmlisch, heilig Wort, das niemand genug preisen kann; denn es hat und vermag alles, was Gottes ist. Daher hat es auch sein Wesen, daß es ein Sakrament heißt, wie auch St. Augustinus gelehrt hat: Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum; das ist, wenn das Wort zum Element oder natürlichen Wesen kommt, so wird ein Sakrament daraus, das ist, ein heilig, göttlich Ding und Zeichen.

Darum lehren wir allezeit, man solle die Sakramente und alle äußerlichen Dinge, so Gott ordnet und einsetzt, nicht ansehen nach der groben äußerlichen Larve, wie man die Schalen von der Nuß sieht, sondern wie Gottes Wort darein geschlossen ist. Denn also reden wir auch vom Vater- und Mutterstand und weltlicher Obrigkeit. Wenn man die will ansehen, wie sie Nasen, Augen, Haut und Haar, Fleisch und Bein haben, so sehen sie Türken und Heiden gleich, und möchte auch jemand zufahren und sprechen: Warum sollte ich mehr von diesen halten denn von andern? Weil aber das Gebot dazukommt: „Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren", so sehe ich einen andern Mann, geschmückt und angezogen mit der Majestät und Herrlichkeit Gottes. Das Gebot (sage ich) ist die güldene Kette, so er am Hals trägt, ja die Krone auf seinem Haupt, die mir anzeigt, wie und warum man dies Fleisch und Blut ehren soll.

Also und viel mehr sollst du die Taufe ehren und herrlich halten um des Worts willen, als die er selbst beide mit Worten und Werken geehrt hat, dazu mit Wundern vom Himmel bestätigt. Denn meinst du, daß ein Scherz war, da sich Christus taufen ließ, der Himmel sich auftat, der Heilige Geist sichtiglich herabfuhr und war eitel göttliche Herrlichkeit und Majestät?

Derhalben vermahne ich abermal, daß man beileibe die zwei, Wort und Wasser, nicht voneinander scheiden und trennen lasse. Denn wo man das Wort davon sondert, so ist's nicht ander Wasser, denn damit die Magd kocht, und mag wohl eine Badertaufe heißen; aber wenn es dabei ist, wie es Gott geordnet hat, so ist's ein Sakrament und heißt Christus' Taufe. Das sei das erste Stück von dem Wesen und Würde des heiligen Sakraments.

Aufs andere, weil wir nun wissen, was die Taufe ist und wie sie zu halten sei, müssen wir auch lernen, warum und wozu sie eingesetzt sei, das ist, was sie nütze, gebe und schaffe. Solches kann man auch nicht besser denn aus den Worten Christi, oben angezogen, fassen, nämlich: „Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig." Darum fasse es aufs allereinfältigste also, daß dies der Taufe Kraft, Werk, Nutz, Frucht und Ende ist, daß sie selig mache. Denn man tauft niemand darum, daß er ein Fürst werde, sondern, wie die Worte lauten, daß er selig werde. Selig werden aber weiß man wohl, daß [es] nichts anderes heiße, denn von Sünden, Tod, Teufel er-

Eam ob rem non tantum naturalis aqua, sed etiam divina, coelestis, sancta et salutifera aqua, quocunque alio laudis titulo nobilitari potest, habenda et dicenda est; hocque nonnisi verbi gratia, quod coeleste ac sanctum verbum est, neque a quoquam satis ampliter, digne et cumulate laudari potest, siquidem omnem Dei virtutem et potentiam in se habet
18] comprehensam. Inde quoque baptismus suam accipit essentiam, ut sacramenti appellationem mereatur, quemadmodum sanctus etiam docet Augustinus: *Accedat,* inquit, *verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum,* hoc est, res sancta atque divina.

19] Quocirca nunquam non docemus, sacramenta et omnes res externas, a Deo ordinatas et institutas, non intuendas esse iuxta crassam illam et externam larvam, veluti nucis putamina intuemur, sed quemadmodum hisce ver-
20] bum Dei inclusum sit. Neque secus de parentum statu et magistratibus loquimur, quos si eatenus intueri volumus, quatenus nares, oculos, aures, cutem, pilos, carnem et ossa habeant, tum Turcis et gentilibus sunt similes, ac aliquis dicere posset: Cur hos maioris facerem quam alios? Atqui accedente praecepto: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam,* alium virum video, divina maiestate et gloria indutum et exornatum. Praeceptum, inquam, aureus ille torques est, quem collo circumfert, imo potius corona in capite, indicans, quomodo et quamobrem haec caro et sanguis honorandi sint.

21] Ita quoque ac multo quidem vehementius baptismo honor habendus est propter verbum, quippe quem ipse Deus et verbo et facto honoravit, adhaec miraculis coelitus ostensis confirmavit. Num enim putas rem fuisse ioculare m, cum Christus semet ipsum Iohanni baptizandum offerret, coelum simul aperiretur, et Spiritus Sanctus propalam e coelo [R. 539 columbina specie descenderet, nec quidquam aliud adesset, quod non certissimis documentis divinam maiestatem et gloriam repraesentaret?

22] Quare iterum atque iterum repetens moneo, ne haec duo, verbum et aquam, ullo modo disiungi atque divelli patiamur. Separato enim inde verbo, non alia est aqua atque illa, qua in culina ad elixandas carnes culinae praefecta utitur, potestque non male balneatorum dici baptismus. Ceterum coniuncto verbo, sicut Christus ordinavit et instituit, tum sacramentum est, ac Christi baptismus dicitur. Et haec prima huius institutionis pars sit de essentia et dignitate huius sacramenti.

23] Deinde, posteaquam certi sumus, quid sit baptismus et quid de eo sentiendum, etiam illud nobis discendum venit, quamobrem et in quem usum baptismi ratio instituta sit, hoc est, quid utilitatis baptizatis afferat, conferat et pariat. Verum neque hoc melius atque compertius, quam ex verbis Christi supra citatis, sciri potest ac percipi, nimirum: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.* Quare
24] rei summam ita simplicissime complectere, hanc videlicet baptismi virtutem, opus, fructum et finem esse, ut homines salvos faciat. Nemo enim in hoc baptizatur, ut princeps evadat, verum, sicut verba sonant, ut salvus

not only natural water, but a divine, heavenly, holy, and blessed water, and in whatever other terms we can praise it, — all on account of the Word, which is a heavenly, holy Word, that no one can sufficiently extol, for it has, and is able to do, all that God is and can do [since it has all the virtue and power of God comprised in it]. Hence also it derives its essence as a Sacrament, as St. Augustine also taught: *Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.* That is, when the Word is joined to the element or natural substance, it becomes a Sacrament, that is, a holy and divine matter and sign.

Therefore we always teach that the Sacraments and all external things which God ordains and institutes should not be regarded according to the coarse, external mask, as we regard the shell of a nut, but as the Word of God is included therein. For thus we also speak of the parental estate and of civil government. If we propose to regard them in as far as they have noses, eyes, skin, and hair, flesh and bones, they look like Turks and heathen, and some one might start up and say: Why should I esteem them more than others? But because the commandment is added: *Honor thy father and thy mother,* I behold a different man, adorned and clothed with the majesty and glory of God. The commandment (I say) is the chain of gold about his neck, yea, the crown upon his head, which shows to me how and why one must honor this flesh and blood.

Thus, and much more even, you must honor Baptism and esteem it glorious on account of the Word, since He Himself has honored it both by words and deeds; moreover, confirmed it with miracles from heaven. For do you think it was a jest that, when Christ was baptized, the heavens were opened and the Holy Ghost descended visibly, and everything was divine glory and majesty?

Therefore I exhort again that these two, the water and the Word, by no means be separated from one another and parted. For if the Word is separated from it, the water is the same as that with which the servant cooks, and may indeed be called a bath-keeper's baptism. But when it is added, as God has ordained, it is a Sacrament, and is called Christ-baptism. Let this be the first part, regarding the essence and dignity of the holy Sacrament.

In the second place, since we know now what Baptism is, and how it is to be regarded, we must also learn why and for what purpose it is instituted; that is, what it profits, gives, and works. And this also we cannot discern better than from the words of Christ above quoted: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* Therefore state it most simply thus, that the power, work, profit, fruit, and end of Baptism is this, namely, to save. For no one is baptized in order that he may become a prince, but, as the words declare, that he be saved. But to be saved, we know, is

löst, in Christus' Reich kommen und mit ihm ewig leben.

Da siehst du abermal, wie teuer und wert die Taufe zu halten sei, weil wir solchen unaussprechlichen Schatz darin erlangen, welches auch wohl anzeigt, daß [sie] nicht kann ein schlecht lauter Wasser sein. Denn lauter Wasser könnte solches nicht tun; aber das Wort tut's, und daß (wie oben gesagt) Gottes Name darin ist. Wo aber Gottes Name ist, da muß auch Leben und Seligkeit sein, daß es wohl ein göttlich, selig, fruchtbarlich und gnadenreich Wasser heißt; denn durchs Wort kriegt sie die Kraft, daß sie ein Bad der Wiedergeburt ist, wie sie auch St. Paulus nennt an Titum 3.

Daß aber unsere Klüglinge, die neuen Geister, vorgeben: der Glaube macht allein selig, die Werke aber und äußerliche Dinge tun nichts dazu, antworten wir, daß [es] freilich nichts in uns tut denn der Glaube, wie wir noch weiter hören werden. Das wollen aber die blinden Leiter nicht sehen, daß der Glaube etwas haben muß, das er glaube, das ist, daran er sich halte und darauf er stehe und fuße. Also hängt nun der Glaube am Wasser und glaubt, daß [es] die Taufe sei, darin eitel Seligkeit und Leben ist, nicht durchs Wasser (wie genug gesagt), sondern dadurch, daß [es] mit Gottes Wort und Ordnung verleibt [verbunden] ist und sein Name darin klebt. Wenn ich nun solches glaube, was glaube ich anders denn an Gott, als an den, der sein Wort darein gegeben und gepflanzt hat und uns dies äußerlich Ding vorschlägt [vorlegt], darin wir solchen Schatz ergreifen könnten?

Nun sind sie so toll, daß sie voneinander scheiden den Glauben und das Ding, daran der Glaube haftet und gebunden ist, ob es gleich äußerlich ist. Ja, es soll und muß äußerlich sein, daß man's mit Sinnen fassen und begreifen [betasten] und dadurch ins Herz bringen könne, wie denn das ganze Evangelium eine äußerliche mündliche Predigt ist. Summa, was Gott in uns tut und wirkt, will er durch solche äußerliche Ordnung wirken. Wo er nun redet, ja, wohin oder wodurch er redet, da soll der Glaube hinsehen und sich daran halten. Nun haben wir hier die Worte: „Wer da glaubt und getauft wird, der wird selig." Worauf sind sie geredet anders denn auf die Taufe, das ist, das Wasser, in Gottes Ordnung gefaßt? Darum folgt, daß, wer die Taufe verwirft, der verwirft Gottes Wort, den Glauben und Christum, der uns dahin weist und an die Taufe bindet.

Aufs dritte, weil wir den großen Nutzen und Kraft der Taufe haben, so laß nun weiter sehen, wer die Person sei, die solches empfange, was die Taufe gibt und nützt. Das ist abermal aufs feinste und klärlichste ausgedrückt eben mit den

25] fiat. Ceterum salvum fieri scimus nihil aliud esse, quam a peccati, mortis et diaboli tyrannide liberari, in Christi regnum deferri, ac cum eo immortalem vitam agere.

26] Ex hoc iterum non obscure perspicis, quanti momenti ac pretii baptismus habendus sit, in quo tam inaestimabilem tamque ineffabilem thesaurum consequimur. Atque hoc ipsum sufficienter indicat, baptismum solam ac simplicem aquam esse non posse. Eius enim virtutis simplex aqua esse non potest, verum enim vero Dei verbum facit, tum quod (ut supra diximus) Dei nomen in illo sit.
27] Iam ubicunque Dei nomen est, ibi [R. 540 vitam quoque et summam felicitatem esse necesse est, ut non iniuria divina, beata, fructuosa et omnis gratiae plena aqua dici possit. Etenim verbi divini accessione eam virtutem consequitur, ut *λουτρὸν παλιγγενεσίας, lavacrum regenerationis* sit, sicuti nominat Paulus ad Titum tertio, v. 5.

28] Quod autem nasutuli nostri *μωρόσοφοι*, novi illi spiritus, superciliose admodum fabulantur, fidem solam esse, quae salvos faciat, opera vero et res externas ad salutem consequendam nihil praestare aut facere: respondeo sane in nobis nihil aliud facere aut operari salutem quam fidem, qua de re mox infra
29] latius. Atqui hoc caecorum duces videre nolunt, fidem necessario aliquid habere, quod credat, hoc est, cui innitatur, et qua re suffulta persistat. Ita iam fides aquae adhaeret creditque baptismum esse, in quo mera beatitudo et vita est, non aquae virtute (ut abunde dictum est), sed per hoc, quod baptismus verbo et ordinatione divina unitus et confirmatus est, eiusque nomine nobilitatus. Iam haec credens, quid aliud quam in Deum credo, ut in eum, qui suum verbum baptismo indidit et inseruit, ac nobis externas res proponit, in quibus tantarum rerum thesaurum comprehendere queamus?

30] Iam usque adeo insaniunt novi illi spiritus, ut disiungere non vereantur fidem et rem, cui fides adhaerescit et alligata est, tametsi externa sit. Verum haec non potest non externa esse, ut sensibus percipi et comprehendi possit, atque ita deinceps animo infigi, quemadmodum totum evangelium externa quaedam et corporalis est praedicatio. In summa, quidquid Deus in nobis facit et operatur, tantum externis istiusmodi rebus et constitutionibus operari dignatur. Ubicunque iam loquitur, imo potius quocunque aut per quemcunque locutus fuerit, eo fidei dirigendi sunt oculi,
31] eique adhaerendum. Iam hic verbum Dei in promptu habemus [Marc. 16, 16]: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.* [R. 541 Quorsum ista verba alias quam de baptismo dicta sunt, hoc est, de aqua divino ordine fundata et confirmata? Ex hoc sequitur, ut is, qui baptismum contemnit et reiicit, verbum Dei, fidem et Christum quoque reiiciat eo nos ducentem et baptismo alligantem.

32] Tertio, cognita iam ingenti cum virtute tum utilitate baptismi, videamus ulterius, quae persona sit talia accipiens, quae per
33] baptismum offeruntur. Hoc iterum pulcherrime et clarissime in his verbis expressum

nothing else than to be delivered from sin, death, and the devil, and to enter into the kingdom of Christ, and to live with Him forever.

Here you see again how highly and precious we should esteem Baptism, because in it we obtain such an unspeakable treasure, which also indicates sufficiently that it cannot be ordinary mere water. For mere water could not do such a thing, but the Word does it, and (as said above) the fact that the name of God is comprehended therein. But where the name of God is, there must be also life and salvation, that it may indeed be called a divine, blessed, fruitful, and gracious water; for by the Word such power is imparted to Baptism that it is a laver of regeneration, as St. Paul also calls it, Titus 3, 5.

But as our would-be wise, new spirits assert that faith alone saves, and that works and external things avail nothing, we answer: It is true, indeed, that nothing in us is of any avail but faith, as we shall hear still further. But these blind guides are unwilling to see this, namely, that faith must have something which it believes, that is, of which it takes hold, and upon which it stands and rests. Thus faith clings to the water, and believes that it is Baptism, in which there is pure salvation and life; not through the water (as we have sufficiently stated), but through the fact that it is embodied in the Word and institution of God, and the name of God inheres in it. Now, if I believe this, what else is it than believing in God as in Him who has given and planted His Word into this ordinance, and proposes to us this external thing wherein we may apprehend such a treasure?

Now, they are so mad as to separate faith, and that to which faith clings and is bound, though it be something external. Yea, it shall and must be something external, that it may be apprehended by the senses, and understood and thereby be brought into the heart, as indeed the entire Gospel is an external, verbal preaching. In short, what God does and works in us He proposes to work through such external ordinances. Wherever, therefore, He speaks, yea, in whichever direction or by whatever means He speaks, thither faith must look, and to that it must hold. Now here we have the words: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* To what else do they refer than to Baptism, that is, to the water comprehended in God's ordinance? Hence it follows that whoever rejects Baptism rejects the Word of God, faith, and Christ, who directs us thither and binds us to Baptism.

In the third place, since we have learned the great benefit and power of Baptism, let us see further who is the person that receives what Baptism gives and profits. This is again most beautifully and clearly expressed in the

Worten: „Wer da glaubet und getauft wird, der wird selig.“ Das ist, der Glaube macht die Person allein würdig, das heilsame, göttliche Wasser nützlich zu empfangen. Denn weil solches allhier in den Worten bei und mit dem Wasser vorgetragen und verheißen wird, kann es nicht anders empfangen werden, denn daß wir solches von Herzen glauben. Ohne Glauben ist es nichts nütz, ob es gleich an ihm selbst ein göttlicher, überschwenglicher Schatz ist. Darum vermag das einige Wort („wer da glaubet“) so viel, daß es ausschleußt [ausschließt] und zurücktreibt alle Werke, die wir tun können der Meinung, als dadurch Seligkeit zu erlangen und verdienen. Denn es ist beschlossen, was nicht Glaube ist, das tut nichts dazu, empfängt auch nichts.

Sprechen sie aber, wie sie pflegen: Ist doch die Taufe auch selbst ein Werk; so sagst du, die Werke gelten nichts zur Seligkeit, wo bleibt denn der Glaube? Antwort: Ja, unsere Werke tun freilich nichts zur Seligkeit, die Taufe aber ist nicht unser, sondern Gottes Werk (denn du wirst, wie gesagt, Christus' Taufe gar weit müssen scheiden von der Badertaufe); Gottes Werke aber sind heilsam und not zur Seligkeit und schließen nicht aus, sondern fordern den Glauben; denn ohne Glauben könnte man sie nicht fassen. Denn damit, daß du läßt das Wasser über dich gießen, hast du die Taufe noch nicht also empfangen, daß sie dir etwas nütze; aber davon wird sie dir nütze, wenn du dich der Meinung läßt taufen, als aus Gottes Befehl und Ordnung, dazu in Gottes Namen, auf daß du in dem Wasser die verheißene Seligkeit empfangest. Nun kann solches die Faust noch der Leib nicht tun, sondern das Herz muß es glauben.

Also siehst du klar, daß da kein Werk ist, von uns getan, sondern ein Schatz, den er uns gibt und der Glaube ergreift: so wohl als der HErr Christus am Kreuz nicht ein Werk ist, sondern ein Schatz, im Wort gefaßt und uns vorgetragen und durch den Glauben empfangen. Darum tun sie uns Gewalt, daß sie wider uns schreien, als predigten wir wider den Glauben, so wir doch allein darauf treiben, als der so nötig dazu ist, daß ohne ihn [der Nutzen der Taufe] nicht empfangen noch genossen mag werden.

Also haben wir die drei Stücke, so man von diesem Sakrament wissen muß, sonderlich daß Gottes Ordnung ist in allen Ehren zu halten, welches allein genug wäre, ob es gleich ganz ein äußerlich Ding ist wie das Gebot: „Du sollst Vater und Mutter ehren“, allein auf ein leiblich Fleisch und Blut gestellt, da man nicht das Fleisch und Blut, sondern Gottes Gebot ansieht, darin es gefaßt ist und um welches willen das Fleisch Vater und Mutter heißt: also auch, wenn wir gleich nicht mehr hätten denn diese Worte: „Gehet hin und taufet“ usw., müßten wir's dennoch als Gottes Ordnung annehmen und tun. Nun ist nicht allein das Gebot und Befehl da, sondern auch die Verheißung. Darum ist es noch viel herrlicher, denn was Gott sonst geboten und geordnet hat; Summa, so voll Trosts und Gnade, daß [es] Himmel und Erde nicht kann begreifen. Aber da gehört Kunst zu, daß man solches glaube; denn es

est: *Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit.* Hoc est, sola fides personam dignam facit, ut hanc salutarem et divinam aquam utiliter suscipiat. Cum enim hoc in verbis una cum aqua nobis offeratur et proponatur, non alia ratione potest suscipi, quam ut hoc **34**] ex animo credamus. Citra fidem nihil prodest baptismus, tametsi per sese coelestis et inaestimabilis thesaurus esse negari non possit. Ideo unicum illud verbum (*qui crediderit*) tantum potest, ut excludat atque reiiciat omnia opera, quaecunque facere poterimus hoc animo, ut per ea salutem consequamur et promereamur. Iam enim ita irrevocabiliter decretum est, quidquid fides non est, illud ad consequendam salutem nihil profuturum neque tantillum consecuturum.

35] Quodsi, ut solent, dixerint: Tamen ipse quoque baptismus opus est, et tu dicis opera ad salutem consequendam nullius esse momenti, ubi tunc manet fides? Responde: Sane vero nostra opera ad salutem nihil faciunt; porro autem baptismus non nostrum, sed Dei opus est. Dei enim baptismus, ut dictum est, longe lateque a balneatoris baptismo tibi secernendus est. Dei autem opera salutifera sunt et ad salutem consequendam necessaria, neque excludunt, sed fidem requirunt, citra **36**] quam comprehendi non possent. Eo enim, quod te aqua perfundi sinis, baptismum nondum percepisti aut servasti, ut inde [R. 542 aliquid emolumenti ad te redeat. Verum inde primum tibi proderit, si hoc consilio temet baptizandum obtuleris, ut Dei mandato et institutioni satisfacias, ut in nomine Domini baptizatus promissam in aqua salutem consequaris. Iam hoc neque manus neque corpus efficere potest, sed corde credendum est.

37] Ita vides liquido hic nullum esse opus, quod a nobis fiat, sed thesaurum, quem ille nobis largitur, sola fides apprehendit; non secus atque Dominus Iesus in cruce nullum opus est, sed thesaurus verbo comprehensus nobisque oblatus, quem sola fides apprehendit et consequitur. Iniuriam itaque nobis faciunt, cum adversus nos vociferantur, quasi contra fidem doceamus, cum tamen unice illam urgeamus et inculcemus, ut quae tam sit necessaria, ut sine illa nihil quidquam possimus apprehendere aut consequi.

38] Ita quidem habemus tres huius sacramenti partes, quas quivis Christianus tenere debet, praecipue vero, quod baptismus Dei sit constitutio, in omni honore ac pretio habenda. Quae una abunde satis nos movere debet, tametsi res prorsus sit externa. Quemadmodum quartum praeceptum: *Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam*, tantum de corporali carne et sanguine honorandis constitutum est, in quo non carnem et sanguinem, sed Dei praeceptum intuemur, cui illa inclusa sunt, cuiusque gratia caro et sanguis pater ac mater dicuntur: ita quoque, si praeter haec verba: *Ite et baptizate* etc. nihil nobis esset aliud, attamen nobis illa, ut Dei constitutio, arripienda essent et **39**] facienda. Iam hic non tantum adest praeceptum et mandatum faciendi, verum etiam promissio. Quare multo praestantior est atque sublimior baptismi constitutio quam alia,

words: *He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.* That is, faith alone makes the person worthy to receive profitably the saving, divine water. For, since these blessings are here presented and promised in the words in and with the water, they cannot be received in any other way than by believing them with the heart. Without faith it profits nothing, notwithstanding it is in itself a divine superabundant treasure. Therefore this single word (*He that believeth*) effects this much that it excludes and repels all works which we can do, in the opinion that we obtain and merit salvation by them. For it is determined that whatever is not faith avails nothing nor receives anything.

But if they say, as they are accustomed: Still Baptism is itself a work, and you say works are of no avail for salvation; what, then, becomes of faith? Answer: Yes, our works, indeed, avail nothing for salvation; Baptism, however, is not our work, but God's (for, as was stated, you must put Christ-baptism far away from a bath-keeper's baptism). God's works, however, are saving and necessary for salvation, and do not exclude, but demand, faith; for without faith they could not be apprehended. For by suffering the water to be poured upon you, you have not yet received Baptism in such a manner that it benefits you anything; but it becomes beneficial to you if you have yourself baptized with the thought that this is according to God's command and ordinance, and besides in God's name, in order that you may receive in the water the promised salvation. Now, this the fist cannot do, nor the body; but the heart must believe it.

Thus you see plainly that there is here no work done by us, but a treasure which He gives us, and which faith apprehends; just as the Lord Jesus Christ upon the cross is not a work, but a treasure comprehended in the Word, and offered to us and received by faith. Therefore they do us violence by exclaiming against us as though we preach against faith; while we alone insist upon it as being of such necessity that without it nothing can be received nor enjoyed.

Thus we have these three parts which it is necessary to know concerning this Sacrament, especially that the ordinance of God is to be held in all honor, which alone would be sufficient, though it be an entirely external thing, like the commandment, *Honor thy father and thy mother,* which refers to bodily flesh and blood. Therein we regard not the flesh and blood, but the commandment of God in which they are comprehended, and on account of which the flesh is called father and mother; so also, though we had no more than these words, *Go ye and baptize,* etc., it would be necessary for us to accept and do it as the ordinance of God. Now there is here not only God's commandment and injunction, but also the promise, on account of which it is still far more glorious than whatever else God has

mangelt nicht am Schatz, aber da mangelt's an, daß man ihn fasse und festhalte.

quae a Deo praecepta et ordinata sunt; in summa, adeo plena est consolationis et gratiae, ut eius sublimitatem coelum ac terra
40] assequi nequeant. Verum hic arte opus est, ut haec vera esse credantur, neque in [R. 543 thesauro quidquam desiderari potest, in hoc vis sita est, ut comprehendatur et comprehensus firmiter retineatur.

Darum hat ein jeglicher Christ sein Leben lang genug zu lernen und zu üben an der Taufe; denn er hat immerdar zu schaffen, daß er festiglich glaube, was sie zusagt und bringt: Überwindung des Teufels und Todes, Vergebung der Sünden, Gottes Gnade, den ganzen Christum und Heiligen Geist mit seinen Gaben. Summa, es ist so überschwenglich, daß, wenn's die blöde Natur könnte bedenken, sollte sie wohl zweifeln, ob es könnte wahr sein. Denn rechne du: Wenn etwo [irgendwo] ein Arzt wäre, der die Kunst könnte, daß die Leute nicht stürben oder, ob sie gleich stürben, doch bald wieder lebend würden und danach ewig lebten, wie würde die Welt mit Geld zuschneien und regnen, daß vor den Reichen niemand könnte zukommen [herankommen]! Nun wird hier in der Taufe jedermann umsonst vor die Tür gebracht ein solcher Schatz und Arznei, die den Tod verschlingt und alle Menschen beim Leben erhält.

Quapropter quivis Christianus per omnem
41] vitam suam abunde satis habet, ut baptismum recte perdiscat atque exerceat. Sat enim habet negotii, ut credat firmiter, quaecunque baptismo promittuntur et offeruntur, victoriam nempe mortis ac diaboli, remissionem peccatorum, gratiam Dei, Christum cum omnibus suis operibus et Spiritum Sanctum
42] cum omnibus suis dotibus. Breviter, ista omnia, quae baptismus secum apportat, omnem humanam cogitationem exsuperant, ita ut, si imbecilla natura animo repeteret, non iniuria in dubium veniret, num vera esse possint.
43] Ipse enim aestima: Quodsi uspiam gentium esset medicus ea arte praeditus, qua posset efficere, ne homines morerentur, aut si mortem oppeterent, postea tamen perpetuo viverent, quam non ad eundem maximi minimique certatim et undarum instar multis cum opibus cursitarent, ita ut prae divitum turba nulla daretur accedendi copia! Iam hic in baptismo parvis et amplis, hoc est, omnibus, gratuito ad fores usque offertur eiusmodi thesaurus et medicina, quae mortem absorbet ac homines in vita conservat.

Also muß man die Taufe ansehen und uns nütze [zunutze] machen, daß wir uns des stärken und trösten, wenn uns unsere Sünde und Gewissen beschwert, und sagen: Ich bin dennoch getauft; bin ich aber getauft, so ist mir zugesagt, ich solle selig sein und das ewige Leben haben beide an Seele und Leib. Denn darum geschieht solches beides in der Taufe, daß der Leib begossen wird, welcher nicht mehr fassen kann denn das Wasser, und dazu das Wort gesprochen wird, daß [es] die Seele auch könne fassen. Weil nun beide Wasser und Wort eine Taufe ist, so muß auch beide Leib und Seele selig werden und ewig leben: die Seele durchs Wort, daran sie glaubt, der Leib aber, weil er mit der Seele vereinigt ist und die Taufe auch ergreift, wie er's ergreifen kann. Darum haben wir an unserm Leib und Seele kein größer Kleinod; denn dadurch werden wir gar heilig und selig, welches sonst kein Leben, kein Werk auf Erden erlangen kann.

44] Ita baptismus intuendus est et nobis fructuosus faciendus, ut hoc freti corroboremur et confirmemur, quoties peccatis aut conscientia gravamur, ut dicamus: Ego tamen baptizatus sum; quodsi baptizatus, certum est ea promissa mihi data esse, me beatum fore ac vitam immortalem et anima et cor-
45] pore possessurum. Ideo enim haec duo in baptismo fiunt, ut et corpus aqua perfundatur, quod praeter aquam nihil plus potest capere, et ad haec verba proferuntur, ut haec anima
46] capiat. Iam vero quoniam et aquam et verba unum baptismum esse constat, sequitur, ut et corpus et anima salva fiant ac in [R. 544 aeternum vivant: anima quidem per verbum, cui credit; corpus autem, quoniam animae unitum est et baptismum quoque apprehendit, qua ratione potest apprehendere. Quare neque in anima neque in corpore uspiam rem pretiosiorem habemus; siquidem baptismi auxilio prorsus sancti ac felices reddimur, id quod alioqui nulla vita, nullum uspiam opus potest assequi.

Das sei nun genug gesagt von dem Wesen, Nutz und [Ge]Brauch der Taufe, soviel hierher dient.

Haec quidem de baptismi essentia, utilitate et usu, quaecunque scitu erant necessaria, dicta sufficiant.

Von der Kindertaufe.

[DE PUERORUM BAPTISMO.]

Hierbei fällt nun eine Frage ein, damit der Teufel durch seine Rotten die Welt verwirrt: **von der Kinder Taufe,** ob sie auch glauben und recht getauft werden. Dazu sagen wir kürzlich: Wer einfältig ist, der schlage die Frage von sich und weise sie zu den Gelehrten. Willst du aber antworten, so antworte also:

47] Hoc vero loco occurrit quaestio, qua hodie diabolus per sectas suas mundum varie illaqueat, nempe *de puerorum baptismo*, num illi quoque credant aut recte baptizentur. Ad
48] hanc nos ita breviter respondemus: Qui simplici intelligentia praeditus est, ille hanc quaestionem indiscussam a se removeat ac doctoribus discutiendam relinquat. Quodsi
49] tamen respondere volueris, ita responde:

Daß die Kindertaufe Christo gefalle, beweist sich genugsam aus seinem eigenen Werk, nämlich, daß

Puerorum baptismum Christo placere et gratum esse, suo ipsius opere abunde osten-

commanded and ordained, and is, in short, so full of consolation and grace that heaven and earth cannot comprehend it. But it requires skill to believe this, for the treasure is not wanting, but this is wanting that men apprehend it and hold it firmly.

Therefore every Christian has enough in Baptism to learn and to practise all his life; for he has always enough to do to believe firmly what it promises and brings: victory over death and the devil, forgiveness of sin, the grace of God, the entire Christ, and the Holy Ghost with His gifts. In short, it is so transcendent that if timid nature could realize it, it might well doubt whether it could be true. For consider, if there were somewhere a physician who understood the art of saving men from dying, or, even though they died, of restoring them speedily to life, so that they would thereafter live forever, how the world would pour in money like snow and rain, so that because of the throng of the rich no one could find access! But here in Baptism there is brought free to every one's door such a treasure and medicine as utterly destroys death and preserves all men alive.

Thus we must regard Baptism and make it profitable to ourselves, that when our sins and conscience oppress us, we strengthen ourselves and take comfort and say: Nevertheless I am baptized; but if I am baptized, it is promised me that I shall be saved and have eternal life, both in soul and body. For that is the reason why these two things are done in Baptism, namely, that the body, which can apprehend nothing but the water, is sprinkled, and, in addition, the word is spoken for the soul to apprehend. Now, since both, the water and the Word, are one Baptism, therefore body and soul must be saved and live forever: the soul through the Word which it believes, but the body because it is united with the soul and also apprehends Baptism as it is able to apprehend it. We have, therefore, no greater jewel in body and soul, for by it we are made holy and are saved, which no other kind of life, no work upon earth, can attain.

Let this suffice respecting the nature, blessing, and use of Baptism, for it answers the present purpose.

Of Infant Baptism.

Here a question occurs by which the devil, through his sects, confuses the world, namely, *Of Infant Baptism*, whether children also believe, and are justly baptized. Concerning this we say briefly: Let the simple dismiss this question from their minds, and refer it to the learned. But if you wish to answer, then answer thus: —

That the Baptism of infants is pleasing to Christ is sufficiently proved from His own

Gott deren viele heilig macht und den Heiligen Geist gegeben hat, die also getauft sind, und heutigestags noch viel sind, an denen man spürt, daß sie den Heiligen Geist haben, beide der Lehre und Lebens halben; als uns von Gottes Gnaden auch gegeben ist, daß wir ja können die Schrift auslegen und Christum erkennen, welches ohne den Heiligen Geist nicht geschehen kann. Wo aber Gott die Kindertaufe nicht annähme, würde er derer keinem den Heiligen Geist noch ein Stück davon geben; Summa, es müßte so lange Zeit her bis auf diesen Tag kein Mensch auf Erden Christ sein [ein Christ gewesen sein]. Weil nun Gott die Taufe bestätigt durch Eingeben [durch die Gabe und Mitteilung] seines Heiligen Geistes, als man in [an] etlichen Vätern, als St. Bernhard, Gerson, Johann Hus und andern, so in der Kindheit getauft sind, wohl spürt, und die heilige christliche Kirche nicht untergeht bis ans Ende der Welt, so müssen sie bekennen, daß solche Kindertaufe Gott gefällig sei. Denn er kann je nicht wider sich selbst sein oder der Lüge und Büberei helfen, noch seine Gnade und Geist dazu geben. Dies ist fast die beste und stärkste Beweisung für die Einfältigen und Ungelehrten. Denn man wird uns diesen Artikel: „Ich glaube e i n e heilige christliche Kirche, die Gemeinde der Heiligen" usw. nicht nehmen noch umstoßen.

Danach sagen wir weiter, daß uns nicht die größte Macht daran liegt, ob, der da getauft wird, glaube oder nicht glaube; denn darum wird die Taufe nicht unrecht; sondern an Gottes Wort und Gebot liegt es alles. Das ist nun wohl ein wenig scharf, steht aber gar darauf, daß ich gesagt habe, daß die Taufe nichts anderes ist denn Wasser und Gottes Wort bei- und miteinander; das ist, wenn das Wort bei dem Wasser ist, so ist die Taufe recht, obschon der Glaube nicht dazukommt. Denn mein Glaube macht nicht die Taufe, sondern empfängt die Taufe. Nun wird die Taufe davon nicht unrecht, ob sie gleich nicht recht empfangen oder gebraucht wird, als die (wie gesagt) nicht an unsern Glauben, sondern an das Wort gebunden ist.

Denn wenngleich diesen Tag ein Jude mit Schalkheit und bösem Vorsatz herzukäme, und wir ihn mit ganzem Ernst tauften, sollen wir nichtsdestoweniger sagen, daß die Taufe recht wäre. Denn da ist das Wasser samt Gottes Wort, ob er sie gleich nicht empfängt, wie er soll; gleich als die unwürdig zum Sakrament gehen, das rechte Sakrament empfangen, ob sie gleich nicht glauben.

Also siehst du, daß der Rottengeister Einrede nichts tauge. Denn (wie gesagt), wenngleich die Kinder nicht glaubten, welches doch nicht ist, als jetzt beweiset [bewiesen], so wäre doch die Taufe recht und soll sie niemand wieder taufen; gleich als dem Sakrament [des Altars] nichts abgebrochen wird, ob jemand mit bösem Vorsatz hinzuginge, und nicht zu leiden wäre, daß er's um des Mißbrauchs willen auf dieselbe Stunde abermal nehme, als hätte er zuvor nicht wahrhaftig das

ditur, nempe quod Deus illorum non paucos sanctificavit, eosdemque Spiritu Sancto impertivit, qui statim a partu infantes baptizati sunt. Sunt etiam hodie non parum multi, quos certis indiciis animadvertimus Spiritum Sanctum habere, cum doctrinae eorum tum etiam vitae nomine; sicut et nobis gratia Dei datum et concessum est nosse Scripturas interpretari et Christum cognoscere, quod citra Spiritum Sanctum nullo modo fieri posse nemo **50**] dubitat. At si puerorum baptismus Christo non probaretur, nulli horum Spiritum Sanctum aut ne particulam quidem eius impertiret, atque ut summatim, quod sentio, eloquar, per tot saecula, quae ad hunc usque diem elapsa sunt, nullus hominum Christianus perhibendus esset. Quoniam vero Deus baptismum sui Sancti Spiritus donatione confirmat, id quod in nonnullis patribus, divo Bernhardo, Gersone, Iohanne Huss et in aliis, non obscuris argumentis intelligitur, [R. 545 neque sancta Christianorum ecclesia usque ad consummationem saeculi interibit, fateri coguntur Deo baptismum non displicere. Neque enim sibi ipse potest esse contrarius, aut mendaciis et nequitiae suffragari, neque huic promovendae gratiam suam ac Spiritum suum **51**] impertire. Et haec fere optima et firmissima est pro simplicibus et indoctis comprobatio. Neque enim hunc articulum: *Credo ecclesiam catholicam, communionem sanctorum* etc., nobis eripient aut subvertent unquam.

52] Deinde hoc quoque dicimus, nobis non summam vim in hoc sitam esse, num ille, qui baptizatur, credat necne; per hoc enim baptismo nihil detrahitur. Verum summa rei in **53**] verbo et praecepto Dei consistit. Hoc quidem aliquanto est acutius, verumtamen in hoc totum versatur, quod dixi baptismum nihil aliud esse quam aquam et verbum Dei simul iuncta; hoc est, accedente aquae verbo, baptismus rectus habendus est, etiam non accedente fide. Neque enim fides mea facit baptismum, sed baptismum percipit et apprehendit. Iam baptismus non vitiatur aut corrumpitur, hominibus eo abutentibus aut non recte suscipientibus, qui (ut dictum est) non fidei nostrae, sed verbo Dei alligatus est.

54] Nam quamquam hodierno die Iudaeus quispiam fraudulenta quapiam simulatione et malitioso proposito veniret, se baptizandum offerens, nosque eundem serio omni studio baptizaremus, nihilominus nobis dicendum esset baptismum verum et rectum esse. Hic enim aqua una cum verbo Dei praesto est, tametsi ille non recto animo, ut debebat, susceperit; sicut illi, qui indigne ad coenam Domini accedunt, verum corpus Domini accipiunt, quamquam non crediderint.

55] Ita vides Rottensium *βαπτισμομαστίγων* obiectionem vanam esse et nullius roboris. Nam quemadmodum diximus, quamquam pueri non crederent, quod nullo modo affirmandum est (ut iam ostensum est), tamen [R. 546 baptismus verus esset, neque quisquam eos rebaptizare debet; veluti sacramento nihil detrahitur, tametsi aliquis ad eius participationem improbo animo accedit, neque ferendum esset, ut eadem hora propter priorem abusum

work, namely, that God sanctifies many of them who have been thus baptized, and has given them the Holy Ghost; and that there are yet many even to-day in whom we perceive that they have the Holy Ghost both because of their doctrine and life; as it is also given to us by the grace of God that we can explain the Scriptures and come to the knowledge of Christ, which is impossible without the Holy Ghost. But if God did not accept the baptism of infants, He would not give the Holy Ghost nor any of His gifts to any of them; in short, during this long time unto this day no man upon earth could have been a Christian. Now, since God confirms Baptism by the gifts of His Holy Ghost, as is plainly perceptible in some of the church fathers, as St. Bernard, Gerson, John Hus, and others, who were baptized in infancy, and since the holy Christian Church cannot perish until the end of the world, they must acknowledge that such infant baptism is pleasing to God. For He can never be opposed to Himself, or support falsehood and wickedness, or for its promotion impart His grace and Spirit. This is indeed the best and strongest proof for the simple-minded and unlearned. For they shall not take from us or overthrow this article: *I believe a holy Christian Church, the communion of saints.*

Further, we say that we are not so much concerned to know whether the person baptized believes or not; for on that account Baptism does not become invalid; but everything depends upon the Word and command of God. This now is perhaps somewhat acute, but it rests entirely upon what I have said, that Baptism is nothing else than water and the Word of God in and with each other, that is, when the Word is added to the water, Baptism is valid, even though faith be wanting. For my faith does not make Baptism, but receives it. Now, Baptism does not become invalid even though it be wrongly received or employed; since it is not bound (as stated) to our faith, but to the Word.

For even though a Jew should to-day come dishonestly and with evil purpose, and we should baptize him in all good faith, we must say that his baptism is nevertheless genuine. For here is the water together with the Word of God, even though he does not receive it as he should, just as those who unworthily go to the Sacrament receive the true Sacrament, even though they do not believe.

Thus you see that the objection of the sectarians is vain. For (as we have said) even though infants did not believe, which, however, is not the case, yet their baptism as now shown would be valid, and no one should rebaptize them; just as nothing is detracted from the Sacrament though some one approach it with evil purpose, and he could not be allowed on account of his abuse to take it a second time the selfsame hour, as though

Sakrament empfangen; denn das hieße das Sakrament aufs höchste geläſtert und geſchändet. Wie kämen wir dazu, daß Gottes Wort und Ordnung darum ſollte unrecht ſein und nichts gelten, daß wir's unrecht [ge]brauchen?

Darum ſage ich: Haſt du nicht geglaubt, ſo glaube noch und ſprich alſo: Die Taufe iſt wohl recht geweſen, ich habe ſie aber leider nicht recht empfangen. Denn auch ich ſelbſt und alle, ſo ſich taufen laſſen, müſſen vor Gott alſo ſprechen: Ich komme her in meinem Glauben und auch der andern, noch [dennoch] kann ich nicht darauf bauen, daß ich glaube, und viele Leute für mich bitten, ſondern darauf baue ich, daß es dein Wort und Befehl iſt; gleichwie ich zum Sakrament gehe, nicht auf meinen Glauben, ſondern auf Chriſtus' Wort, ich ſei ſtark oder ſchwach, das laſſe ich Gott walten. Das weiß ich aber, daß er mich heißt hingehen, eſſen und trinken uſw. und mir ſeinen Leib und Blut ſchenkt; das wird mir nicht lügen noch trügen.

Alſo tun wir nun auch mit der Kindertaufe: Das Kind tragen wir herzu der Meinung und Hoffnung, daß es glaube, und bitten, daß ihm Gott den Glauben gebe; aber darauf taufen wir's nicht, ſondern allein darauf, daß [es] Gott befohlen hat. Warum das? Darum, daß wir wiſſen, daß Gott nicht leugt [lügt]: ich und mein Nächſter und, Summa, alle Menſchen mögen fehlen und trügen, aber Gottes Wort kann nicht fehlen.

Darum ſind es je vermeſſene, tölpiſche Geiſter, die alſo folgern und ſchließen: wo der Glaube nicht recht iſt, da müſſe auch die Taufe nicht recht ſein. Gerade als [wie wenn] ich wollte ſchließen: Wenn ich nicht glaube, ſo iſt Chriſtus nichts; oder alſo: Wenn ich nicht gehorſam bin, ſo iſt Vater, Mutter und Obrigkeit nichts. Iſt das wohl geſchloſſen, wo jemand nicht tut, was er tun ſoll, daß darum das Ding an ihm ſelbſt nichts ſein noch gelten ſoll? Lieber, kehre es um und ſchleuß [ſchließe] vielmehr alſo: Eben darum iſt die Taufe etwas und recht, daß man ſie unrecht empfangen hat. Denn wo ſie an ihr ſelbſt nicht recht wäre, könnte man ihrer nicht mißbrauchen noch daran ſündigen. Es heißt alſo: Abusus non tollit, sed confirmat substantiam, Mißbrauch nimmt nicht hinweg das Weſen, ſondern beſtätigt's. Denn Gold bleibt nichts weniger Gold, ob es gleich eine Bübin mit Sünden und Schanden trägt.

Darum ſei beſchloſſen, daß die Taufe allezeit recht und in vollem Weſen bleibt, wenngleich nur e i n Menſch getauft würde und dazu nicht rechtſchaffen glaubte. Denn Gottes Ordnung und Wort läßt ſich nicht von Menſchen wandelbar machen noch ändern. Sie aber, die Schwärmergeiſter, ſind ſo verblendet, daß ſie Gottes Wort und Gebot nicht ſehen und die Taufe und Obrigkeit nicht weiter anſehen denn als Waſſer im Bach und Töpfen oder als einen andern Menſchen, und weil ſie keinen Glauben noch Gehorſam ſehen, ſoll es an ihm ſelbſt auch nichts gelten. Da iſt ein heimlicher, aufrühreriſcher Teufel, der gerne die Krone von der Obrigkeit reißen wollte, daß man

ad sumendum accedat denuo, quasi initio verum sacramentum non percepisset. Hoc enim esset summa contumelia et ignominia sacramentum afficere. Qua vero ratione verbum et institutio Dei propterea irrita esse debebunt, quia nos non recte utimur?

56] Propterea dico, si non recte credidisti prius, tamen adhuc crede, atque ita dicas: Baptismus quidem rectus fuit, ego vero miser eundem non recte suscepi. Nam ego ipse quoque et omnes alii, qui baptizantur, coram Deo ita coguntur dicere: Venio huc in mea et aliorum fide, neque tamen asseveranter affirmare audeo me certo credere, et multi pro me precantur, sed huic fidens innitor, quod hoc verbum et praeceptum tuum sit. Quemadmodum ad coenam corporis et sanguinis Domini accedo, non mea fide, sed Christi verbo fretus, sive iam firmo sive infirmo sim animo, illud ego Deo meo commendo. Hoc tamen comperte teneo, quod iussu Dei mihi accedendum, edendum et bibendum est etc., quodque mihi suum corpus et sanguinem donat; quae res nunquam mihi mentietur aut me decipiet.

57] Ad hunc modum cum puerorum baptismo quoque facimus. Puerum ecclesiae ministro baptizandum apportamus hac spe atque animo, quod certo credat, et precamur, ut Deus eum fide donet; verum propterea non baptizamus, sed potius quod Deus ita faciendum nobis praeceperit. Cur ita? Ideo quod certi simus Deum non mentiri. Ego et proximus meus et in summa omnes homines errare possunt et fallere, porro autem Verbum Dei nec potest errare nec fallere.

58] Quocirca nimium utique confidentes et crassi sunt spiritus illi, qui ita concludentes inferunt: Ubi fides non est, ibi nec [R. 547 baptismus rectus esse potest. Quasi ita velim concludere: Si fidem non habuero, sequitur Christum nihil esse; aut sic: Si maiorum iussis morem non gessero, nec parentes nec magistratus quidquam sunt. Rectene ac bene colligitur, ubi quis non facit, quod illi faciendum fuerat, propterea sequi rem per se nihil **59**] esse aut valere? Quin potius argumentum inverte atque ita collige: Sane ob id ipsum baptismus quantivis pretii et rectus habendus est, quod non recte ab hominibus susceptus est. Si enim per se baptismus rectus non esset, eo nullo modo possemus abuti, aut abutendo delinquere. Abusus non tollit, sed confirmat substantiam, vulgo dici solet. Siquidem aurum nihilominus manet aurum, quantumvis illud meretricula cum scelere et dedecore gestet ac circumferat.

60] Quare tandem semel conclusum esto, baptismum omni tempore rectum esse ac plenam permanere eius substantiam, etiamsi vel unus hominum baptizaretur, neque tamen recte crederet. Neque enim id, quod semel Deus ordinavit et locutus est, ab hominibus **61**] mutari sinit aut perverti. Verum enim vero usque adeo excaecati sunt fanatici illi spiritus, ut Dei praeceptum ac verbum perspicere nequeant, neque baptismum et magistratus aliter intuentur atque aquam in fluviis ac olla aut alium quempiam hominem, et cum nullam fidem aut obedientiam videant, et baptismus et magistratus nihil esse cogitur.

he had not received the true Sacrament at first; for that would mean to blaspheme and profane the Sacrament in the worst manner. How dare we think that God's Word and ordinance should be wrong and invalid because we make a wrong use of it?

Therefore I say, if you did not believe, then believe now and say thus: The baptism indeed was right, but I, alas! did not receive it aright. For I myself also, and all who are baptized, must speak thus before God: I come hither in my faith and in that of others, yet I cannot rest in this, that I believe, and that many people pray for me; but in this I rest, that it is Thy Word and command. Just as I go to the Sacrament trusting not in my faith, but in the Word of Christ; whether I am strong or weak, that I commit to God. But this I know, that He bids me go, eat and drink, etc., and gives me His body and blood; that will not deceive me or prove false to me.

Thus we do also in infant baptism. We bring the child in the conviction and hope that it believes, and we pray that God may grant it faith; but we do not baptize it upon that, but solely upon the command of God. Why so? Because we know that God does not lie. I and my neighbor and, in short, all men, may err and deceive, but the Word of God cannot err.

Therefore they are presumptuous, clumsy minds that draw such inferences and conclusions as these: Where there is not the true faith, there also can be no true Baptism. Just as if I would infer: If I do not believe, then Christ is nothing; or thus: If I am not obedient, then father, mother, and government are nothing. Is that a correct conclusion, that whenever any one does not do what he ought, the thing in itself shall be nothing and of no value? My dear, just invert the argument and rather draw this inference: For this very reason Baptism is something and is right, because it has been wrongly received. For if it were not right and true in itself, it could not be misused nor sinned against. The saying is: *Abusus non tollit, sed confirmat substantiam*, Abuse does not destroy the essence, but confirms it. For gold is not the less gold though a harlot wear it in sin and shame.

Therefore let it be decided that Baptism always remains true, retains its full essence, even though a single person should be baptized, and he, in addition, should not believe truly. For God's ordinance and Word cannot be made variable or be altered by men. But these people, the fanatics, are so blinded that they do not see the Word and command of God, and regard Baptism and the magistrates only as they regard water in the brook or in pots, or as any other man; and because they do not see faith nor obedience, they conclude

sie danach mit Füßen trete, dazu alle Gotteswerke und =ordnungen uns verkehren und zunichte machen. Darum müssen wir wacker [wachsam] und gerüstet sein und uns von dem Wort nicht lassen weisen noch wenden, daß wir die Taufe nicht lassen ein bloß ledig Zeichen sein, wie die Schwärmer träumen.

Aufs letzte ist auch zu wissen, was die Taufe bedeutet und warum Gott eben solch äußerlich Zeichen und Gebärde ordnet zu dem Sakrament, dadurch wir erstlich in die Christenheit genommen werden. Das Werk aber oder Gebärde ist das, daß man uns ins Wasser senkt, das über uns hergeht, und danach wieder herauszeucht [herauszieht]. Diese zwei Stücke, unter das Wasser sinken und wieder herauskommen, [be]deutet die Kraft und [das] Werk der Taufe, welches nichts anderes ist denn die Tötung des alten Adams, danach die Auferstehung des neuen Menschen, welche beide unser Leben lang in uns gehen sollen, also daß ein christlich Leben nichts anderes ist denn eine tägliche Taufe, einmal angefangen und immer darin gegangen. Denn es muß ohne Unterlaß also getan sein, daß man immer ausfege, was des alten Adams ist, und hervorkomme, was zum neuen gehört. Was ist denn der alte Mensch? Das ist er, so uns angeboren ist von Adam: zornig, [ge]häßig, neidisch, unkeusch, geizig, faul, hoffärtig, ja ungläubig, mit allen Lastern besetzt, und von Art kein Gutes an ihm hat. Wenn wir nun in Christus' Reich kommen, soll solches täglich abnehmen, daß wir je länger, je milder, geduldiger, sanftmütiger werden, dem Unglauben, Geiz, Haß, Neid, Hoffart je mehr abbrechen.

62] Hic vero clandestinus et seditiosus latitat diabolus, qui perlubenter coronam magistratui eriperet, ut deinceps oppressus conculcaretur pedibus, adhaec omnia Dei opera et ordinationes redactae in nihilum subverte-
63] rentur funditus. Ideo nobis advigilandum est naviter omni panoplia instructis, ne a Verbo Dei divelli et abstrahi nos patiamur, ut baptismum non nudum et solum signum esse credamus, quemadmodum nostri spermologi seu suermeri somniant.

64] Ultimo neque illud praetereundum aut ignorandum est, quid baptismo significetur, tum quamobrem Deus talibus externis [R. 548 signis et gestibus hoc sacramentum celebrandum instituerit, per quod primum in Christia-
65] norum communionem cooptamur. Opus vero aut gestus est, quod baptizandi in aquam mergimur, qua prorsus contegimur, et postea mersi iterum extrahimur. Hae duae res, in aquam mergi et iterum emergere, virtutem et opus baptismi significant, quae non sunt alia quam veteris Adami mortificatio et postea novi hominis resurrectio. Quae duo per omnem vitam nobis indesinenter exercenda sunt, ita ut Christiani vita nihil aliud sit quam quotidianus quidam baptismus, semel quidem inceptus, sed qui semper exercendus sit. Ita enim fieri necesse est, ut subinde veteris Adami sordes repurgentur atque eluantur, ut novi hominis nitor et forma prodeat. Quid
66] autem est vetus homo? Hoc nimirum est, quod ab Adamo, patre nostro, nobis successione quadam hereditaria innatum est, scilicet quod sumus iracundi, immites, invidi, luxuriosi, avari, pigri, superbi, increduli, breviter omnibus vitiis contaminati, et in quibus na-
67] tura nihil boni inest. Iam in Christi regnum delati, hisce vitiis quotidie decrescendum est, ut subinde magis atque magis mitiores, liberaliores, patientiores, mansuetiores fiamus, semper aliquid avaritiae, odio, invidentiae, superbiae atque id genus vitiis detrahentes.

Das ist der rechte [Ge]Brauch der Taufe unter den Christen, durch das Wassertaufen bedeutet. Wo nun solches nicht geht, sondern dem alten Menschen der Zaum gelassen wird, daß er nur stärker wird, das heißt nicht der Taufe gebraucht, sondern wider die Taufe gestrebt. Denn die außer Christo sind, können nichts anderes tun, denn täglich ärger werden, wie auch das Sprichwort lautet und die Wahrheit ist: Immer je ärger; je länger, je böser. Ist einer vorm Jahr stolz und geizig gewesen, so ist er heuer [dieses Jahr] viel geiziger und stolzer, also daß die Untugend von Jugend auf mit ihm wächst und fortfährt. Ein junges Kind hat keine sonderliche Untugend an sich; wo es aber erwächst [aufwächst], so wird es unzüchtig und unkeusch; kommt es zu seinem vollen Mannesalter, so gehen die rechten Laster an, je länger, je mehr.

Darum geht der alte Mensch in seiner Natur unaufgehalten, wo man nicht durch der Taufe Kraft wehrt und dämpft. Wiederum, wo Christen [ge]worden sind, nimmt er täglich ab, so lange, bis er gar untergeht. Das heißt recht in die Taufe gekrochen und täglich wieder hervor-[ge]kommen. Also ist das äußerliche Zeichen ge-

68] Et hic est rectus baptismi usus inter Christianos, per aquae mersionem significatus. Ceterum ubi baptismi exercitium non viget, sed Adamo veteri habenae laxantur, ut in dies fiat ferocior, hoc non dicitur, uti baptismo,
69] sed eidem reluctari. Qui enim extra Christum sunt, non possunt non quotidie in peius degenerare, sicut et vulgato eoque vero dicitur proverbio: *Nunquam non deteriores; quo seniores eo peiores* (*Immer je aerger; je laen-*
70] *ger, je boeser*). Quodsi quis anno [R. 549 superiore nonnihil coepit fastu insolescere et ad rem attentus esse, ille mox anno sequente multo fit insolentior et ad rem attentior, ita ut vitia ab incunabulis cum eo certis quibusdam incrementis progrediantur. Infans puer nullis singularibus vitiis infectus est; sed ubi adoleverit, immodestae, intemperantis et lascivae vitae inquinamentis contaminatur, mox constantem ac virilem aetatem consecutus, tum demum magis atque magis vera illa vitiorum seges erumpit.

71] Quare vetus homo naturam suam nemine obstante sequitur, si non baptismi virtute coercitus et refrenatus fuerit. Contra, ubicunque Christiani facti sunt, decrescit quotidie ac imminuitur, donec prorsus abolitus fuerit. Et hoc est vere in baptismo mergi et
72] iterum quotidie emergere. Itaque hoc con-

that they are to be regarded as invalid. Here lurks a concealed seditious devil, who would like to tear the crown from the head of authority and then trample it under foot, and, in addition, pervert and bring to naught all the works and ordinances of God. Therefore we must be watchful and well armed, and not allow ourselves to be directed nor turned away from the Word, in order that we may not regard Baptism as a mere empty sign, as the fanatics dream.

Lastly, we must also know what Baptism signifies, and why God has ordained just such external sign and ceremony for the Sacrament by which we are first received into the Christian Church. But the act or ceremony is this, that we are sunk under the water, which passes over us, and afterwards are drawn out again. These two parts, to be sunk under the water and drawn out again, signify the power and operation of Baptism, which is nothing else than putting to death the old Adam, and after that the resurrection of the new man, both of which must take place in us all our lives, so that a truly Christian life is nothing else than a daily baptism, once begun and ever to be continued. For this must be practised without ceasing, that we ever keep purging away whatever is of the old Adam, and that that which belongs to the new man come forth. But what is the old man? It is that which is born in us from Adam, angry, hateful, envious, unchaste, stingy, lazy, haughty, yea, unbelieving, infected with all vices, and having by nature nothing good in it. Now, when we are come into the kingdom of Christ, these things must daily decrease, that the longer we live we become more gentle, more patient, more meek, and ever withdraw more and more from unbelief, avarice, hatred, envy, haughtiness.

This is the true use of Baptism among Christians, as signified by baptizing with water. Where this, therefore, is not practised, but the old man is left unbridled, so as to continually become stronger, that is not using Baptism, but striving against Baptism. For those who are without Christ cannot but daily become worse, according to the proverb which expresses the truth, "Worse and worse — the longer, the worse." If a year ago one was proud and avaricious, then he is much prouder and more avaricious this year, so that the vice grows and increases with him from his youth up. A young child has no special vice; but when it grows up, it becomes unchaste and impure, and when it reaches maturity, real vices begin to prevail the longer, the more.

Therefore the old man goes unrestrained in his nature if he is not checked and suppressed by the power of Baptism. On the other hand, where men have become Christians, he daily decreases until he finally perishes. That is

stellt, nicht allein, daß es solle kräftiglich wirken, sondern auch etwas [be]deuten. Wo nun der Glaube geht mit seinen Früchten, da ist's nicht eine lose [Be]Deutung, sondern das Werk dabei; wo aber der Glaube nicht ist, da bleibt ein bloß unfruchtbar Zeichen.

Und hier siehst du, daß die Taufe beide mit ihrer Kraft und [Be]Deutung begreift auch das dritte Sakrament [vgl. 578, 20; 732, 1: „von unsern zwei Sakramenten"], welches man genennet [genannt] hat die Buße, als die eigentlich nichts anderes ist denn die Taufe. Denn was heißt Buße anders, denn den alten Menschen mit Ernst angreifen und in ein neues Leben treten? Darum, wenn du in der Buße lebst, so gehst du in der Taufe, welche solch neues Leben nicht allein [be=]deutet, sondern auch wirkt, anhebt und treibt; denn darin wird [ge]geben Gnade, Geist und Kraft, den alten Menschen zu unterdrücken, daß der neue hervorkomme und stark werde.

Darum bleibt die Taufe immerdar stehen, und obgleich jemand davonfällt und sündigt, haben wir doch immer einen Zugang dazu, daß man den alten Menschen wieder unter sich werfe. Aber mit Wasser darf man uns nicht mehr begießen; denn ob man sich gleich hundertmal ließe ins Wasser senken, so ist's doch nicht mehr denn e i n e Taufe; das Werk aber und [Be]Deutung geht und bleibt. Also ist die Buße nichts anderes denn ein Wiedergang und Zutreten [eine Rückkehr und ein Hinzutreten] zur Taufe, daß man das wiederholt und treibt, so man zuvor angefangen und doch davon gelassen hat.

Das sage ich darum, daß man nicht in die Meinung komme, darin wir lange Zeit gewesen sind und gewähnt haben, die Taufe wäre nun hin [mit der Taufe wäre es nun vorbei], daß man ihrer nicht mehr [ge]brauchen könnte, nachdem wir wieder in Sünde gefallen sind. Das macht, daß man's nicht weiter ansieht denn nach dem Werk, so einmal geschehen ist. Und ist zwar daher [ge]kommen, daß St. Hieronymus geschrieben hat: „Die Buße sei die andere Tafel [tabula, Brett], damit wir müssen [her]ausschwimmen und [hin]überkommen, nachdem das Schiff gebrochen ist, darein wir treten und [hin]überfahren, wenn wir in die Christenheit kommen." Damit ist nun der [Ge=] Brauch der Taufe weggenommen, daß sie uns nicht mehr nützen kann. Darum ist's nicht recht geredet oder je nicht recht verstanden; denn das Schiff zerbricht nicht, weil es (wie gesagt) Gottes Ordnung und nicht unser Ding ist; aber das geschieht wohl, daß wir gleiten und herausfallen; fällt aber jemand heraus, der sehe, daß er wieder hinzuschwimme und sich daran halte, bis er wieder hineinkomme und darin gehe, wie vorhin angefangen.

Also sieht man, wie ein hoch, trefflich Ding es ist um die Taufe, so uns dem Teufel aus dem Halse reißt, Gott zu eigen macht, die Sünde dämpft und wegnimmt, danach täglich den neuen Menschen stärkt und immer geht und bleibt, bis wir aus diesem Elend zur ewigen Herrlichkeit kommen.

silio externum signum nobis propositum est, non tantum, ut efficaciter operetur, verum
73] etiam, ut aliquid significet. Iam ubicunque fides fructibus fecunda viget, hic baptismus non tantum inanem significationem repraesentat, sed mortificandae carnis opera coniuncta habet. Porro autem absente fide nudum et inefficax signum tantummodo permanet.

74] Ex his iam clare vides, baptismum aeque et virtute et significatione sua tertium quoque sacramentum comprehendere, quod poenitentiam appellare consueverunt, quae pro-
75] prie nihil aliud est quam baptismus aut eius exercitium. Quid enim poenitentia dici potest aliud, quam veterem hominem magno adoriri animo, ut eius concupiscentiae coerceantur ac novam vitam amplecti? Quare vivens in poenitentia in baptismo versaris, hanc novam vitam non solum significante, verum etiam operante, incipiente et exercente.
76] In hoc enim baptizatis datur et gratia et spiritus et virtus veterem hominem compescendi, ut novus prodeat ac confirmetur.

77] Hinc baptismus semper substitit, et quamquam aliquis ab eo peccatorum [R. 550 procellis abreptus excidat, nobis tamen subinde ad eum regressus patet, ut veterem hominem resipiscentiae iugo iterum subiiciamus.
78] Verum ut iterum aqua perfundamur, non est necesse. Nam etsi centies in aquam mergeremur, non tamen nisi unus baptismus est. Ceterum opus et significatio durat et perma-
79] net. Ita resipiscentia aut poenitentia nihil aliud est quam regressus quidam et reditus ad baptismum, ut illud iterum petatur et exerceatur, quod ante quidem inceptum et tamen negligentia intermissum est.

80] Haec ideo a me dicuntur, ne in eam veniamus opinionem, in qua permultos iam annos fuimus, opinati baptismum iam completum esse, ut eo amplius uti nequeamus, postcaquam iterum in peccata prolapsi sumus. Cuius rei causa exstitit, quod eundem ulterius non sumus intuiti nisi secundum externum opus, quod semel factum atque comple-
81] tum est. Atque hoc inde quoque evenit, quod divus Hieronymus scriptum reliquit: *Poenitentiam, secundam esse tabulam, qua nobis ex huius mundi pelago natandum et traiiciendum est fracta iam navi, in quam transcendimus atque traiicimus, delati in*
82] *Christianitatem.* Sed hisce verbis baptismi usum Hieronymus nobis sustulit, ut nobis amplius utilis esse nequeat. Quamobrem nequaquam recte docuit, neque enim navis frangitur, quando (ut diximus) Dei ordo seu constitutio et non nostrum opus est. Illud vero non raro fieri solet, ut labentes excidamus. Iam si quis exciderit, ille det operam, ut iterum annatet, huicque adhaerescat, donec iterum in navem recipiatur, inque ea iterum perinde versetur, ut primum inceperat.

83] Ita iam liquido omnibus compertum esse arbitror, quam praeclara ac mirifica res sit baptismus, eripiens nos a rictu diabolico, Deum nobis proprium faciens, peccatum [R. 551 opprimens et auferens, deinde in dies singulos novum hominem fortificans, semper etiam durans et permanens, donec ex hoc exsilio erepti ad immortalem gloriam migraverimus.

truly to be buried in Baptism, and daily to come forth again. Therefore the external sign is appointed not only for a powerful effect, but also for a signification. Where, therefore, faith flourishes with its fruits, there it has no empty signification, but the work [of mortifying the flesh] accompanies it; but where faith is wanting, it remains a mere unfruitful sign.

And here you see that Baptism, both in its power and signification, comprehends also the third Sacrament, which has been called repentance, as it is really nothing else than Baptism. For what else is repentance but an earnest attack upon the old man [that his lusts be restrained] and entering upon a new life? Therefore, if you live in repentance, you walk in Baptism, which not only signifies such a new life, but also produces, begins, and exercises it. For therein are given grace, the Spirit, and power to suppress the old man, so that the new man may come forth and become strong.

Therefore our Baptism abides forever; and even though some one should fall from it and sin, nevertheless we always have access thereto, that we may again subdue the old man. But we need not again be sprinkled with water; for though we were put under the water a hundred times, it would nevertheless be only one Baptism, although the operation and signification continue and remain. Repentance, therefore, is nothing else than a return and approach to Baptism, that we repeat and practise what we began before, but abandoned.

This I say lest we fall into the opinion in which we were for a long time, imagining that our Baptism is something past, which we can no longer use after we have fallen again into sin. The reason is, that it is regarded only according to the external act once performed [and completed]. And this arose from the fact that St. Jerome wrote *that repentance is the second plank by which we must swim forth and cross over after the ship is broken, on which we step and are carried across when we come into the Christian Church.* Thereby the use of Baptism has been abolished so that it can profit us no longer. Therefore the statement is not correct, or at any rate not rightly understood. For the ship never breaks, because (as we have said) it is the ordinance of God, and not a work of ours; but it happens, indeed, that we slip and fall out of the ship. Yet if any one fall out, let him see to it that he swim up and cling to it till he again come into it and live in it, as he had formerly begun.

Thus it appears what a great, excellent thing Baptism is, which delivers us from the jaws of the devil and makes us God's own, suppresses and takes away sin, and then daily strengthens the new man; and is and remains ever efficacious until we pass from this estate of misery to eternal glory.

Darum soll ein jeglicher die Taufe halten als ein täglich Kleid, darin er immerdar gehen soll, daß er sich allezeit in dem Glauben und seinen Früchten finden lasse, daß er den alten Menschen dämpfe und im neuen erwachse. Denn wollen wir Christen sein, so müssen wir das Werk treiben, davon wir Christen sind; fällt aber jemand davon, so komme er wieder hinzu. Denn wie Christus, der Gnadenstuhl, darum nicht weicht noch uns wehrt, wieder zu ihm zu kommen, ob wir gleich sündigen, also bleibt auch alle sein Schatz und Gabe. Wenn [* wie] nun einmal in der Taufe Vergebung der Sünden überkommen ist, so bleibt sie noch täglich, solange wir leben, das ist, den alten Menschen am Halse tragen.

84] Eam ob rem cuique baptismus ita habendus est, ut amictus quotidianus, quo indutus semper debet incedere, ut nunquam non in fide eiusque fructibus inveniatur, ut coercitis veteris hominis concupiscentiis in novo 85] adolescat. Si enim Christiani perhiberi contendimus, baptismi opus sedulo nobis exercendum est, unde Christiani appellationem 86] promeremur. Si quis autem exciderit, ille accedat vicissim. Nam quemadmodum Christus, omnis gratiae et misericordiae sedes, non cedit neque obstat nobis prohibens iterum ad sese accedere, quamquam peccantes hallucinemur, ita quoque universorum bonorum suorum et donorum thesaurus inconcussus permanet. Iam quemadmodum semel in baptismo peccatorum condonationem assecuti sumus, ita ea adhuc quotidie permanet, quamdiu vivimus, hoc est, donec in terris veterem hominem collo circumferimus.

[Das fünfte Teil.]

Von dem Sakrament des Altars.

Wie wir von der heiligen Taufe gehört haben, also müssen wir von dem andern Sakrament auch reden, nämlich die drei Stücke: was es sei, was es nütze, und wer es empfangen soll. Und solches alles aus den Worten gegründet, dadurch es von Christo eingesetzt ist, welche auch ein jeglicher wissen soll, der ein Christ will sein und zum Sakrament gehen. Denn wir sind's nicht gesinnt, dazuzulassen und [es] zu reichen denen, die nicht wissen, was sie da suchen oder warum sie kommen [daher die schon 1523 zu Wittenberg eingeführte Anmeldung mit Beichtverhör]. Die Worte aber sind diese:

Unser HErr JEsus Christus in der Nacht, als er verraten ward, nahm er das Brot, dankete und brach's und gab's seinen Jüngern und sprach: Nehmet hin, esset, das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird; solches tut zu meinem Gedächtnis!

Desselbigengleichen nahm er auch den Kelch nach dem Abendmahl, dankete und gab ihnen den und sprach: Nehmet hin und trinket alle daraus; dieser Kelch ist das neue Testament in meinem Blut, das für euch vergossen wird zur Vergebung der Sünden; solches tut, sooft ihr's trinket, zu meinem Gedächtnis!

Hier wollen wir uns auch nicht in die Haare legen und fechten mit den Lästerern und Schändern dieses Sakraments, sondern zum ersten lernen, da die Macht an liegt (wie auch von der Taufe), nämlich daß das vornehmste Stück sei Gottes Wort und Ordnung oder Befehl; denn es ist von keinem Menschen erdacht noch auf[ge]bracht, sondern ohne jemandes Rat und Bedacht von Christo eingesetzt. Derhalben, wie die zehn Gebote, Vaterunser und Glaube bleiben in ihrem Wesen und Würden, ob du sie gleich nimmermehr

[Quinta Pars.]

DE SACRAMENTO ALTARIS.

1] Quemadmodum hactenus de baptismo disseruimus, ita iam nobis deinceps de secundo quoque sacramento disserendum est, nempe de his tribus partibus: quid sit, quid utilitatis afferat sumentibus, insuper quibus fruendum aut sumendum sit. Atque haec omnia ipsius Scripturae verbis confirmata comprobabimus, quibus a Christo iam inde ab initio institu-2] tum est. Haec equidem cuivis Christiano cognoscenda sunt, qui quidem Christianus esse contendit et huius sacramenti cupit [R. 552 esse particeps. Neque enim nobis est animus posthac admittendi quemlibet aut quibuslibet illud administrandi, ignorantibus, quid hic quaerant aut quamobrem accedant. Ceterum verba haec sunt:

3] Dominus noster Iesus Christus, in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem, et gratias agens fregit et dixit: Accipite et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hoc facite in mei commemorationem.

Similiter et calicem, postquam coenavit, cum gratias egisset, dedit illis, dicens: Hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine, qui pro vobis et multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum. Hoc facite, quotiescunque biberitis, in mei commemorationem.

4] Principio nequaquam decretum est nobis hic cum quoquam pedem conferre aut contentionis gratia cum huius sacramenti detestandis blasphematoribus suscepto bello in arenam descendere, verum sub initium potius discere, qua in re huius sacramenti vis et virtus (ut in baptismo fecimus) omnis sita sit, nimirum, ut sciamus caput et nervum in hoc esse Dei verbum, ordinem et mandatum. Neque enim a quoquam homine excogitatum aut inventum, sed citra cuiusvis consilium et deliberationem

For this reason let every one esteem his Baptism as a daily dress in which he is to walk constantly, that he may ever be found in the faith and its fruits, that he suppress the old man and grow up in the new. For if we would be Christians, we must practise the work whereby we are Christians. But if any one fall away from it, let him again come into it. For just as Christ, the Mercy-seat, does not recede from us or forbid us to come to Him again, even though we sin, so all His treasure and gifts also remain. If, therefore, we have once in Baptism obtained forgiveness of sin, it will remain every day, as long as we live, that is, as long as we carry the old man about our neck.

[Part Fifth.]

OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

In the same manner as we have heard regarding Holy Baptism, we must speak also concerning the other Sacrament, namely, these three points: What is it? What are its benefits? and, Who is to receive it? And all these are established by the words by which Christ has instituted it, and which every one who desires to be a Christian and go to the Sacrament should know. For it is not our intention to admit to it and to administer it to those who know not what they seek, or why they come. The words, however, are these:

Our Lord Jesus Christ, the same night in which He was betrayed, took bread; and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and gave it to His disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is My body, which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

After the same manner also He took the cup when He had supped, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of it; this cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you for the remission of sins: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me.

Here also we do not wish to enter into controversy and contend with the traducers and blasphemers of this Sacrament, but to learn first (as we did regarding Baptism) what is of the greatest importance, namely, that the chief point is the Word and ordinance or command of God. For it has not been invented nor introduced by any man, but without any one's counsel and deliberation it has

hältst, beteſt noch glaubſt, alſo bleibt auch dies hochwürdige Sakrament unverrückt, daß ihm nichts abgebrochen noch genommen wird, ob wir's gleich unwürdig [ge]brauchen und handeln. Was meinſt du, daß Gott nach unſerm Tun oder Glauben fragt, daß er um deswillen ſollte ſeine Ordnung wandeln laſſen? Bleibt doch in allen weltlichen Dingen alles, wie es Gott geſchaffen und geordnet hat, Gott gebe, wie wir's [ge]brauchen und handeln. Solches muß man immerdar treiben, denn damit kann man faſt aller Rottengeiſter Geſchwätz zurückſtoßen; denn ſie die Sakramente außer Gottes Wort anſehen als ein Ding, das wir tun.

5] ab ipso Christo institutum est. Quapropter sicut decem praecepta, Oratio Dominica, fidei Confessio suam dignitatem obtinent, tametsi ea in perpetuum nunquam servaveris, oraveris neque credideris, ita quoque hoc venerabile sacramentum salvum ac inviolatum permanet, ut nihil ille detrahatur, quamlibet nos [R. 553 6] illo indigne abutamur. Quid putas Deo nostra opera aut fidem adeo curae esse, ut eam ob rem suum ordinem aut institutionem immutari patiatur? Videmus enim in omnibus mundanis rebus eum perpetuo tenorem consistere et ordinem perdurare, quem Deus semel rebus creandis praescripsit et instituit, 7] quacunque tandem ratione illis utamur aut res creatas exerceamus. Haec quidem vulgo semper ac sedulo inculcanda sunt; iis enim omnium seditiosorum spirituum neniae et gerrae illico labefactantur et subvertuntur. Illi enim sacramenta extra Dei Verbum intuentur ut rem a nobis factam.

Was iſt nun das Sakrament des Altars?

Antwort:

Es iſt der wahre Leib und Blut des HErrn Chriſti, in und unter dem Brot und Wein durch Chriſtus' Wort uns Chriſten befohlen zu eſſen und zu trinken. Und wie von der Taufe geſagt, daß [ſie] nicht ſchlecht [bloßes] Waſſer iſt, ſo ſagen wir hier auch, das Sakrament iſt Brot und Wein, aber nicht ſchlecht Brot und Wein, ſo man ſonſt zu Tiſche trägt, ſondern Brot und Wein in Gottes Wort gefaßt und daran gebunden.

Das Wort (ſage ich) iſt das, das dies Sakrament macht und unterſcheidet, daß es nicht lauter Brot und Wein, ſondern Chriſtus' Leib und Blut iſt und heißt. Denn es heißt: Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum; „Wenn das Wort zum äußerlichen Ding kommt, ſo wird's ein Sakrament." Dieſer Spruch St. Auguſtini iſt ſo eigentlich [treffend] und wohl geredet, daß er kaum einen beſſeren geſagt hat. Das Wort muß das Element zum Sakrament machen; wo nicht, ſo bleibt's ein lauter Element. Nun iſt's nicht eines Fürſten oder Kaiſers, ſondern der hohen Majeſtät Wort und Ordnung, davor alle Kreaturen ſollen zu Füßen fallen und ja ſprechen, daß es ſei, wie er ſagt, und [es] mit allen Ehren, Furcht und Demut annehmen.

Aus dem Wort kannſt du dein Gewiſſen ſtärken und ſprechen: Wenn hunderttauſend Teufel ſamt allen Schwärmern herfahren: Wie kann Brot und Wein Chriſtus' Leib und Blut ſein uſw.? ſo weiß ich, daß alle Geiſter und Gelehrten auf einem Haufen nicht ſo klug ſind als die göttliche Majeſtät im kleinſten Fingerlein. Nun ſteht hier Chriſtus' Wort: „Nehmet, eſſet, das iſt mein Leib. Trinket alle daraus, das iſt das neue Teſtament in meinem Blut" uſw. Da bleiben wir bei und wollen ſie anſehen, die ihn meiſtern werden und anders machen, denn er's geredet hat. Das iſt wohl wahr, wenn du das Wort davontuſt oder ohne Wort anſiehſt, ſo haſt du nichts denn lauter Brot und Wein; wenn ſie aber dabei bleiben, wie ſie ſollen und müſſen, ſo iſt's laut derſelben wahrhaftig Chriſtus' Leib und Blut. Denn wie Chriſtus' Mund redet und ſpricht, alſo iſt es, als der nicht lügen noch trügen kann.

8] *Quid est itaque Sacramentum Altaris?*

Responsio:

Est verum corpus et sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, in et sub pane et vino per verbum Christi nobis Christianis ad manducandum et bibendum institutum et mandatum. 9] Et sicut de baptismo diximus non simplicem eum esse aquam, ita quoque hic dicimus hoc sacramentum panem et vinum esse, sed non simpliciter panem et vinum esse, quae proponuntur discumbentibus, sed panem et vinum Dei verbo inclusa et huic alligata.

10] Verbum, inquam, illud est, quo hoc sacramentum fit atque discernitur, ne tantum simpliciter vinum et aqua [panis], sed Christi corpus et sanguis sit ac dicatur. Nos enim Augustini verbis subscribimus, ita dicentis: *Accedat verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum.* Hoc Augustini verbum tam proprie et expresse dictum est, ut vix aliud dixerit praeclarius. Virtute verbi elementum fit sacramentum, citra cuius accessionem nonnisi 11] elementum manet. Iam hoc non est alicuius principis aut caesaris, sed omnipotentis Dei verbum et institutio, cui merito omnes creaturae debebant ad pedes accidere atque assentiri ita se rem habere, sicut dicit ipse, omnique reverentia, metu et humilitate illud accipere.

12] Hoc verbo conscientiae tuae imbecillitatem confirmare potes ac dicere: Etiamsi infinitae diabolorum myriades una cum [R. 554 omnibus suermeris uno ore impudentissime affirmarent, quomodo panis et vinum Christi corpus et sanguis esse possunt etc., tamen compertum habeo, omnes ad unum spiritus et doctos non tanta excultos esse prudentia atque intelligentia, quanta Deum omnipotentem vel in minimo digitulo valere certo scio. Iam 13] hic expresse Christi verbum ponitur: *Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum. Bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est calix novi testamenti in meo sanguine* etc. In haec verba pedibus imus, hisce constanter adhaeremus, perlibenter eos visuri, qui suo magisterio Christum aliter audeant docere aut aliter facere, atque 14] ipse locutus est. Hoc equidem non infitiabimur verum esse, si verbum auferas, aut sine eo hoc sacramentum intuearis, praeter merum

been instituted by Christ. Therefore, just as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed retain their nature and worth, although you never keep, pray, or believe them, so also does this venerable Sacrament remain undisturbed, so that nothing is detracted or taken from it, even though we employ and dispense it unworthily. What do you think God cares about what we do or believe, so that on that account He should suffer His ordinance to be changed? Why, in all worldly matters every thing remains as God has created and ordered it, no matter how we employ or use it. This must always be urged, for thereby the prating of nearly all the fanatical spirits can be repelled. For they regard the Sacraments, aside from the Word of God, as something that we do.

Now, what is the Sacrament of the Altar?

Answer: *It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under the bread and wine which we Christians are commanded by the Word of Christ to eat and to drink.* And as we have said of Baptism that it is not simple water, so here also we say the Sacrament is bread and wine, but not mere bread and wine, such as are ordinarily served at the table, but bread and wine comprehended in, and connected with, the Word of God.

It is the Word (I say) which makes and distinguishes this Sacrament, so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called, the body and blood of Christ. For it is said: *Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum. If the Word be joined to the element, it becomes a Sacrament.* This saying of St. Augustine is so properly and so well put that he has scarcely said anything better. The Word must make a Sacrament of the element, else it remains a mere element. Now, it is not the word or ordinance of a prince or emperor, but of the sublime Majesty, at whose feet all creatures should fall, and affirm it is as He says, and accept it with all reverence, fear, and humility.

With this Word you can strengthen your conscience and say: If a hundred thousand devils, together with all fanatics, should rush forward, crying, How can bread and wine be the body and blood of Christ? etc., I know that all spirits and scholars together are not as wise as is the Divine Majesty in His little finger. Now here stands the Word of Christ: *Take, eat; this is My body; Drink ye all of it; this is the new testament in My blood,* etc. Here we abide, and would like to see those who will constitute themselves His masters, and make it different from what He has spoken. It is true, indeed, that if you take away the Word or regard it without the words, you have nothing but mere bread and wine. But if the words remain with them, as they shall and must, then, in virtue of the

panem ac vinum nihil tibi mansurum reliqui; sed verbis una cum vino et pane manentibus, sicut debet et oportet, tum constat illa veraciter esse Christi corpus et sanguinem. Sicut enim os Christi dicit ac loquitur, ita quoque est, ut qui neque mentiri novit neque fallere.

Daher ist nun leicht zu antworten auf allerlei Fragen, damit man sich jetzt bekümmert, als diese ist: ob auch ein böser Priester könnte das Sakrament handeln und geben, und was mehr desgleichen ist. Denn da schließen wir und sagen: Obgleich ein Bube das Sakrament nimmt oder gibt, so nimmt er das rechte Sakrament, das ist, Christus' Leib und Blut, ebensowohl, als der es aufs allerwürdigste handelt. Denn es ist nicht gegründet auf Menschenheiligkeit, sondern auf Gottes Wort; und wie kein Heiliger auf Erden, ja kein Engel im Himmel das Brot und Wein zu Christus' Leib und Blut machen kann, also kann's auch niemand ändern noch wandeln, ob es gleich mißbraucht wird. Denn um der Person oder Unglaubens willen wird das Wort nicht falsch, dadurch es ein Sakrament [ge]worden und eingesetzt ist. Denn er spricht nicht: Wenn ihr glaubt oder würdig seid, so habt ihr meinen Leib und Blut, sondern: „Nehmet, esset und trinket; das ist mein Leib und Blut"; item: „Solches tut" (nämlich das ich jetzt tue, einsetze, euch gebe und nehmen heiße). Das ist so viel gesagt: Gott gebe, du seiest unwürdig oder würdig, so hast du hier seinen Leib und Blut aus Kraft dieser Worte, so zu dem Brot und Wein kommen. Solches merke und behalte nur wohl; denn auf den Worten steht alle unser Grund, Schutz und Wehr wider alle Irrtümer und Verführung, so je [ge]kommen sind oder noch kommen mögen.

15] Ex his iam haud difficulter respondere possumus ad omnis generis quaestiones, quibus iam passim multi solicitantur, quarum una haec est: num profligatae quoque vitae sacerdos sacramentum ministrare aut tractare 16] possit, et eiusmodi. Siquidem hic nos ita concludimus, dicentes: Quamquam nebulo perditissimus sacramentum aliis ministret aut ipse sumat, tamen nihilominus sacramentum illum sumere, hoc est, Christi corpus et sanguinem, non secus atque is, qui omnium reverendissime et dignissime sumpserit aut tractaverit. Neque enim humana sanctimonia, sed Verbo Dei nititur illud. Et quemadmodum nullus sanctorum in terris, adde: etiam nullus angelorum in coelis, panem et vinum in Christi corpus et sanguinem vertere [R. 555 potest, ita quoque nemo aliter facere aut immutare potest, etsi hoc sacramento indignis- 17] sime abutatur. Nam propter personae indignitatem aut incredulitatem Verbum non fit falsum aut irritum, per quod sacramentum factum et institutum est. Neque enim dicit: Quando credideritis aut digni fueritis, tum corpus et sanguinem meum habebitis; sed: *Accipite, edite, bibite; hoc est corpus meum et sanguis meus,* et iterum: *Hoc facite,* nimirum quod ego iam facio, instituo, vobis eden- 18] dum et bibendum porrigo. Hoc perinde valet, ac si dixisset: Sive dignus sive indignus fueris, hic corpus et sanguinem meum 19] habes horum verborum virtute, quae pani ac vino adiecta sunt. Hoc animo reconditum fac diligenter conserves. In his enim verbis omne nostrum praesidium, tutela et propugnatio adversus omnes iliorum errores et seductiones, quaecunque vel exortae sunt unquam, vel deinceps adhuc exoriri possunt, sita sunt.

Also haben wir kürzlich das erste Stück, so das Wesen dieses Sakraments belangt. Nun siehe weiter auf die Kraft und Nutz, darum endlich [schließlich, im Grunde] das Sakrament eingesetzt ist, welches auch das Nötigste darin ist, daß man wisse, was wir da suchen und holen sollen. Das ist nun klar und leicht eben aus den gedachten Worten: „Das ist mein Leib und Blut, **für euch** gegeben und vergossen zur Vergebung der Sünden." Das ist kürzlich so viel gesagt: Darum gehen wir zum Sakrament, daß wir da empfangen solchen Schatz, durch und in dem wir Vergebung der Sünden überkommen. Warum das? Darum, daß die Worte dastehen und uns solches geben; denn darum heißt er mich essen und trinken, daß es mein sei und mir nütze, als ein gewiß Pfand und Zeichen, ja eben dasselbe Gut, so für mich gesetzt ist wider meine Sünde, Tod und alles Unglück.

Darum heißt es wohl eine Speise der Seele, die den neuen Menschen nährt und stärkt. Denn durch die Taufe werden wir erstlich neugeboren, aber daneben (wie gesagt ist) bleibt gleichwohl die alte Haut im Fleisch und Blut am Menschen; da ist so viel Hindernis und Anfechtung vom Teufel und der Welt, daß wir oft müde und matt werden und zuweilen auch straucheln.

20] Ita habemus breviter primam partem, de substantia nempe sacramenti. Nunc porro videamus et virtutem ac utilitatem eius, cuius gratia potissimum sacramentum hoc institutum est, quodque omnium maxime in eo est necessarium, ut sciamus, quid hic nobis quae- 21] rendum indeque auferendum sit. Sed et hoc valde perspicuum est et cognitu facile ex iisdem supra memoratis verbis: *Hoc est corpus meum et sanguis meus, quod PRO VOBIS datur et effunditur in remissionem peccato- 22] rum.* Horum verborum breviter hic est sensus: Ideo ad sacramentum accedimus, ut eiusmodi thesaurum ibi accipiamus, per quem et in quo peccatorum remissionem consequamur. Quare hoc? Ideo quod verba illic exstant et haec dant nobis. Siquidem propterea a Christo iubeor edere et bibere, ut meum sit mihique utilitatem afferat, veluti certum pignus et arrabo, imo potius res ipsa, quam pro peccatis meis morte et omnibus malis ille opposuit et oppignoravit.

23] Inde iure optimo cibus animae dicitur, novum hominem alens atque fortificans. Per baptismum enim initio regeneramur, [R. 556 verum nihilominus antiqua et vitiosa cutis carnis et sanguinis adhaeret homini. Iam hic multa sunt impedimenta et impugnationes, quibus cum a mundo tum a diabolo acerrime infestamur, ita ut non raro defessi viribus deficiamus, ac nonnunquam etiam in peccatorum sordes prolabamur.

same, it is truly the body and blood of Christ. For as the lips of Christ say and speak, so it is, as He can never lie or deceive.

Hence it is easy to reply to all manner of questions about which men are troubled at the present time, such as this one: Whether even a wicked priest can minister at, and dispense, the Sacrament, and whatever other questions like this there may be. For here we conclude and say: Even though a knave takes or distributes the Sacrament, he receives the true Sacrament, that is, the true body and blood of Christ, just as truly as he who [receives or] administers it in the most worthy manner. For it is not founded upon the holiness of men, but upon the Word of God. And as no saint upon earth, yea, no angel in heaven, can make bread and wine to be the body and blood of Christ, so also can no one change or alter it, even though it be misused. For the Word by which it became a Sacrament and was instituted does not become false because of the person or his unbelief. For He does not say: If you believe or are worthy, you receive My body and blood, but: *Take, eat and drink; this is My body and blood.* Likewise: *Do this* (namely, what I now do, institute, give, and bid you take). That is as much as to say, No matter whether you are worthy or unworthy, you have here His body and blood by virtue of these words which are added to the bread and wine. Only note and remember this well; for upon these words rest all our foundation, protection, and defense against all errors and deception that have ever come or may yet come.

Thus we have briefly the first point which relates to the essence of this Sacrament. Now examine further the efficacy and benefits on account of which really the Sacrament was instituted; which is also its most necessary part, that we may know what we should seek and obtain there. Now this is plain and clear from the words just mentioned: *This is My body and blood, given and shed* FOR YOU, *for the remission of sins.* Briefly that is as much as to say: For this reason we go to the Sacrament because there we receive such a treasure by and in which we obtain forgiveness of sins. Why so? Because the words stand here and give us this; for on this account He bids me eat and drink, that it may be my own and may benefit me, as a sure pledge and token, yea, the very same treasure that is appointed for me against my sins, death, and every calamity.

On this account it is indeed called a food of souls, which nourishes and strengthens the new man. For by Baptism we are first born anew; but (as we said before) there still remains, besides, the old vicious nature of flesh and blood in man, and there are so many hindrances and temptations of the devil and of the world that we often become weary and faint, and sometimes also stumble.

Darum ist es gegeben zur täglichen Weide und Fütterung, daß sich der Glaube erhole und stärke, daß er in solchem Kampf nicht zurückfalle, sondern immerdar je stärker und stärker werde. Denn das neue Leben soll also getan sein, daß es stets zunehme und fortfahre; es muß aber dagegen viel leiden. Denn so ein zorniger Feind ist der Teufel; wo er sieht, daß man sich wider ihn legt und den alten Menschen angreift, und er uns nicht mit Macht überpoltern kann, da schleicht und streicht er auf allen Seiten umher, versucht alle Künste und läßt nicht ab, bis er uns zuletzt müde macht, daß man entweder den Glauben läßt fallen oder Hände und Füße gehen und wird unlustig oder ungeduldig. Dazu ist nun der Trost gegeben, wenn das Herz solches fühlt, daß [es] ihm will zu schwer werden, daß es hier neue Kraft und Labsal hole.

24] Ideo hoc sacramentum tamquam pro quotidiano alimento nobis datum est, ut huius esu fides iterum vires suas reparet atque recuperet, ne in tali certamine aut tergiversetur aut succumbat denique, sed subinde magis 25] atque magis fiat robustior. Etenim nova vita sic instituenda est, ut assidue crescat et porro pergendo incrementa accipiat. Verum 26] huic contra multae passiones exhauriendae sunt. Tanta enim aestuat iracundia inimicus noster diabolus, simul atque conspexerit nos adversus se niti et hominem veterem iniecto freno coerceri, ut ille nos vi nequeat opprimere, tum ab omni parte positis insidiis occulte irrepens nos adoritur, omnes suos nervos intendens, omnes suas artes experiens, nihil non fallaciarum conans, nec prius absistit, quam nos denique extrema lassitudine defessos fecerit, ut aut abiecta (quod aiunt) hasta fidem deseramus, aut omni desperata repugnandi fiducia taediosi aut impatientes 27] fiamus. Adhoc iam datum est solatium, et haec praesentaria animi levatio, adornata, ut, cum cor senserit se nimia impugnatione premi, hic vires et refocillationem quaerat et auferat.

Hier verdrehen sich aber unsere klugen Geister mit ihrer großen Kunst und Klugheit, die schreien und poltern: Wie kann Brot und Wein die Sünde vergeben oder den Glauben stärken? so sie doch hören und wissen, daß wir solches nicht von Brot und Wein sagen, als an ihm selbst Brot Brot ist, sondern von solchem Brot und Wein, das Christus' Leib und Blut ist und die Worte bei sich hat. Dasselbige, sagen wir, ist je der Schatz und kein anderer, dadurch solche Vergebung erworben ist. Nun wird es uns ja nicht anders denn in den Worten: „Für euch gegeben und vergossen" gebracht und zugeeignet; denn darin hast du beides, daß es Christus' Leib und Blut ist, und daß es dein ist als ein Schatz und Geschenk. Nun kann je Christus' Leib nicht ein unfruchtbar, vergeblich Ding sein, das nichts schaffe noch nütze. Doch wie groß [auch immer] der Schatz für sich selbst ist, so muß er in das Wort gefaßt und uns gereicht werden; sonst würden wir's nicht können wissen noch suchen.

28] Atqui hoc loco iterum nasuti spiritus nostri mirifica eruditione et sapientia sua sese contorquent, tumultuantes et vociferantes: Qui vero, inquiunt, panis et vinum peccata possunt remittere aut fidem corroborare? cum tamen sciant et audiant, nos talia de vino et pane nunquam adhuc docuisse, velut [R. 557 panis per se panis est; verum de tali pane et vino, quae Christi corpus et sanguis sunt et verba secum coniuncta habent. Hic, inquam, panis thesaurus ille est, quem iactamus, hic certe est nec alius, per quem eiusmodi peccatorum condonationem Christus nobis meritus 29] est. Iam ille non aliter quam per verba: *Pro vobis traditur et effunditur* nobis offertur et donatur. Nam in his utrumque habes, et quod Christi corpus sit, et quod tuum sit tamquam thesaurus et donum concessum gratuito. 30] Quin etiam illud pro certo constat Christi corpus et sanguinem nequaquam rem otiosam et infrugiferam esse posse, quae nihil fructus aut utilitatis afferat. Verumtamen quamlibet magnus per se thesaurus existat, Verbo eum includi ac in eo nobis offerri necesse est; alioqui eundem neque scire neque quaerere possemus.

Darum ist's auch nichts geredet, daß sie sagen, Christus' Leib und Blut ist nicht im Abendmahl für uns gegeben noch vergossen, darum könnte man im Sakrament nicht Vergebung der Sünden haben. Denn obgleich das Werk am Kreuz geschehen und die Vergebung der Sünden erworben ist, so kann sie doch nicht anders denn durchs Wort zu uns kommen. Denn was wüßten wir sonst davon, daß solches geschehen wäre oder uns geschenkt sein sollte, wenn man's nicht durch die Predigt oder mündlich Wort vortrüge? Woher wissen sie es, oder wie können sie die Vergebung ergreifen und zu sich bringen, wo sie sich nicht halten und glauben an die Schrift und das Evangelium? Nun ist je das ganze Evangelium und Artikel des Glaubens: „Ich glaube e i n e heilige christliche Kirche, Vergebung der Sünden" usw. durch das Wort in dies Sakrament gesteckt und uns vorgelegt. Warum sollten wir denn solchen Schatz aus dem Sakrament lassen reißen, so sie doch bekennen müssen, daß [es] eben die Worte

31] Quare nihil etiam illud est planeque frivolum commentum, quod garriunt, Christi corpus et sanguinem non esse in coena pro nobis traditum et effusum, ob id in sacramento peccatorum remissionem nos habere non posse. Nam tametsi opus ipsum in cruce peractum est, et peccatorum ibi parta condonatio, neque tamen alia ratione quam per Verbum ad nos pervenire aut perferri potest. Quid enim hac de re nos comperti haberemus, haec facta esse aut nobis condonata, nisi haec praedicatione aut vocali verbo nobis annuntiarentur? Unde vero illi hoc habent exploratum aut cognitum, aut quomodo remissionem peccatorum possunt apprehendere, nisi Scripturae et evangelio cre- 32] diderint et innixi fuerint? Iam totum evangelium et fidei articulus: *Credo ecclesiam sanctam catholicam, remissionem peccatorum* etc. virtute Verbi in hoc sacramentum conclusus est et nobis propositus. Quamobrem ergo talem thesaurum ex hoc sacramento vio-

Therefore it is given for a daily pasture and sustenance, that faith may refresh and strengthen itself so as not to fall back in such a battle, but become ever stronger and stronger. For the new life must be so regulated that it continually increase and progress; but it must suffer much opposition. For the devil is such a furious enemy that when he sees that we oppose him and attack the old man, and that he cannot topple us over by force, he prowls and moves about on all sides, tries all devices, and does not desist, until he finally wearies us, so that we either renounce our faith or yield hands and feet and become listless or impatient. Now to this end the consolation is here given when the heart feels that the burden is becoming too heavy, that it may here obtain new power and refreshment.

But here our wise spirits contort themselves with their great art and wisdom, crying out and bawling: How can bread and wine forgive sins or strengthen faith? Although they hear and know that we do not say this of bread and wine, because in itself bread is bread, but of such bread and wine as is the body and blood of Christ, and has the words attached to it. That, we say, is verily the treasure, and nothing else, through which such forgiveness is obtained. Now the only way in which it is conveyed and appropriated to us is in the words (*Given and shed for you*). For herein you have both truths, that it is the body and blood of Christ, and that it is yours as a treasure and gift. Now the body of Christ can never be an unfruitful, vain thing, that effects or profits nothing. Yet, however great is the treasure in itself, it must be comprehended in the Word and administered to us, else we should never be able to know or seek it.

Therefore also it is vain talk when they say that the body and blood of Christ are not given and shed for us in the Lord's Supper, hence we could not have forgiveness of sins in the Sacrament. For although the work is accomplished and the forgiveness of sins acquired on the cross, yet it cannot come to us in any other way than through the Word. For what would we otherwise know about it, that such a thing was accomplished or was to be given us if it were not presented by preaching or the oral Word? Whence do they know of it, or how can they apprehend and appropriate to themselves the forgiveness, except they lay hold of and believe the Scriptures and the Gospel? But now the entire Gospel and the article of the Creed: *I believe a holy Christian Church, the forgiveness of sin,* etc., are by the Word embodied in this Sacrament and presented to us. Why, then,

sind, die wir allenthalben im Evangelio hören, und ja so wenig sagen können, diese Worte im Sakrament sind kein nütz, sowenig sie dürfen sprechen, daß das ganze Evangelium oder Wort Gottes außer dem Sakrament kein nütze sei?

Also haben wir nun das ganze Sakrament, beide was es an ihm selbst ist, und was es bringt und nützt. Nun muß man auch sehen, wer die Person sei, die solche Kraft und Nutz empfange. Das ist aufs kürzeste, wie droben von der Taufe und sonst oft gesagt ist: wer da solches glaubt, der hat, wie die Worte lauten und was sie bringen. Denn sie sind nicht Stein noch Holz gesagt oder verkündigt, sondern denen, die sie hören, zu welchen er spricht: „Nehmet und esset" usw. Und weil er Vergebung der Sünden anbeut [anbietet] und verheißt, kann es nicht anders denn durch den Glauben empfangen werden. Solchen Glauben fordert er selbst in dem Wort, als er spricht: „Für euch gegeben und für euch vergossen"; als sollte er sagen: Darum gebe ich's und heiße euch essen und trinken, daß ihr euch's sollt annehmen und genießen [daß ihr euch um dasselbe bekümmern und es genießen sollt]. Wer nun ihm [sich] solches läßt gesagt sein und glaubt, daß [es] wahr sei, der hat es; wer aber nicht glaubt, der hat nichts, als der's ihm [sich] läßt umsonst vortragen und nicht will solches heilsamen Gutes genießen. Der Schatz ist wohl aufgetan und jedermann vor die Tür, ja auf den Tisch gelegt; es gehört aber dazu, daß du dich auch seiner annehmest und gewißlich dafürhaltest, wie dir die Worte geben.

Das ist nun die ganze christliche Bereitung, dies Sakrament würdig zu empfangen. Denn weil solcher Schatz gar in den Worten vorgelegt wird, kann man's nicht anders ergreifen und zu sich nehmen denn mit dem Herzen. Denn mit der Faust wird man solch Geschenk und ewigen Schatz nicht fassen. Fasten und Beten usw. mag wohl eine äußerliche Bereitung und Kinderübung sein, daß sich der Leib züchtig [anständig] und ehrerbietig gegen den Leib und Blut Christi hält und gebärdet; aber das darin und damit gegeben wird, kann nicht der Leib fassen noch zu sich bringen. Der Glaube aber tut's des Herzens, so da solchen Schatz erkennt und sein begehrt. Das sei genug, soviel zum gemeinen Unterricht not ist von diesem Sakrament; denn was weiter davon zu sagen ist, gehört auf eine andere Zeit.

Am Ende [zuletzt], weil wir nun den rechten Verstand und die Lehre von dem Sakrament haben, ist wohl not [sehr nötig] auch eine Vermahnung und Reizung, daß man nicht lasse solchen großen Schatz, so man täglich unter den Christen handelt und austeilt, umsonst vorübergehen, das ist, daß, die Christen wollen sein, sich dazu schicken, das hochwürdige Sakrament oft zu empfangen. Denn wir sehen, daß man sich eben laß und faul dazu stellt, und ein großer Haufe ist derer, die das Evangelium hören, welche, weil des Papsts Tand ist ab[ge]kommen, daß wir gefreit [befreit] sind von seinem Zwang und Gebot, gehen

lenter atque indigne evelli ac diripi pateremur, cum, velint nolint, fateri cogantur eadem haec esse verba, quae passim in evangelio repetita audimus, et tam non affirmare [R. 558 audeant, haec verba in sacramento nullius usus esse, quam affirmare non audent totum evangelium aut Verbum Dei extra sacramentum nullius pretii esse aut usus?

33] Iam ergo totum sacramentum habemus, cum quid in se sit, tum quid afferat et prosit utentibus. Nunc et videndum est, quaenam sit persona ea, quae eam percipit vim et utilitatem. Haec est, ut breviter dicam, veluti supra de baptismo et alias non raro diximus: quicunque ea crediderit, quae verba loquuntur et afferunt. Neque enim saxis aut truncis dicta aut annuntiata sunt, sed audientibus, ad quos ita inquit: *Accipite et manducate* etc. **34**] Et quia peccatorum condonationem offert benigneque pollicetur, non possunt haec aliter atque per fidem percipi. Eam fidem ipse iis verbis exigit, inquiens: *Pro vobis traditur, pro vobis effunditur.* Quasi diceret: Ideo vobis corpus et sanguinem meum offero et edere ac bibere iubeo, ut vobis tamquam rem propriam vindicetis illisque ita fruamini. Iam **35**] quicunque haec sibi dicta statuit, creditque ita se habere, ille certo consecutus est. Ceterum hisce verbis diffidens nihil habet, utpote qui nequiquam haec sibi offerri patitur, neque tam salutari bono frui cupit. Thesaurus equidem apertus est atque omnibus obvius et expositus, atque adeo ad fores usque adductus, imo potius mensae ad vescendum impositus; at requiritur porro, ut hunc tibi peculiariter vindices, huic manum extensam admoveas constanter credens, quemadmodum ipsa verba te docent.

36] Haec iam tota Christiana praeparatio est hoc sacramentum digne percipiendi. Cum enim hic thesaurus in verbis prorsus nobis proponatur, non aliter quam corde apprehendi potest. Manibus enim eiusmodi donum adeoque perennis thesaurus non est apprehensibilis. **37**] Ieiunium et oratio etc. externae [R. 559 quidem praeparationis locum habere et puerile exercitium esse potest, ut corpus modeste et reverenter erga corpus et sanguinem Christi se gerat; verum quod in hoc et per hoc nobis donatur, corpus nullo modo potest assequi aut apprehendere, sed fides cordis hoc facit, eiusmodi thesaurum cognoscentis et cupientis. Et **38**] haec quidem, quantum ad communem huius sacramenti institutionem attinet, dicta sufficiant. Quae enim ea de re latius disserenda sunt, aliud ac peculiare tempus requirunt.

39] Ultimo, quoniam de huius sacramenti recto intellectu et vera doctrina certi sumus, admonitione etiam et cohortatione peropus est, ne talem ac tantum thesaurum, qui quotidie inter Christianos administratur et distribuitur, negligamus, hoc est, ut ii, qui Christo nomen dederunt, se praeparent ad huius venerabilis sacramenti communionem **40**] saepe frequentandam. Videmus enim non obscure, quam pigros et segnes ad id nos praebeamus. Est paene magna pars eorum, qui audiunt evangelium, qui, posteaquam papae commenta sunt sublata, nosque a mandato et

should we allow this treasure to be torn from the Sacrament when they must confess that these are the very words which we hear everywhere in the Gospel, and they cannot say that these words in the Sacrament are of no use, as little as they dare say that the entire Gospel or Word of God, apart from the Sacrament, is of no use?

Thus we have the entire Sacrament, both as to what it is in itself and as to what it brings and profits. Now we must also see who is the person that receives this power and benefit. That is answered briefly, as we said above of Baptism and often elsewhere: Whoever believes it has what the words declare and bring. For they are not spoken or proclaimed to stone and wood, but to those who hear them, to whom He says: *Take and eat,* etc. And because He offers and promises forgiveness of sin, it cannot be received otherwise than by faith. This faith He Himself demands in the Word when He says: *Given and shed for you.* As if He said: For this reason I give it, and bid you eat and drink, that you may claim it as yours and enjoy it. Whoever now accepts these words, and believes that what they declare is true, has it. But whoever does not believe it has nothing, as he allows it to be offered to him in vain, and refuses to enjoy such a saving good. The treasure, indeed, is opened and placed at every one's door, yea, upon his table, but it is necessary that you also claim it, and confidently view it as the words suggest to you.

This, now, is the entire Christian preparation for receiving this Sacrament worthily. For since this treasure is entirely presented in the words, it cannot be apprehended and appropriated in any other way than with the heart. For such a gift and eternal treasure cannot be seized with the fist. Fasting and prayer, etc., may indeed be an external preparation and discipline for children, that the body may keep and bear itself modestly and reverently towards the body and blood of Christ; yet what is given in and with it the body cannot seize and appropriate. But this is done by the faith of the heart, which discerns this treasure and desires it. This may suffice for what is necessary as a general instruction respecting this Sacrament; for what is further to be said of it belongs to another time.

In conclusion, since we have now the true understanding and doctrine of the Sacrament, there is indeed need of some admonition and exhortation, that men may not let so great a treasure which is daily administered and distributed among Christians pass by unheeded, that is, that those who would be Christians make ready to receive this venerable Sacrament often. For we see that men seem weary and lazy with respect to it; and there is a great multitude of such as hear the Gospel, and, because the nonsense of the Pope has been abolished, and we are freed

sie wohl dahin ein Jahr zwei oder drei und länger ohne Sakrament, als seien sie so starke Christen, die sein nicht [be]dürfen, und lassen sich etliche hindern und davonschrecken, daß wir gelehrt haben, es solle niemand dazu gehen, ohne die Hunger und Durst fühlen, so sie treibt. Etliche wenden vor, es sei frei und nicht vonnöten, und sei genug, daß sie sonst glauben, und kommen also das mehrere Teil dahin, daß sie gar roh werden und zuletzt beide das Sakrament und Gottes Wort verachten.

Nun ist's wahr, was wir gesagt haben, man solle beileibe niemand treiben noch zwingen, auf daß man nicht wieder eine neue Seelenmörderei anrichte; aber das soll man dennoch wissen, daß solche Leute für keine Christen zu halten sind, die sich so lange Zeit des Sakraments äußern [enthalten] und entziehen. Denn Christus hat es nicht darum eingesetzt, daß man's für ein Schauspiel handle [daß man es als ein Schauspiel aufführe], sondern seinen Christen geboten, daß sie es essen und trinken und sein darüber gedenken.

Und zwar welche rechte Christen sind und das Sakrament teuer und wert halten, sollen sich wohl selbst treiben und hinzudringen. Doch daß die Einfältigen und Schwachen, die da auch gerne Christen wären, desto mehr gereizt werden, die Ursache und Not zu bedenken, so sie treiben sollen, wollen wir ein wenig davon reden. Denn wie es in andern Sachen, so den Glauben, Liebe und Geduld betrifft, ist nicht genug allein lehren und unterrichten, sondern auch täglich vermahnen, also ist es auch hier not, mit Predigen an[zu]halten, daß man nicht laß noch verdrossen werde, weil wir wissen und fühlen, wie der Teufel sich immer wider solches und alles christliche Wesen sperrt und, soviel er kann, davonhetzet und -treibt.

Und zum ersten haben wir den hellen Text in den Worten Christi: „Das tut zu meinem Gedächtnis." Das sind Worte, die uns heißen und befehlen, dadurch denen, so Christen wollen sein, aufgelegt ist, das Sakrament zu genießen. Darum, wer Christus' Jünger will sein, mit denen er hier redet, der denke und halte sich auch dazu, nicht aus Zwang als von Menschen gedrungen, sondern dem HErrn Christo zu Gehorsam und Gefallen. Sprichst du aber: Steht doch dabei: „sooft ihr's tut"; da zwingt er je niemand, sondern läßt's in freier Willkür. Antwort: Ist wahr; es steht aber nicht [da], daß man's nimmermehr tun solle; ja, weil er eben die Worte spricht: „so oft, als ihr's tut", ist dennoch mit eingebunden [eingeschärft], daß man's oft tun soll, und ist darum hinzugesetzt, daß er will das Sakrament frei haben, ungebunden an sonderliche Zeit, wie der Juden Osterlamm, welches sie alle Jahre nur einmal und eben auf den vierzehnten Tag des ersten vollen Monds des Abends mußten essen und keinen Tag überschreiten. Als er damit sagen wollte: Ich setze euch ein Osterfest oder Abendmahl, das ihr nicht eben diesen Abend des Jahres einmal, sondern oft sollt genießen, wann und wo

coactione eius liberati sumus, duos, tres pluresve annos sine hoc sacramento exigunt, quasi tam firmi sint Christiani, qui eo plane non
41] opus habeant. Et impediri ac absterreri inde nonnulli hoc nomine sese patiuntur, quod docuimus non accedere debere ad hoc sacramentum, nisi quos fames ac sitis eius urgeat atque compellat. Sunt rursum, qui causantur liberum esse neque necessarium, ac satis superque esse, ut credant se manducasse; quorum maior pars eo denique pervenit, ut omnibus devotionis affectibus exutis plane brutescere incipiant, ac demum cum sacramentum tum Verbum Dei extreme contemnant.

42] Equidem quod initio docuimus, verum esse non negamus, neminem scilicet ad [R. 560 hanc coenam ullo modo adigendum aut impellendum esse, ne de integro novam animarum carnificinam constituamus. Hoc tamen interim sciendum est tales pro Christianis non esse reputandos, qui tanto tempore a sacramento semet alienos faciunt et subtrahunt. Illud enim Christus non in hoc instituit, ut circumferatur pro spectaculo, sed suis Christianis praecepit, ut edant ac bibant, suique per hoc sint memores.

43] Et profecto qui veri Christiani sunt ac *γνήσιοι* Christi discipuli, quibus sacramentum est in aliqua existimatione ac pretio, illi semet sua sponte ultro impellent. Verum enim vero ut simplices etiam et infirmi, quibus aliqua voluntas est esse Christianis, hoc vehementius incitentur ad causam et necessitatem reputandam, qua ad sacramentum impelli debeant, ea de re pauca quaedam verba faciemus. Nam
44] quemadmodum in aliis negotiis ad fidem, caritatem, animi tolerantiam pertinentibus non satis est tantum docere et instituere, verum etiam quotidie ac sedulo monere populum, ita quoque hic requirit necessitas, ut praedicando seduli simus, ne segnes aut taediosi fiamus, non ignorantes, quanto conatu et studio diabolus huic rei ac omni Christiano exercitio reluctetur, adeo ut pro virili sua humanos animos ab eo fuget et absterreat.

45] Ac primum quidem clarum textum in ipsis Christi verbis habemus: *Hoc facite in mei commemorationem.* Haec sunt verba nobis praecipientia et iubentia, quibus iis, qui Christiani censeri volunt, mandatur et praecipitur, ut utantur sacramento. Quare qui Christi discipulus esse cupit, quibuscum hic verba facit, huic curae sit, ut haec verba sibi cordi sint, non quidem ex coactione, velut impulso ab hominibus, verum ut Christo Domino
46] obsequatur et obediat. Dixeris autem fortasse: Tamen haec quoque particula, *quotiescunque feceritis*, adiecta est, haec [R. 561 equidem cogit neminem, sed relinquit sacramenti usum in cuiusque arbitratu liberum?
47] Respondeo: Audio; sed non dixit, ut perpetuo nunquam faciamus, quin potius haec ipsa verba dicens, *quotiescunque feceritis*, una iniunxit, ut saepe sacramenti communionem iteremus. Estque propterea adiectum, quod sacramentum velit habere liberum, non certo tempori alligatum, velut erat Iudaeorum pascha, quod singulis annis semel tantum ac nonnisi decimo quarto die primi mensis vesperi manducare nec ullum diem transilire

from his laws and coercion, go one, two, three years, or even longer without the Sacrament, as though they were such strong Christians that they have no need of it; and some allow themselves to be prevented and deterred by the pretense that we have taught that no one should approach it except those who feel hunger and thirst, which urge them to it. Some pretend that it is a matter of liberty and not necessary, and that it is sufficient to believe without it; and thus for the most part they go so far that they become quite brutish, and finally despise both the Sacrament and the Word of God.

Now, it is true, as we have said, that no one should by any means be coerced or compelled, lest we institute a new murdering of souls. Nevertheless, it must be known that such people as deprive themselves of, and withdraw from, the Sacrament so long a time are not to be considered Christians. For Christ has not instituted it to be treated as a show, but has commanded His Christians to eat and drink it, and thereby remember Him.

And, indeed, those who are true Christians and esteem the Sacrament precious and holy will urge and impel themselves unto it. Yet that the simple-minded and the weak who also would like to be Christians be the more incited to consider the cause and need which ought to impel them, we will treat somewhat of this point. For as in other matters pertaining to faith, love, and patience, it is not enough to teach and instruct only, but there is need also of daily exhortation, so here also there is need of continuing to preach that men may not become weary and disgusted, since we know and feel how the devil always opposes this and every Christian exercise, and drives and deters therefrom as much as he can.

And we have, in the first place, the clear text in the very words of Christ: *Do this in remembrance of Me.* These are bidding and commanding words by which all who would be Christians are enjoined to partake of this Sacrament. Therefore, whoever would be a disciple of Christ, with whom He here speaks, must also consider and observe this, not from compulsion, as being forced by men, but in obedience to the Lord Jesus Christ, and to please Him. However, if you say: But the words are added, *As oft as ye do it;* there He compels no one, but leaves it to our free choice, answer: That is true, yet it is not written that we should never do so. Yea, just because He speaks the words, *As oft as ye do it,* it is nevertheless implied that we should do it often; and it is added for the reason that He wishes to have the Sacrament free, not limited to special times, like the Passover of the Jews, which they were obliged to eat only once a year, and that just upon the fourteenth day of the first full moon in the

ihr wollt, nach eines jeglichen Gelegenheit und Notdurft, an keinen Ort oder bestimmte Zeit angebunden; wiewohl der Papst hernach solches um[ge]kehrt und wieder ein Judenfest daraus gemacht hat.

cogebantur. Quasi velit dicere: Ego vobis festivitatem paschalem seu coenam adorno et constituo, quam non tantum ad huius diei vesperam quotannis celebrabitis, sed ea saepe fruemini, quando et quotiescunque libitum fuerit, prout cuique integrum erit et neces-

48] sarium, nulli loco aut tempori alligatum. Quamquam Romanae sedis idolum pontificium hanc quoque, ut cetera omnia a Christo constituta perverterit, iterumque Iudaicam festivitatem ex ea reddiderit.

Also siehst du, daß nicht also Freiheit gelassen ist, als möge man's verachten. Denn das heiße ich verachten, wenn man so lange Zeit hingeht und sonst kein Hindernis hat und doch sein nimmer begehrt. Willst du solche Freiheit haben, so habe ebensomehr [ebensogut] Freiheit, daß du kein Christ seiest und nicht glauben noch beten dürfest; denn das ist ebensowohl Christus' Gebot als jenes. Willst du aber ein Christ sein, so mußt du je zuweilen diesem Gebot genugtun und gehorchen; denn solch Gebot sollte dich je bewegen, in dich selbst zu schlagen und zu denken: Siehe, was bin ich für ein Christ? Wäre ich's, so würde ich mich je ein wenig sehnen nach dem, das mein HErr befohlen hat zu tun.

49] Ex his iam perspicuum est omnibus non ita relictum esse liberum, quasi contemni possit. Ceterum hoc ego voco sacramentum contemnere, quando nullo impedimento praepediti tanto tempore, sacramentum quasi fastidientes, non accedimus neque desideramus. Quodsi hanc libertatem habere contendis, cur non potius illam quoque tibi arrogas, ut tibi prorsus non liceat esse Christiano, neque quidquam orare aut credere? Hoc enim perinde Christi praeceptum est atque illud. Sin Christianus perhiberi cupis, ut huic praecepto nonnunquam satisfacias atque obtem-

50] peres necesse est. Hoc enim mandatum permovere utique te debebat, ut in te descenderes et cogitares: Ecce, cuiusmodi ego Christianus sum? Quod si essem, haud dubie vel modico harum rerum perficiendarum caperer desiderio, quas Dominus meus mihi faciendas praecepit.

Und zwar, weil wir uns so fremd dazu stellen, spürt man wohl, was wir für Christen in dem Papsttum gewesen sind, als die aus lauterem Zwang und Furcht menschlichen Gebots sind hin[ge]gangen, ohne Lust und Liebe, und Christus' Gebot nie angesehen. Wir aber zwingen noch bringen niemand, darf's uns auch niemand zu Dienst und Gefallen tun. Das soll dich aber reizen und selbst zwingen, daß er's haben will und ihm gefällt. Menschen soll man sich weder zum Glauben noch irgendeinem guten Werk nötigen lassen. Wir tun nicht mehr, denn daß wir sagen und vermahnen, was du tun sollst, nicht um unsert-, sondern um deinetwillen. Er lockt und reizt dich; willst du solches verachten, so antworte selbst dafür [so verantworte es selbst].

51] Et profecto quandoquidem ad hanc coenam tam gravate et fastidiose affecti [R. 562 sumus, ita nauseantes illam, satis apparet, quales in papatu Christiani fuerimus, ut qui tantum coactu et metu humani praecepti accesserimus, sine omni animi voluptate et amore, praecipientis Christi nullo respectu

52] habito. Sed enim nos neminem cogimus aut violenter impellimus, nec quisquam in nostri gratiam huius coenae conviva esse dignetur. Hoc vero impellere et ultro cogere te debebat, quod Christus id requirit et placet id illi. Hominibus utique non concedendum est, ut ab illis aut ad fidem aut ad ullum opus adigamur. Nos non plus facimus, quam ut doceamus et moneamus, quid facto opus sit, non in nostri, sed in tui gratiam. Ipse pellicit te ac omnibus modis ad se provocat; hunc si arroganter contempseris, vide, ut ipse pro te respondeas.

Das soll nun das erste sein, sonderlich für die Kalten und Nachlässigen, daß sie sich selbst bedenken [prüfen] und erwecken. Denn das ist gewißlich wahr, als ich wohl bei mir selbst erfahren habe, und ein jeglicher bei sich finden wird, wenn man sich also davon zeucht [zieht], daß man von Tag zu Tage je mehr roh und kalt wird und gar in [den] Wind schlägt. Sonst muß man sich je mit dem Herzen und Gewissen befragen und stellen als ein Mensch, das [der] gerne wollte mit Gott recht stehen. Je mehr nun solches geschieht, je mehr das Herz erwärmt und entzündet wird, daß [es] nicht gar erkalte.

53] Hoc primo quidem loco dictum est frigidis potissimum et negligentibus Christianis, ut vel tandem serio resipiscant, seque accendant et expergefaciant. Illud enim vero verius est, id quod apud me ipse expertus sum, et quisque apud se ita esse inveniet, ut tam diuturna sui a sacramento alienatione in dies singulos etiam atque etiam frigidiores et barbariores evadamus, ac denique prorsus id fasti-

54] diamus. Alioqui descendendum est cum animo in colloquium, atque ita gerendum, quemadmodum par est homini Dei favorem et gratiam ex animo cupienti. Iam quo frequentius hoc factum fuerit, hoc impensius cor calescit et incenditur, ne prorsus omnibus amoris divini flammis exstinctis congelescat.

Sprichst du aber: Wie denn, wenn ich fühle, daß ich nicht geschickt bin? Antwort: Das ist meine Anfechtung auch, sonderlich aus dem alten Wesen her unter dem Papst, da man sich so zer-

55] Dixeris fortasse: Quid autem, si sensero me non paratum esse? Respondeo: Et hoc me quoque impugnat adhuc e papatu usque, in quo tanta mentis anxietate quisque se

evening, and which they must not vary a day. As if He would say by these words: I institute a Passover or Supper for you which you shall enjoy not only once a year, just upon this evening, but often, when and where you will, according to every one's opportunity and necessity, bound to no place or appointed time; although the Pope afterwards perverted it, and again made a Jewish feast of it.

Thus, you perceive, it is not left free in the sense that we may despise it. For that I call despising it if one allow so long a time to elapse and with nothing to hinder him yet never feels a desire for it. If you wish such liberty, you may just as well have the liberty to be no Christian, and neither have to believe nor pray; for the one is just as much the command of Christ as the other. But if you wish to be a Christian, you must from time to time render satisfaction and obedience to this commandment. For this commandment ought ever to move you to examine yourself and to think: See, what sort of a Christian I am! If I were one, I would certainly have some little longing for that which my Lord has commanded [me] to do.

And, indeed, since we act such strangers to it, it is easily seen what sort of Christians we were under the Papacy, namely, that we went from mere compulsion and fear of human commandments, without inclination and love, and never regarded the commandment of Christ. But we neither force nor compel any one; nor need any one do it to serve or please us. But this should induce and constrain you by itself, that He desires it and that it is pleasing to Him. You must not suffer men to coerce you unto faith or any good work. We are doing no more than to say and exhort you as to what you ought to do, not for our sake, but for your own sake. He invites and allures you; if you despise it, you must answer for it yourself.

Now, this is to be the first point, especially for those who are cold and indifferent, that they may reflect upon and rouse themselves. For this is certainly true, as I have found in my own experience, and as every one will find in his own case, that if a person thus withdraw from this Sacrament, he will daily become more and more callous and cold, and will at last disregard it altogether. To avoid this, we must, indeed, examine heart and conscience, and act like a person who desires to be right with God. Now, the more this is done, the more will the heart be warmed and enkindled, that it may not become entirely cold.

But if you say: How if I feel that I am not prepared? Answer: That is also my scruple, especially from the old way under the Pope, in which a person tortured himself to

martert hat, daß man ganz rein wäre und Gott kein Tädlin [Tädelein, Makel, Fehl] an uns fände, davon wir so schüchtern davor [ge]worden sind, daß flugs sich jedermann entsetzt und gesagt hat: O weh, du bist nicht würdig! Denn da hebt Natur und Vernunft an zu rechnen unsere Unwürdigkeit gegen das große, teure Gut; da findet sich's denn als eine finstere Laterne gegen die lichte Sonne oder Mist gegen Edelsteine; und weil sie solches sieht, will sie nicht hinan und harrt, bis sie geschickt werde, so lange, daß eine Woche die andere und ein halb Jahr das andere bringt. Aber wenn du das willst ansehen, wie fromm und rein du seiest, und danach arbeiten, daß dich nichts beiße [im Gewissen], so mußt du nimmermehr hinzukommen.

Derhalben soll man hier die Leute unterscheiden. Denn was freche und wilde sind, denen soll man sagen, daß sie davonbleiben; denn sie sind nicht geschickt, Vergebung der Sünden zu empfangen, als die sie nicht begehren und ungerne wollten fromm sein. Die andern aber, so nicht solche rohe und lose Leute sind und gerne fromm wären, sollen sich nicht davonsondern, ob sie gleich sonst schwach und gebrechlich sind, wie auch St. Hilarius gesagt hat: „Wenn eine Sünde nicht also getan ist, daß man jemand billig aus der Gemeinde stoßen und für einen Unchristen halten kann, soll man nicht vom Sakrament bleiben, auf daß man sich nicht des Lebens beraube.“ Denn so weit wird niemand kommen, daß er nicht viel täglicher Gebrechen im Fleisch und Blut behalte.

Darum sollen solche Leute lernen, daß die höchste Kunst ist, daß man wisse, daß unser Sakrament steht nicht auf unserer Würdigkeit; denn wir lassen uns nicht taufen, als die würdig und heilig sind, kommen auch nicht zur Beichte, als seien wir rein und ohne Sünde, sondern das Widerspiel, als arme elende Menschen, und eben darum, daß wir unwürdig sind; es wäre denn ein solcher, der keine Gnade und Absolution begehrte, noch sich dächte zu bessern.

Wer aber gerne wollte Gnade und Trost haben, soll sich selbst treiben und [durch] niemand [sich] davonschrecken lassen und also sprechen: Ich wollte wohl gerne würdig sein, aber ich komme auf keine Würdigkeit, sondern auf dein Wort, daß du es befohlen hast, als der gerne dein Jünger wäre; meine Würdigkeit bleibe, wo sie kann. Es ist aber schwer; denn das liegt uns immer im Wege und hindert, daß wir mehr auf uns selbst denn auf Christus' Wort und Mund sehen. Denn die Natur wollte gern so handeln, daß sie gewiß auf sich selbst möchte fußen und stehen; wo nicht, so will sie nicht hinan. Das sei genug vom ersten Stück.

excarnificavit, ut per omnia puri essemus, ne Deus quidquam naevi aut labis in nobis inveniret. Unde tanta trepidatione sumus [R. 563 exanimati, ut illico quisque attonito animo in haec verba proruperit: Heu te miserum! hac **56**] coena omnibus modis indignus es. Nam natura et humana ratio hic suae dignitatis rationem inire incipit erga ingentis huius et pretiosi boni praestantiam, ac tunc perinde nitet, atque obscura laterna lucido soli collata aut instar fimi candidis gemmis aut unionibus comparati. Has suae vitae sordes intuens recusat accedere et tantisper differt, donec bene praeparata fuerit, usque dum dies diei, mensis mensi, annus anno successerit. **57**] Ceterum hoc si intueri voles, quam videlicet tu sis probus et purus, atque in hoc conari, ut nihil conscientiam tuam mordeat, futurum est, ut vix unquam accedas.

58] Quare hic homines habita ratione discernendi sunt. Nam procaci feritate et improbitate insolescentibus dicendum est, ut a sacramento abstineant; neque enim ad percipiendam peccatorum remissionem sunt appositi, utpote qui eam non desiderant, nec libenter **59**] probi esse student. Reliqui vero, qui non ita ferini sunt et belluini, quique probitatis amantes sunt, nullo modo semet ab hac coena debent seiungere, tametsi alioqui fragiles sint et imbecilles, quemadmodum et dictum est ab Hilario: *Si quod peccatum non ita perpetratum est, cuius gratia aliquis iure ex ecclesia possit exigi ac pro gentili existimari, huic nequaquam a sacramento temperandum est,* **60**] *ne quis se ipse vita privet.* Nemo enim eo probitatis unquam se venturum speret, ut non infinitos defectus in carne et sanguine suo retineat.

61] Quapropter eiusmodi hominibus discendum est, summam esse scientiam nosse, nostrum sacramentum non dignitatis nostrae gratia institutum esse. Non enim ut dignos et sanctos nos baptizari permittimus, neque hoc nomine peccata nostra confitemur, quasi puri et a delictis alieni essemus, sed plane contraria quadam ratione, ut miseri [R. 564 ac aerumnosi peccatores, et prorsus propterea, quia indigni sumus, nisi fortasse quispiam talis esset, qui nullam gratiam aut absolutionem desideraret, neque cogitaret unquam vita in melius mutata resipiscere.

62] Sed enim qui gratiam ac consolationem habendi et impetrandi cupidus est, ille semet instiget, nulloque modo absterreri se patiatur, itaque dicat: Perlibenter quidem hac coena dignus esse velim, nulla adductus dignitate venio, verum tuo verbo fretus adsum, propterea quod tu mihi praecepisti, egoque non invitus in discipulorum tuorum numerum referri cupio; quantulacunque tandem mea sit **63**] dignitas, nihil moror. Verum hoc arduum et grave est factu; hoc enim nobis nunquam non impedimento est et obstat, quod longe attentiores ad nos ipsos quam ad os et verba Christi sumus. Ita enim natura humana agere cuperet, ut securitate quadam et certitudine se ipsa potius frui et niti posset; qua re frustrata abhorret accedere. Verum haec de prima parte satis superque diximus.

be so perfectly pure that God could not find the least blemish in us. On this account we became so timid that every one was instantly thrown into consternation and said to himself: Alas! you are unworthy! For then nature and reason begin to reckon our unworthiness in comparison with the great and precious good; and then it appears like a dark lantern in contrast with the bright sun, or as filth in comparison with precious stones. Because nature and reason see this, they refuse to approach and tarry until they are prepared, so long that one week trails another, and one half year the other. But if you are to regard how good and pure you are, and labor to have no compunctions, you must never approach.

We must, therefore, make a distinction here among men. For those who are wanton and dissolute must be told to stay away; for they are not prepared to receive forgiveness of sin, since they do not desire it and do not wish to be godly. But the others, who are not such callous and wicked people, and desire to be godly, must not absent themselves, even though otherwise they be feeble and full of infirmities, as St. Hilary also has said: *If any one have not committed sin for which he can rightly be put out of the congregation and esteemed as no Christian, he ought not stay away from the Sacrament, lest he may deprive himself of life.* For no one will make such progress that he will not retain many daily infirmities in flesh and blood.

Therefore such people must learn that it is the highest art to know that our Sacrament does not depend upon our worthiness. For we are not baptized because we are worthy and holy, nor do we go to confession because we are pure and without sin, but the contrary, because we are poor miserable men, and just because we are unworthy; unless it be some one who desires no grace and absolution nor intends to reform.

But whoever would gladly obtain grace and consolation should impel himself, and allow no one to frighten him away, but say: I, indeed, would like to be worthy; but I come, not upon any worthiness, but upon Thy Word, because Thou hast commanded it, as one who would gladly be Thy disciple, no matter what becomes of my worthiness. But this is difficult; for we always have this obstacle and hindrance to encounter, that we look more upon ourselves than upon the Word and lips of Christ. For nature desires so to act that it can stand and rest firmly on itself, otherwise it refuses to make the approach. Let this suffice concerning the first point.

Zum andern ist über das Gebot auch eine Verheißung, wie auch oben gehört, die uns aufs allerstärkste reizen und treiben soll. Denn da stehen die freundlichen, lieblichen Worte: „Das ist mein Leib, für euch gegeben. Das ist mein Blut, für euch vergossen zur Vergebung der Sünden." Diese Worte, habe ich gesagt, sind keinem Stock noch Stein gepredigt, sondern mir und dir; sonst möchte er ebensomehr [ebensogut] stillschweigen und kein Sakrament einsetzen. Drum denke und bringe dich auch in das **„euch"**, daß er nicht umsonst mit dir rede!

64] Secundo benigna quoque huic praecepto adiecta est promissio, ut supra etiam memoratum est, quae nos omnium vehementissime instigare debebat atque impellere. Haec enim illa sunt verba perquam amica et amabilia, humanitatis ac benevolentiae plenissima: *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hic est sanguis meus, qui pro vobis effunditur* **65**] *in remissionem peccatorum.* Haec, inquam, verba dixi neque ullis cautibus neque quercubus esse praedicata, verum mihi et tibi; alioqui eadem opera aeque tacere potuisset neque ullum sacramentum instituere. Quare fac etiam atque etiam, ut et te in haec verba (PRO VOBIS) includas, ne nequiquam tecum loquatur.

Denn da beut [bietet] er uns an alle den Schatz, so er uns vom Himmel [ge]bracht hat, dazu er uns auch sonst lockt aufs allerfreundlichste, als da er spricht Matth. am 11.: „Kommt her zu mir alle, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid; ich will euch erquicken!" Nun ist's je Sünde und Schande, daß er uns so herzlich und treulich fordert und vermahnt zu unserm höchsten und besten Gut, und wir uns so fremd dazu stellen und so lange hingehen, bis wir gar erkalten und verharten, daß wir keine Lust noch Liebe dazu haben. Man muß je das Sakrament nicht ansehen als ein schädlich Ding, daß man davor laufen solle, sondern als eitel heilsame, tröstliche Arznei, die dir helfe und das Leben gebe beide an Seele und Leib; denn wo die Seele genesen ist, da ist dem Leibe auch geholfen. Wie stellen wir uns denn dazu, als sei es ein Gift, daran man den Tod fresse?

66] Hic enim omnes thesauri sui nobis offert divitias, quascunque coelitus secum humano generi detulit, ad quas etiam alias amicissime et amantissime nos provocat, veluti [R. 565 Matth. 11, 28 inquit: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis; ego reficiam* **67**] *vos.* Iam quidem extremum flagitium et facinus est, quod, cum ille tam amanter atque fideliter nos vocet et moneat, ad nostrum summum et maximum bonum confluendos, nos tam alienos erga vocantem geramus ac tantum temporis a sacramenti participatione remoti exigamus, donec prorsus animo indurato refrixerimus, ut nulla usquam desiderii aut amoris scintilla in nobis superstes remaneat. **68**] Equidem sacramentum nõn perinde intuendum est ut res noxia, a qua vitanda ambobus (quod aiunt) pedibus fugiendum sit, verum ut salutifera et utilis medicina, quae tuis morbis medeatur, vitamque tibi det et animae et corporis. Ubi enim anima recuperata salute convaluit, ibi corporis quoque valetudo salva est. Cur ergo nos illud ita abominantes cavemus, quasi cicuta esset, quae devorata mortem nobis inferret praesentem?

Das ist wohl wahr, daß, die es verachten und unchristlich leben, nehmen's ihnen [sich] zu Schaden und Verdammnis; denn solchen soll nichts gut noch heilsam sein, eben als einem Kranken, der aus Mutwillen ißt und trinkt, das ihm vom Arzt verboten ist. Aber denen [die], so ihre Schwachheit fühlen und ihrer gerne los wären und Hilfe begehren, sollen's nicht anders ansehen und [ge=]brauchen denn als ein köstlich Tyriak [Theriak, ein altes Heilmittel] wider das Gift, so sie bei sich haben. Denn hier sollst du im Sakrament empfangen aus Christus' Mund Vergebung der Sünden, welche bei sich hat und mit sich bringt Gottes Gnade und Geist mit all seinen Gaben, Schutz, Schirm und Gewalt wider Tod und Teufel und alles Unglück.

69] Illud equidem infitias non iverim, eos ipsos, qui contemnunt aut beluino more vivunt, tantum in perniciem et damnationem sibi sumere. Talibus enim nihil debet esse bono aut saluti, perinde atque aegroto accidere solet, pro libidine sua edenti atque bibenti, quae ipsi a medico interdicta sunt. **70**] Ii vero, qui suae carnis infirmitatem sentiunt, eaque libenter exonerati essent, quaerentes auxilium, non aliter intueri debent et uti atque preciosissima tyriaca aut antidoto praesentissimo adversus omnia venena, quibus infecti sunt. Hic enim in sacramento ex ore Christi sumes peccatorum condonationem, secum habentem unaque apportantem Dei gratiam et spiritum una cum omnibus suis bonis, tutela, protectione et potestate contra mortem, diabolum atque omnia mala.

Also hast du von Gottes wegen beide des HErrn Christi Gebot und Verheißung; zudem soll dich deinethalben treiben deine eigene Not, so dir auf dem Halse liegt, um welcher willen solch Gebieten, Locken und Verheißen geschieht. Denn er spricht selbst: „Die Starken [be]dürfen des Arztes nicht, sondern die Kranken", das ist, die mühselig und beschwert sind mit Sünde, Furcht des Todes, Anfechtung des Fleisches und Teufels. Bist du nun beladen und fühlst deine Schwachheit, so gehe fröhlich hin und laß dich erquicken, trösten und stärken. Denn willst du harren, bis du solches los werdest, daß du rein und würdig zum Sakrament kommest,

71] Ita quidem a Deo et Christi praeceptum eiusque promissionem habes. Adhaec [R. 566 tui gratia tua ipsius necessitas, quae cervici tuae incumbit et cuius gratia eiusmodi praecepta, illectamenta et promissiones datae sunt, impellere te debebat. Ipse enim dicit [Matth. 9, 12]: *Non est opus medico valentibus, sed male habentibus,* hoc est, laborantibus et qui peccatis, mortis formidine, carnis atque dia- **72**] boli tentatione onerati sunt. Iam si peccatorum fasce gravatus es tuamque sentis infirmitatem, tum alacri accedas animo, teque Christo reficiendum, levandum et corroboran-

In the second place, there is besides this command also a promise, as we heard above, which ought most strongly to incite and encourage us. For here stand the kind and precious words: *This is My body, given for you. This is My blood, shed for you, for the remission of sins.* These words, I have said, are not preached to wood and stone, but to me and you; else He might just as well be silent and not institute a Sacrament. Therefore consider, and put yourself into this YOU, that He may not speak to you in vain.

For here He offers to us the entire treasure which He has brought for us from heaven, and to which He invites us also in other places with the greatest kindness, as when He says in St. Matthew 11, 28: *Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Now it is surely a sin and a shame that He so cordially and faithfully summons and exhorts us to our highest and greatest good, and we act so distantly with regard to it, and permit so long a time to pass [without partaking of the Sacrament] that we grow quite cold and hardened, so that we have no inclination or love for it. We must never regard the Sacrament as something injurious from which we had better flee, but as a pure, wholesome, comforting remedy imparting salvation and comfort, which will cure you and give you life both in soul and body. For where the soul has recovered, the body also is relieved. Why, then, is it that we act as if it were a poison, the eating of which would bring death?

To be sure, it is true that those who despise it and live in an unchristian manner receive it to their hurt and damnation; for nothing shall be good or wholesome to them, just as with a sick person who from caprice eats and drinks what is forbidden him by the physician. But those who are sensible of their weakness, desire to be rid of it and long for help, should regard and use it only as a precious antidote against the poison which they have in them. For here in the Sacrament you are to receive from the lips of Christ forgiveness of sin, which contains and brings with it the grace of God and the Spirit with all His gifts, protection, shelter, and power against death and the devil and all misfortune.

Thus you have, on the part of God, both the command and the promise of the Lord Jesus Christ. Besides this, on your part, your own distress which is about your neck, and because of which this command, invitation, and promise are given, ought to impel you. For He Himself says: *They that be whole need not a physician, but they that be sick;* that is, those who are weary and heavy-laden with their sins, with the fear of death, temptations of the flesh and of the devil. If, therefore, you are heavy-laden and feel your weakness, then go joyfully to this Sacrament and obtain refreshment, consolation, and strength.

ſo mußt du ewig davonbleiben. Denn da fällt er das Urteil und ſpricht: Biſt du rein und fromm, ſo [be]darfſt du mein nichts und ich dein wieder nichts. Darum heißen die allein unwürdig, die ihr' Gebrechen nicht fühlen noch wollen Sünder ſein.

Sprichſt du aber: Wie ſoll ich ihm denn tun, wenn ich ſolche Not nicht fühlen kann, noch Hunger und Durſt zum Sakrament empfinden? Antwort: Denſelbigen, die ſo geſinnt ſind, daß ſie ſich nicht fühlen, weiß ich keinen beſſeren Rat, denn daß ſie doch in ihren Buſen greifen, ob ſie auch Fleiſch und Blut haben. Wo du denn ſolches findeſt, ſo gehe doch dir zugut in St. Paulus' Epiſtel an die Galater und höre, was dein Fleiſch für ein Früchtlein ſei. „Offenbar ſind aber" (ſpricht er) „die Werke des Fleiſches, als da ſind: Ehebruch, Hurerei, Unreinigkeit, Geilheit, Abgötterei, Zauberei, Feindſchaft, Hader, Eifer, Zorn, Zank, Zwietracht, Sekten, Haß, Mord, Saufen, Freſſen und dergleichen."

Derhalben, kannſt du es nicht fühlen, ſo glaube doch der Schrift, die wird dir nicht lügen, als die dein Fleiſch beſſer kennt denn du ſelbſt. Ja, weiter ſchleußt [ſchließt] St. Paulus zu den Römern [am] 7.: „Denn ich weiß, daß in mir, das iſt, in meinem Fleiſche, wohnet nichts Gutes." Darf St. Paulus ſolches von ſeinem Fleiſch reden, ſo wollen wir auch nicht beſſer noch heiliger ſein. Daß wir's aber nicht fühlen, iſt ſo viel deſto ärger; denn es iſt ein Zeichen, daß [es] ein ausſätzig Fleiſch iſt, das da nichts empfindet und doch wütet und um ſich frißt. Doch, wie geſagt, biſt du ſo gar erſtorben, ſo glaube doch der Schrift, ſo das Urteil über dich ſpricht. Und Summa, je weniger du deine Sünden und Gebrechen fühlſt, je mehr Urſache haſt du hinzuzugehen, Hilfe und Arznei zu ſuchen.

Zum andern ſiehe dich um, ob du auch in der Welt ſeieſt; oder weißt du es nicht, ſo frage deine Nachbarn darum. Biſt du in der Welt, ſo denke nicht, daß [es] an Sünden und Not werde fehlen. Denn fange nur an und ſtelle dich, als wollteſt du fromm werden und beim Evangelio bleiben, und ſiehe zu, ob dir niemand werde feind werden, dazu Leid, Unrecht und Gewalt tun, item zu Sünden und Untugend Urſache geben. Haſt du es nicht erfahren, ſo laß dir's die Schrift ſagen, die der Welt allenthalben ſolchen Preis und Zeugnis gibt.

Über das wirſt du ja auch den Teufel um dich haben, welchen du nicht wirſt gar unter dich treten, weil es unſer HErr Chriſtus ſelbſt nicht hat können umgehen. Was iſt nun der Teufel? Nichts anderes, denn wie ihn die Schrift nennt, ein Lügner und Mörder: ein Lügner, das Herz zu ver-

73] dum offeras. Etenim si tam diu procrastinare volueris, donec defecatis vitiis mundus et dignus sacramentum possis accedere, perpetuo tibi ab hac coena abstinendum erit. Etenim eam hic pronuntiat sententiam: Si **74]** purus et probus es, mea ope non indiges, neque vicissim te mihi opus est. Quare ii tantum indigni dicuntur, qui suos defectus non sentiunt, neque peccatores esse sustinent.

75] Quodsi dixeris: Quid mihi tum faciendum suades, si talem carnis meae necessitatem persentiscere nequeo, neque ulla sacramenti fame aut siti teneor? Respondeo: Iis, qui ita affecti sunt, ut nihil tale sentiant, nullum scio dare consilium praestantius, quam ut in sinum proprium inspiciant videantque, num ipsi quoque carnem et sanguinem habeant; quod cum ita esse comperient, tum sui tantum compendii gratia Pauli epistolam scriptam ad Galatas [5, 19 sqq.] requirant et audiant, cuiusmodi sua caro fructus soleat producere. *Manifesta sunt autem* (inquit) *opera carnis, quae sunt: adulterium, fornicatio, immunditia, impudicitia, luxuria, idolorum servitus, veneficia, inimicitiae, contentiones, aemulationes, irae, rixae, dissensiones, sectae, invidiae, homicidia, ebrietates, comessationes et his similia.*

76] Quapropter si haec sentire nequis, saltem Scripturae credas, quae tibi non mentietur, et cui caro tua propius quam tibi [R. 567 nota est. Imo amplius quoque concludit Paulus ad Rom. 7, 18 inquiens: *Scio, quod non habitet in me, hoc est, in carne mea, bonum.* Quodsi Paulus de sua carne id pronuntiare audet, neque nos vel meliores vel sanctiores **77]** illo esse volumus. Quod autem nos idem non persentiscimus, hoc periculosius aegrotamus. Signum enim est certissimum nostram carnem lepra esse infectam, quae nihil quidem sentit, saevit tamen interim et circumcirca **78]** serpit. Verumtamen, ut dictum, quodsi usque adeo mortuus es, saltem Scripturae testimonio fidem habere digneris, quae, qualis sis, iam tibi suo comprobavit iudicio. Et in summa, quo minus tua peccata et defectus persentiscis, hoc plures causae tibi supersunt accedendi, opemque et medicinam quaeritandi.

79] Deinde in hoc quoque fac attentus sis, ut circumspicias, num in mundo quoque verseris, aut si ignoras, id ex vicinis tuis exquirito. Quodsi una cum aliis in mundo constitutus es, non est, ut cogites peccatum et necessitatem tibi defuturam. Tantum enim incipias, ac ita te geras, quasi probitatem sectari et cum evangelio stare decreveris, ac vide, num nemo tibi infensus futurus sit, insuper aegre faciat, vim atque iniuriam inferat, praeterea ad peccata et vitia causam suppeditet. Quodsi nondum expertus es, hoc ipsum Scriptura magistra fac audias, sursum ac deorsum his praeclaris testimoniis et titulis mundum praedicante.

80] Praeter haec diabolum quoque iuxta te habebis, quem prostratum nequaquam prorsus conculcabis, cum Dominus noster Iesus Chri**81]** stus ipse devitare non potuerit. Quid ergo est diabolus? Nihil aliud, quam quod eum Scriptura nominans esse perhibet, nempe

For if you would wait until you are rid of such burdens, that you might come to the Sacrament pure and worthy, you must forever stay away. For in that case He pronounces sentence and says: If you are pure and godly, you have no need of Me, and I, in turn, none of thee. Therefore those alone are called unworthy who neither feel their infirmities nor wish to be considered sinners.

But if you say: What, then, shall I do if I cannot feel such distress or experience hunger and thirst for the Sacrament? Answer: For those who are so minded that they do not realize their condition I know no better counsel than that they put their hand into their bosom to ascertain whether they also have flesh and blood. And if you find that to be the case, then go, for your good, to St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and hear what sort of a fruit your flesh is: *Now the works of the flesh* (he says [chap. 5, 19ff.]) *are manifest, which are these: Adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like.*

Therefore, if you cannot feel it, at least believe the Scriptures; they will not lie to you, and they know your flesh better than you yourself. Yea, St. Paul further concludes in Rom. 7, 18: *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing.* If St. Paul may speak thus of his flesh, we do not propose to be better nor more holy. But that we do not feel it is so much the worse; for it is a sign that there is a leprous flesh which feels nothing, and yet [the leprosy] rages and keeps spreading. Yet, as we have said, if you are quite dead to all sensibility, still believe the Scriptures, which pronounce sentence upon you. And, in short, the less you feel your sins and infirmities, the more reason have you to go to the Sacrament to seek help and a remedy.

In the second place, look about you and see whether you are also in the world, or if you do not know it, ask your neighbors about it. If you are in the world, do not think that there will be lack of sins and misery. For only begin to act as though you would be godly and adhere to the Gospel, and see whether no one will become your enemy, and, moreover, do you harm, wrong, and violence, and likewise give you cause for sin and vice. If you have not experienced it, then let the Scriptures tell you, which everywhere give this praise and testimony to the world.

Besides this, you will also have the devil about you, whom you will not entirely tread under foot, because our Lord Christ Himself could not entirely avoid him. Now, what is the devil? Nothing else than what the Scrip-

führen von Gottes Wort und [zu] verblenden, daß du deine Not nicht fühlest noch zu Christo kommen könntest; ein Mörder, der dir keine Stunde das Leben gönnt. Wenn du sehen solltest, wieviel Messer, Spieße und Pfeile alle Augenblicke auf dich gezielt werden, du solltest froh werden, sooft du könntest, zu dem Sakrament zu kommen. Daß man aber so sicher und unachtsam dahingeht, macht nichts anderes, denn daß wir nicht denken noch glauben, daß wir im Fleisch und in der bösen Welt oder unter des Teufels Reich seien.

mendax et homicida: mendax quidem ob id, quod cor humanum a Verbo Dei abducere et excaecare conatur, ne tuam necessitatem sentias, neve ad Christum medicum venire queas; homicida vero, qui ne ad unius quidem [R. 568 **82**] horulae spatium vitam tibi favet. Quodsi videndi tibi daretur copia, quot gladiis, quot hastis, quot sagittis et telis omnibus momentis in te collimet, gauderes toties tibi patere ad sacramentum accedendi ianuam, quoties possis consequi. Quod autem tam secure, tam incogitanter ambulamus, nihil facit aliud, quam quod non cogitamus aut credimus, nos in carne et hoc pravo mundo vivere aut versari in regno diaboli.

Darum versuche und übe solches wohl und gehe nur in dich selbst; oder siehe dich ein wenig um und halte dich nur [zu] der Schrift. Fühlst du alsdann auch nichts, so hast du desto mehr Not zu klagen beide Gott und deinem Bruder. Da laß dir raten und für dich bitten und laß nur nicht ab so lange, bis der Stein von deinem Herzen komme: so wird sich die Not wohl finden, und du gewahr werden, daß du zweimal tiefer liegst denn ein anderer armer Sünder und des Sakraments viel mehr [be]dürfest wider das Elend, so du leider nicht siehst, ob Gott Gnade gebe, daß du es mehr fühltest und je hungriger dazu würdest, sonderlich weil dir der Teufel so zusetzt und ohne Unterlaß auf dich hält, wo er dich erhasche und bringe um Seele und Leib, daß du keine Stunde vor ihm sicher kannst sein. Wie bald möchte er dich plötzlich in Jammer und Not [ge]bracht haben, wenn du dich's am wenigsten versiehst!

83] Quamobrem haec probe experienda et exercenda tibi proponito, teque ipse accurate fac excutias et noscas, tum paulisper circumspicito, et vide, quid Scriptura loquatur. Quodsi ne tum quidem quidquam senseris, hoc maior te urget ad conquerendum necessitas aeque apud Deum ac proximum tuum. Ab his petas auxilium, utque pro te precentur, postula neque prius absistas, quam cor tuum adamantina illa duritie liberatum fuerit. Ita **84**] fiet, ut demum tua tibi pateat necessitas, clare visuro te terque quaterque in omnium vitiorum lernam profundius esse immersum quam ullum alium peccatorem, teque sacramento multo egere impensius, medendae calamitati tibi occultae, Deo suam tibi largiente gratiam, ut magis sentias, fiasque ad hunc modum sacramenti esurientior. Praecipue vero diabolo tantopere te infestante tibique perniciem machinante, ut te comprehensum et anima et vita iuxta spoliet, ita ut nulla hora ab eius insidiis tibi in tuto esse liceat. Quam cito vero et subito te oscitantem et nil tale opinantem in omne calamitatis genus praecipitaverit!

Solches sei nun zur Vermahnung gesagt, nicht allein für uns Alte und Große, sondern auch für das junge Volk, so man in der christlichen Lehre und Verstand aufziehen soll. Denn damit könnte man desto leichter die zehn Gebote, Glauben und Vaterunser in die Jugend bringen, daß es ihnen mit Lust und Ernst einginge, und also von Jugend auf übten und gewöhnten. Denn es ist doch nun fast [beinahe, vielfach] mit den Alten geschehen, daß man solches und anderes nicht erhalten kann, man ziehe denn die Leute auf, so nach uns kommen sollen und in unser Amt und Werk treten, auf daß sie auch ihre Kinder fruchtbarlich erziehen, damit Gottes Wort und die Christenheit erhalten werde. Darum wisse ein jeglicher Hausvater, daß er aus Gottes Befehl und Gebot schuldig ist, seine Kinder solches zu lehren oder lernen [zu] lassen, was sie können sollen. Denn weil sie getauft sind und in die Christenheit genommen, sollen sie auch solcher Gemeinschaft des Sakraments genießen, auf daß sie uns mögen dienen und nütze werden; denn sie müssen doch alle uns helfen glauben, lieben, beten und wider den Teufel fechten.

85] Haec iam hactenus monendi gratia dicta sint, non tantum nobis grandioribus, verum etiam natu minoribus, qui in Christiana doctrina eiusdemque intellectu educandi sunt. Ad hunc enim modum hoc minore negotio Decem Praecepta, Fidei Symbolum et [R. 569 Orationem Dominicam iuventuti inculcare possemus, ut cum quadam voluptate atque adeo serio haec caperent et ita statim ab ipsis infantiae crepundiis percepta indesinenter ex**86**] ercerent atque assuescerent. Iam enim paene cum natu grandioribus actum est, ut haec atque alia ab ipsis impetrare nequeamus, nisi eiusmodi homines iam inde a puero educentur, qui nobis successuri sunt nostrumque opus et officium arrepturi, ut et ipsi suos liberos bene ac salutariter educent, quorum opera Dei Verbum sustentetur, et Christianorum **87**] communio aedificetur. Quapropter quisque paterfamilias sciat, hoc sui esse officii, ut Dei iussu atque praecepto haec liberos suos doceat aut alios docere sinat, quae eos nosse par est. Cum enim baptizati sint, iamque in Christianorum numerum et communionem coptati, aequum est, ut huius sacramenti participatione fruantur, ut nobis queant esse utilitati et subsidio. Oportet enim eos omnes et singulos nobiscum credere, diligere, orare et adversus diabolum pugnare.

tures call him, a liar and murderer. A liar, to lead the heart astray from the Word of God, and to blind it, that you cannot feel your distress or come to Christ. A murderer, who cannot bear to see you live one single hour. If you could see how many knives, darts, and arrows are every moment aimed at you, you would be glad to come to the Sacrament as often as possible. But there is no reason why we walk so securely and heedlessly, except that we neither think nor believe that we are in the flesh, and in this wicked world or in the kingdom of the devil.

Therefore, try this and practise it well, and do but examine yourself, or look about you a little, and only keep to the Scriptures. If even then you still feel nothing, you have so much the more misery to lament both to God and to your brother. Then take advice and have others pray for you, and do not desist until the stone be removed from your heart. Then, indeed, the distress will not fail to become manifest, and you will find that you have sunk twice as deep as any other poor sinner, and are much more in need of the Sacrament against the misery which unfortunately you do not see, so that, with the grace of God, you may feel it more and become the more hungry for the Sacrament, especially since the devil plies his force against you, and lies in wait for you without ceasing, to seize and destroy you, soul and body, so that you are not safe from him one hour. How soon can he have brought you suddenly into misery and distress when you least expect it!

Let this, then, be said for exhortation, not only for those of us who are old and grown, but also for the young people, who ought to be brought up in the Christian doctrine and understanding. For thereby the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer might be the more easily inculcated to our youth, so that they would receive them with pleasure and earnestness, and thus would practise them from their youth and accustom themselves to them. For the old are now well-nigh done for, so that these and other things cannot be attained, unless we train the people who are to come after us and succeed us in our office and work, in order that they also may bring up their children successfully, that the Word of God and the Christian Church may be preserved. Therefore let every father of a family know that it is his duty, by the injunction and command of God, to teach these things to his children, or have them learn what they ought to know. For since they are baptized and received into the Christian Church, they should also enjoy this communion of the Sacrament, in order that they may serve us and be useful to us; for they must all indeed help us to believe, love, pray, and fight against the devil.

VII.

Die Konkordienformel.

FORMULA CONCORDIAE.

THE FORMULA OF CONCORD.

[Erſter Teil.]

Summariſcher Begriff der ſtreitigen Artikel

zwiſchen

den Theologen Augsburgiſcher Konfeſſion, in nachfolgender Wiederholung nach Anleitung Gottes Worts chriſtlich erklärt und verglichen.

Mit Kurfl. Gn. zu Sachſen Befreiung. Dresden 1579 [1580].

[PARS PRIMA.]

EPITOME ARTICULORUM,

de quibus

Controversiae Ortae Sunt

inter theologos Augustanae Confessionis, qui in repetitione sequenti secundum Verbi Dei praescriptum pie declarati sunt et conciliati.

[PART FIRST.]

SUMMARY CONTENT [EPITOME]

of the

Articles in Controversy

among the Theologians of the Augsburg Confession, Set Forth and Reconciled in a Christian Way, according to the Direction of God's Word, in the Following Recapitulation.

Von dem summarischen Begriff, Regel und Richtschnur,

nach welcher alle Lehre geurteilt und die eingefallenen Irrungen christlich entschieden und erklärt werden sollen.

1. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß die einige Regel und Richtschnur, nach welcher zugleich alle Lehren und Lehrer gerichtet und geurteilt werden sollen, sind allein die prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments; wie geschrieben steht: „Dein Wort ist meines Fußes Leuchte und ein Licht auf meinem Wege", Ps. 119. Und St. Paulus: „Wenn ein Engel vom Himmel käme und predigte anders, der soll verflucht sein", Gal. 1.

Andere Schriften aber der alten oder neuen Lehrer, wie sie Namen haben, sollen der Heiligen Schrift nicht gleichgehalten, sondern alle zumal miteinander derselben unterworfen und anders oder weiter nicht angenommen werden denn als Zeugen, welcher Gestalt nach der Apostel Zeit und an welchen Orten solche Lehre der Propheten und Apostel erhalten worden.

2. Und nachdem gleich nach der Apostel Zeit, auch noch bei ihrem Leben, falsche Lehrer und Ketzer eingerissen, und wider dieselben in der ersten Kirche Symbola, das ist, kurze, runde Bekenntnisse, gestellt, welche für den einhelligen, allgemeinen christlichen Glauben und Bekenntnis der rechtgläubigen und wahrhaftigen Kirche gehalten, als nämlich das Symbolum Apostolicum, Symbolum Nicaenum und Symbolum Athanasii: bekennen wir uns zu denselben und verwerfen hiermit alle Ketzereien und Lehren, so denselben zuwider in die Kirche Gottes eingeführt worden sind.

3. Soviel aber die Trennung in Glaubenssachen belangt, zu unsern Zeiten eingefallen, halten wir für den einhelligen Konsens und Erklärung unsers christlichen Glaubens und Bekenntnisses, besonders wider des Papsttums [wider das Papsttum] und dessen falschen Gottesdienst, Abgötterei, Aberglauben und [wider] andere Sekten, als dieser Zeit unserm Symbolo [unser Symbolum], die **erste, ungeänderte Augsburgische Konfession,** Kaiser Karolo V. zu Augsburg Anno 30 usw. in der großen Reichsversammlung übergeben, samt derselben **Apologie** und **Artikeln,** [so] **zu Schmalkalden** Anno 37 gestellt und von den vornehmsten Theologen damals unterschrieben worden.

Und weil solche Sachen auch den gemeinen Laien und derselben Seelen Seligkeit betreffen, bekennen wir uns auch zu dem **Kleinen und Großen Katechismo Doktor Luthers,** wie solche beide Katechismi in den tomis Lutheri verfaßt, als zu der Laienbibel, darin alles begriffen, was in Heiliger Schrift weitläuftig gehandelt und einem Christenmenschen zu seiner Seligkeit zu wissen vonnöten ist.

Nach dieser Anleitung, wie oben vermeldet, sollen alle Lehren angestellt, und was derselben

DE COMPENDIARIA REGULA ATQUE NORMA,

ad quam omnia dogmata exigenda, et quae inciderunt certamina, pie declaranda et componenda sunt.

1] I. Credimus, confitemur et docemus unicam regulam et normam, secundum [R. 570 quam omnia dogmata omnesque doctores aestimari et iudicari oporteat, nullam omnino aliam esse quam prophetica et apostolica scripta cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti, sicut scriptum est Ps. 119, 105: *Lucerna pedibus meis Verbum tuum et lumen semitis meis.* Et divus Paulus inquit Gal. 1, 8: *Etiamsi angelus de coelo aliud praedicet evangelium, anathema sit.*

2] Reliqua vero sive patrum sive neotericorum scripta, quocunque veniant nomine, sacris litteris nequaquam sunt aequiparanda, sed universa illis ita subiicienda sunt, ut [R. 571 alia ratione non recipiantur nisi testium loco, qui doceant, quod etiam post apostolorum tempora et in quibus partibus orbis doctrina illa prophetarum et apostolorum sincerior conservata sit.

3] II. Et quia statim post apostolorum tempora, imo etiam cum adhuc superstites essent, falsi doctores et haeretici exorti sunt, contra quos in primitiva ecclesia symbola sunt composita, id est, breves et categoricae confessiones, quae unanimem catholicae Christianae fidei consensum et confessionem orthodoxorum et verae ecclesiae complectebantur (ut sunt *Symbolum Apostolicum, Nicaenum* et *Athanasianum*): profitemur publice nos illa amplecti et reiicimus omnes haereses omniaque dogmata, quae contra illorum sententiam unquam in ecclesiam Dei sunt invecta.

4] III. Quod vero ad schismata in negotiis fidei attinet, quae in nostra tempora inciderunt, iudicamus unanimem consensum et declarationem Christianae nostrae fidei et confessionis, imprimis contra papatum et huius falsos ac idololatricos cultus et superstitiones et alias sectas, esse nostri temporis Symbolum, *Augustanam illam primam et non mutatam Confessionem,* quae Imperatori Carolo V. Augustae anno 30 in magnis Imperii Comitiis exhibita est, similiter et *Apologiam* et *Articulos Smalcaldicos* anno 37 conscriptos et praecipuorum theologorum illius temporis subscriptione comprobatos.

5] Et quia haec religionis causa etiam ad laicos, quos vocant, spectat eorumque perpetua salus agitur, profitemur publice nos etiam amplecti *Minorem et Maiorem D. Lutheri Catechismos,* ut ii tomis Lutheri sunt inserti, quod eos quasi laicorum biblia esse censeamus, in quibus omnia illa breviter comprehenduntur, quae in Sacra Scriptura fusius tractantur et quorum cognitio homini Christiano ad [R. 572 aeternam salutem est necessaria.

6] Ad has rationes paulo ante monstratas omnis doctrina in religionis negotio confor-

OF THE SUMMARY CONTENT, RULE, AND STANDARD

according to which all dogmas should be judged, and the erroneous teachings [controversies] that have occurred should be decided and explained in a Christian way.

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1. We believe, teach, and confess that the sole rule and standard according to which all dogmas together with [all] teachers should be estimated and judged are the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament alone, as it is written Ps. 119, 105: *Thy Word is a lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.* And St. Paul: *Though an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, let him be accursed,* Gal. 1, 8.

Other writings, however, of ancient or modern teachers, whatever name they bear, must not be regarded as equal to the Holy Scriptures, but all of them together be subjected to them, and should not be received otherwise or further than as witnesses, [which are to show] in what manner after the time of the apostles, and at what places, this [pure] doctrine of the prophets and apostles was preserved.

2. And because directly after the times of the apostles, and even while they were still living, false teachers and heretics arose, and symbols, *i. e.*, brief, succinct [categorical] confessions, were composed against them in the early Church, which were regarded as the unanimous, universal Christian faith and confession of the orthodox and true Church, namely, *the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed,* and *the Athanasian Creed,* we pledge ourselves to them, and hereby reject all heresies and dogmas which, contrary to them, have been introduced into the Church of God.

3. As to the schisms in matters of faith, however, which have occurred in our time, we regard as the unanimous consensus and declaration of our Christian faith and confession, especially against the Papacy and its false worship, idolatry, superstition, and against other sects, as the symbol of our time, *the First, Unaltered Augsburg Confession,* delivered to the Emperor Charles V at Augsburg in the year 1530, in the great Diet, together with its *Apology,* and the *Articles* composed at *Smalcald* in the year 1537, and subscribed at that time by the chief theologians.

And because such matters concern also the laity and the salvation of their souls, we also confess the *Small and Large Catechisms* of Dr. Luther, as they are included in Luther's works, as the Bible of the laity, wherein everything is comprised which is treated at greater length in Holy Scripture, and is necessary for a Christian man to know for his salvation.

To this direction, as above announced, all

zuwider, als unſers Glaubens einhelliger Erklärung entgegen, verworfen und verdammt werden.

Solchergeſtalt wird der Unterſchied zwiſchen der Heiligen Schrift Alten und Neuen Teſtaments und allen andern Schriften erhalten, und bleibt allein die Heilige Schrift der einige Richter, Regel und Richtſchnur, nach welcher als dem einigen Probierſtein ſollen und müſſen alle Lehren erkannt und geurteilt werden, ob ſie gut oder bös, recht oder unrecht ſeien.

Die andern Symbola aber und angezogenen Schriften ſind nicht Richter wie die Heilige Schrift, ſondern allein Zeugnis und Erklärung des Glaubens, wie jederzeit die Heilige Schrift in ſtreitigen Artikeln in der Kirche Gottes von den damals Lebenden verſtanden und ausgelegt und derſelben widerwärtige Lehre verworfen und verdammt worden.

manda est, et, si quid iis contrarium esse deprehenditur, id reiiciendum atque damnandum est, quippe quod cum unanimi fidei nostrae declaratione pugnet.

7] Hoc modo luculentum discrimen inter sacras Veteris et Novi Testamenti litteras et omnia aliorum scripta retinetur, et sola Sacra Scriptura iudex, norma et regula agnoscitur, ad quam ceu ad Lydium lapidem omnia dogmata exigenda sunt et iudicanda, an pia an impia, an vera an vero falsa sint.

8] Cetera autem Symbola et alia scripta, quorum paulo ante mentionem fecimus, non obtinent auctoritatem iudicis; haec enim dignitas solis sacris litteris debetur; sed duntaxat pro religione nostra testimonium dicunt eamque explicant ac ostendunt, quomodo singulis temporibus sacrae litterae in articulis controversis in ecclesia Dei a doctoribus, qui tum vixerunt, intellectae et explicatae fuerint, et quibus rationibus dogmata cum Sacra Scriptura pugnantia reiecta et condemnata sint.

I.

Von der Erbſünde.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Die Hauptfrage in dieſem Zwieſpalt.

Ob die Erbſünde ſei eigentlich und ohne allen Unterſchied des Menſchen verderbte Natur, Subſtanz und Weſen oder ja das vornehmſte und beſte Teil ſeines Weſens, als die vernünftige Seele ſelbſt in ihrem höchſten Grad und Kräften, oder ob zwiſchen des Menſchen Subſtanz, Natur, Weſen, Leib, Seele, auch nach dem Fall und der Erbſünde, ein Unterſchied ſei, alſo daß ein anderes die Natur und ein anderes die Erbſünde ſei, welche in der verderbten Natur ſteckt und die Natur verderbt.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis vermöge vorgeſetzter Richtſchnur und ſummariſcher Erklärung.

1. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß ein Unterſchied ſei zwiſchen der Natur des Menſchen, nicht allein wie er anfangs von Gott rein und heilig ohne Sünde erſchaffen, ſondern auch wie wir ſie jetzund nach dem Fall haben, nämlich zwiſchen der Natur, ſo auch nach dem Fall noch eine Kreatur Gottes iſt und bleibt, und der Erbſünde, und daß ſolcher Unterſchied ſo groß als der Unterſchied zwiſchen Gottes und des Teufels Werk ſei.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß über ſolchem Unterſchied mit höchſtem Fleiß zu halten, weil dieſe Lehre, daß zwiſchen unſerer verderbten Menſchennatur und der Erbſünde kein Unterſchied ſein ſollte, wider die Hauptartikel unſers chriſtlichen Glaubens von der Erſchaffung, Erlöſung, Heiligung und Auferſtehung unſers Fleiſches ſtreitet und neben denſelben nicht beſtehen kann.

I.

DE PECCATO ORIGINIS.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] An peccatum originale sit proprie et absque omni discrimine ipsa hominis corrupti natura, substantia et essentia aut certe principalis et praestantissima pars ipsius substantiae, utpote ipsa rationalis anima in [R. 573 summo suo gradu et in summis ipsius viribus considerata, an vero inter hominis substantiam, naturam, essentiam, corpus et animam, etiam post lapsum humani generis, et inter originale peccatum aliquod sit discrimen, ita ut aliud sit ipsa natura et aliud ipsum peccatum originis, quod in natura corrupta haeret et naturam etiam depravat.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera doctrina, fides et confessio, cum superiore norma et compendiosa declaratione consentiens.

2] I. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod sit aliquod discrimen inter ipsam hominis naturam, non tantum quemadmodum initio a Deo purus et sanctus et absque peccato homo conditus est, verum etiam qualem iam post lapsum naturam illam habemus; discrimen, inquam, inter ipsam naturam, quae etiam post lapsum est permanetque Dei creatura, et inter peccatum originis, et quod tanta sit illa naturae et peccati originalis differentia, quanta est inter opus Dei et inter opus diaboli.

3] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod summo studio hoc discrimen sit conservandum, propterea quod illud dogma, nullum videlicet inter naturam hominis corrupti et inter peccatum originis esse discrimen, cum praecipuis fidei nostrae articulis (de creatione, de redemptione, de sanctificatione et resurrectione carnis nostrae) pugnet neque salvis hisce articulis stare possit.

doctrines are to be conformed, and what is contrary thereto is to be rejected and condemned, as opposed to the unanimous declaration of our faith.

In this way the distinction between the Holy Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament and all other writings is preserved, and the Holy Scriptures alone remain the only judge, rule, and standard, according to which, as the only test-stone, all dogmas shall and must be discerned and judged, as to whether they are good or evil, right or wrong.

But the other symbols and writings cited are not judges, as are the Holy Scriptures, but only a testimony and declaration of the faith, as to how at any time the Holy Scriptures have been understood and explained in the articles in controversy in the Church of God by those then living, and how the opposite dogma was rejected and condemned [by what arguments the dogmas conflicting with the Holy Scripture were rejected and condemned].

I.

OF ORIGINAL SIN.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in This Controversy.

Whether original sin is properly and without any distinction man's corrupt nature, substance, and essence, or at any rate the principal and best part of his essence [substance], namely, the rational soul itself in its highest state and powers; or whether, even after the Fall, there is a distinction between man's substance, nature, essence, body, soul, and original sin, so that the nature [itself] is one thing, and original sin, which inheres in the corrupt nature and corrupts the nature, another.

AFFIRMATIVA.

The Pure Doctrine, Faith, and Confession according to the Afore-said Standard and Summary Declaration.

1. We believe, teach, and confess that there is a distinction between man's nature, not only as he was originally created by God pure and holy and without sin, but also as we have it [that nature] now after the Fall, namely, between the nature [itself], which even after the Fall is and remains a creature of God, and original sin, and that this distinction is as great as the distinction between a work of God and a work of the devil.

2. We believe, teach, and confess also that this distinction should be maintained with the greatest care, because this doctrine, that no distinction is to be made between our corrupt human nature and original sin, conflicts with the chief articles of our Christian faith concerning creation, redemption, sanctification, and the resurrection of our body, and cannot coexist therewith.

Denn nicht allein Adams und Evas Leib und Seele vor dem Fall, sondern auch unsern Leib und Seele nach dem Fall, unangesehen daß sie verderbt, [hat] Gott geschaffen, welche auch Gott noch für sein Werk [an]erkennt, wie geschrieben steht Hiob 10: „Deine Hände haben mich gearbeitet und gemacht alles, was ich um und um bin.“ Deut. 32; Jes. 45. 54. 64; Act. 17; Ps. 100. 139; Eccl. 12.

Es hat auch der Sohn Gottes in Einigkeit seiner Person solche menschliche Natur, doch ohne Sünde, und also nicht ein fremd, sondern unser Fleisch an sich genommen, und [ist] nach demselben unser wahrhaftiger Bruder [ge]worden. Hebr. 2: „Nachdem die Kinder Fleisch und Blut haben, ist er's gleichermaßen teilhaftig worden.“ Item: „Er nimmt nirgend die Engel an sich, sondern den Samen Abrahams nimmt er an sich; daher muß er allerdinge seinen Brüdern, ausgenommen die Sünde, gleich werden.“ Also hat es auch Christus erlöst als sein Werk, heiligt es als sein Werk, erweckt es von den Toten und ziert es herrlich als sein Werk. Aber die Erbsünde hat er nicht erschaffen, nicht angenommen, nicht erlöst, nicht geheiligt, wird sie auch nicht erwecken an den Auserwählten, weder zieren noch selig machen, sondern in der Auferstehung gar vertilgt sein wird.

Daraus der Unterschied zwischen der verderbten Natur und der Verderbung, so in der Natur steckt und die Natur dadurch verderbt worden, leichtlich zu erkennen.

3. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen aber hinwiederum, daß die Erbsünde nicht sei eine schlechte [geringe], sondern so tiefe Verderbung menschlicher Natur, daß nichts Gesundes oder unverderbt an Leib und Seele des Menschen, seinen innerlichen und äußerlichen Kräften geblieben, sondern wie die Kirche singt: „Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt menschlich' Natur und Wesen“; welcher Schade unaussprechlich, nicht mit der Vernunft, sondern allein aus Gottes Wort erkennet [erkannt] werden mag; und daß die Natur und solche Verderbung der Natur niemand voneinander scheiden könne denn allein Gott, welches durch den Tod in der Auferstehung gänzlich geschehen, da unsere Natur, die wir jetzt tragen, ohne die Erbsünde und von derselben abgesondert und abgeschieden, auferstehen und ewig leben wird, wie geschrieben steht Hiob 19: „Ich werde mit dieser meiner Haut umgeben werden und werde in meinem Fleisch Gott sehen; denselben werde ich mir sehen, und meine Augen werden ihn schauen.“

NEGATIVA.

Verwerfung der falschen Gegenlehre.

1. Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir, wenn gelehrt wird, daß die Erbsünde allein ein reatus oder Schuld von wegen fremder Verwirkung, ohne einige unserer Natur Verderbung sei.

2. Item, daß die bösen Lüste nicht Sünde, sondern angeschaffene wesentliche Eigenschaften der

4] Deus enim non modo Adami et Evae corpus et animam ante lapsum, verum etiam corpora et animas nostras post lapsum creavit, etsi haec iam sunt corrupta. Et sane [R. 574 hodie Dominus animas et corpora nostra creaturas et opus suum esse agnoscit, sicut scriptum est Iob. 10, 8: *Manus tuae fecerunt me et plasmaverunt me totum in circuitu.* Deut. 32, 18. Esa. 45, 9; 54, 5; 64, 8. Act. 17, 28. Ps. 100, 3; 139, 14. Eccl. 12, 1.

5] Et Filius Dei unione personali illam humanam naturam, sed sine peccato, assumpsit, et non alienam, sed nostram carnem sibi adiungens arctissime copulavit eiusque assumptae carnis ratione vere frater noster factus est, ut Scriptura testatur Hebr. 2, 14: *Posteaquam pueri commercium habent cum carne et sanguine, et ipse similiter particeps factus est eorundem.* Item v. 16: *Non angelos assumit, sed semen Abrahae assumit, unde et debuit per omnia fratribus assimilari, excepto pec-* 6] *cato.* Eandem humanam nostram naturam (opus videlicet suum) Christus redemit, eandem (quae ipsius opus est) sanctificat, eandem a mortuis resuscitat et ingenti gloria (opus videlicet suum) ornat. Peccatum autem originale non creavit, non assumpsit, non redemit, non sanctificat, non resuscitabit in electis, neque unquam gloria coelesti ornabit aut salvabit, sed in beata illa resurrectione plane abolitum erit.

7] Ex his, quae a nobis allata sunt, discrimen inter corruptam naturam et inter corruptionem, quae naturae infixa est, per quam natura est corrupta, facile agnosci potest.

8] III. Vicissim autem credimus, docemus atque confitemur, peccatum originis non esse levem, sed tam profundam humanae naturae corruptionem, quae nihil sanum, nihil incorruptum in corpore et anima hominis, atque adeo in interioribus et exterioribus viribus eius reliquit. Sicut ecclesia canit: *Lapsus Adae vi pessima humana tota massa, natura et ipsa essentia corrupta, luce cassa* etc. Hoc 9] quantum sit malum, verbis revera est inexplicabile, neque humanae rationis acumine indagari, sed duntaxat per Verbum Dei reve- 10] latum agnosci potest. Et sane [R. 575 affirmamus, quod hanc naturae corruptionem ab ipsa natura nemo nisi solus Deus separare queat, id quod per mortem in beata illa resurrectione plene fiet. Ibi enim ea ipsa natura nostra, quam nunc circumferimus, absque peccato originis et ab eodem omnino separata et remota, resurget et aeterna felicitate fruetur. Sic enim scriptum est Iob. 19, 26. 27: *Pelle mea circumdabor et in carne mea videbo Deum, quem ego visurus sum mihi, et oculi mei eum conspecturi sunt.*

NEGATIVA.

Reiectio falsorum dogmatum, quae commemoratae sanae doctrinae repugnant.

11] I. Reiicimus ergo et damnamus dogma illud, quo asseritur, peccatum originale tantummodo reatum et debitum esse ex alieno delicto, absque ulla naturae nostrae corruptione, in nos derivatum.

12] II. Item, concupiscentias pravas non esse peccatum, sed concreatas naturae condi-

For God created not only the body and soul of Adam and Eve before the Fall, but also our bodies and souls after the Fall, notwithstanding that they are corrupt, which God also still acknowledges as His work, as it is written Job 10, 8: *Thine hands have made me and fashioned me together round about.* Deut. 32, 18; Is. 45, 9 ff.; 54, 5; 64, 8; Acts 17, 28; Job 10, 8; Ps. 100, 3; 139, 14; Eccl. 12, 1.

Moreover, the Son of God has assumed this human nature, however, without sin, and therefore not a foreign, but our own flesh, into the unity of His person, and according to it is become our true Brother. Heb. 2, 14: *Forasmuch, then, as the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also Himself likewise took part of the same.* Again, v. 16; 4, 15: *He took not on Him the nature of angels, but He took on Him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behooved Him to be made like unto His brethren, yet without sin.* In like manner Christ has also redeemed it as His work, sanctifies it as His work, raises it from the dead, and gloriously adorns it as His work. But original sin He has not created, assumed, redeemed, sanctified; nor will He raise it, will neither adorn nor save it in the elect, but in the [blessed] resurrection it will be entirely destroyed.

Hence the distinction between the corrupt nature and the corruption which infects the nature, and by which the nature became corrupt, can easily be discerned.

3. But, on the other hand, we believe, teach, and confess that original sin is not a slight, but so deep a corruption of human nature that nothing healthy or uncorrupt has remained in man's body or soul, in his inner or outward powers, but, as the Church sings:

> Through Adam's fall is all corrupt,
> Nature and essence human.

This damage is unspeakable, and cannot be discerned by reason, but only from God's Word. And [we affirm] that no one but God alone can separate from one another the nature and this corruption of the nature, which will fully come to pass through death, in the [blessed] resurrection, where our nature which we now bear will rise and live eternally without original sin and separated and sundered from it, as it is written Job 19, 26: *I shall be compassed again with this my skin, and in my flesh shall I see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold.*

NEGATIVA.

Rejection of the False Opposite Dogmas.

1. Therefore we reject and condemn the teaching that original sin is only a *reatus* or debt on account of what has been committed by another [diverted to us] without any corruption of our nature.

2. Also, that evil lusts are not sin, but concreated, essential properties of the nature,

Natur seien, oder als wäre der obgemeldete Mangel oder Schade nicht wahrhaftig Sünde, darum der Mensch außerhalb Christo ein Kind des Zornes sein sollte.

3. Desgleichen verwerfen wir auch den pelagianischen Irrtum, da vorgegeben wird, daß die Natur des Menschen auch nach dem Fall unverderbt und sonderlich in geistlichen Sachen ganz gut und rein in ihren naturalibus, das ist, in ihren natürlichen Kräften, geblieben sei.

4. Item, daß die Erbsünde nur von außen ein schlechter, [ge]ringschätziger, eingesprengter Fleck oder anfliegender Makel sei, darunter die Natur ihre guten Kräfte auch in geistlichen Sachen behalten habe.

5. Item, daß die Erbsünde sei nur ein äußerlich Hindernis der guten geistlichen Kräfte und nicht eine Beraubung oder Mangel derselben; als wenn ein Magnet mit Knoblauchsaft bestrichen wird, dadurch seine natürliche Kraft nicht weggenommen, sondern allein gehindert wird; oder daß derselbe Makel wie ein Fleck vom Angesicht oder Farbe von der Wand leichtlich abgewischt werden könnte.

6. Item, daß im Menschen nicht gar verderbt sei menschlich' Natur und Wesen, sondern der Mensch habe noch etwas Gutes an ihm [an sich], auch in geistlichen Sachen, als nämlich Frömmigkeit [* Fähigkeit], Geschicklichkeit, Tüchtigkeit oder Vermögen, in geistlichen Sachen etwas anzufangen, zu wirken oder mitzuwirken.

7. Dagegen verwerfen wir auch die falsche Lehre der Manichäer, wenn gelehrt wird, daß die Erbsünde als etwas Wesentliches und Selbständiges durch den Satan in die Natur eingegossen und mit derselben vermengt [sei], wie Gift und Wein gemengt werden.

8. Item, daß nicht der natürliche Mensch, sondern etwas anderes und Fremdes im Menschen sündige, deswegen nicht die Natur, sondern allein die Erbsünde in der Natur angeklagt werde.

9. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch als einen manichäischen Irrtum, wenn gelehrt wird, daß die Erbsünde sei eigentlich und ohne allen Unterschied des verderbten Menschen Substanz, Natur und Wesen selbst, also daß kein Unterschied zwischen der verderbten Natur nach dem Fall an ihr selbst und der Erbsünde sollte auch nicht gedacht, noch mit Gedanken voneinander unterschieden werden können.

10. Es wird aber solche Erbsünde von Luthero Natursünde, Personsünde, wesentliche Sünde genennet [genannt], nicht daß die Natur, Person oder das Wesen des Menschen selbst ohne allen Unterschied die Erbsünde sei, sondern daß mit solchen Worten der Unterschied zwischen der Erbsünde, so in der menschlichen Natur steckt, und den andern Sünden, so man wirkliche Sünden nennt, angezeigt würde.

11. Denn die Erbsünde ist nicht eine Sünde, die man tut, sondern sie steckt in der Natur, Substanz und Wesen des Menschen; also wenngleich kein böser Gedanke nimmer im Herzen des verderbten Menschen aufstiege, kein unnütz Wort geredet [würde], noch böse Tat geschähe, so ist doch die Natur verderbt durch die Erbsünde, die uns im sündlichen Samen angeboren wird und ein Brunn-

tiones et proprietates quasdam essentiales, aut defectus illos et malum ingens a nobis paulo ante commemoratum non esse peccatum, propter quod homo Christo non insertus sit filius irae.

13] III. Reiicimus etiam Pelagianam haeresin, qua asseritur hominis naturam post lapsum incorruptam esse, et quidem in spiritualibus rebus totam bonam et puram in viribus suis naturalibus mansisse.

14] IV. Item, peccatum originis externum, levem et nullius prope momenti esse naevum, aut aspersam quandam maculam, sub [R. 576 qua nihilominus natura bonas suas vires etiam in rebus spiritualibus retinuerit.

15] V. Item, peccatum originale tantum esse externum impedimentum bonarum spiritualium virium et non esse despoliationem et defectum earundem, sicuti, cum magnes allii succo illinitur, vis eius naturalis attrahendi ferrum non tollitur, sed tantum impeditur; aut sicut macula de facie aut color de pariete abstergi facile potest.

16] VI. Item, hominis naturam et essentiam non prorsus esse corruptam, sed aliquid boni adhuc in homine reliquum, etiam in rebus spiritualibus, videlicet bonitatem, capacitatem, aptitudinem, facultatem, industriam aut vires, quibus in rebus spiritualibus inchoare aliquid boni, operari aut cooperari valeat.

17] VII. Contra autem reiicimus etiam falsum dogma Manichaeorum, cum docetur, peccatum originis tamquam quiddam essentiale atque substantiale a Satana in naturam esse infusum et cum eadem permixtum, quemadmodum venenum et vinum miscentur.

18] VIII. Item, non ipsum animalem hominem, sed aliquid aliud et peregrinum quiddam, quod sit in homine, peccare, ideoque non ipsam naturam, sed tantummodo peccatum originale in natura existens accusari.

19] IX. Reiicimus etiam atque damnamus ut Manichaeum errorem, quando docetur, originale peccatum proprie, et quidem nullo posito discrimine, esse ipsam hominis corrupti substantiam, naturam et essentiam, ita ut inter naturam corruptam post lapsum, per se ipsam consideratam, et inter peccatum originis nulla prorsus sit differentia, neque ulla distinctio cogitari, aut saltem peccatum illud a natura cogitatione discerni possit.

20] X. D. Lutherus quidem originis illud malum peccatum naturae, personale, [R. 577 essentiale vocat, sed non eam ob causam, quasi natura, persona aut essentia hominis, absque omni discrimine, sit ipsum peccatum originis, sed ideo ad hunc modum loquitur, ut huiusmodi phrasibus discrimen inter peccatum originale, quod humanae naturae infixum est, et inter alia peccata, quae actualia vocantur, melius intelligi possit.

21] XI. Peccatum enim originis non est quoddam delictum, quod actu perpetratur, sed intime inhaeret infixum ipsi naturae, substantiae et essentiae hominis. Et quidem, si maxime nulla unquam prava cogitatio in corde hominis corrupti exoriretur, si nullum verbum otiosum proferretur, si nullum malum opus aut facinus designaretur, tamen natura nihi-

or, as though the above-mentioned defect and damage were not truly sin, because of which man without Christ [not ingrafted into Christ] would be a child of wrath.

3. We likewise reject the Pelagian error, by which it is alleged that man's nature even after the Fall is incorrupt, and especially with respect to spiritual things has remained entirely good and pure *in naturalibus, i. e.,* in its natural powers.

4. Also, that original sin is only a slight, insignificant spot on the outside, dashed upon the nature, or a blemish that has been blown upon it, beneath which [nevertheless] the nature has retained its good powers even in spiritual things.

5. Also, that original sin is only an external impediment to the good spiritual powers, and not a despoliation or want of the same, as when a magnet is smeared with garlic-juice, its natural power is not thereby removed, but only impeded; or that this stain can be easily wiped away like a spot from the face or pigment from the wall.

6. Also, that in man the human nature and essence are not entirely corrupt, but that man still has something good in him, even in spiritual things, namely, capacity, skill, aptness, or ability in spiritual things to begin, to work, or to help working for something [good].

7. On the other hand, we also reject the false dogma of the Manicheans, when it is taught that original sin, as something essential and self-subsisting, has been infused by Satan into the nature, and intermingled with it, as poison and wine are mixed.

8. Also, that not the natural man, but something else and extraneous to man, sins, on account of which not the nature, but only original sin in the nature, is accused.

9. We reject and condemn also as a Manichean error the doctrine that original sin is properly and without any distinction the substance, nature, and essence itself of the corrupt man, so that a distinction between the corrupt nature, as such, after the Fall and original sin should not even be conceived of, nor that they could be distinguished from one another [even] in thought.

10. Now, this original sin is called by Dr. Luther nature-sin, person-sin, essential sin, not because the nature, person, or essence of man is, without any distinction, itself original sin, but in order to indicate by such words the distinction between original sin, which inheres in human nature, and other sins, which are called actual sins.

11. For original sin is not a sin which is committed, but it inheres in the nature, substance, and essence of man, so that, though no wicked thought ever should arise in the heart of corrupt man, no idle word were

quell ist aller andern wirklichen Sünden, als böser Gedanken, Worte und Werke, wie geschrieben steht: „Aus dem Herzen kommen arge Gedanken"; item: „Das Dichten des menschlichen Herzens ist böse von Jugend auf." Matth. 15; Gen. 6.

12. So ist auch wohl zu merken der ungleiche Verstand des Wortes „Natur", dadurch die Manichäer ihren Irrtum bedecken und viel einfältige Leute irremachen. Denn zuzeiten heißt es des Menschen Wesen, als wenn gesagt wird: Gott hat die menschliche Natur geschaffen. Zuzeiten aber heißt es die Art und Unart eines Dinges, die in der Natur oder Wesen steckt, als wenn gesagt wird: Der Schlange Natur ist stechen, und des Menschen Natur und Art ist sündigen und Sünde; da das Wort „Natur" nicht die Substanz des Menschen, sondern etwas heißt, das in der Natur oder Substanz steckt.

13. Was aber die lateinischen Worte substantia und accidens belangt, weil es nicht Heiliger Schrift Worte sind, dazu dem gemeinen Mann unbekannt, sollen dieselben in den Predigten vor dem gemeinen unverständigen Volke nicht gebraucht, sondern des einfältigen Volks damit verschont werden.

Aber in der Schule bei den Gelehrten, weil sie wohl bekannt und ohne allen Mißverstand gebraucht, dadurch das Wesen eines jeden Dings, und was ihm zufälligerweise anhängt, eigentlich unterschieden [wird], werden solche Worte auch billig in der Disputation von der Erbsünde behalten.

Denn der Unterschied zwischen Gottes und des Teufels Werk auf das deutlichste dadurch angezeigt [wird], weil der Teufel keine Substanz schaffen, sondern allein zufälligerweise aus Gottes Verhängnis die von Gott erschaffene Substanz verderben kann.

lominus corrupta est per originale peccatum, quod nobis ratione corrupti seminis agnatum est, quod ipsum etiam scaturigo est omnium aliorum actualium peccatorum, ut sunt pravae cogitationes, prava colloquia, prave et scelerate facta. Sic enim scriptum legimus Matth. 15, 19: *Ex corde oriuntur cogitationes malae;* et alibi, Gen. 6, 5; 8, 21: *Omne figmentum cordis tantummodo malum est a pueritia.*

22] XII. Est etiam diligenter observanda varia significatio vocabuli *naturae,* cuius aequivocatione Manichaei abutentes errorem suum occultant, multosque simplices homines in errorem inducunt. Quandoque enim *natura* ipsam hominis substantiam significat, ut cum dicimus: Deus humanam naturam creavit. Interdum vero per vocabulum *naturae* intelligitur ingenium, conditio, defectus aut vitium alicuius rei, in ipsa natura insitum et inhaerens, ut cum dicimus: Serpentis natura est icere; hominis natura est peccare et peccatum. Et in hac posteriore significatione vocabulum *naturae* non ipsam hominis substantiam, sed aliquid, quod in natura aut substantia fixum inhaeret, denotat.

23] XIII. Quod vero ad Latina vocabula *substantiae* et *accidentis* attinet, cum [R. 578 ea non sint Scripturae Sacrae vocabula, praeterea etiam a plebe non intelligantur, abstinendum est ab illis in publicis sacris concionibus, ubi indocta plebs docetur, et hac in re simplicium et rudiorum merito habenda est ratio.

24] In scholis autem et apud homines doctos (quibus horum vocabulorum significatio nota est, et qui iisdem recte atque citra abusum uti possunt, proprie discernentes essentiam alicuius rei ab eo, quod aliunde ei accidit et per accidens inhaeret), in disputatione de peccato originis retinenda sunt.

25] Nam hisce vocabulis discrimen inter opus Dei et inter opus diaboli quam maxime perspicue explicari potest. Diabolus enim substantiam nullam creare, sed tantummodo per accidens, permittente Domino, substantiam a Deo creatam depravare potest.

II.

Vom freien Willen.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Die Hauptfrage in diesem Zwiespalt.

Nachdem des Menschen Wille in vier ungleichen Ständen gefunden, nämlich 1. vor dem Fall, 2. nach dem Fall, 3. nach der Wiedergeburt, 4. nach der Auferstehung des Fleisches, ist [so ist hier doch] die Hauptfrage allein von dem Willen und Vermögen des Menschen im andern Stande, was derselbe nach dem Fall unserer ersten Eltern vor seiner Wiedergeburt aus ihm [aus sich] selbst in geistlichen Sachen für Kräfte habe, und ob er vermöge, aus seinen eigenen Kräften, zuvor und ehe er durch den Geist Gottes wiedergeboren, sich zur Gnade Gottes [zu] schicken und [zu] bereiten und die durch den Heiligen Geist im Wort und heiligen Sakramenten angebotene Gnade an[zu]nehmen oder nicht.

II.

DE LIBERO ARBITRIO.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] Cum hominis voluntas quadruplicem habeat considerationem, primo ante lapsum, secundo post lapsum, tertio post regenerationem, quarto post resurrectionem carnis, nunc quaestio praecipua est tantum de voluntate et viribus hominis in secundo statu, quasnam vires post lapsum primorum parentum nostrorum ante regenerationem ex se ipso habeat in rebus spiritualibus: an propriis viribus, antequam per Spiritum Dei fuerit regeneratus, possit sese ad gratiam Dei applicare et praeparare, et num gratiam divinam (quae illi per Spiritum Sanctum in Verbo et sacramentis divinitus institutis offertur) accipere et apprehendere possit necne.

spoken, no wicked deed were done, yet the nature is nevertheless corrupted through original sin, which is born in us by reason of the sinful seed, and is a fountainhead of all other actual sins, as wicked thoughts, words, and works, as it is written Matt. 15, 19: ***Out of the heart proceed evil thoughts.*** Also Gen. 6, 5; 8, 21: *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.*

12. Thus there is also to be noted well the diverse signification of the word *nature*, whereby the Manicheans cover their error and lead astray many simple men. For sometimes it means the essence [the very substance] of man, as when it is said: God created human nature. But at other times it means the disposition and the vicious quality [disposition, condition, defect, or vice] of a thing, which inheres in the nature or essence, as when it is said: The nature of the serpent is to bite, and the nature and disposition of man is to sin, and is sin; here the word *nature* does not mean the substance of man, but something that inheres in the nature or substance.

13. But as to the Latin terms *substantia* and *accidens*, because they are not words of Holy Scripture, and besides unknown to the ordinary man, they should not be used in sermons before ordinary, uninstructed people, but simple people should be spared them.

But in the schools, among the learned, these words are rightly retained in disputations concerning original sin, because they are well known and used without any misunderstanding, to distinguish exactly between the essence of a thing and what attaches to it in an accidental way.

For the distinction between God's work and that of the devil is thereby designated in the clearest way, because the devil can create no substance, but can only, in an accidental way, by the providence of God [God permitting], corrupt the substance created by God.

II.

OF FREE WILL.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in This Controversy.

Since the will of man is found in four unlike states, namely: 1. before the Fall; 2. since the Fall; 3. after regeneration; 4. after the resurrection of the body, the chief question is only concerning the will and ability of man in the second state, namely, what powers in spiritual things he has of himself after the fall of our first parents and before regeneration, and whether he is able by his own powers, prior to and before his regeneration by God's Spirit, to dispose and prepare himself for God's grace, and to accept [and apprehend], or not, the grace offered through the Holy Ghost in the Word and holy [divinely instituted] Sacraments.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre vermöge Gottes Worts von diesem Artikel.

1. Hiervon ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, daß des Menschen Verstand und Vernunft in geistlichen Sachen blind, nichts verstehe aus seinen eigenen Kräften, wie geschrieben steht: „Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geist Gottes; es ist ihm eine Torheit und kann es nicht begreifen, wenn er wird von geistlichen Sachen gefragt", 1 Kor. 2.

2. Desgleichen glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß des Menschen unwiedergeborner Wille nicht allein von Gott abgewendet, sondern auch ein Feind Gottes worden [geworden ist], daß er nur Lust und Willen hat zum Bösen und was Gott zuwider ist, wie geschrieben steht: „Das Dichten des Menschenherzens ist böse von Jugend auf", Gen. 8; item: „Fleischlich gesinnet sein ist eine Feindschaft wider Gott, sintemal es dem Gesetz nicht untertan ist, denn es vermag es auch nicht", Röm. 8. Ja, sowenig ein toter Leib sich selbst lebendig machen kann zum leiblichen, irdischen Leben, so wenig mag [kann] der Mensch, so durch die Sünde geistlich tot ist, sich selbst zum geistlichen Leben aufrichten; wie geschrieben steht: „Da wir tot waren in Sünden, hat er uns samt Christo lebendig gemacht", Eph. 2. Darum wir auch „aus uns selbst, als aus uns, nicht tüchtig sind, etwas Gutes zu gedenken, sondern daß wir tüchtig sind, das ist von Gott", 2 Kor. 3.

3. Die Bekehrung aber wirkt Gott der Heilige Geist nicht ohne Mittel, sondern gebraucht dazu die Predigt und das Gehör Gottes Worts, wie geschrieben steht: „Das Evangelium ist eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen", Röm. 1; item: „Der Glaube kommt aus dem Gehör Gottes Worts", Röm. 10. Und ist Gottes Wille, daß man sein Wort hören und nicht die Ohren verstopfen solle, Ps. 95. Bei solchem Wort ist der Heilige Geist gegenwärtig und tut auf die Herzen, daß sie, wie die Lydia in der Apostelgeschichte am 16. Kapitel, darauf merken und also bekehrt werden allein durch die Gnade und Kraft des Heiligen Geistes, dessen Werk allein ist die Bekehrung des Menschen. Denn ohne seine Gnade ist unser Wollen und Laufen, unser Pflanzen, Säen und Begießen alles nichts, Röm. 9; 1 Kor. 3, wenn er nicht das Gedeihen dazu verleiht, wie Christus sagt: „Ohne mich vermögt ihr nichts." Mit welchen kurzen Worten er dem freien Willen seine Kräfte abspricht und alles der Gnade Gottes zuschreibt, damit sich nicht jemand vor Gott rühmen möchte, 1 Kor. 9, 16.

NEGATIVA.

Widerwärtige falsche Lehre.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir alle nachfolgenden Irrtümer als der Richtschnur Gottes Worts zuwider:

1. Den Schwarm der Philosophen, so man Stoicos genennet [genannt] hat, wie auch die Manichäer, die gelehrt haben, daß alles, was geschehe,

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Sincera doctrina de hoc articulo, cum immota regula Verbi divini congruens.

2] I. De hoc negotio haec est fides, doctrina et confessio nostra, quod videlicet hominis intellectus et ratio in rebus spiritualibus prorsus sint caeca, nihilque propriis viribus intelligere possint, sicut scriptum est 1 Cor. 2, 14: *Animalis homo non percipit ea, quae sunt Spiritus; stultitia illi est et non potest intelligere, quia de spiritualibus examinatur.*

3] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur etiam, voluntatem hominis nondum renatam non tantum a Deo esse aversam, verum etiam inimicam Deo factam, ita ut tantummodo ea velit et cupiat iisque delectetur, quae mala sunt et voluntati divinae repugnant. Scriptum est enim Gen. 8, 21: *Sensus et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua.* Item, Rom. 8, 7: *Affectus carnis inimicitia est adversus Deum, neque enim legi subiicitur, ac ne potest id quidem.* Itaque credimus, quantum abest, ut corpus mortuum se ipsum vivificare atque sibi ipsi corporalem vitam restituere possit, tantum abesse, ut homo, qui ratione peccati spiritualiter mortuus est, se ipsum in vitam spiritualem revocandi ullam facultatem habeat, sicut scriptum est Eph. 2, 5: *Cum essemus mortui in peccatis, convivificavit nos cum Christo* etc. 2 Cor. 3, 5: *Itaque etiam ex nobismet ipsis, tamquam ex nobis, non sumus idonei, ut aliquid boni cogitemus; quod vero idonei sumus, id ipsum a Deo est.*

4] III. Conversionem autem hominis operatur Spiritus Sanctus non sine mediis, sed ad eam efficiendam uti solet praedicatione et auscultatione Verbi Dei, sicut scriptum est Rom. 1, 16: *Evangelion est potentia Dei* [R. 580 5] *ad salutem omni credenti;* et Rom. 10, 17: *Fides est ex auditu Verbi Dei.* Et sane vult Dominus, ut ipsius *Verbum audiatur, neque ad illius praedicationem aures obdurentur* [obturentur], Ps. 95, 8. Huic Verbo adest praesens Spiritus Sanctus et corda hominum aperit, ut, sicut Lydia in Actis Apostolicis, 16, 14, diligenter attendant et ita convertantur sola gratia et virtute Spiritus Sancti, cuius unius 6] et solius opus est hominis conversio. Si enim Spiritus Sancti gratia absit, nostrum velle et currere, nostrum plantare, seminare et rigare prorsus frustranea sunt, Rom. 9, 16; 1 Cor. 3, 7; si videlicet ille incrementum non largiatur, sicut Christus inquit, Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Et hic quidem paucis verbis Christus libero arbitrio omnes vires derogat, omniaque gratiae divinae ascribit, *ne quis coram Deo habeat, de quo glorietur,* 1 Cor. 1, 29 [2 Cor. 12, 5]; Ier. 9, 23.

NEGATIVA.

Reiectio contrariae et falsae doctrinae.

7] Repudiamus igitur et damnamus omnes, quos iam recitabimus, errores cum Verbi divini regula non congruentes:

8] I. Primo delirum philosophorum Stoicorum dogma, quemadmodum et Manichaeorum furorem, qui docuerunt omnia, quae eveniant,

AFFIRMATIVA.

The Pure Doctrine concerning This Article, according to God's Word.

1. Concerning this subject, our doctrine, faith, and confession is, that in spiritual things the understanding and reason of man are [altogether] blind, and by their own powers understand nothing, as it is written 1 Cor. 2, 14: *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness to him; neither can he know them when he is examined concerning spiritual things.*

2. Likewise we believe, teach, and confess that the unregenerate will of man is not only turned away from God, but also has become an enemy of God, so that it only has an inclination and desire for that which is evil and contrary to God, as it is written Gen. 8, 21: *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.* Also Rom. 8, 7: *The carnal mind is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither, indeed, can be.* Yea, as little as a dead body can quicken itself to bodily, earthly life, so little can man, who by sin is spiritually dead, raise himself to spiritual life, as it is written Eph. 2, 5: *Even when we were dead in sins, He hath quickened us together with Christ;* 2 Cor. 3, 5: *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything good as of ourselves, but that we are sufficient is of God.*

3. God the Holy Ghost, however, does not effect conversion without means, but uses for this purpose the preaching and hearing of God's Word, as it is written Rom. 1, 16: *The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth.* Also Rom. 10, 17: *Faith cometh by hearing of the Word of God.* And it is God's will that His Word should be heard, and that man's ears should not be closed. Ps. 95, 8. With this Word the Holy Ghost is present, and opens hearts, so that they, as Lydia in Acts 16, 14, are attentive to it, and are thus converted alone through the grace and power of the Holy Ghost, whose work alone the conversion of man is. For without His grace, and if He do not grant the increase, our willing and running, our planting, sowing, and watering, all are nothing, as Christ says John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* With these brief words He denies to the free will its powers, and ascribes everything to God's grace, in order that no one may boast before God. 1 Cor. 1, 29; 2 Cor. 12, 5; Jer. 9, 23.

NEGATIVA.

Contrary False Doctrine.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn all the following errors as contrary to the standard of God's Word:

1. The delirium [insane dogma] of philosophers who are called Stoics, as also of the Manicheans, who taught that everything that

müsse also geschehen und könne nicht anders geschehen, und daß der Mensch alles aus Zwang tue, was er auch in äußerlichen Dingen handele, und zu bösen Werken und Taten, als Unzucht, Raub, Mord, Diebstahl und dergleichen, gezwungen werde.

2. Wir verwerfen auch der groben Pelagianer Irrtum, die gelehrt haben, daß der Mensch aus eigenen Kräften ohne die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes sich selbst zu Gott bekehren, dem Evangelio glauben, dem Gesetze Gottes mit Herzen gehorsamen und also Vergebung der Sünden und ewiges Leben verdienen könne.

3. Wir verwerfen auch der Halbpelagianer Irrtum, welche lehren, daß der Mensch aus eigenen Kräften den Anfang seiner Bekehrung machen, aber ohne die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes nicht vollbringen möge.

4. Item, da gelehrt wird, obwohl der Mensch mit seinem freien Willen vor seiner Wiedergeburt zu schwach, den Anfang zu machen und sich selbst aus eigenen Kräften zu Gott zu bekehren und Gottes Gesetz von Herzen gehorsam zu sein, jedoch, wenn der Heilige Geist mit der Predigt des Worts den Anfang gemacht und seine Gnade darin angeboten, daß alsdann der Wille des Menschen aus seinen eigenen natürlichen Kräften etlichermaßen etwas, wiewohl wenig und schwächlich, dazu tun, helfen und mitwirken, sich selbst zur Gnade schicken, bereiten, dieselbe ergreifen, annehmen und dem Evangelio glauben könne.

5. Item, daß der Mensch, nachdem er wiedergeboren, das Gesetz Gottes vollkommen halten und gänzlich erfüllen könne, und daß solche Erfüllung unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott sei, mit welcher wir das ewige Leben verdienen.

6. Item, wir verwerfen und verdammen auch den Irrtum der Enthusiasten, welche dichten, daß Gott ohne Mittel, ohne Gehör Gottes Worts, auch ohne Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente, die Menschen zu sich ziehe, erleuchte, gerecht und selig mache. (Enthusiasten heißen, die ohne die Predigt Gottes Worts auf himmlische Erleuchtung des Geistes warten.)

7. Item, daß Gott in der Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt des alten Adams Substanz und Wesen und sonderlich die vernünftige Seele ganz vertilge und ein neues Wesen der Seele aus nichts in der Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt erschaffe.

8. Item, wenn diese Reden ohne Erklärung gebraucht [werden], daß des Menschen Wille vor, in und nach der Bekehrung dem Heiligen Geist widerstrebe, und daß der Heilige Geist gegeben werde denen, so ihm vorsätzlich und beharrlich widerstreben; denn Gott in der Bekehrung **aus den Unwilligen Willige macht und in den Willigen wohnt,** wie Augustinus redet.

Was [so]dann die Reden der alten und neuen Kirchenlehrer belangt, als da gesagt wird: Deus trahit, sed volentem trahit, das ist: Gott zeucht [zieht], zeucht aber, die da wollen; item: Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid, das ist: Des Menschen Wille ist nicht müßig in der Bekehrung, sondern wirkt auch etwas: weil solche Reden zur Bestätigung des natürlichen freien Willens in der Bekehrung des

necessario fieri, et aliter fieri prorsus non posse, et hominem omnia coactum facere, etiam ea, quae in rebus externis agat, eumque ad designanda mala opera et scelera (qualia sunt libidines vagae, rapinae, caedes, furta et similia) cogi.

9] II. Repudiamus etiam crassum illum Pelagianorum errorem, qui asserere non dubitarunt, quod homo propriis viribus, sine gratia Spiritus Sancti sese ad Deum convertere, evangelio credere, legi divinae ex animo [R. 581 parere et hac ratione peccatorum remissionem ac vitam aeternam ipse promereri valeat.

10] III. Praeter hos errores reiicimus et Semipelagianorum falsum dogma, qui docent, hominem propriis viribus inchoare posse suam conversionem, absolvere autem sine Spiritus Sancti gratia non posse.

11] IV. Item, cum docetur, licet homo non renatus, ratione liberi arbitrii, ante sui regenerationem infirmior quidem sit, quam ut conversionis suae initium facere atque propriis viribus sese ad Deum convertere et legi Dei toto corde parere valeat, tamen, si Spiritus Sanctus praedicatione Verbi initium fecerit suamque gratiam in Verbo homini obtulerit, tum hominis voluntatem propriis et naturalibus suis viribus quodammodo aliquid, licet id modiculum, infirmum et languidum admodum sit, conversionem adiuvare atque cooperari et se ipsam ad gratiam applicare, praeparare, eam apprehendere, amplecti et evangelio credere posse.

12] V. Item, hominem post regenerationem legem Dei perfecte observare atque implere posse, eamque impletionem esse nostram coram Deo iustitiam, qua vitam aeternam promereamur.

13] VI. Reiicimus etiam damnamusque Enthusiastarum errorem, qui fingunt, Deum immediate, absque Verbi Dei auditu et sine sacramentorum usu, homines ad se trahere, illuminare, iustificare et salvare. (Enthusiastae vocantur, qui neglecta praedicatione Verbi divini coelestes revelationes Spiritus exspectant.)

14] VII. Item, Deum in conversione et regeneratione hominis substantiam et essentiam veteris Adami et praecipue animam rationalem penitus abolere, novamque animae essentiam ex nihilo in illa conversione et regeneratione creare.

15] VIII. Item, cum hi sermones citra declarationem usurpantur, quod videlicet hominis voluntas ante conversionem, in ipsa conversione et post conversionem Spiritui [R. 582 Sancto repugnet, et quod Spiritus Sanctus iis detur, qui ex proposito et pertinaciter ipsi resistunt. Nam Deus in conversione *ex nolentibus volentes facit et in volentibus habitat,* ut Augustinus loqui solet.

16] Quod vero ad dicta quaedam tum patrum tum neotericorum quorundam doctorum attinet: *Deus trahit, sed volentem trahit,* et: *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid:* iudicamus, haec formae sanorum verborum non esse analoga. Afferuntur enim haec dicta ad confirmandam falsam opinionem de viribus humani arbitrii in hominis conversione contra doctrinam, quae

happens must so happen, and cannot happen otherwise, and that everything that man does, even in outward things, he does by compulsion, and that he is coerced to evil works and deeds, as inchastity, robbery, murder, theft, and the like.

2. We reject also the error of the gross Pelagians, who taught that man by his own powers, without the grace of the Holy Ghost, can turn himself to God, believe the Gospel, be obedient from the heart to God's Law, and thus merit the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

3. We reject also the error of the Semi-Pelagians, who teach that man by his own powers can make a beginning of his conversion, but without the grace of the Holy Ghost cannot complete it.

4. Also, when it is taught that, although man by his free will before regeneration is too weak to make a beginning, and by his own powers to turn himself to God, and from the heart to be obedient to God, yet, if the Holy Ghost by the preaching of the Word has made a beginning, and therein offered His grace, then the will of man from its own natural powers can add something, though little and feebly, to this end, can help and cooperate, qualify and prepare itself for grace, and embrace and accept it, and believe the Gospel.

5. Also, that man, after he has been born again, can perfectly observe and completely fulfil God's Law, and that this fulfilling is our righteousness before God, by which we merit eternal life.

6. Also, we reject and condemn the error of the Enthusiasts, who imagine that God without means, without the hearing of God's Word, also without the use of the holy Sacraments, draws men to Himself, and enlightens, justifies, and saves them. (Enthusiasts we call those who expect the heavenly illumination of the Spirit [celestial revelations] without the preaching of God's Word.)

7. Also, that in conversion and regeneration God entirely exterminates the substance and essence of the old Adam, and especially the rational soul, and in conversion and regeneration creates a new essence of the soul out of nothing.

8. Also, when the following expressions are employed without explanation, namely, that the will of man before, in, and after conversion resists the Holy Ghost, and that the Holy Ghost is given to those who resist Him intentionally and persistently; for, as Augustine says, in conversion *God makes willing persons out of the unwilling and dwells in the willing.*

As to the expressions of ancient and modern teachers of the Church, when it is said: *Deus trahit, sed volentem trahit, i. e.,* God draws, but He draws the willing; likewise, *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid, i. e.,* In conversion the will of man is not idle, but also effects something, we maintain that, inasmuch as these expressions have been introduced for confirming [the false opinion concerning] the powers

Menſchen wider die Lehre von der Gnade Gottes eingeführt, halten wir, daß ſie der Form der geſunden Lehre nicht ähnlich und demnach, wenn von der Bekehrung zu Gott geredet wird, billig zu meiden ſeien.

Dagegen aber wird recht geredet, daß Gott in der Bekehrung durch das Ziehen des Heiligen Geiſtes aus widerſpenſtigen, unwilligen willige Menſchen mache, und daß nach ſolcher Bekehrung in täglicher Übung der Buße des Menſchen wiedergeborner Wille nicht müßig gehe, ſondern in allem Wirken [in allen Werken] des Heiligen Geiſtes, die er durch uns tut, auch mitwirke.

9. Item, das Doktor Luther geſchrieben, daß des Menſchen Wille in ſeiner Bekehrung ſich halte pure passive, das iſt, daß er ganz und gar nichts tue, daß ſolches zu verſtehen ſei respectu divinae gratiae in accendendis novis motibus, das iſt, wenn der Geiſt Gottes durch das gehörte Wort oder durch den [Ge]brauch der heiligen Sakramente des Menſchen Willen angreift und wirkt die neue Geburt und Bekehrung; denn ſo der Heilige Geiſt ſolches gewirkt und ausgerichtet [hat], und des Menſchen Wille allein durch ſeine göttliche Kraft und Wirkung geändert und erneuert [iſt], alsdann iſt der neue Wille des Menſchen ein Inſtrument und Werkzeug Gottes des Heiligen Geiſtes, daß er nicht allein die Gnade annimmt, ſondern auch in folgenden Werken des Heiligen Geiſtes mitwirkt.

Daß alſo vor der Bekehrung des Menſchen nur zwei wirkliche [bewirkende] Urſachen ſich finden, nämlich der Heilige Geiſt und das Wort Gottes, als das Inſtrument des Heiligen Geiſtes, dadurch er die Bekehrung wirkt, welches der Menſch hören ſoll, aber demſelben nicht aus eigenen Kräften, ſondern allein durch die Gnade und Wirkung Gottes des Heiligen Geiſtes Glauben geben und [es] annehmen kann.

soli gratiae divinae id opus attribuit. Ideoque ab eiusmodi sermonibus, quando de conversione hominis ad Deum agitur, abstinendum censemus.

17] Contra autem recte docetur, quod Dominus in conversione per Spiritus Sancti tractionem (id est, motum et operationem) ex hominibus repugnantibus et nolentibus volentes homines faciat, et quod post conversionem in quotidianis poenitentiae exercitiis hominis renati voluntas non sit otiosa, sed omnibus Spiritus Sancti operibus, quae ille per nos efficit, etiam cooperetur.

18] IX. Item, quod D. Lutherus scripsit, hominis voluntatem in conversione *pure passive* se habere, id recte et dextre est accipiendum, videlicet respectu divinae gratiae in accendendis novis motibus, hoc est, de eo intelligi oportet, quando Spiritus Dei per Verbum auditum aut per usum sacramentorum hominis voluntatem aggreditur et conversionem atque regenerationem in homine operatur. Postquam enim Spiritus Sanctus hoc ipsum iam operatus est atque effecit, hominisque voluntatem sola sua divina virtute et operatione immutavit atque renovavit, tunc revera hominis nova illa voluntas instrumentum est et organon Dei Spiritus Sancti, ut ea [R. 583 non modo gratiam apprehendat, verum etiam in operibus sequentibus Spiritui Sancto cooperetur.

19] Relinquuntur igitur ante conversionem hominis duae tantum efficientes causae (ad conversionem efficaces), nimirum Spiritus Sanctus et Verbum Dei, quod est instrumentum Spiritus Sancti, quo conversionem hominis efficit. Hoc Verbum homo certe audire debet, sed tamen, ut illud ipsum vera fide amplectatur, id nequaquam suis viribus propriis, sed sola gratia et operatione Dei Spiritus Sancti obtinere potest.

III.

Von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Hauptfrage in dieſem Zwieſpalt.

Weil einhellig vermöge Gottes Worts und nach Inhalt der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion in unſern Kirchen bekannt [wird], daß wir armen Sünder allein durch den Glauben an Chriſtum vor Gott gerecht und ſelig werden, und alſo Chriſtus allein unſere Gerechtigkeit ſei, welcher wahrhaftiger Gott und Menſch iſt, weil in ihm die göttliche und menſchliche Natur miteinander perſönlich vereinigt [ſind], Jer. 23; 1 Kor. 1; 2 Kor. 5, iſt eine Frage entſtanden, **nach welcher Natur Chriſtus unſere Gerechtigkeit ſei,** und [ſind] alſo zwei widerwärtige Irrtümer in etlichen Kirchen eingefallen.

Denn der eine Teil hat gehalten, daß Chriſtus allein nach der Gottheit unſere Gerechtigkeit ſei, wenn er durch den Glauben in uns wohnt, gegen welcher durch den Glauben einwohnenden Gottheit aller Menſchen Sünde wie ein Tropfen Waſſer

III.

DE IUSTITIA FIDEI CORAM DEO.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Unanimi consensu (ad normam Verbi divini 1] et sententiam Augustanae Confessionis) in ecclesiis nostris docetur, nos peccatores longe miserrimos sola in Christum fide coram Deo iustificari et salvari, ita ut Christus solus nostra sit iustitia. Hic autem Iesus Christus, Salvator noster et iustitia nostra, verus Deus est et verus homo: etenim divina et humana naturae in ipso sunt personaliter unitae, Ier. 23, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 30; 2 Cor. 5, 21. Quaesitum igitur fuit, *secundum quam naturam Christus nostra sit iustitia.* Et hac occasione duo errores, et quidem inter se pugnantes, ecclesias quasdam perturbarunt.

2] Una enim pars sensit, Christum tantummodo secundum divinam naturam esse nostram iustitiam, si videlicet ille per fidem in nobis habitet; etenim omnia hominum peccata, collata nimirum cum illa per fidem in-

of the natural free will in man's conversion, against the doctrine of God's grace, they do not conform to the form of sound doctrine, and therefore, when we speak of conversion to God, justly ought to be avoided.

But, on the other hand, it is correctly said that in conversion God, through the drawing of the Holy Ghost, makes out of stubborn and unwilling men willing ones, and that after such conversion in the daily exercise of repentance the regenerate will of man is not idle, but also cooperates in all the works of the Holy Ghost, which He performs through us.

9. Also what Dr. Luther has written, namely, that man's will in his conversion is *pure passive*, that is, that it does nothing whatever, is to be understood *respectu divinae gratiae in accendendis novis motibus*, that is, when God's Spirit, through the Word heard or the use of the holy Sacraments, lays hold upon man's will, and works [in man] the new birth and conversion. For when [after] the Holy Ghost has wrought and accomplished this, and man's will has been changed and renewed by His divine power and working alone, then the new will of man is an instrument and organ of God the Holy Ghost, so that he not only accepts grace, but also cooperates with the Holy Ghost in the works which follow.

Therefore, before the conversion of man there are only two efficient causes, namely, the Holy Ghost and the Word of God, as the instrument of the Holy Ghost, by which He works conversion. This Word man is [indeed] to hear; however, it is not by his own powers, but only through the grace and working of the Holy Ghost that he can yield faith to it and accept it.

III.

OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF FAITH BEFORE GOD.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in This Controversy.

Since it is unanimously confessed in our churches, in accordance with God's Word and the sense of the Augsburg Confession, that we poor sinners are justified before God and saved alone by faith in Christ, and thus Christ alone is our Righteousness, who is true God and man, because in Him the divine and human natures are personally united with one another, Jer. 23, 6; 1 Cor. 1, 30; 2 Cor. 5, 21, the question has arisen: *According to which nature is Christ our Righteousness?* and thus two contrary errors have arisen in some churches.

For the one side has held that Christ according to His divinity alone is our Righteousness, if He dwell in us by faith; con-

gegen dem großen Meer [gegen welche durch den Glauben einwohnende Gottheit aller Menschen Sünde wie ein Tropfen Wasser gegen das große Meer] geachtet sei. Dagegen haben andere gehalten, Christus sei unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott allein nach der menschlichen Natur.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre der christlichen Kirche wider beide jetzt gesetzten Irrtümer.

1. Wider beide jetzt erzählten Irrtümer glauben, lehren und bekennen wir einhelliglich, daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit weder nach der göttlichen Natur allein noch auch nach der menschlichen Natur allein, sondern der ganze Christus nach beiden Naturen allein in seinem Gehorsam sei, den er als Gott und Mensch dem Vater bis in Tod geleistet und uns damit Vergebung der Sünden und das ewige Leben verdient habe; wie geschrieben steht: „Gleichwie durch e i n e s Menschen Ungehorsam viel Sünder worden, also durch e i n e s Menschen Gehorsam werden viele gerecht", Röm. 5.

2. Demnach glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott sei, daß uns Gott die Sünde vergibt aus lauter Gnade, ohne alle unsere vor[her]gehenden, gegenwärtigen oder nachfolgenden Werke, Verdienst oder Würdigkeit, schenkt und rechnet uns zu die Gerechtigkeit des Gehorsams Christi, um welcher Gerechtigkeit willen wir bei Gott zu Gnaden angenommen und für gerecht gehalten werden.

3. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß allein der Glaube das Mittel und das Werkzeug sei, damit wir Christum und also in Christo solche Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, ergreifen, um welches willen uns solcher Glaube zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet wird, Röm. 4.

4. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß dieser Glaube nicht sei eine bloße Erkenntnis der Historie von Christo, sondern eine solche Gabe Gottes, dadurch wir Christum, unsern Erlöser, im Wort des Evangelii recht erkennen und auf ihn vertrauen, daß wir allein um seines Gehorsams willen aus Gnaden Vergebung der Sünden haben, für fromm und gerecht von Gott dem Vater gehalten und ewig selig werden.

5. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß nach Art Heiliger Schrift das Wort „rechtfertigen" in diesem Artikel heiße absolvieren, das ist, von Sünden ledig sprechen. „Wer den Gottlosen recht spricht und den Gerechten verdammet, der ist vor dem HErrn ein Greuel", Prov. 17; item: „Wer will die Auserwählten Gottes beschuldigen? Gott ist hie, der da gerecht machet", Röm. 8.

Und da an desselben Statt die Worte regeneratio und vivificatio, das ist, Lebendigmachung und Wiedergeburt, gebraucht [werden], wie in der Apologia geschieht, daß es auch in gleichem Verstand geschehe, dadurch sonst die Erneurung des Menschen verstanden und von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens unterschieden wird.

6. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, unangesehen daß den Rechtgläubigen und wahrhaftig Wiedergebornen auch noch viel Schwachheit und Gebrechen anhängt bis in die Grube, da sie doch habitante divinitate, esse instar unius [R. 584 guttulae aquae cum magno mari comparatae. Contra hanc opinionem alii quidam asserue-runt, Christum esse nostram coram Deo iustitiam duntaxat secundum humanam naturam.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera doctrina piarum ecclesiarum, utrique commemorato errori opposita.

3] I. Ad refellendum utrumque errorem credimus, docemus et confitemur unanimiter, quod Christus vere sit nostra iustitia, sed tamen neque secundum solam divinam naturam, neque secundum solam humanam naturam, sed totus Christus secundum utramque naturam in sola videlicet obedientia sua, quam Patri ad mortem usque absolutissimam Deus et homo praestitit, eaque nobis peccatorum omnium remissionem et vitam aeternam promeruit. Sicut scriptum est: *Sicut per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi, ita et per unius obedientiam iusti constituentur multi*, Rom. 5, 19.

4] II. Credimus igitur, docemus et confitemur, hoc ipsum nostram esse coram Deo iustitiam, quod Dominus nobis peccata remittit ex mera gratia, absque ullo respectu praecedentium, praesentium aut consequentium nostrorum operum, dignitatis aut meriti. Ille enim donat atque imputat nobis iustitiam obedientiae Christi; propter eam iustitiam a Deo in gratiam recipimur et iusti reputamur.

5] III. Credimus etiam, docemus et confitemur, solam fidem esse illud medium et instrumentum, quo Christum Salvatorem et ita in Christo iustitiam illam, quae coram iudicio Dei consistere potest, apprehendimus; propter Christum enim fides illa nobis ad iustitiam imputatur, Rom. 4, 5.

6] IV. Credimus praeterea, docemus [R. 585 et confitemur, fidem illam iustificantem non esse nudam notitiam historiae de Christo, sed ingens atque tale Dei donum, quo Christum, Redemptorem nostrum, in verbo evangelii recte agnoscimus ipsique confidimus, quod videlicet propter solam ipsius obedientiam ex gratia remissionem peccatorum habeamus, sancti et iusti coram Deo Patre reputemur et aeternam salutem consequamur.

7] V. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, vocabulum *iustificare* phrasi Scripturae Sacrae in hoc articulo idem significare, quod absolvere a peccatis, ut ex dicto Salomonis, Prov. 17, 15, intelligi potest: *Qui iustificat impium, et qui condemnat iustum, abominabilis est uterque apud Deum.* Item Rom. 8, 33: *Quis accusabit electos Dei? Deus est, qui iustificat.*

8] Et si quando pro vocabulo iustificationis vocabula *regenerationis* et *vivificationis* usurpantur (quod in Apologia Augustanae Confessionis factum est), sunt ea in illa superiore significatione accipienda. Nam alias eae voces de hominis renovatione intelligendae sunt, quae a fidei iustificatione recte discernitur.

9] VI. Credimus, docemus et confitemur etiam, etsi vere in Christum credentes et renati multis infirmitatibus et naevis usque ad mortem sunt obnoxii, non tamen illis vel de

trasted with this divinity, dwelling in us by faith, the sins of all men must be regarded as a drop of water compared to the great ocean. Others, on the contrary, have held that Christ is our Righteousness before God according to the human nature alone.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Pure Doctrine of the Christian Churches against Both Errors Just Mentioned.

1. Against both the errors just recounted, we unanimously believe, teach, and confess that Christ is our Righteousness neither according to the divine nature alone nor according to the human nature alone, but that it is the entire Christ according to both natures, in His obedience alone, which as God and man He rendered to the Father even unto death, and thereby merited for us the forgiveness of sins and eternal life, as it is written: *As by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous,* Rom. 5, 19.

2. Accordingly, we believe, teach, and confess that our righteousness before God is [this very thing], that God forgives us our sins out of pure grace, without any work, merit, or worthiness of ours preceding, present, or following, that He presents and imputes to us the righteousness of Christ's obedience, on account of which righteousness we are received into grace by God, and regarded as righteous.

3. We believe, teach, and confess that faith alone is the means and instrument whereby we lay hold of Christ, and thus in Christ of that righteousness which avails before God, for whose sake this faith is imputed to us for righteousness, Rom. 4, 5.

4. We believe, teach, and confess that this faith is not a bare knowledge of the history of Christ, but such a gift of God by which we come to the right knowledge of Christ as our Redeemer in the Word of the Gospel, and trust in Him that for the sake of His obedience alone we have, by grace, the forgiveness of sins, are regarded as holy and righteous before God the Father, and eternally saved.

5. We believe, teach, and confess that according to the usage of Holy Scripture the word *justify* means in this article, to absolve, that is, to declare free from sins. Prov. 17, 15: *He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the righteous, even they both are abomination to the Lord.* Also Rom. 8, 33: *Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth.*

And when, in place of this, the words *regeneratio* and *vivificatio,* that is, regeneration and vivification, are employed, as in the *Apology,* this is done in the same sense. By these terms, in other places, the renewal of man is understood, and distinguished from justification by faith.

6. We believe, teach, and confess also that notwithstanding the fact that many weaknesses and defects cling to the true believers and truly regenerate, even to the grave, still they must not on that account doubt either

[daß sie doch] der Ursache halben weder an ihrer Gerechtigkeit, so ihnen durch den Glauben zugerechnet, noch an ihrer Seelen Seligkeit zweifeln, sondern für gewiß halten sollen, daß sie um Christus' willen vermöge der Verheißung und Worts des heiligen Evangelii einen gnädigen Gott haben.

7. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß zur Erhaltung reiner Lehre von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott über den particulis exclusivis, das ist, über [den] nachfolgenden Worten des heiligen Apostels Pauli, dadurch der [das] Verdienst Christi von unsern Werken gänzlich abgesondert und Christo die Ehre allein gegeben [wird], mit besonderem Fleiß zu halten sei, da der heilige Apostel Paulus schreibt: „Aus Gnaden, ohne Verdienst, ohne Gesetz, ohne Werke, nicht aus den Werken", welche Worte alle zugleich so viel heißen als: **allein durch den Glauben an Christum werden wir gerecht und selig.**

8. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß, obwohl vor[her]gehende Reue und nachfolgende gute Werke nicht in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung vor Gott gehören, jedoch soll nicht ein solcher Glaube gedichtet werden, der bei und neben einem bösen Vorsatz zu sündigen und wider das Gewissen zu handeln, sein und bleiben könnte; sondern nachdem der Mensch durch den Glauben gerechtfertigt worden, alsdann ist ein wahrhaftiger, lebendiger Glaube durch die Liebe tätig, Gal. 5, also daß die guten Werke dem gerechtmachenden Glauben allezeit folgen und bei demselben, da er rechtschaffen und lebendig, gewißlich erfunden werden; wie er denn nimmer allein ist, sondern allezeit Liebe und Hoffnung bei sich hat.

ANTITHESIS oder NEGATIVA.

Gegenlehre verworfen.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir alle nachfolgenden Irrtümer:

1. Daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit sei allein nach der göttlichen Natur;

2. Daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit sei allein nach der menschlichen Natur;

3. Daß in den Sprüchen der Propheten und Apostel, da von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens geredet wird, die Worte „rechtfertigen" und „gerechtfertigt werden" nicht sollen heißen, von Sünden ledig sprechen oder gesprochen werden und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, sondern von wegen der durch den Heiligen Geist eingegossenen Liebe, Tugend und daraus folgenden Werke mit der Tat vor Gott gerecht gemacht werden;

4. Daß der Glaube nicht allein ansehe den Gehorsam Christi, sondern seine göttliche Natur, wie dieselbe in uns wohnt und wirkt, und durch solche Einwohnung unsere Sünden bedeckt werden;

5. Daß der Glaube ein solch Vertrauen auf den Gehorsam Christi sei, welcher in einem Menschen sein und bleiben könne, der gleich keine wahrhaftige Buße habe, da auch keine Liebe folge, sondern [der Mensch] wider sein Gewissen in Sünden verharrt;

6. Daß nicht Gott selbst, sondern allein die Gaben Gottes in den Gläubigen wohnen;

7. Daß der Glaube darum selig mache, weil die Erneurung, so in der Liebe gegen Gott und den Nächsten stehe, in uns durch den Glauben angefangen werde;

iustitia, quae per fidem ipsis imputatur, vel de aeterna salute esse dubitandum, quin potius firmiter illis statuendum esse, quod propter Christum iuxta promissionem et immotum verbum evangelii Deum sibi placatum habeant.

10] VII. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod ad conservandam puram doctrinam de iustitia fidei coram Deo necessarium sit, ut particulae exclusivae (quibus apostolus Paulus Christi meritum ab operibus nostris prorsus separat solique Christo eam gloriam tribuit) quam diligentissime retineantur, [R. 586 ut cum Paulus scribit: *Ex gratia, gratis, sine meritis, absque lege, sine operibus, non ex operibus.* Quae omnia hoc ipsum dicunt: *Sola fide in Christum iustificamur et salvamur.* [Eph. 2, 8; Rom. 1, 17; 3, 24; 4, 3 sqq.; Gal. 3, 11; Ebr. 11.]

11] VIII. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, etsi antecedens contritio et subsequens nova obedientia ad articulum iustificationis coram Deo non pertinent, non tamen talem fidem iustificantem esse fingendam, quae una cum malo proposito, peccandi videlicet et contra conscientiam agendi, esse et stare possit. Sed postquam homo per fidem est iustificatus, tum veram illam et vivam fidem esse per caritatem efficacem, Gal. 5, 6, et bona opera semper fidem iustificantem sequi et una cum ea, si modo vera et viva fides est, certissime deprehendi. Fides enim vera nunquam sola est, quin caritatem et spem semper secum habeat.

ANTITHESIS seu NEGATIVA.

Reiectio contrariae et falsae doctrinae.

12] Repudiamus ergo et damnamus omnia falsa dogmata, quae iam recitabimus:

13] I. Christum esse iustitiam nostram solummodo secundum divinam naturam;

14] II. Christum esse iustitiam nostram tantummodo iuxta humanam naturam;

15] III. In dictis propheticis et apostolicis, ubi de iustificatione fidei agitur, vocabula *iustificare* et *iustificari* non idem esse, ac a peccatis absolvere et absolvi et remissionem peccatorum consequi, sed nos per caritatem a Spiritu Sancto infusam, per virtutes [R. 587 et per opera, quae a caritate promanant, re ipsa coram Deo iustos fieri;

16] IV. Fidem non respicere in solam Christi obedientiam, sed in divinam eius naturam, quatenus videlicet ea in nobis habitet atque efficax sit, ut per eam inhabitationem peccata nostra tegantur;

17] V. Fidem esse talem fiduciam in obedientiam Christi, quae possit in eo etiam homine permanere et consistere, qui vera poenitentia careat, et ubi caritas non sequatur, sed qui contra conscientiam in peccatis perseveret;

18] VI. Non ipsum Deum, sed tantum dona Dei in credentibus habitare;

19] VII. Fidem ideo salutem nobis conferre, quod novitas illa, quae in dilectione erga Deum et proximum consistit, per fidem in nobis inchoetur;

their righteousness which has been imputed to them by faith, or the salvation of their souls, but must regard it as certain that for Christ's sake, according to the promise and [immovable] Word of the holy Gospel, they have a gracious God.

7. We believe, teach, and confess that for the preservation of the pure doctrine concerning the righteousness of faith before God it is necessary to urge with special diligence the *particulae exclusivae*, that is, the exclusive particles, *i. e.*, the following words of the holy Apostle Paul, by which the merit of Christ is entirely separated from our works, and the honor given to Christ alone, when the holy Apostle Paul writes: *Of grace, without merit, without Law, without works, not of works.* All these words together mean as much as that *we are justified and saved alone by faith in Christ.* Eph. 2, 8; Rom. 1, 17; 3, 24; 4, 3 ff.; Gal. 3, 11; Heb. 11.

8. We believe, teach, and confess that, although the contrition that precedes, and the good works that follow, do not belong to the article of justification before God, yet one is not to imagine a faith of such a kind as can exist and abide with, and alongside of, a wicked intention to sin and to act against the conscience. But after man has been justified by faith, then a true living faith worketh by love, Gal. 5, 6, so that thus good works always follow justifying faith, and are surely found with it, if it be true and living; for it never is alone, but always has with it love and hope.

ANTITHESIS or NEGATIVA.

Contrary Doctrine Rejected.

Therefore we reject and condemn all the following errors:

1. That Christ is our Righteousness according to His divine nature alone.

2. That Christ is our Righteousness according to His human nature alone.

3. That in the sayings of the prophets and apostles where the righteousness of faith is spoken of the words *justify* and *to be justified* are not to signify declaring or being declared free from sins, and obtaining the forgiveness of sins, but actually being made righteous before God, because of love infused by the Holy Ghost, virtues, and the works following them.

4. That faith looks not only to the obedience of Christ, but to His divine nature, as it dwells and works in us, and that by this indwelling our sins are covered.

5. That faith is such a trust in the obedience of Christ as can exist and remain in a man even when he has no genuine repentance, in whom also no love follows, but who persists in sins against his conscience.

6. That not God Himself, but only the gifts of God, dwell in believers.

7. That faith saves on this account, because by faith the renewal, which consists in love to God and one's neighbor, is begun in us.

8. Daß der Glaube den Vorzug habe in der Rechtfertigung, gleichwohl gehöre auch die Erneurung und die Liebe zu unserer Gerechtigkeit vor Gott, dergestalt daß sie wohl nicht die vornehmste Ursache unserer Gerechtigkeit, aber gleichwohl unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott ohne solche Liebe und Erneurung nicht ganz oder vollkommen sei;

9. Daß die Gläubigen vor Gott gerechtfertigt werden und selig seien zugleich durch die zugerechnete Gerechtigkeit Christi und durch den angefangenen neuen Gehorsam oder zum Teil durch die Zurechnung der Gerechtigkeit Christi, zum Teil aber durch den angefangenen neuen Gehorsam;

10. Daß uns die Verheißung der Gnade zugeeignet werde durch den Glauben im Herzen und durch die [durch das] Bekenntnis, so mit dem Munde geschieht, und durch andere Tugenden;

11. Daß der Glaube nicht rechtfertige ohne die guten Werke, also daß die guten Werke notwendig zur Gerechtigkeit erfordert, ohne derselben Gegenwärtigkeit der Mensch nicht gerechtfertigt werden könne.

20] VIII. Fidem in iustificationis negotio primas quidem partes tenere, sed tamen etiam renovationem et caritatem ad iustitiam nostram coram Deo pertinere, ita ut renovatio et caritas quidem non sint principalis causa nostrae iustitiae, sed tamen iustitiam nostram coram Deo (si absint renovatio et caritas), non esse integram et perfectam;

21] IX. Credentes in Christum coram Deo iustos esse et salvos simul per imputatam Christi iustitiam et per inchoatam novam obedientiam, vel partim quidem per imputationem iustitiae Christi, partim vero per inchoatam novam obedientiam;

22] X. Promissionem gratiae nobis applicari per fidem in corde et praeterea etiam per confessionem, quae ore fit, et per alias virtutes;

23] XI. Fidem non iustificare sine bonis operibus, itaque bona opera necessario ad iustitiam requiri, et absque eorum praesentia hominem iustificari non posse.

IV.

Von guten Werken.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Die Hauptfrage im Streit von den guten Werken.

Über der Lehre von guten Werken sind zweierlei Spaltungen in etlichen Kirchen entstanden. Erstlich haben sich etliche Theologen über nachfolgenden Reden getrennt, da der eine Teil geschrieben:

1. „Gute Werke sind nötig zur Seligkeit; es ist unmöglich, ohne gute Werke selig zu werden"; item: „Es ist niemals jemand ohne gute Werke selig [ge]worden"; der andere aber dagegen geschrieben: „Gute Werke sind schädlich zur Seligkeit."

2. Danach hat sich auch zwischen etlichen Theologen über den beiden Worten „nötig" und „frei" eine Trennung erhoben, da der eine Teil gestritten, man solle das Wort „nötig" nicht brauchen von dem neuen Gehorsam, der nicht aus Not und Zwang, sondern aus freiwilligem Geist herfließe; der andere Teil hat über dem Wort „nötig" gehalten, weil solcher Gehorsam nicht in unserer Willkür stehe, sondern die wiedergebornen Menschen schuldig seien, solchen Gehorsam zu leisten.

Aus welcher Disputation über den Worten nachmals ein Streit von der Sache an ihr selbst sich zugetragen, daß der eine Teil gestritten, man sollte ganz und gar unter den Christen das Gesetz nicht treiben, sondern allein aus dem heiligen Evangelio die Leute zu guten Werken vermahnen; der andere hat es widersprochen.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre der christlichen Kirche von diesem Streit.

Zu gründlicher Erklärung und Hinlegung [Beilegung] dieses Zwiespalts ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis:

1. Daß gute Werke dem wahrhaftigen Glauben, wenn derselbe nicht ein toter, sondern ein leben-

IV.

DE BONIS OPERIBUS. [R. 588

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] In doctrina de bonis operibus duae controversiae in quibusdam ecclesiis ortae sunt:

2] I. Primum schisma inter theologos quosdam factum est, cum alii assererent, *bona opera necessaria esse ad salutem, impossibile esse salvari sine bonis operibus, et neminem unquam sine bonis operibus salvatum esse;* alii vero docerent, *bona opera ad salutem esse perniciosa.*

3] II. Alterum schisma inter theologos nonnullos super vocabulis *necessarium* et *liberum* ortum est. Altera enim pars contendit, vocabulum *necessarium* non esse usurpandum de nova obedientia; eam enim non a necessitate quadam et coactione, sed a spontaneo spiritu promanare. Altera vero pars vocabulum *necessarium* prorsus retinendum censuit, propterea quod illa obedientia non in nostro arbitrio posita et libera sit, sed homines renatos illud obsequium debere praestare.

4] Et dum de commemoratis illis vocabulis disputatum est, tandem etiam de re ipsa fuit disceptatum. Alii enim contenderunt, legem apud Christianos prorsus non esse docendam, sed tantummodo doctrina evangelii homines ad bona opera invitandos esse. Alii hanc opinionem impugnarunt.

AFFIRMATIVA. [R. 589

Sincera ecclesiae doctrina de hac controversia.

5] Ut hae controversiae solide et dextre explicentur atque decidantur, haec nostra fides, doctrina et confessio est:

6] I. Quod bona opera veram fidem (si modo ea non sit mortua, sed viva fides) certissime

8. That faith has the first place in justification, nevertheless also renewal and love belong to our righteousness before God in such a manner that they [renewal and love] are indeed not the chief cause of our righteousness, but that nevertheless our righteousness before God is not entire or perfect without this love and renewal.

9. That believers are justified before God and saved jointly by the imputed righteousness of Christ and by the new obedience begun in them, or in part by the imputation of Christ's righteousness, but in part also by the new obedience begun in them.

10. That the promise of grace is made our own by faith in the heart, and by the confession which is made with the mouth, and by other virtues.

11. That faith does not justify without good works; so that good works are necessarily required for righteousness, and without their presence man cannot be justified.

IV.

OF GOOD WORKS.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in the Controversy concerning Good Works.

Concerning the doctrine of good works two divisions have arisen in some churches:

1. First, some theologians have become divided because of the following expressions, where the one side wrote: *Good works are necessary for salvation. It is impossible to be saved without good works.* Also: *No one has ever been saved without good works.* But the other side, on the contrary, wrote: *Good works are injurious to salvation.*

2. Afterwards a schism arose also between some theologians with respect to the two words *necessary* and *free*, since the one side contended that the word *necessary* should not be employed concerning the new obedience, which, they say, does not flow from necessity and coercion, but from a voluntary spirit. The other side insisted on the word *necessary*, because, they say, this obedience is not at our option, but regenerate men are obliged to render this obedience.

From this disputation concerning the terms a controversy afterwards occurred concerning the subject itself; for the one side contended that among Christians the Law should not be urged at all, but men should be exhorted to good works from the Holy Gospel alone; the other side contradicted this.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Pure Doctrine of the Christian Churches concerning This Controversy.

For the thorough statement and decision of this controversy our doctrine, faith, and confession is:

1. That good works certainly and without

diger Glaube ist, gewißlich und ungezweifelt folgen als Früchte eines guten Baumes.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß die guten Werke gleich so wohl, wenn von der Seligkeit gefragt wird, als im Artikel der Rechtfertigung vor Gott gänzlich ausgeschlossen werden sollen, wie der Apostel mit klaren Worten bezeugt, da er also geschrieben: „Nach welcher Weise auch David sagt, daß die Seligkeit sei allein des Menschen, welchem Gott zurechnet die Gerechtigkeit ohne Zutun der Werke, da er spricht: Selig sind die, welchen ihre Ungerechtigkeit nicht zugerechnet wird", Röm. 4; und abermals: „Aus Gnaden seid ihr selig worden; Gottes Gabe ist es, nicht aus den Werken, auf daß sich nicht jemand rühme", Eph. 2.

3. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß alle Menschen, sonderlich aber die durch den Heiligen Geist wiedergeboren und erneuert [sind], schuldig seien, gute Werke zu tun.

4. In welchem Verstande die Worte „nötig", „sollen" und „müssen" recht und christlich auch von den Wiedergebornen gebraucht werden und keineswegs dem Vorbilde gesunder Worte und Reden zuwider sind.

5. Doch soll durch ermeldete Worte necessitas, necessarium, „Not" und „notwendig", wenn von den Wiedergebornen geredet [wird], nicht ein Zwang, sondern allein der schuldige Gehorsam verstanden werden, welchen die Rechtgläubigen [die wahrhaft Gläubigen], soviel sie wiedergeboren, nicht aus Zwang oder Treiben des Gesetzes, sondern aus freiwilligem Geiste leisten, weil sie nicht mehr unter dem Gesetze, sondern unter der Gnade sind, Röm. 7 und 8.

6. Demnach glauben, lehren und bekennen wir auch, wenn gesagt wird: Die Wiedergebornen tun gute Werke aus einem freien Geist, daß solches nicht verstanden werden soll, als ob es in des wiedergebornen Menschen Willkür stehe, Gutes zu tun oder zu lassen, wann er wolle, und gleichwohl den Glauben behalten möge, wenn er in Sünden vorsätzlich verharrt.

7. Welches doch anders nicht verstanden werden soll, denn wie es der HErr Christus und seine Apostel selbst erkläret [erklären], nämlich von dem freigemachten Geist, daß er solches nicht tue aus Furcht der Strafe, wie ein Knecht, sondern aus Liebe der [aus Liebe zur] Gerechtigkeit, wie die Kinder, Röm. 8.

8. Wiewohl diese Freiwilligkeit in den auserwählten Kindern Gottes nicht vollkommen, sondern mit großer Schwachheit beladen ist, wie St. Paulus über sich selbst klagt Röm. 7, Gal. 5.

9. Welche Schwachheit doch der HErr seinen Auserwählten nicht zurechnet um des HErrn Christi willen, wie geschrieben steht: „Es ist nun nichts Verdammliches in denen, so in Christo JEsu sind", Röm. 8.

10. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß den Glauben und die Seligkeit in uns nicht die Werke, sondern allein der Geist Gottes durch den Glauben erhalte, des Gegenwärtigkeit und Inwohnung [Einwohnung] die guten Werke Zeugen sind.

atque indubitato sequantur tamquam fructus bonae arboris.

7] II. Credimus etiam, docemus et confitemur, quod bona opera penitus excludenda sint, non tantum cum de iustificatione fidei agitur, sed etiam cum de salute nostra aeterna disputatur, sicut apostolus perspicuis verbis testatur, cum ait Rom. 4, 6: *Sicut et David dicit* [Ps. 32, 1 sq.] *beatitudinem hominis, cui Deus accepto fert iustitiam sine operibus. Beati, quorum remissae sunt iniquitates, et quorum tecta sunt peccata. Beatus vir, cui non imputavit Dominus peccatum* etc. Et alibi, Eph. 2, 8 sq.: *Gratia*, inquit, *estis salvati per fidem, et hoc non ex vobis; Dei enim donum est, non ex operibus, ne quis glorietur.*

8] III. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, omnes quidem homines, praecipue vero eos, qui per Spiritum Sanctum regenerati sunt et renovati, ad bona opera facienda debitores esse.

9] IV. Et in hac sententia vocabula illa *necessarium, debere, oportere* recte usurpantur etiam de renatis hominibus et cum forma sanorum verborum non pugnant.

10] V. Sed tamen per vocabula *necessitas, necessarium*, quando videlicet de renatis est sermo, non intelligenda est coactio, sed tantum debita illa obedientia, quam vere credentes, quatenus renati sunt, non ex coactione aut compulsu legis, sed libero et spontaneo [R. 590 spiritu praestant, quandoquidem non amplius sub lege sunt, sed sub gratia, Rom. [6, 14] 7, 6; 8, 14.

11] VI. Credimus igitur, docemus et confitemur, cum dicitur, renatos bene operari libero et spontaneo spiritu, id non ita accipiendum esse, quod in hominis renati arbitrio relictum sit bene aut male agere, quando ipsi visum fuerit, ut nihilominus tamen fidem retineat, etiamsi in peccatis ex proposito perseveret.

12] VII. Hoc tamen non aliter quam de spiritu hominis iam liberato intelligendum est, sicut hanc rem ipse Christus eiusque apostoli declarant, quod videlicet spiritus hominis liberatus bene operetur, non formidine poenae ut servus, sed iustitiae amore, qualem obedientiam filii praestare solent, Rom. 8, 15.

13] VIII. Hanc vero libertatem spiritus in electis Dei filiis non perfectam, sed multiplici infirmitate adhuc gravatam agnoscimus, quemadmodum divus Paulus super ea re de sua ipsius persona conqueritur, Rom. 7, 14—25; Gal. 5, 17.

14] IX. Illam tamen infirmitatem Dominus electis suis non imputat, idque propter mediatorem Christum. Sic enim scriptum est Rom. 8, 1: *Nihil iam damnationis est his, qui in Christo Iesu sunt.*

15] X. Credimus praeterea, docemus et confitemur, fidem et salutem in nobis conservari aut retineri non per opera, sed tantum per Spiritum Dei et per fidem (qua scilicet salus custoditur), bona autem opera testimonia esse, quod Spiritus Sanctus praesens sit atque in nobis habitet.

doubt follow true faith, if it is not a dead, but a living faith, as fruits of a good tree.

2. We believe, teach, and confess also that good works should be entirely excluded, just as well in the question concerning salvation as in the article of justification before God, as the apostle testifies with clear words, when he writes as follows: *Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin,* Rom. 4, 6 ff. And again: *By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, it is the gift of God; not of works, lest any man should boast,* Eph. 2, 8. 9.

3. We believe, teach, and confess also that all men, but those especially who are born again and renewed by the Holy Ghost, are bound to do good works.

4. In this sense the words *necessary, shall,* and *must* are employed correctly and in a Christian manner also with respect to the regenerate, and in no way are contrary to the form of sound words and speech.

5. Nevertheless, by the words mentioned, *necessitas, necessarium, necessity* and *necessary,* if they be employed concerning the regenerate, not coercion, but only due obedience is to be understood, which the truly believing, so far as they are regenerate, render not from coercion or the driving of the Law, but from a voluntary spirit; because they are no more under the Law, but under grace, Rom. 6, 14; 7, 6; 8, 14.

6. Accordingly, we also believe, teach, and confess that when it is said: The regenerate do good works from a free spirit, this is not to be understood as though it is at the option of the regenerate man to do or to forbear doing good when he wishes, and that he can nevertheless retain faith if he intentionally perseveres in sins.

7. Yet this is not to be understood otherwise than as the Lord Christ and His apostles themselves declare, namely, regarding the liberated spirit, that it does not do this from fear of punishment, like a servant, but from love of righteousness, like children, Rom. 8, 15.

8. Although this voluntariness [liberty of spirit] in the elect children of God is not perfect, but burdened with great weakness, as St. Paul complains concerning himself, Rom. 7, 14—25; Gal. 5, 17;

9. Nevertheless, for the sake of the Lord Christ, the Lord does not impute this weakness to His elect, as it is written: *There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus,* Rom. 8, 1.

10. We believe, teach, and confess also that not works maintain faith and salvation in us, but the Spirit of God alone, through faith, of whose presence and indwelling good works are evidences.

NEGATIVA.

Falſche Gegenlehre.

1. Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir dieſe Weiſe zu reden, wenn gelehrt und geſchrieben wird, daß gute Werke nötig ſeien zur Seligkeit; item, daß niemand jemals ohne gute Werke ſei ſelig [ge]worden; item, daß es unmöglich ſei, ohne gute Werke ſelig [zu] werden.

2. Wir verwerfen und verdammen dieſe bloße Rede als ärgerlich und chriſtlicher Zucht nachteilig, wenn geredet wird: Gute Werke ſind ſchädlich zur Seligkeit.

Denn beſonders zu dieſen letzten Zeiten nicht weniger vonnöten [iſt], die Leute zu chriſtlicher Zucht und guten Werken zu vermahnen und zu erinnern, wie nötig es ſei, daß ſie zur Anzeigung ihres Glaubens und Dankbarkeit bei [gegen] Gott ſich in guten Werken üben, als daß die Werke in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung nicht eingemengt werden, weil durch einen epikuriſchen Wahn vom Glauben die Menſchen ſowohl als durch das papiſtiſche und phariſäiſche Vertrauen auf eigene Werke und Verdienſte verdammt werden können.

3. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch, wenn gelehrt wird, daß der Glaube und Einwohnung des Heiligen Geiſtes nicht durch mutwillige Sünden verloren werden, ſondern daß die Heiligen und Auserwählten den Heiligen Geiſt behalten, wenn ſie gleich in Ehebruch und andere Sünden fallen und darin verharren.

NEGATIVA.

Falsa doctrina, superiori repugnans.

16] I. Reiicimus igitur et damnamus subsequentes phrases, cum docetur, bona opera necessaria esse ad salutem; neminem [R. 591 unquam sine bonis operibus salvatum; impossibile esse, sine bonis operibus salvari.

17] II. Repudiamus et damnamus nudam hanc, offendiculi plenam et Christianae disciplinae perniciosam phrasin: bona opera noxia esse ad salutem.

18] His enim postremis temporibus non minus necessarium est, ut homines ad recte et pie vivendi rationem bonaque opera invitentur atque moneantur, quam necessarium sit, ut ad declarandam fidem atque gratitudinem suam erga Deum in bonis operibus sese exerceant: quam necessarium est cavere, ne bona opera negotio iustificationis admisceantur. Non minus enim homines Epicurea persuasione de fide quam Pharisaica et papistica fiducia in propria opera et merita damnationem incurrere possunt.

19] III. Praeterea reprobamus atque damnamus dogma illud, quod fides in Christum non amittatur, et Spiritus Sanctus nihilominus in homine habitet, etiamsi sciens volensque peccet, et quod sancti atque electi Spiritum Sanctum retineant, tametsi in adulterium aut in alia scelera prolabantur et in iis perseverent.

V.

Vom Geſetz und Evangelio.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Die Hauptfrage in dieſem Zwieſpalt.

Ob die Predigt des heiligen Evangelii eigentlich ſei nicht allein eine Gnadenpredigt, die Vergebung der Sünden verkündigt, ſondern auch eine Buß- und Strafpredigt, welche den Unglauben ſtraft, der im Geſetz nicht geſtraft, ſondern allein durch das Evangelium geſtraft werde.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre Gottes Worts.

1. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß der Unterſchied des Geſetzes und Evangelii als ein beſonder herrlich Licht mit großem Fleiß in der Kirche zu erhalten [ſei], dadurch das Wort Gottes nach der Vermahnung St. Pauli recht geteilt wird.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß das Geſetz eigentlich ſei eine göttliche Lehre, welche lehrt, was recht und Gott gefällig, und ſtraft alles, was Sünde und Gottes Willen zuwider iſt.

3. Darum denn alles, was Sünde ſtraft, iſt und gehört zur Predigt des Geſetzes.

4. Das Evangelium aber ſei eigentlich eine ſolche Lehre, die da lehrt, was der Menſch glauben ſoll, der das Geſetz nicht gehalten [hat] und durch das-

V.

DE LEGE ET EVANGELIO.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] Quaesitum fuit: an evangelium proprie sit tantummodo concio de gratia Dei, quae remissionem peccatorum nobis annuntiet, an vero etiam sit concio poenitentiae arguens peccatum incredulitatis, quippe quae non per legem, sed per evangelion duntaxat arguatur.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera doctrina cum norma Verbi Dei congruens. [R. 592

2] I. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, discrimen legis et evangelii ut clarissimum quoddam lumen singulari diligentia in ecclesia Dei retinendum esse, ut Verbum Dei, iuxta admonitionem divi Pauli, recte secari queat.

3] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, legem esse proprie doctrinam divinitus revelatam, quae doceat, quid iustum Deoque gratum sit, quae etiam, quidquid peccatum est et voluntati divinae adversatur, redarguat.

4] III. Quare, quidquid exstat in sacris litteris, quod peccata arguit, id revera ad legis concionem pertinet.

5] IV. Evangelion vero proprie doctrinam esse censemus, quae doceat, quid homo credere debeat, qui legi Dei non satisfecit et idcirco

NEGATIVA.

False Contrary Doctrine.

1. Accordingly, we reject and condemn the following modes of speaking: when it is taught and written that good works are necessary to salvation; also, that no one ever has been saved without good works; also, that it is impossible to be saved without good works.

2. We reject and condemn as offensive and detrimental to Christian discipline the bare expression, when it is said: Good works are injurious to salvation.

For especially in these last times it is no less needful to admonish men to Christian discipline [to the way of living aright and godly] and good works, and remind them how necessary it is that they exercise themselves in good works as a declaration of their faith and gratitude to God, than that the works be not mingled in the article of justification; because men may be damned by an Epicurean delusion concerning faith, as well as by papistic and Pharisaic confidence in their own works and merits.

3. We also reject and condemn the dogma that faith and the indwelling of the Holy Ghost are not lost by wilful sin, but that the saints and elect retain the Holy Ghost even though they fall into adultery and other sins and persist therein.

V.

OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in This Controversy.

Whether the preaching of the Holy Gospel is properly not only a preaching of grace, which announces the forgiveness of sins, but also a preaching of repentance and reproof, rebuking unbelief, which, they say, is rebuked not in the Law, but alone through the Gospel.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Pure Doctrine of God's Word.

1. We believe, teach, and confess that the distinction between the Law and the Gospel is to be maintained in the Church with great diligence as an especially brilliant light, by which, according to the admonition of St. Paul, the Word of God is rightly divided.

2. We believe, teach, and confess that the Law is properly a divine doctrine, which teaches what is right and pleasing to God, and reproves everything that is sin and contrary to God's will.

3. For this reason, then, everything that reproves sin is, and belongs to, the preaching of the Law.

4. But the Gospel is properly such a doctrine as teaches what man who has not observed the Law, and therefore is condemned

ſelbe verdammt [wird], nämlich daß Chriſtus alle Sünden gebüßt und bezahlt und ihm ohne alle ſein Verdienſt erlangt und erworben habe Vergebung der Sünden, Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, und das ewige Leben.

5. Nachdem aber das Wort „Evangelium" nicht in einerlei Verſtand in Heiliger Schrift gebraucht [wird], daher denn dieſer Zwieſpalt urſprünglich entſtanden, ſo glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, wenn durch das Wort „Evangelium" verſtanden wird die ganze Lehre Chriſti, die er in ſeinem Lehramt, wie auch ſeine Apoſtel geführt (in welchem Verſtande es denn Mark. 1, Act. 20 gebraucht), daß recht geredet und geſchrieben [wird], das Evangelium ſei eine Predigt von der Buße und Vergebung der Sünden.

6. Wenn aber das Geſetz und Evangelium, wie auch Moſes ſelbſt [als] ein Geſetzeslehrer, und Chriſtus als ein Prediger des Evangeliums gegeneinander gehalten [werden], glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß das Evangelium nicht eine Buß- oder Strafpredigt, ſondern eigentlich anderes nichts denn eine Troſtpredigt und fröhliche Botſchaft ſei, die nicht ſtraft noch ſchreckt, ſondern wider das Schrecken des Geſetzes die Gewiſſen tröſtet, allein auf das Verdienſt Chriſti weiſt und mit der lieblichen Predigt von der Gnade und Huld Gottes, durch Chriſtus' Verdienſt erlangt, wieder aufrichtet.

7. Was [ſo]dann die Offenbarung der Sünden belangt, weil die Decke Moſis allen Menſchen vor den Augen hängt, ſolange ſie die bloße Predigt des Geſetzes und nichts von Chriſto hören und alſo ihre Sünde aus dem Geſetz nicht recht lernen erkennen, ſondern entweder vermeſſene Heuchler werden wie die Phariſäer oder verzweifeln wie Judas, ſo nimmt Chriſtus das Geſetz in ſeine Hände und legt dasſelbe geiſtlich aus, Matth. 5; Röm. 7. Und alſo wird Gottes Zorn vom Himmel herab geoffenbart über alle Sünder, wie groß derſelbe ſei, dadurch ſie in das Geſetz gewieſen werden, und alsdann aus demſelben erſt recht lernen ihre Sünde erkennen; welche Erkenntnis Moſes nimmermehr aus ihnen hätte erzwingen können.

Demnach, obwohl die Predigt vom Leiden und Sterben Chriſti, des Sohnes Gottes, eine ernſtliche und ſchreckliche Predigt und Anzeigen [Anzeigung, Kundgebung] Gottes Zorns iſt, dadurch die Leute erſt recht in das Geſetz geführt [werden], nachdem ihnen die Decke Moſis hinweggetan, daß ſie erſt recht erkennen, wie große Dinge Gott im Geſetz von uns erfordert, deren wir keines halten können, und demnach alle unſere Gerechtigkeit in Chriſto ſuchen ſollen:

8. Doch ſolange dieſes alles (nämlich Chriſtus' Leiden und Sterben) Gottes Zorn predigt und den Menſchen ſchreckt, ſo iſt es noch nicht des Evangelii eigentliche Predigt, ſondern Moſis und des Geſetzes Predigt und demnach ein fremdes Werk Chriſti, dadurch er kommt zu ſeinem eigenen Amt, das iſt, Gnade predigen, tröſten und lebendig machen, welches eigentlich die Predigt des Evangelii iſt.

per eandem damnatur, videlicet quod illum credere oporteat, Iesum Christum omnia peccata expiasse atque pro iis satisfecisse et remissionem peccatorum, iustitiam coram Deo consistentem et vitam aeternam, nullo interveniente peccatoris illius merito, impetrasse.

6] V. Cum autem vocabulum *evangelii* non semper in una eademque significatione in Sacra Scriptura usurpetur, unde et dissensio illa primum orta est, credimus, docemus et confitemur, si vocabulum *evangelii* de tota Christi doctrina accipiatur, quam ipse in ministerio suo (quemadmodum et eius apostoli) professus est (in qua significatione Marc. 1, 15 et Act. 20, 21 vox illa usurpatur), recte dici et doceri, evangelium esse concionem de poenitentia et remissione peccatorum.

7] VI. Quando vero lex et evangelion [R. 593 sicut et ipse Moses ut doctor legis et Christus ut doctor evangelii inter se conferuntur, credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod evangelium non sit concio poenitentiae, arguens peccata, sed quod proprie nihil aliud sit quam laetissimum quoddam nuntium et concio plena consolationis, non arguens aut terrens, quandoquidem conscientias contra terrores legis solatur, easque in meritum solius Christi respicere iubet, et dulcissima praedicatione de gratia et favore Dei per meritum Christi impetrato rursus erigit.

8] VII. Quod vero ad revelationem peccati attinet, sic sese res habent. Velum illud Mosis omnium hominum oculis est obductum, quamdiu solam legis concionem, nihil autem de Christo audiunt. Itaque peccata sua ex lege non vere agnoscunt, sed aut hypocritae fiunt, qui iustitiae propriae opinione turgent, quales olim erant Pharisaei; aut in peccatis suis desperant, quod Iudas proditor ille fecit. Eam ob causam Christus sumpsit sibi legem explicandam spiritualiter, Matth. 5, 21 sqq.; Rom. 7, 14, et hoc modo ira Dei de coelo revelatur super omnes peccatores [Rom. 1, 18], ut vera legis sententia intellecta animadvertatur, quanta sit illa ira. Et sic demum peccatores, ad legem remissi, vere et recte peccata sua agnoscunt. Talem vero peccatorum agnitionem solus Moses nunquam ex ipsis extorquere potuisset.

9] Etsi igitur concio illa de passione et morte Christi, Filii Dei, severitatis et terroris plena est, quae iram Dei adversus peccata ostendit, unde demum homines ad legem Dei propius adducuntur, postquam velum illud Mosis ablatum est, ut tandem exacte agnoscant, quanta videlicet Dominus in lege sua a nobis exigat, quorum nihil nos praestare possumus, ita ut universam nostram iustitiam in solo Christo quaerere oporteat:

10] VIII. Tamen quamdiu nobis Christi passio et mors iram Dei ob oculos ponunt et hominem perterrefaciunt, tamdiu non [R. 594 sunt proprie concio evangelii, sed legis et Mosis doctrina et sunt alienum opus Christi, per quod accedit ad proprium suum officium, quod est praedicare de gratia Dei, consolari et vivificare. Haec propria sunt praedicationis evangelicae.

by it, is to believe, namely, that Christ has expiated and made satisfaction for all sins, and has obtained and acquired for him, without any merit of his [no merit of the sinner intervening], forgiveness of sins, righteousness that avails before God, and eternal life.

5. But since the term *Gospel* is not used in one and the same sense in the Holy Scriptures, on account of which this dissension originally arose, we believe, teach, and confess that if by the term *Gospel* is understood the entire doctrine of Christ which He proposed in His ministry, as also did His apostles (in which sense it is employed, Mark 1, 15; Acts 20, 21), it is correctly said and written that the Gospel is a preaching of repentance and of the forgiveness of sins.

6. But if the Law and the Gospel, likewise also Moses himself [as] a teacher of the Law and Christ as a preacher of the Gospel are contrasted with one another, we believe, teach, and confess that the Gospel is not a preaching of repentance or reproof, but properly nothing else than a preaching of consolation, and a joyful message which does not reprove or terrify, but comforts consciences against the terrors of the Law, points alone to the merit of Christ, and raises them up again by the lovely preaching of the grace and favor of God, obtained through Christ's merit.

7. As to the revelation of sin, because the veil of Moses hangs before the eyes of all men as long as they hear the bare preaching of the Law, and nothing concerning Christ, and therefore do not learn from the Law to perceive their sins aright, but either become presumptuous hypocrites [who swell with the opinion of their own righteousness] as the Pharisees, or despair like Judas, Christ takes the Law into His hands, and explains it spiritually, Matt. 5, 21 ff.; Rom. 7, 14. And thus the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all sinners [Rom. 1, 18], how great it is; by this means they are directed [sent back] to the Law, and then first learn from it to know aright their sins — a knowledge which Moses never could have forced out of them.

Accordingly, although the preaching of the suffering and death of Christ, the Son of God, is an earnest and terrible proclamation and declaration of God's wrath, whereby men are first led into the Law aright, after the veil of Moses has been removed from them, so that they first know aright how great things God in His Law requires of us, none of which we can observe, and therefore are to seek all our righteousness in Christ:

8. Yet as long as all this (namely, Christ's suffering and death) proclaims God's wrath and terrifies man, it is still not properly the preaching of the Gospel, but the preaching of Moses and the Law, and therefore a foreign work of Christ, by which He arrives at His proper office, that is, to preach grace, console, and quicken, which is properly the preaching of the Gospel.

NEGATIVA.

Gegenlehre, so verworfen.

Demnach verwerfen wir und halten es für unrecht und schädlich, wenn gelehrt wird, daß das Evangelium eigentlich eine Buß- oder eine Strafpredigt und nicht allein eine Gnadenpredigt sei, dadurch das Evangelium wiederum zu einer Gesetzeslehre gemacht, das Verdienst Christi und Heilige Schrift verdunkelt, die Christen des rechten Trosts beraubt und dem Papsttum die Tür wiederum aufgetan wird.

NEGATIVA.

Contraria et falsa doctrina, quae reiicitur.

11] Reiicimus igitur ut falsum et perniciosum dogma, cum asseritur, quod evangelium proprie sit concio poenitentiae, arguens, accusans et damnans peccata, quodque non sit tantummodo concio de gratia Dei. Hac enim ratione evangelion rursum in legem transformatur, meritum Christi et sacrae litterae obscurantur, piis mentibus vera et solida consolatio eripitur, et pontificiis erroribus et superstitionibus fores aperiuntur.

VI.

Vom dritten Brauch des Gesetzes.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Die Hauptfrage von diesem Streit.

Nachdem das Gesetz den Menschen um dreierlei Ursache willen gegeben: erstlich, daß dadurch äußerliche Zucht wider die Wilden, Ungehorsamen erhalten [werde]; zum andern, daß die Menschen dadurch zur Erkenntnis ihrer Sünden geführt [werden]; zum dritten, nachdem sie wiedergeboren, und gleichwohl das Fleisch ihnen anhängt, daß sie um desselben willen eine gewisse Regel hätten, nach welcher sie ihr ganzes Leben anstellen und regieren sollen: hat sich ein Zwiespalt zwischen etlichen wenigen Theologen über den dritten [Ge]Brauch des Gesetzes zugetragen, ob nämlich auch bei den wiedergebornen Christen solches zu treiben sei oder nicht. Der eine Teil hat ja, der andere nein gesagt.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Die rechte christliche Lehre von diesem Streit.

1. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, obwohl die recht gläubigen und wahrhaftig zu Gott bekehrten Menschen vom Fluch und Zwang des Gesetzes durch Christum gefreiet [befreit] und ledig gemacht [sind], daß sie doch der Ursache nicht ohne Gesetz seien, sondern darum von dem Sohn Gottes erlöst worden, daß sie sich in demselben Tag und Nacht üben sollen, Ps. 119; wie denn unsere ersten Eltern auch vor dem Fall nicht ohne Gesetz gelebt, welchen das Gesetz Gottes auch in das Herz geschrieben, da sie zum Ebenbild Gottes erschaffen worden, Gen. 2 und 3.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß die Predigt des Gesetzes nicht allein bei den Ungläubigen und Unbußfertigen, sondern auch bei den Rechtgläubigen [wahrhaft Gläubigen], wahrhaftig Bekehrten, Wiedergebornen und durch den Glauben Gerechtfertigten mit Fleiß zu treiben sei.

3. Denn ob sie wohl wiedergeboren und in dem Geist ihres Gemüts verneuert [sind], so ist doch solche Wiedergeburt und Erneurung in dieser Welt nicht vollkommen, sondern nur angefangen, und stehen die Gläubigen mit dem Geist ihres Gemüts

VI.

DE TERTIO USU LEGIS.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] Cum constet, legem Dei propter tres causas hominibus datam esse: primo, ut externa quaedam disciplina conservetur, et feri atque intractabiles homines quasi repagulis quibusdam coerceantur; secundo, ut per legem homines ad agnitionem suorum peccatorum adducantur; tertio, ut homines iam renati, quibus tamen omnibus multum adhuc carnis [R. 595 adhaeret, eam ipsam ob causam certam aliquam regulam habeant, ad quam totam suam vitam formare possint et debeant etc.: orta est inter paucos quosdam theologos controversia super tertio usu legis, videlicet an lex etiam renatis inculcanda et eius observatio apud eos urgenda sit an non. Alii urgendam legem censuerunt, alii negarunt.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera et pia doctrina de hac controversia.

2] I. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, etsi vere in Christum credentes et sincere ad Deum conversi a maledictione et coactione legis per Christum liberati sunt, quod ii tamen propterea non sint absque lege, quippe quos Filius Dei eam ob causam redemit, ut legem Dei diu noctuque meditentur, atque in eius observatione sese assidue exerceant, Ps. 1, 2; 119, 1 sqq. Etenim ne primi quidem nostri parentes etiam ante lapsum prorsus sine lege vixerunt, quae certe cordibus ipsorum tum inscripta erat, quia Dominus eos ad imaginem suam creaverat, Gen. [1, 26 sq.]; 2, 16 sqq.; 3, 3.

3] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, concionem legis non modo apud eos, qui fidem in Christum non habent et poenitentiam nondum agunt, sed etiam apud eos, qui vere in Christum credunt, vere ad Deum conversi et renati et per fidem iustificati sunt, sedulo urgendam esse.

4] III. Etsi enim renati et spiritu mentis suae renovati sunt, tamen regeneratio illa et renovatio in hac vita non est omnibus numeris absoluta, sed duntaxat inchoata. Et credentes illi spiritu mentis suae perpetuo luctan-

NEGATIVA.

Contrary Doctrine which is Rejected.

Accordingly we reject and regard as incorrect and injurious the dogma that the Gospel is properly a preaching of repentance or reproof, and not alone a preaching of grace; for thereby the Gospel is again converted into a doctrine of the Law, the merit of Christ and Holy Scripture are obscured, Christians robbed of true consolation, and the door is opened again to [the errors and superstitions of] the Papacy.

VI.

OF THE THIRD USE OF THE LAW.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Principal Question in This Controversy.

Since the Law was given to men for three reasons: first, that thereby outward discipline might be maintained against wild, disobedient men [and that wild and intractable men might be restrained, as though by certain bars]; secondly, that men thereby may be led to the knowledge of their sins; thirdly, that after they are regenerate and [much of] the flesh notwithstanding cleaves to them, they might on this account have a fixed rule according to which they are to regulate and direct their whole life, a dissension has occurred between some few theologians concerning the third use of the Law, namely, whether it is to be urged or not upon regenerate Christians. The one side has said, Yea; the other, Nay.

AFFIRMATIVA.

The True Christian Doctrine concerning This Controversy.

1. We believe, teach, and confess that, although men truly believing [in Christ] and truly converted to God have been freed and exempted from the curse and coercion of the Law, they nevertheless are not on this account without Law, but have been redeemed by the Son of God in order that they should exercise themselves in it day and night [that they should meditate upon God's Law day and night, and constantly exercise themselves in its observance, Ps. 1, 2], Ps. 119. For even our first parents before the Fall did not live without Law, who had the Law of God written also into their hearts, because they were created in the image of God, Gen. 1, 26 f.; 2, 16 ff.; 3, 3.

2. We believe, teach, and confess that the preaching of the Law is to be urged with diligence, not only upon the unbelieving and impenitent, but also upon true believers, who are truly converted, regenerate, and justified by faith.

3. For although they are regenerate and renewed in the spirit of their mind, yet in the present life this regeneration and renewal is not complete, but only begun, and believers are, by the spirit of their mind, in a constant struggle against the flesh, that is, against the corrupt nature and disposition which cleaves to us unto death. On account of this old Adam, which still inheres in the understand-

in einem ſtetigen Kampf wider das Fleiſch, das iſt, wider die verderbte Natur und Art, ſo uns bis in [den] Tod anhängt; um welches alten Adams willen, ſo im Verſtande, Willen und allen Kräften des Menſchen noch ſteckt, damit ſie nicht aus menſchlicher Andacht eigenwillige und [ſelbſt-] erwählte Gottesdienſte vornehmen, iſt vonnöten, daß ihnen das Geſetz des HErrn immer vorleuchte, desgleichen, daß auch der alte Adam nicht ſeinen eigenen Willen gebrauche, ſondern wider ſeinen Willen nicht allein durch Vermahnung und Dräuung [Drohung] des Geſetzes, ſondern auch mit den Strafen und Plagen gezwungen [werde], daß er dem Geiſt folge und ſich gefangen gebe, 1 Kor. 9; Röm. 6. 7. 12; Gal. 5. 6; Pſ. 119; Hebr. 13.

4. Was [ſo]dann den Unterſchied der Werke des Geſetzes und der Früchte des Geiſtes belangt, glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß die Werke, ſo nach dem Geſetz geſchehen, ſo lange Werke des Geſetzes ſeien und genennet [genannt] werden, ſolange ſie allein durch Treiben der Strafen und Dräuung Gottes Zorns aus den Menſchen erzwungen werden.

5. Früchte aber des Geiſtes ſind die Werke, welche der Geiſt Gottes, ſo in den Gläubigen wohnt, wirkt durch die Wiedergebornen, und [die] von den Gläubigen geſchehen, ſoviel ſie wiedergeboren ſind, als wenn ſie von keinem Gebot, Dräuen oder Belohnung wüßten; dergeſtalt denn die Kinder Gottes im Geſetz leben und nach dem Geſetz Gottes wandeln, welches St. Paulus in ſeinen Epiſteln das Geſetz Chriſti und das Geſetz des Gemüts nennt [*, und gleichwohl nicht unter dem Geſetz, ſondern unter der Gnade, Röm. 7 und 8].

6. Alſo iſt und bleibt das Geſetz beides bei den Bußfertigen und Unbußfertigen, bei wiedergebornen und nichtwiedergebornen Menſchen ein einiges Geſetz, nämlich der unwandelbare Wille Gottes, und iſt der Unterſchied, ſoviel den Gehorſam belangt, allein an dem [an den] Menſchen, da einer, ſo noch nicht wiedergeboren, dem Geſetz aus Zwang und unwillig (wie auch die Wiedergebornen nach dem Fleiſch) tut, was [es] von ihm erfordert, der Gläubige aber ohne Zwang mit willigem Geiſt, ſoviel er neugeboren, tut, das keine Dräuungen des Geſetzes aus ihm nimmermehr erzwingen könnten.

NEGATIVA.

Falſche Gegenlehre.

Demnach verwerfen wir als eine ſchädliche, chriſtlicher Zucht und wahrhaftiger Gottſeligkeit widerwärtige Lehre und Irrtum, wenn gelehrt wird, daß das Geſetz obgemeldeter Weiſe und Maß nicht bei den Chriſten und Rechtgläubigen, ſondern allein bei den Ungläubigen, Unchriſten und Unbußfertigen getrieben werden ſoll.

tur cum carne, hoc est, cum corrupta natura, quae in nobis ad mortem usque haeret. [R. 596 Et propter veterem Adamum, qui adhuc in hominis intellectu, voluntate et in omnibus viribus eius infixus resident, opus est, ut homini lex Dei semper praeluceat, ne quid privatae devotionis affectu in negotio religionis confingat et cultus divinos Verbo Dei non institutos eligat. Item, ne vetus Adam pro suo ingenio agat, sed potius contra suam voluntatem, non modo admonitionibus et minis legis, verum etiam poenis et plagis coerceatur, ut Spiritui obsequatur seque ipsi captivum tradat, 1 Cor. 9, 27; Rom. 6, 12; 7, 21. 23; 12; Gal. 5, 17; 6, 14; Ps. 119; Hebr. 13, 21; [12, 1].

5] IV. Iam quod ad discrimen operum legis et fructuum Spiritus attinet, credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod opera illa, quae secundum praescriptum legis fiunt, eatenus opera legis sint et appellentur, quatenus ea solummodo urgendo et minis poenarum atque irae divinae ab homine extorquentur.

6] V. Fructus vero Spiritus sunt opera illa, quae Spiritus Dei, in credentibus habitans, per homines renatos operatur, et quae a credentibus fiunt, quatenus renati sunt, ita quidem sponte ac libere, quasi nullum praeceptum unquam accepissent, nullas minas audivissent, nullamque remunerationem exspectarent. Et hoc modo filii Dei in lege vivunt et secundum normam legis divinae vitam suam instituunt; hanc vivendi rationem divus Paulus vocare solet in suis epistolis legem Christi et legem mentis, Rom. 7, 25; 8, 7 [Rom. 8, 2; Gal. 6, 2].

7] VI. Ad hunc modum una eademque lex est manetque, immota videlicet Dei voluntas, sive poenitentibus sive impoenitentibus, renatis aut non renatis proponatur. Discrimen autem, quoad obedientiam, duntaxat in hominibus est, quorum alii non renati legi obedientiam qualemcunque a lege requisitam praestant, sed coacti et inviti id faciunt (sicut etiam renati faciunt, quatenus adhuc carnales sunt); credentes vero in Christum, quatenus renati sunt, absque coactione, libero et [R. 597 spontaneo spiritu talem obedientiam praestant, qualem alias nullae quantumvis severissimae legis comminationes extorquere possent.

NEGATIVA.

Falsae doctrinae reiectio.

8] Repudiamus itaque ut perniciosum et falsum dogma, quod Christianae disciplinae et verae pietati adversatur, cum docetur, quod lex Dei (eo modo, quo supra dictum est) non sit piis et vere credentibus, sed tantum impiis, infidelibus et non agentibus poenitentiam proponenda, atque apud hos solos sit urgenda.

VII.

Vom heiligen Abendmahl Chriſti.

Wiewohl die zwingliſchen Lehrer nicht unter die Augsburgiſche Konfeſſionsverwandten Theologen zu rechnen, als von denen ſie ſich gleich damals, als ſolche Konfeſſion übergeben worden, abgeſon-

VII.

DE COENA DOMINI.

1] Etsi Cingliani doctores non in eorum theologorum numero, qui Augustanam Confessionem agnoscunt et profitentur, habendi sunt, quippe qui tum, cum illa Confessio ex-

ing, the will, and all the powers of man, it is needful that the Law of the Lord always shine before them, in order that they may not from human devotion institute wanton and self-elected cults [that they may frame nothing in a matter of religion from the desire of private devotion, and may not choose divine services not instituted by God's Word]; likewise, that the old Adam also may not employ his own will, but may be subdued against his will, not only by the admonition and threatening of the Law, but also by punishments and blows, so that he may follow and surrender himself captive to the Spirit, 1 Cor. 9, 27; Rom. 6, 12; Gal. 6, 14; Ps. 119, 1 ff.; Heb. 13, 21 (Heb. 12, 1).

4. Now, as regards the distinction between the works of the Law and the fruits of the Spirit, we believe, teach, and confess that the works which are done according to the Law are and are called works of the Law as long as they are only extorted from man by urging the punishment and threatening of God's wrath.

5. Fruits of the Spirit, however, are the works which the Spirit of God who dwells in believers works through the regenerate, and which are done by believers so far as they are regenerate [spontaneously and freely], as though they knew of no command, threat, or reward; for in this manner the children of God live in the Law and walk according to the Law of God, which [mode of living] St. Paul in his epistles calls the Law of Christ and the Law of the mind, Rom. 7, 25; 8, 7; Rom. 8, 2; Gal. 6, 2.

6. Thus the Law is and remains both to the penitent and impenitent, both to regenerate and unregenerate men, one [and the same] Law, namely, the immutable will of God; and the difference, so far as concerns obedience, is alone in man, inasmuch as one who is not yet regenerate does for the Law out of constraint and unwillingly what it requires of him (as also the regenerate do according to the flesh); but the believer, so far as he is regenerate, does without constraint and with a willing spirit that which no threatenings [however severe] of the Law could ever extort from him.

NEGATIVA.

False Contrary Doctrine.

Accordingly, we reject as a dogma and error injurious to, and conflicting with, Christian discipline and true godliness the teaching that the Law in the above-mentioned way and degree is not to be urged upon Christians and true believers, but only upon unbelievers, non-Christians, and the impenitent.

VII.

OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

Although the Zwinglian teachers are not to be reckoned among the theologians who affiliate with [acknowledge and profess] the Augsburg Confession, as they separated from them

dert [haben], jedoch, weil sie sich mit eindringen und ihren Irrtum unter derselben christlichen Konfession Namen auszubringen [* auszubreiten] unterstehen, haben wir von diesem Zwiespalt auch notdürftigen Bericht tun wollen.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Der Hauptstreit zwischen unserer und der Sakramentierer Lehre in diesem Artikel.

Ob in dem heiligen Abendmahl der wahrhaftige Leib und Blut unsers HErrn JEsu Christi wahrhaftig und wesentlich gegenwärtig sei, mit Brot und Wein ausgeteilt und mit dem Munde empfangen werde von allen denen, so sich dieses Sakraments gebrauchen, sie seien würdig oder unwürdig, fromm oder unfromm, gläubig oder ungläubig, den Gläubigen zum Trost und Leben, den Ungläubigen zum Gericht? Die Sakramentierer sagen nein, wir sagen ja.

Zur Erklärung dieses Streits ist anfänglich zu merken, daß zweierlei Sakramentierer seien. Etliche sind grobe Sakramentierer, welche mit deutschen, klaren Worten vorgeben, wie sie im Herzen halten, daß im heiligen Abendmahl mehr nicht denn Brot und Wein gegenwärtig sei, ausgeteilt und mit dem Munde empfangen werde. Etliche aber sind verschlagene und die allerschädlichsten Sakramentierer, die zum Teil mit unsern Worten ganz scheinbar reden und vorgeben, sie glauben auch eine wahrhaftige Gegenwärtigkeit des wahrhaftigen, wesentlichen, lebendigen Leibes und Blutes Christi im heiligen Abendmahl, doch solches geschehe geistlich, durch den Glauben; welche doch unter diesen scheinbaren [scheinbar wahren] Worten eben die erste grobe Meinung behalten, daß nämlich nichts denn Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und mit dem Munde empfangen werde; denn geistlich heißt ihnen anders nichts denn den [denn der] Geist Christi oder die Kraft des abwesenden Leibes Christi und sein Verdienst, welcher [welches] gegenwärtig sei; der Leib Christi aber sei auf keinerlei Weise noch Wege gegenwärtig, sondern allein droben im obersten Himmel, zu dem wir mit den Gedanken unsers Glaubens in [den] Himmel uns erheben und daselbst, aber gar nicht bei Brot und Wein des Abendmahls, solchen seinen Leib und Blut suchen sollen. [In dem von Selneccer 1580 herausgegebenen lateinischen Konkordienbuch lautet der Abschnitt „Vocabulum enim . . . praesens sit“ also: „Vocabulum enim *spiritualiter* nihil aliud ipsis significat quam Spiritum Christi, quem praesentem esse credunt, aut sub eo vocabulo virtutem absentis corporis Christi eiusque meritum intelligunt.“ Mehreren Handschriften zufolge lautet der entsprechende deutsche Text: „Denn ‚geistlich‘ heißt ihnen anders nichts denn den (der) Geist Christi, welcher gegenwärtig sei, oder die Kraft des abwesenden Leibes Christi und sein Verdienst.“]

AFFIRMATIVA.

Bekenntnis reiner Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl wider die Sakramentierer.

1. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß im heiligen Abendmahl der Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftig und wesentlich gegenwärtig sei, mit Brot und Wein wahrhaftig ausgeteilt und empfangen werde.

hiberetur, ab eis secessionem fecerunt, tamen, cum nunc sese in eorum coetum callide ingerant erroremque suum sub praetextu piae illius Confessionis quam latissime spargere conentur, etiam de hac controversia ecclesiam Dei erudiendam iudicavimus.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE,

quae est inter nos et Sacramentarios in hoc articulo.

2] Quaeritur, an in Sacra Coena verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi vere et substantialiter sint praesentia, atque cum pane et vino distribuantur [R. 598 et ore sumantur ab omnibus illis, qui hoc sacramento utuntur, sive digni sint sive indigni, boni aut mali, fideles aut infideles, ita tamen, ut fideles e Coena Domini consolationem et vitam percipiant, infideles autem eam ad iudicium sumant. Cingliani hanc praesentiam et dispensationem corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena negant, nos vero eandem asseveramus.

3] Ad solidam huius controversiae explicationem primum sciendum est, duo esse Sacramentariorum genera. Quidam enim sunt Sacramentarii crassi admodum; hi perspicuis et claris verbis id aperte profitentur, quod corde sentiunt, quod videlicet in Coena Domini nihil amplius quam panis et vinum sint praesentia ibique distribuantur et ore percipiantur. Alii 4] autem sunt versuti et callidi, et quidem omnium nocentissimi Sacramentarii; hi de negotio Coenae Dominicae loquentes, ex parte nostris verbis splendide admodum utuntur et prae se ferunt, quod et ipsi veram praesentiam veri, substantialis atque vivi corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena credant, eam tamen praesentiam et manducationem dicunt 5] esse spiritualem, quae fiat fide. Et hi posteriores Sacramentarii sub his splendidis verbis eandem crassam, quam priores habent, opinionem occultant et retinent, quod videlicet praeter panem et vinum nihil amplius in Coena Domini sit praesens et ore sumatur. Vocabulum enim *spiritualiter* nihil aliud ipsis significat quam Spiritum Christi seu virtutem absentis corporis Christi eiusque meritum, quod praesens sit; ipsum vero Christi corpus nullo prorsus modo esse praesens, sed tantummodo id sursum in supremo coelo contineri sentiunt et affirmant oportere nos cogitationibus fidei sursum assurgere inque [R. 599 coelum ascendere, et ibidem (nulla autem ratione cum pane et vino Sacrae Coenae) illud corpus et sanguinem Christi quaerendum esse.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Confessio sincerae doctrinae de Coena Domini contra Sacramentarios.

6] I. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod in Coena Domini corpus et sanguis Christi vere et substantialiter sint praesentia, et quod una cum pane et vino vere distribuantur atque sumantur.

at the very time when this Confession was presented, nevertheless, since they are intruding themselves [into their assembly], and are attempting, under the name of this Christian Confession, to spread their error, we intend also to make a needful statement [we have judged that the Church of Christ should be instructed also] concerning this controversy.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Chief Controversy between Our Doctrine and That of the Sacramentarians regarding This Article.

Whether in the Holy Supper the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ are truly and essentially present, are distributed with the bread and wine, and received with the mouth by all those who use this Sacrament, whether they be worthy or unworthy, godly or ungodly, believing or unbelieving; by the believing for consolation and life, by the unbelieving for judgment? The Sacramentarians say, No; we say, Yes.

For the explanation of this controversy it is to be noted in the beginning that there are two kinds of Sacramentarians. Some are gross Sacramentarians, who declare in plain (*deutschen*), clear words as they believe in their hearts, that in the Holy Supper nothing but bread and wine is present, and distributed and received with the mouth. Others, however, are subtle Sacramentarians, and the most injurious of all, who partly speak very speciously in our own words, and pretend that they also believe a true presence of the true, essential, living body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, however, that this occurs spiritually through faith. Nevertheless they retain under these specious words precisely the former gross opinion, namely, that in the Holy Supper nothing is present and received with the mouth except bread and wine. For with them the word *spiritually* means nothing else than the Spirit of Christ or the power of the absent body of Christ and His merit, which is present; but the body of Christ is in no mode or way present, except only above in the highest heaven, to which we should elevate ourselves into heaven by the thoughts of our faith, and there, not at all, however, in the bread and wine of the Holy Supper, should seek this body and blood [of Christ].

AFFIRMATIVA.

Confession of the Pure Doctrine concerning the Holy Supper against the Sacramentarians.

1. We believe, teach, and confess that in the Holy Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, and are truly distributed and received with the bread and wine.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß die Worte des Testaments Christi nicht anders zu verstehen seien, denn wie sie nach dem Buchstaben lauten, also daß nicht das Brot den abwesenden Leib und der Wein das abwesende Blut Christi bedeute, sondern daß es wahrhaftig um sakramentlicher Einigkeit willen der Leib und Blut Christi sei. [Der letzte Satz: „sondern daß . . . Christi sei" lautete im Entwurf und in sämtlichen Ansbacher und Augsburger Handschriften: „sondern daß es wahrhaftig um sakramentlicher Einigkeit willen der Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftig sei". Einer der Redaktoren setzte die Frage an den Rand: „ob nicht das eine Wort wahrhaftig auszulassen?" Statt bloßer Tilgung des Wortes wurde jedoch durch die Sorglosigkeit der Korrektoren die Frage selbst in den Text zwischen „Christi" und „sei" eingerückt. Chemnitz, der diesen Druckfehler als pudendum erratum bezeichnet, trug darauf an, daß der betreffende Bogen umgedruckt werde. In den Exemplaren, welche der Kurfürst an die Fürsten und Reichsstände versandte, wurde der Fehler auch korrigiert, aber nicht in allen andern Exemplaren. Typographorum sordida avaritia obstitit, sagt Chemnitz. In den fünf von uns verglichenen Exemplaren des zu Dresden gedruckten Konkordienbuchs mit den Jahreszahlen 1580 und 1579 findet sich das pudendum erratum nicht.]

7] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, verba testamenti Christi non aliter accipienda esse, quam sicut verba ipsa ad litteram sonant, ita ne panis absens Christi corpus et vinum absentem Christi sanguinem significent, sed ut propter sacramentalem unionem panis et vinum vere sint corpus et sanguis Christi.

3. Was [so]dann die Konsekration belangt, glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß solche Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im heiligen Abendmahl nicht schaffe einiges Menschen Werk oder Sprechen des Dieners, sondern daß solche einig und allein der allmächtigen Kraft unsers HErrn JEsu Christi zugeschrieben werden soll.

4. Daneben aber glauben, lehren und halten [* bekennen] wir auch einhellig, daß im Gebrauch des heiligen Abendmahls die Worte der Einsetzung Christi keineswegs zu unterlassen, sondern öffentlich gesprochen werden sollen, wie geschrieben steht: „Der gesegnete Kelch, den wir segnen" usw., 1 Kor. 10, 16, welches Segnen durch das Sprechen der Worte Christi geschieht.

8] III. Iam quod ad consecrationem attinet, credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod nullum opus humanum neque ulla ministri ecclesiae pronuntiatio praesentiae corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena causa sit, sed quod hoc soli omnipotenti virtuti Domini nostri Iesu Christi sit tribuendum.

5. Die Gründe aber, darauf wir in diesem Handel stehen wider die Sakramentierer, sind, wie D. Luther solche in seinem großen Bekenntnis gesetzt hat.

Der erste ist dieser Artikel unsers christlichen Glaubens: JEsus Christus ist wahrhaftiger, wesentlicher, natürlicher, völliger Gott und Mensch, in einer Person unzertrennt und ungeteilt.

9] IV. Interim tamen unanimi consensu credimus, docemus et confitemur, in usu Coenae Dominicae verba institutionis Christi nequaquam omittenda, sed publice recitanda esse, sicut scriptum est [1 Cor. 10, 16]: *Calix benedictionis, cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est* etc.? Illa autem benedictio fit per recitationem verborum Christi.

10] V. Fundamenta autem, quibus in hoc negotio contra Sacramentarios nitimur, haec sunt, quae etiam D. Lutherus in maiore sua de Coena Domini confessione posuit.

Primum fundamentum est articulus [R. 600 11] fidei nostrae Christianae, videlicet: Iesus Christus est verus, essentialis, naturalis, perfectus Deus et homo in unitate personae, inseparabilis et indivisus.

Der andere: daß Gottes rechte Hand allenthalben ist, zu welcher Christus, nach seiner menschlichen Natur mit der Tat und Wahrheit gesetzt, gegenwärtig regiert, in seinen Händen und unter seinen Füßen hat alles, was im Himmel und auf Erden ist, dahin sonst kein Mensch noch Engel, sondern allein Mariä Sohn gesetzt ist, daher er auch solches vermag.

12] Secundum: quod dextera Dei ubique est, ad eam autem Christus ratione humanitatis suae vere et re ipsa collocatus est, ideoque praesens gubernat, in manu sua et sub pedibus suis, ut Scriptura loquitur [Eph. 1, 22], habet omnia, quae in coelo sunt et in terra. Ad eam Dei dexteram nullus alius homo, ac ne angelus quidem, sed solus Mariae Filius collocatus est, unde et ea, quae diximus, praestare potest.

Der dritte: daß Gottes Wort nicht falsch ist oder lüge.

13] Tertium: quod Verbum Dei non est falsum aut mendax.

Der vierte: daß Gott mancherlei Weise hat und weiß, etwa [irgendwo] an einem Orte zu sein, und nicht allein die einige, welche die Philosophi localem oder räumliche nennen.

14] Quartum: quod Deus varios modos novit et in sua potestate habet, quibus alicubi esse potest, neque ad unicum illum alligatus est, quem philosophi localem aut circumscriptum appellare solent.

6. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß der Leib und Blut Christi nicht allein geistlich durch den Glauben, sondern auch mündlich, doch nicht auf kapernaitische, sondern [auf] übernatürliche, himmlische Weise um der sakramentlichen Vereinigung willen mit dem Brot und Wein empfangen werde, wie solches die Worte Christi klärlich ausweisen, da Christus heißet [befiehlt zu] nehmen,

15] VI. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, corpus et sanguinem Christi non tantum spiritualiter per fidem, sed etiam ore, non tamen Capernaitice, sed supernaturali et coelesti modo, ratione sacramentalis unionis, cum pane et vino sumi. Hoc enim verba Christi perspicue testantur, quibus praecipit accipere, edere, bibere: idque ab apostolis factum esse,

2. We believe, teach, and confess that the words of the testament of Christ are not to be understood otherwise than as they read, according to the letter, so that the bread does not signify the absent body and the wine the absent blood of Christ, but that, on account of the sacramental union, they [the bread and wine] are truly the body and blood of Christ.

3. Now, as to the consecration, we believe, teach, and confess that no work of man or recitation of the minister [of the church] produces this presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but that this is to be ascribed only and alone to the almighty power of our Lord Jesus Christ.

4. But at the same time we also believe, teach, and confess unanimously that in the use of the Holy Supper the words of the institution of Christ should in no way be omitted, but should be publicly recited, as it is written 1 Cor. 10, 16: *The cup of blessing which we bless*, etc. This blessing occurs through the recitation of the words of Christ.

5. The grounds, however, on which we stand against the Sacramentarians in this matter are those which Dr. Luther has laid down in his Large Confession concerning the Lord's Supper.

The first is this article of our Christian faith: Jesus Christ is true, essential, natural, perfect God and man in one person, undivided and inseparable.

The second: That God's right hand is everywhere; at which Christ is placed in deed and in truth according to His human nature, [and therefore] being present, rules, and has in His hands and beneath His feet everything that is in heaven and on earth [as Scripture says, Eph. 1, 22], where no man else, nor angel, but only the Son of Mary is placed; hence He can do this [those things which we have said].

The third: That God's Word is not false, and does not deceive.

The fourth: That God has and knows of various modes of being in any place, and not only the one [is not bound to the one] which philosophers call *localis* (local) [or circumscribed].

6. We believe, teach, and confess that the body and blood of Christ are received with the bread and wine, not only spiritually by faith, but also orally; yet not in a Capernaitic, but in a supernatural, heavenly mode, because of the sacramental union; as the words of Christ clearly show, when Christ gives direction to take, eat, and drink, as

essen und trinken, wie denn von den Aposteln geschehen; denn geschrieben steht: „Und sie tranken alle daraus", Mark. 14. Desgleichen St. Paulus sagt: „Das Brot, das wir brechen, ist eine Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi", das ist: Wer dies Brot ißt, der ißt den Leib Christi; welches auch einhellig die vornehmsten alten Kirchenlehrer, Chrysostomus, Cyprianus, Leo I., Gregorius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, bezeugen.

7. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß nicht allein die Rechtgläubigen [wahrhaft Gläubigen] und Würdigen, sondern auch die Unwürdigen und Ungläubigen empfangen den wahrhaftigen Leib und Blut Christi, doch nicht zum Leben und Trost, sondern zum Gericht und Verdammnis, wenn sie sich nicht bekehren und Buße tun, 1 Kor. 11.

Denn ob sie wohl Christum als einen Seligmacher von sich stoßen, so müssen sie ihn doch, auch wider ihren Willen, als einen strengen Richter zulassen, welcher so [ebenso] gegenwärtig das Gericht auch in den unbußfertigen Gästen übt und erzeigt, als gegenwärtig er Leben und Trost in den Herzen der Rechtgläubigen und würdigen Gäste wirkt.

8. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß nur einerlei unwürdige Gäste sind, nämlich die nicht glauben, von welchen geschrieben steht: „Wer aber nicht glaubet, der ist schon gerichtet", Joh. 3; welches Gericht durch unwürdigen [Ge]Brauch des heiligen Sakraments gehäuft, größer und schwerer wird, 1 Kor. 11.

9. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß kein Rechtgläubiger, solange er den lebendigen Glauben behält, wie schwach er auch sein möchte, das heilige Abendmahl zum Gericht empfange, welches sonderlich den schwachgläubigen, doch bußfertigen Christen zum Trost und Stärkung ihres schwachen Glaubens eingesetzt worden.

10. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß alle Würdigkeit der Tischgäste dieser himmlischen Mahlzeit sei und stehe allein in dem allerheiligsten Gehorsam und vollkommenen Verdienst Christi, welches wir uns durch wahrhaftigen Glauben zueignen und des durch das Sakrament versichert werden, und gar nicht in unsern Tugenden, innerlichen und äußerlichen Bereitungen.

NEGATIVA.

Widerwärtige verdammte Lehre der Sakramentierer.

Dagegen verwerfen und verdammen wir einhellig alle nachfolgenden irrigen Artikel, so der jetzt gesetzten Lehre, einfältigem Glauben und Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl Christi entgegen und zuwider sind:

1. Die päpstische Transsubstantiation, da im Papsttum gelehrt wird, daß Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl ihre Substanz und natürlich Wesen verlieren und also zunichte werden, daß es in den Leib Christi verwandelt werde, und allein die äußerliche Gestalt bleibe.

Scriptura commemorat, dicens Marc. 14, 23: *Et biberunt ex eo omnes.* Et Paulus inquit 1 Cor. 10, 16: *Panis, quem frangimus, est communicatio corporis Christi;* hoc est: Qui hunc panem edit, corpus Christi edit. Idem magno consensu praecipui ex antiquissimis ecclesiae doctoribus, Chrysostomus, Cyprianus, Leo Primus, Gregorius, Ambrosius, Augustinus, testantur.

16] VII. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod non tantum vere in Christum credentes, et qui digne ad Coenam Domini accedunt, verum etiam indigni et infideles verum [R. 601 corpus et sanguinem Christi sumant; ita tamen, ut nec consolationem nec vitam inde percipiant, sed potius, ut illis sumptio ea ad iudicium et damnationem cedat, si non convertantur et poenitentiam agant [1 Cor. 11, 27. 29].

17] Etsi enim Christum ut Salvatorem a se repellunt, tamen eundem, licet maxime inviti, ut severum Iudicem admittere coguntur. Is vero non minus praesens iudicium suum in convivis illis impoenitentibus exercet, quam praesens consolationem et vitam in cordibus vere credentium et dignorum convivarum operatur.

18] VIII. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, unum tantum genus esse indignorum convivarum: ii sunt soli illi, qui non credunt. De his scriptum est Ioh. 3, 18: *Qui non credit, iam iudicatus est.* Et hoc iudicium indigno sacrae coenae usu cumulatur et aggravatur, 1 Cor. 11, 29.

19] IX. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod nullus vere credentium, quamdiu vivam fidem retinet, sacram Domini Coenam ad iudicium sumat, quantacunque fidei imbecillitate laboret. Coena enim Domini imprimis propter infirmos in fide, poenitentes tamen, instituta est, ut ex ea veram consolationem et imbecillis fidei suae confirmationem percipiant [Matth. 9, 12; 11, 5. 28].

20] X. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, totam dignitatem convivarum coelestis huius Coenae in sola sacratissima obedientia et absolutissimo Christi merito consistere. Illud autem nobis vera fide applicamus et de applicatione huius meriti per sacramentum certi reddimur atque in animis nostris confirmamur. Nequaquam autem dignitas illa ex virtutibus nostris aut ex internis vel externis nostris praeparationibus pendet.

NEGATIVA.

Contrariae et damnatae Sacramentariorum doctrinae reiectio.

Reiicimus atque damnamus unanimi [R. 602 21] consensu omnes erroneos, quos iam recitabimus, articulos, ut qui commemoratae piae doctrinae, simplicitati fidei et sincerae confessioni de Coena Domini repugnant:

I. Papisticam transsubstantiationem, cum 22] videlicet in papatu docetur, panem et vinum in Sacra Coena substantiam atque naturalem suam essentiam amittere et ita annihilari, atque elementa illa ita in Christi corpus transmutari, ut praeter externas species nihil de iis reliquum maneat.

was also done by the apostles; for it is written Mark 14, 23: *And they all drank of it.* St. Paul likewise says, 1 Cor. 10, 16: *The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* that is: He who eats this bread eats the body of Christ, which also the chief ancient teachers of the Church, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Leo I, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, unanimously testify.

7. We believe, teach, and confess that not only the true believers [in Christ] and the worthy, but also the unworthy and unbelievers, receive the true body and blood of Christ; however, not for life and consolation, but for judgment and condemnation, if they are not converted and do not repent, 1 Cor. 11, 27. 29.

For although they thrust Christ from themselves as a Savior, yet they must admit Him even against their will as a strict Judge, who is just as present also to exercise and render judgment upon impenitent guests as He is present to work life and consolation in the hearts of the true believers and worthy guests.

8. We believe, teach, and confess also that there is only one kind of unworthy guests, namely, those who do not believe, concerning whom it is written John 3, 18: *He that believeth not is condemned already.* And this judgment becomes greater and more grievous, being aggravated, by the unworthy use of the Holy Supper, 1 Cor. 11, 29.

9. We believe, teach, and confess that no true believer, as long as he retains living faith, however weak he may be, receives the Holy Supper to his judgment, which was instituted especially for Christians weak in faith, yet penitent, for the consolation and strengthening of their weak faith [Matt. 9, 12; 11, 5. 28].

10. We believe, teach, and confess that all the worthiness of the guests of this heavenly feast is and consists in the most holy obedience and perfect merit of Christ alone, which we appropriate to ourselves by true faith, and whereof [of the application of this merit] we are assured by the Sacrament, and not at all in [but in nowise does this worthiness depend upon] our virtues or inward and outward preparations.

NEGATIVA.

Contrary, Condemned Doctrines of the Sacramentarians.

On the other hand, we unanimously reject and condemn all the following erroneous articles, which are opposed and contrary to the doctrine presented above, the simple faith, and the [pure] confession concerning the Lord's Supper:

1. The papistic transubstantiation, when it is taught in the Papacy that in the Holy Supper the bread and wine lose their substance and natural essence, and are thus annihilated; that they are changed into the body of Christ, and the outward form alone remains.

2. Die päpstische Opfermesse für die Sünden der Lebendigen und Toten.

3. Daß den Laien nur eine Gestalt des Sakraments gegeben, und wider die offenbaren Worte des Testaments Christi der Kelch ihnen vorgehalten [vorenthalten], und [sie] seines Bluts beraubt werden.

4. Wenn gelehrt wird, daß die Worte des Testaments Christi nicht einfältig verstanden oder geglaubt werden sollen, wie sie lauten, sondern daß es dunkle Reden seien, deren Verstand man erst an andern Orten suchen müsse.

5. Daß der Leib Christi im heiligen Abendmahl nicht mündlich mit dem Brot, sondern allein Brot und Wein mit dem Munde, der Leib Christi aber allein geistlich durch den Glauben empfangen werde.

6. Daß Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl nicht mehr denn Kennzeichen seien, dadurch die Christen einander erkennen.

7. Daß Brot und Wein allein Bedeutungen, Gleichnisse und Anbildungen [Abbildungen] des weit abwesenden Leibes und Blutes Christi seien.

8. Daß Brot und Wein nicht mehr denn Denkzeichen, Siegel und Pfand seien, durch welche wir versichert [würden], wenn sich der Glaube über sich in [den] Himmel schwinge, daß er daselbst so wahrhaftig des Leibes und Blutes Christi teilhaftig werde, so wahrhaftig wir im Abendmahl Brot und Wein essen und trinken.

9. Daß die Versicherung und Bekräftigung unsers Glaubens im heiligen Abendmahl geschehe allein durch die äußerlichen Zeichen Brotes und Weines und nicht durch den wahrhaftigen gegenwärtigen Leib und Blut Christi.

10. Daß im heiligen Abendmahl allein die Kraft, Wirkung und Verdienst des abwesenden Leibes und Blutes Christi ausgeteilt werde.

11. Daß der Leib Christi also im Himmel beschlossen [eingeschlossen sei], daß er auf keinerlei Weise zumal und zu einer Zeit an vielen oder allen Orten gegenwärtig sein könne auf Erden, da sein heiliges Abendmahl gehalten wird.

12. Daß Christus die wesentliche Gegenwärtigkeit seines Leibes und Blutes im heiligen Abendmahl nicht habe verheißen noch leisten können, weil die Natur und Eigenschaft seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur solches nicht leiden noch zugeben könne.

13. Daß Gott nach aller seiner Allmächtigkeit (welches erschrecklich zu hören) nicht vermöge zu verschaffen, daß sein Leib auf eine Zeit mehr denn an einem Ort wesentlich gegenwärtig sei.

14. Daß nicht die allmächtigen Worte des Testaments Christi, sondern der Glaube die Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im heiligen Abendmahl schaffe und mache.

15. Daß die Gläubigen den Leib Christi nicht bei dem Brot und Wein des heiligen Abendmahls suchen, sondern ihre Augen von dem Brot in [den] Himmel erheben und daselbst den Leib Christi suchen sollen.

16. Daß die ungläubigen, unbußfertigen Christen im heiligen Abendmahl nicht den wahrhaftigen Leib und Blut Christi, sondern allein Brot und Wein empfangen.

23] II. Papisticum missae sacrificium, quod pro peccatis vivorum et mortuorum offertur.

24] III. Sacrilegium, quo laicis una tantum pars sacramenti datur, cum nimirum contra expressa verba testamenti Christi calice illis interdicitur, atque ita sanguine Christi spoliantur.

25] IV. Dogma, quo docetur, quod verba testamenti Iesu Christi non simpliciter intelligenda et fide amplectenda sint, uti sonant; ea enim obscura esse ideoque verum eorum sensum ex aliis Scripturae locis petendum esse.

26] V. Corpus Christi in Sacra Coena non ore una cum pane sumi, sed tantum panem et vinum ore accipi, corpus vero Christi spiritualiter duntaxat, fide nimirum, sumi.

27] VI. Panem et vinum in Coena Domini tantummodo symbola seu tesseras esse, quibus Christiani mutuo sese agnoscant.

28] VII. Panem et vinum tantum esse figuras, similitudines et typos corporis et sanguinis Christi, longissimo intervallo a nobis absentis.

29] VIII. Panem et vinum tantummodo signa, memoriae conservandae gratia, instituta esse, quae sigillorum et pignorum rationem habeant, quibus nobis confirmetur, quod fides, cum in coelum illa ascendit et evehitur, ibi tam vere corporis et sanguinis [R. 603 Christi particeps fiat, quam vere nos in Sacra Coena panem manducamus et vinum bibimus.

30] IX. Fidem nostram de salute certam reddi et confirmari in Coena Domini nonnisi signis illis externis, pane et vino, nequaquam autem vere praesentibus vero corpore et sanguine Christi.

31] X. In Sacra Coena duntaxat virtutem, operationem et meritum absentis corporis et sanguinis Christi dispensari.

32] XI. Christi corpus ita coelo inclusum esse, ut nullo prorsus modo simul eodem tempore pluribus aut omnibus locis in terris praesens esse possit, ubi Coena Domini celebratur.

33] XII. Christum substantialem corporis et sanguinis sui praesentiam neque promittere neque exhibere potuisse, quandoquidem id proprietas humanae ipsius naturae assumptae nequaquam ferre aut admittere possit.

34] XIII. Deum ne quidem universa sua omnipotentia (horrendum dictu et auditu) efficere posse, ut corpus Christi uno eodemque tempore in pluribus, quam uno tantum loco, substantialiter praesens sit.

35] XIV. Non omnipotens illud verbum testamenti Christi, sed fidem praesentiae corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena causam esse.

36] XV. Fideles corpus et sanguinem Christi non in pane et vino Coenae Dominicae quaerere, sed oculos in coelum attollere et ibi corpus Christi quaerere debere.

37] XVI. Infideles et impoenitentes Christianos in Coena Domini non verum corpus et sanguinem Christi, sed panem tantum et vinum sumere.

2. The papistic sacrifice of the Mass for the sins of the living and the dead.

3. That [the sacrilege whereby] to laymen one form only of the Sacrament is given, and, contrary to the plain words of the testament of Christ, the cup is withheld from them, and they are [thus] deprived of His blood.

4. When it is taught that the words of the testament of Christ must not be understood or believed simply as they read, but that they are obscure expressions, whose meaning must be sought first in other passages of Scripture.

5. That in the Holy Supper the body of Christ is not received orally with the bread; but that with the mouth only bread and wine are received, the body of Christ, however, only spiritually by faith.

6. That the bread and wine in the Holy Supper are nothing more than [symbols or] tokens by which Christians recognize one another.

7. That the bread and wine are only figures, similitudes, and representations of the far absent body and blood of Christ.

8. That the bread and wine are no more than a memorial, seal, and pledge, through which we are assured that when faith elevates itself to heaven, it there becomes partaker of the body and blood of Christ as truly as we eat bread and drink wine in the Supper.

9. That the assurance and confirmation of our faith [concerning salvation] in the Holy Supper occur through the external signs of bread and wine alone, and not through the true, [verily] present body and blood of Christ.

10. That in the Holy Supper only the power, efficacy, and merit of the absent body and blood of Christ are distributed.

11. That the body of Christ is so enclosed in heaven that it can in no way be at once and at one time in many or all places upon earth where His Holy Supper is celebrated.

12. That Christ has not promised, neither could have effected, the essential presence of His body and blood in the Holy Supper, because the nature and property of His assumed human nature cannot suffer nor permit it.

13. That God, according to [even by] all His omnipotence (which is dreadful to hear), is not able to cause His body to be essentially present in more than one place at one time.

14. That not the omnipotent words of Christ's testament, but faith, produces and makes [is the cause of] the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper.

15. That believers must not seek the body [and blood] of Christ in the bread and wine of the Holy Supper, but raise their eyes from the bread to heaven and there seek the body of Christ.

16. That unbelieving, impenitent Christians do not receive the true body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper, but only bread and wine.

17. Daß die Würdigkeit der Gäste bei dieser himmlischen Mahlzeit nicht allein im wahrhaftigen Glauben an Christum, sondern auch auf der Menschen äußerlicher Bereitung stehe.

18. Daß auch die Rechtgläubigen, so einen wahrhaftigen, lebendigen, reinen Glauben an Christum haben und behalten, dies Sakrament zum Gericht empfangen können darum, daß sie im äußerlichen Wandel noch unvollkommen sind.

19. Daß die äußerlichen sichtbaren Elemente Brotes und Weines im heiligen Sakrament sollen angebetet werden.

20. Desgleichen befehlen wir auch dem [ge=] rechten Gericht Gottes alle vorwitzigen, spöttischen, lästerlichen Fragen (so Zucht halben nicht zu erzählen) und Reden, so auf grobe, fleischliche, kapernaitische und abscheuliche Weise von den übernatürlichen, himmlischen Geheimnissen dieses Sakraments ganz lästerlich und mit großem Ärgernis durch die Sakramentierer vorgebracht werden.

21. Wie wir denn hiermit das kapernaitische Essen des Leibes Christi, als wenn man sein Fleisch mit Zähnen zerrisse und wie andere Speise verdaute, welches die Sakramentierer wider das Zeugnis ihres Gewissens, über all unser vielfältig Bezeugen, uns mutwillig aufdringen und dergestalt unsere Lehre bei ihren Zuhörern verhaßt machen, gänzlich verdammen und dagegen halten und glauben, vermöge der einfältigen Worte des Testaments Christi, ein wahrhaftig, doch übernatürlich Essen des Leibes Christi wie auch Trinken seines Blutes, welches menschliche Sinne und Vernunft nicht begreifen, sondern unsern [sondern unser] Verstand in den Gehorsam Christi, wie in allen andern Artikeln des Glaubens, gefangengenommen [werden muß], und solch Geheimnis anders nicht denn allein mit [dem] Glauben gefaßt und im Wort geoffenbart wird.

38] XVII. Dignitatem convivarum in hac coelesti Coena non ex sola vera in Christum fide, sed etiam ex praeparatione hominum externa pendere.

39] XVIII. Eos etiam, qui veram et [R. 604 vivam in Christum fidem habent eamque retinent, nihilominus hoc sacramentum ad iudicium sumere posse, propterea quod in externa sua conversatione adhuc imperfecti sint.

40] XIX. Externa visibilia elementa panis et vini in sacramento adoranda esse.

41] XX. Praeter haec iusto Dei iudicio relinquimus omnes curiosas, sannis virulentis tinctas et blasphemas quaestiones, quae honeste, pie et sine gravi offensione recitari nequeunt, aliosque sermones, quando de supernaturali et coelesti mysterio huius sacramenti crasse, carnaliter, Capernaitice et plane abominandis modis, blaspheme et maximo cum ecclesiae offendiculo sacramentarii loquuntur.

42] XXI. Prorsus etiam reiicimus atque damnamus Capernaiticam manducationem corporis Christi, quam nobis Sacramentarii contra suae conscientiae testimonium, post tot nostras protestationes, malitiose affingunt, ut doctrinam nostram apud auditores suos in odium adducant, quasi videlicet doceamus, corpus Christi dentibus laniari et instar alterius cuiusdam cibi in corpore humano digeri. Credimus autem et asserimus, secundum clara verba testamenti Christi, veram, sed supernaturalem manducationem corporis Christi, quemadmodum etiam vere, supernaturaliter tamen, sanguinem Christi bibi docemus. Haec autem humanis sensibus aut ratione nemo comprehendere potest, quare in hoc negotio, sicut et in aliis fidei articulis, intellectum nostrum in obedientiam Christi captivare oportet. Hoc enim mysterium in solo Dei Verbo revelatur et sola fide comprehenditur.

VIII.

Von der Person Christi.

Aus dem Streit von dem heiligen Abendmahl ist zwischen den reinen Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession und den Calvinisten (welche auch etliche andere Theologen irregemacht) eine Uneinigkeit entstanden von der Person Christi, von beiden Naturen in Christo und ihren Eigenschaften.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Hauptstreit in diesem Zwiespalt.

Die Hauptfrage aber ist gewesen, ob die göttliche und menschliche Natur um der persönlichen Vereinigung willen realiter, das ist, mit [der] Tat und Wahrheit, in der Person Christi wie auch derselben Eigenschaften miteinander Gemeinschaft haben, und wie weit sich solche Gemeinschaft erstrecke.

Die Sakramentierer haben vor[ge]geben, die göttliche und menschliche Natur in Christo seien also persönlich vereinigt, daß keine mit der andern realiter, das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, was einer jeden Natur eigen ist, sondern mehr nicht denn allein den Namen gemein haben. Denn unio, sagen sie schlecht, facit communia nomina,

VIII.

DE PERSONA CHRISTI. [R. 605

1] Ex controversia superiore de Coena Domini inter sinceros theologos Augustanae Confessionis et Calvinistas, qui alios etiam quosdam theologos perturbarunt, dissensio orta est de persona Christi, de duabus in Christo naturis et de ipsarum proprietatibus.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

2] Principalis huius dissidii quaestio fuit, an divina et humana natura et utriusque proprietates propter unionem personalem *realiter*, hoc est, vere et re ipsa, in persona Christi invicem communicent, et quousque illa communicatio extendatur.

3] Sacramentarii affirmarunt, divinam et humanam naturas in Christo eo modo personaliter unitas esse, ut neutra alteri quidquam realiter, hoc est, vere et re ipsa, quod cuiusque naturae proprium sit, communicet, sed nomina tantum nuda communicari. Unio (inquiunt illi) facit tantum nomina communia, ut vide-

17. That the worthiness of the guests at this heavenly meal consists not alone in true faith in Christ, but also in the external preparation of men.

18. That even the true believers, who have and retain a true, living, pure faith in Christ, can receive this Sacrament to their judgment, because they are still imperfect in their outward life.

19. That the external visible elements of the bread and wine should be adored in the Holy Sacrament.

20. Likewise, we consign also to the just judgment of God all presumptuous, frivolous, blasphemous questions (which decency forbids to mention) and [other] expressions, which most blasphemously and with great offense [to the Church] are proposed by the Sacramentarians in a gross, carnal, Capernaitic way concerning the supernatural, heavenly mysteries of this Sacrament.

21. Hence we hereby utterly [reject and] condemn the Capernaitic eating of the body of Christ, as though [we taught that] His flesh were rent with the teeth, and digested like other food, which the Sacramentarians, against the testimony of their conscience, after all our frequent protests, wilfully force upon us, and in this way make our doctrine odious to their hearers; and on the other hand, we maintain and believe, according to the simple words of the testament of Christ, the true, yet supernatural eating of the body of Christ, as also the drinking of His blood, which human senses and reason do not comprehend, but as in all other articles of faith our reason is brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and this mystery is not apprehended otherwise than by faith alone, and revealed in the Word alone.

VIII.

OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

From the controversy concerning the Holy Supper a disagreement has arisen between the pure theologians of the Augsburg Confession and the Calvinists, who also have confused some other theologians, concerning the person of Christ and the two natures in Christ and their properties.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Chief Controversy in This Dissension.

The chief question, however, has been whether, because of the personal union, the divine and human natures, as also their properties, have *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, a communion with one another in the person of Christ, and how far this communion extends.

The Sacramentarians have asserted that the divine and human natures in Christ are united personally in such a way that neither has *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, in common with the other that which is peculiar to either nature, but that they have in common nothing more than the name alone. For *unio*,

das ist, die persönliche Vereinigung macht mehr nicht denn die Namen gemein, daß nämlich Gott Mensch und Mensch Gott genennet [genannt] wird, doch also, daß Gott nichts mit der Menschheit und die Menschheit nichts mit der Gottheit, derselben Majestät und Eigenschaften realiter, das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, gemein habe. Das Widerspiel hat D. Luther, und die es mit ihm gehalten, wider die Sakramentierer gestritten [verfochten].

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine Lehre der christlichen Kirche von der Person Christi.

Solchen Streit zu erklären und nach Anleitung unsers christlichen Glaubens hinzulegen [beizulegen], ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, wie folgt:

1. Daß die göttliche und menschliche Natur in Christo persönlich vereinigt [sind], also daß nicht zwei Christus, einer Gottes, der andere des Menschen Sohn, sondern ein einiger [ein und derselbe] Sohn Gottes und des Menschen Sohn sei, Luk. 1; Röm. 9.

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß die göttliche und menschliche Natur nicht in ein Wesen vermengt, keine in die andere verwandelt [sei], sondern eine jede ihre wesentlichen Eigenschaften behalte, welche der andern Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden.

3. Die Eigenschaften göttlicher Natur sind: allmächtig, ewig, unendlich, nach Eigenschaft der Natur und ihres natürlichen Wesens, für sich selbst, allenthalben gegenwärtig sein, alles wissen usw., welche der menschlichen Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden.

4. Die Eigenschaften menschlicher Natur sind: ein leiblich Geschöpf oder Kreatur sein, Fleisch und Blut sein, endlich und umschrieben sein, leiden, sterben, auf- und niederfahren, von einem Ort zum andern sich bewegen, Hunger, Durst, Frost, Hitze leiden und dergleichen, welche der göttlichen Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden.

5. Nachdem beide Naturen persönlich, das ist, in einer Person, vereinigt [sind], glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß diese Vereinigung nicht eine solche Verknüpfung und Verbindung sei, daß keine Natur mit der andern persönlich, das ist, um der persönlichen Vereinigung willen, etwas gemein haben soll; als, wenn einer zwei Bretter zusammenleimt, da keines dem andern etwas gibt oder von dem andern nimmt, sondern hier ist die höchste Gemeinschaft, welche Gott mit dem Menschen wahrhaftig hat, aus welcher persönlichen Vereinigung und der daraus erfolgenden höchsten und unaussprechlichen Gemeinschaft alles herfleußt, was menschlich von Gott und göttlich vom Menschen Christo gesagt und geglaubt wird; wie solche Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft der Naturen die alten Kirchenlehrer durch die [durch das] Gleichnis eines feurigen Eisens wie auch der Vereinigung Leibes und der Seele im Menschen erklärt haben.

6. Daher glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß Gott Mensch und Mensch Gott sei, welches nicht sein könnte, wenn die göttliche und menschliche Natur allerdings keine Gemeinschaft in Tat und Wahrheit miteinander hätten.

licet Deus dicatur homo, et homo Deus appelletur, ita tamen, ut Deus nihil cum humanitate commune habeat, et vicissim humanitas nihil cum divinitate, quoad ipsius maiestatem et proprietates, realiter, hoc est, revera et re ipsa, commune habeat. Contrariam vero huic dogmati sententiam D. Lutherus, et qui cum ipso faciunt, adversus Sacramentarios propugnarunt.

AFFIRMATIVA. [R. 606

Sincera doctrina ecclesiae Dei de persona Christi.

4] Ad explicandam hanc controversiam et iuxta analogiam fidei nostrae Christianae decidendam, fidem, doctrinam et confessionem nostram piam perspicue profitemur, videlicet:

5] I. Quod divina et humana natura in Christo personaliter unitae sint, ita prorsus, ut non sint duo Christi, unus Filius Dei, alter Filius hominis, sed ut unus et idem sit Dei et hominis Filius, Luc. 1, 35; Rom. 9, 5.

6] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, divinam et humanam naturas non in unam substantiam commixtas, nec unam in alteram mutatam esse, sed utramque naturam retinere suas proprietates essentiales, ut quae alterius naturae proprietates fieri nequeant.

7] III. Proprietates divinae naturae sunt: esse omnipotentem, aeternam, infinitam et secundum naturae naturalisque suae essentiae proprietatem, per se, ubique praesentem esse, omnia novisse etc. Haec omnia neque sunt, neque unquam fiunt humanae naturae proprietates.

8] IV. Humanae autem naturae proprietates sunt: corpoream esse creaturam, constare carne et sanguine, esse finitam et circumscriptam, pati, mori, ascendere, descendere, de loco ad locum moveri, esurire, sitire, algere, aestu affligi et si quae sunt similia. Haec neque sunt, neque unquam fiunt proprietates divinae naturae.

9] V. Cum vero divina et humana naturae personaliter, hoc est, ad constituendum unum ὑφιστάμενον, sint unitae, credimus, docemus et confitemur, unionem illam hypostaticam non esse talem copulationem aut combinationem, cuius ratione neutra natura cum [R. 607 altera personaliter, hoc est, propter unionem personalem, quidquam commune habeat, qualis combinatio fit, cum duo asseres conglutinantur, ubi neuter alteri quidquam confert aut aliquid ab altero accipit. Quin potius hic summa communio est, quam Deus cum assumpto homine vere habet, et ex personali unione et summa ac ineffabili communione, quae inde consequitur, totum illud promanat, quidquid humani de Deo et quidquid divini de homine Christo dicitur et creditur. Et hanc unionem atque communionem naturarum antiquissimi ecclesiae doctores similitudine ferri candentis, itemque unione corporis et animae in homine declararunt.

10] VI. Hinc etiam credimus, docemus atque confitemur, quod Deus sit homo et homo sit Deus, id quod nequaquam ita se haberet, si divina et humana natura prorsus inter se nihil revera et re ipsa communicarent.

they plainly say, *facit communia nomina, i. e.*, the personal union makes nothing more than the names common, namely, that God is called man, and man God, yet in such a way that God has nothing *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, in common with humanity, and humanity nothing in common with divinity, its majesty and properties. Dr. Luther, and those who held with him, have contended for the contrary against the Sacramentarians.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Pure Doctrine of the Christian Church concerning the Person of Christ.

To explain this controversy, and settle it according to the guidance [analogy] of our Christian faith, our doctrine, faith, and confession is as follows:

1. That the divine and human natures in Christ are personally united, so that there are not two Christs, one the Son of God, the other the Son of man, but that one and the same is the Son of God and Son of man, Luke 1, 35; Rom. 9, 5.

2. We believe, teach, and confess that the divine and human natures are not mingled into one substance, nor the one changed into the other, but that each retains its own essential properties, which [can] never become the properties of the other nature.

3. The properties of the divine nature are: to be almighty, eternal, infinite, and to be, according to the property of its nature and its natural essence, of itself, everywhere present, to know everything, etc.; which never become properties of the human nature.

4. The properties of the human nature are: to be a corporeal creature, to be flesh and blood, to be finite and circumscribed, to suffer, to die, to ascend and descend, to move from one place to another, to suffer hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and the like; which never become properties of the divine nature.

5. As the two natures are united personally, *i. e.*, in one person, we believe, teach, and confess that this union is not such a copulation and connection that neither nature has anything in common with the other personally, *i. e.*, because of the personal union, as when two boards are glued together, where neither gives anything to the other or takes anything from the other. But here is the highest communion, which God truly has with the [assumed] man, from which personal union, and the highest and ineffable communion resulting therefrom, there flows everything human that is said and believed concerning God, and everything divine that is said and believed concerning the man Christ; as the ancient teachers of the Church explained this union and communion of the natures by the illustration of iron glowing with fire, and also by the union of body and soul in man.

6. Hence we believe, teach, and confess that God is man and man is God, which could not be if the divine and human natures had in deed and truth absolutely no communion with one another.

Denn wie könnte der Menſch, Marien Sohn, Gott oder Gottes des Allerhöchſten Sohn mit Wahrheit genennet [genannt] werden oder ſein, wenn ſeine Menſchheit mit Gottes Sohn nicht perſönlich vereinigt und alſo realiter, das iſt, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, nichts, ſondern nur den Namen Gottes mit ihm gemein hätte?

7. Daher glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß Maria nicht einen bloßen, purlauteren Menſchen, ſondern den wahrhaftigen Sohn Gottes empfangen und geboren habe, darum ſie auch recht [mit Recht] die Mutter Gottes genennet wird und auch wahrhaftig iſt.

8. Daher glauben, lehren und bekennen wir auch, daß nicht ein purlauterer Menſch für uns gelitten, geſtorben, begraben, gen Hölle gefahren, von Toten erſtanden, gen Himmel gefahren und geſetzt zur Majeſtät und allmächtigen Kraft Gottes, ſondern ein ſolcher Menſch, des menſchliche Natur mit dem Sohn Gottes ſo eine tiefe, unausſprechliche Vereinigung und Gemeinſchaft hat, daß ſie mit ihm e i n e Perſon iſt.

9. Darum wahrhaftig der Sohn Gottes für uns gelitten [hat], doch nach Eigenſchaft der menſchlichen Natur, welche er in Einigkeit ſeiner göttlichen Perſon angenommen und ihm [und ſich] eigen gemacht, daß er leiden und unſer Hoherprieſter zu unſerer Verſöhnung mit Gott ſein könnte, wie geſchrieben ſteht: „Sie haben den HErrn der Herrlichkeit gekreuziget“; und: „Mit Gottes Blut ſind wir erlöſet worden“, 1 Kor. 2; Act. 20.

10. Daher glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß des Menſchen Sohn zur Rechten der allmächtigen Majeſtät und Kraft Gottes realiter, das iſt, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, nach der menſchlichen Natur erhöht [iſt], weil er in Gott aufgenommen, als er von dem Heiligen Geiſt in Mutterleibe empfangen, und ſeine menſchliche Natur mit dem Sohn des Allerhöchſten perſönlich vereinigt [worden iſt].

11. Welche Majeſtät er nach der perſönlichen Vereinigung allwegen [allezeit] gehabt und ſich doch derſelben im Stande ſeiner Erniedrigung geäußert und [aus] der Urſache wahrhaftig an aller Weisheit und Gnade bei Gott und den Menſchen zugenommen; darum er ſolche Majeſtät nicht allezeit, ſondern wann es ihm gefallen, erzeigt [hat], bis er die Knechtsgeſtalt, und nicht die Natur, nach ſeiner Auferſtehung ganz und gar hingelegt und in den völligen Gebrauch, Offenbarung und Erweiſung der göttlichen Majeſtät geſetzt und alſo in ſeine Herrlichkeit eingegangen, daß er jetzt nicht allein als Gott, ſondern auch als Menſch alles weiß, alles vermag, allen Kreaturen gegenwärtig iſt und alles, was im Himmel, auf Erden und unter der Erde iſt, unter ſeinen Füßen und in ſeinen Händen hat; wie er ſelbſt zeugt: „Mir iſt gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden“; und St. Paulus: „Er iſt über alle Himmel gefahren, auf daß er alles erfüllete“; welche ſeine Gewalt er allenthalben gegenwärtig üben kann, und ihm alles möglich und alles wiſſend iſt, Phil. 2; Eph. 4.

12. Daher er auch vermag und ihm ganz leicht iſt, ſeinen wahrhaftigen Leib und Blut im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig mitzuteilen; **nicht**

11] Quomodo enim homo, Mariae Filius, Deus aut Filius Dei altissimi vere appellari posset aut esset, si ipsius humanitas cum Filio Dei non esset personaliter unita, atque ita realiter, hoc est, vere et re ipsa, nihil prorsus, excepto solo nudo nomine, cum ipso commune haberet?

12] VII. Eam ob causam credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod virgo Maria non nudum aut merum hominem duntaxat, sed verum Dei Filium conceperit et genuerit: unde recte mater Dei et appellatur et revera est.

13] VIII. Inde porro credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod non nudus homo tantum pro nobis passus, mortuus et sepultus sit, ad inferos descenderit, a mortuis resurrexerit, ad coelos ascenderit et ad maiestatem et omnipotentem Dei virtutem evectus fuerit, sed talis homo, cuius humana natura cum Filio Dei tam arctam ineffabilemque unionem et communicationem habet, ut cum eo una sit facta persona.

14] IX. Quapropter vere Filius Dei [R. 608 pro nobis est passus, sed secundum proprietatem humanae naturae, quam in unitatem divinae suae personae assumpsit sibique eam propriam fecit, ut videlicet pati et pontifex noster summus reconciliationis nostrae cum Deo causa esse posset. Sic enim scriptum est 1 Cor. 2, 8: *Dominum gloriae crucifixerunt;* et Act. 20, 28: *Sanguine Dei redempti sumus.*

15] X. Ex eodem etiam fundamento credimus, docemus et confitemur, Filium hominis ad dexteram omnipotentis maiestatis et virtutis Dei realiter, hoc est, vere et re ipsa, secundum humanam suam naturam esse exaltatum, cum homo ille in Deum assumptus fuerit, quam primum in utero matris a Spiritu Sancto est conceptus, eiusque humanitas iam tum cum Filio Dei altissimi personaliter fuerit unita.

16] XI. Eamque maiestatem ratione unionis personalis semper Christus habuit, sed in statu suae humiliationis sese exinanivit, qua de causa revera aetate, sapientia et gratia apud Deum atque homines profecit. Quare maiestatem illam non semper, sed quoties ipsi visum fuit, exeruit [exseruit], donec formam servi, non autem naturam humanam, post resurrectionem plene et prorsus deponeret et in plenariam usurpationem, manifestationem et declarationem divinae maiestatis collocaretur et hoc modo in gloriam suam ingrederetur [Phil. 2, 6 sqq.]. Itaque iam non tantum ut Deus, verum etiam ut homo omnia novit, omnia potest, omnibus creaturis praesens est et omnia, quae in coelis, in terris et sub terra sunt, sub pedibus suis et in manu sua habet. Haec ita se habere Christus ipse testatur, inquiens Matth. 28, 18; Ioh. 13, 3: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra.* Et Paulus ait Eph. 4, 10: *Ascendit super omnes coelos, ut omnia impleat.* Hanc suam potestatem ubique praesens exercere potest, neque quidquam illi aut impossibile est aut ignotum.

17] XII. Inde adeo, et quidem facillime, corpus suum verum et sanguinem suum in [R. 609 Sacra Coena praesens distribuere potest. Id

For how could the man, the son of Mary, in truth be called or be God, or the Son of God the Most High, if His humanity were not personally united with the Son of God, and He thus had *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, nothing in common with Him except only the name of God?

7. Hence we believe, teach, and confess that Mary conceived and bore not a mere man and no more, but the true Son of God; therefore she also is rightly called and truly is the mother of God.

8. Hence we also believe, teach, and confess that it was not a mere man who suffered, died, was buried, descended to hell, arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, and was raised to the majesty and almighty power of God for us, but a man whose human nature has such a profound [close], ineffable union and communion with the Son of God that it is [has become] one person with Him.

9. Therefore the Son of God truly suffered for us, however, according to the property of the human nature which He assumed into the unity of His divine person and made His own, so that He might be able to suffer and be our High Priest for our reconciliation with God, as it is written 1 Cor. 2, 8: *They have crucified the Lord of glory.* And Acts 20, 28: *We are purchased with God's blood.*

10. Hence we believe, teach, and confess that the Son of Man is *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, exalted according to His human nature to the right hand of the almighty majesty and power of God, because He [that man] was assumed into God when He was conceived of the Holy Ghost in His mother's womb, and His human nature was personally united with the Son of the Highest.

11. This majesty He [Christ] always had according to the personal union, and yet He abstained from it in the state of His humiliation, and on this account truly increased in all wisdom and favor with God and men; therefore He exercised this majesty, not always, but when [as often as] it pleased Him, until after His resurrection He entirely laid aside the form of a servant, but not the [human] nature, and was established in the full use, manifestation, and declaration of the divine majesty, and thus entered into His glory, Phil. 2, 6 ff., so that now not only as God, but also as man He knows all things, can do all things, is present with all creatures, and has under His feet and in His hands everything that is in heaven and on earth and under the earth, as He Himself testifies Matt. 28, 18; John 13, 3: *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth.* And St. Paul says Eph. 4, 10: *He ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things.* And this His power, He, being present, can exercise everywhere, and to Him everything is possible and everything is known.

12. Hence He also is able and it is very easy for Him to impart, as one who is present, His

nach der Art oder Eigenschaft der menschlichen Natur, sondern nach Art und Eigenschaft göttlicher Rechte, sagt Doktor Luther aus unserm christlichen Kinderglauben; welche Gegenwärtigkeit nicht irdisch, noch kapernaitanisch, gleichwohl wahrhaftig und wesentlich ist, wie die Worte seines Testaments lauten: „Das ist, ist, ist mein Leib" usw.

Durch diese unsere Lehre, Glauben und Bekenntnis wird die Person Christi nicht getrennt, wie Nestorius getan (welcher die communicationem idiomatum, das ist, die wahrhaftige Gemeinschaft der Eigenschaften beider Naturen in Christo, geleugnet und also die Person getrennt, wie solches Lutherus im Buch von den Conciliis erkläret); noch [werden] die Naturen samt ihren Eigenschaften miteinander in ein Wesen vermischt (wie Eutyches geirrt); noch die menschliche Natur in der Person Christi verleugnet oder abgetilgt wird; auch keine Natur in die andere verwandelt; sondern Christus ist und bleibt in alle Ewigkeit Gott und Mensch in einer unzertrennten Person; welches nach der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit das höchste **Geheimnis** ist, wie der Apostel zeugt 1 Tim. 3, in welchem unser einiger Trost, Leben und Seligkeit steht.

NEGATIVA.

Widerwärtige falsche Lehre von der Person Christi.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir als Gottes Wort und unserm einfältigen christlichen Glauben zuwider alle nachfolgenden irrigen Artikel, wenn gelehrt wird:

1. Daß Gott und Mensch in Christo nicht eine Person, sondern ein anderer Gottes und ein anderer des Menschen Sohn sei; wie Nestorius narrt.

2. Daß die göttliche und menschliche Natur miteinander in ein Wesen vermischt und die menschliche Natur in die Gottheit verwandelt [sei]; wie Eutyches geschwärmt.

3. Daß Christus nicht wahrhaftiger, natürlicher, ewiger Gott sei; wie Arius gehalten.

4. Daß Christus nicht eine wahrhaftige menschliche Natur gehabt, von Leib und Seele; wie Marcion gedichtet hat.

5. Quod unio personalis faciat tantum communia nomina, das ist, daß die persönliche Vereinigung mache allein die Titel und Namen gemein.

6. Daß es nur eine phrasis und modus loquendi, das ist, nur Worte und eine Weise zu reden sei, wenn man sagt: Gott ist Mensch, Mensch ist Gott; denn die Gottheit habe nichts mit der Menschheit wie auch die Menschheit nichts mit der Gottheit realiter, das ist, mit der Tat, gemein.

7. Daß es nur communicatio verbalis, das ist, nichts denn Worte sei, wenn gesagt wird, Gottes Sohn sei für der Welt Sünde gestorben, des Menschen Sohn sei allmächtig [ge]worden.

8. Daß die menschliche Natur in Christo auf solche Weise wie die Gottheit ein unendlich Wesen [ge]worden, und aus solcher wesentlicher, mitgevero non fit secundum modum et proprietatem humanae naturae, sed secundum modum et proprietatem dexterae Dei, ut Lutherus secundum analogiam fidei nostrae Christianae in catechesi comprehensae loqui solet. Et haec Christi in Sacra Coena praesentia neque physica aut terrena est, neque Capernaitica, interim tamen verissima et quidem substantialis est. Sic enim verba testamenti Christi sonant: *Hoc est, est, est corpus meum* etc.

18] Hac nostra fide, doctrina et confessione persona Christi non solvitur, quod olim Nestorius fecit. Is enim veram communicationem idiomatum seu proprietatum utriusque naturae in Christo negavit et hac ratione Christi personam solvit, quam rem D. Lutherus in libello suo De Conciliis perspicue declaravit. Neque hac pia nostra doctrina duae in Christo naturae earumque proprietates confunduntur, aut in unam essentiam commiscentur (in quo errore Eutyches fuit), neque humana natura in persona Christi negatur aut aboletur, neque altera natura in alteram mutatur; sed Christus verus Deus et homo in una indivisa persona est permanetque in omnem aeternitatem. Hoc post illud Trinitatis summum est *mysterium*, ut apostolus testatur 1 Tim. 3, 16, in quo solo tota nostra consolatio, vita et salus posita est.

NEGATIVA.

Contrariae et falsae doctrinae de persona Christi reiectio.

19] Repudiamus igitur atque damnamus omnes erroneos, quos iam recitabimus, articulos, eo quod Verbo Dei et sincerae fidei nostrae Christianae repugnent, cum videlicet sequentes errores docentur:

20] I. Quod Deus et homo in Christo [R. 610 non constituant unam personam, sed quod alius sit Dei Filius et alius hominis Filius, ut Nestorius deliravit.

21] II. Quod divina et humana naturae in unam essentiam commixtae sint, et humana natura in Deitatem mutata sit, ut Eutyches furenter dixit.

22] III. Quod Christus non sit verus, naturalis et aeternus Deus, ut Arius blasphemavit.

23] IV. Quod Christus non veram humanam naturam anima rationali et corpore constantem habuerit, ut Marcion finxit.

24] V. Quod unio personalis faciat tantum communia nomina et communes titulos.

25] VI. Quod phrasis tantum et modus quidam loquendi sit, cum dicitur: Deus est homo et homo est Deus; siquidem Divinitas nihil cum humanitate et humanitas nihil cum Deitate realiter, hoc est, vere et re ipsa, commune habeat.

26] VII. Quod tantum sit verbalis sine re ipsa idiomatum communicatio, cum dicitur, Filium Dei pro peccatis mundi mortuum esse, Filium hominis omnipotentem factum esse.

27] VIII. Quod humana in Christo natura eo modo, quo est Divinitas, facta sit essentia quaedam infinita, et ex hac essentiali, com-

true body and blood in the Holy Supper, not according to the mode or property of the human nature, but according to the mode and property of the right hand of God, as Dr. Luther says in accordance with our Christian faith for children, which presence [of Christ in the Holy Supper] is not [physical or] earthly, nor Capernaitic; nevertheless it is true and substantial, as the words of His testament read: *This is, is, is My body*, etc.

By this our doctrine, faith, and confession the person of Christ is not divided, as it was by Nestorius, who denied the *communicatio idiomatum*, that is, the true communion of the properties of both natures in Christ, and thus divided the person, as Luther has explained in his book *Concerning Councils*. Neither are the natures together with their properties confounded with one another [or mingled] into one essence (as Eutyches erred); nor is the human nature in the person of Christ denied or annihilated; nor is either nature changed into the other; but Christ is and remains to all eternity God and man in one undivided person, which, next to the Holy Trinity, is, as the Apostle testifies, 1 Tim. 3, 16, the highest *mystery*, upon which our only consolation, life, and salvation depends.

NEGATIVA.

Contrary False Doctrine concerning the Person of Christ.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn as contrary to God's Word and our simple [pure] Christian faith all the following erroneous articles, when it is taught:

1. That God and man in Christ are not one person, but that the Son of God is one, and the Son of Man another, as Nestorius raved.

2. That the divine and human natures have been mingled with one another into one essence, and the human nature has been changed into the Deity, as Eutyches fanatically asserted.

3. That Christ is not true, natural, and eternal God, as Arius held [blasphemed].

4. That Christ did not have a true human nature [consisting] of body and soul, as Marcion imagined.

5. *Quod unio personalis faciat tantum communia nomina*, that is, that the personal union renders only the names and titles common.

6. That it is only *phrasis et modus loquendi*, that is, a phrase and mode of speaking, when it is said: God is man, man is God; since Divinity, as they say, has *realiter*, that is, in deed [and truth], nothing in common with the humanity, nor the humanity with the Deity.

7. That there is merely *communicatio [idiomatum] verbalis* [without reality], that is, that it is nothing but words when it is said the Son of God died for the sins of the world; the Son of Man has become almighty.

8. That the human nature in Christ has become an infinite essence in the same manner as the Divinity, and that it is everywhere present in the same manner as the divine

teilter, in die menschliche Natur ausgegossener und von Gott abgesonderter Kraft und Eigenschaft auf solche Weise wie die göttliche Natur allenthalben gegenwärtig sei.

9. Daß die menschliche Natur der göttlichen Natur an ihrer Substanz und Wesen oder an derselben wesentlichen Eigenschaften exäquiert und gleich [ge]worden sei.

10. Daß die menschliche Natur Christi in alle Orte des Himmels und der Erden räumlich ausgespannt [sei], welches auch der göttlichen Natur nicht zugemessen werden soll.

11. Daß Christo unmöglich sei von wegen der Eigenschaft menschlicher Natur, daß er zumal [zu gleicher Zeit] mehr denn an einem Ort, noch viel weniger allenthalben mit seinem Leibe sein könnte.

12. Daß allein die bloße Menschheit für uns gelitten und uns erlöst habe, und daß der Sohn Gottes im Leiden mit derselben keine Gemeinschaft mit der Tat gehabt, als wenn es ihn nichts an[ge]gangen hätte.

13. Daß Christus allein nach seiner Gottheit bei uns auf Erden im Wort, Sakramenten und allen unsern Nöten gegenwärtig sei, und solche Gegenwärtigkeit seine menschliche Natur ganz und gar nichts angehe, nach welcher er auch mit uns auf Erden, nachdem er uns durch sein Leiden und Sterben erlöst, nicht mehr [nichts mehr] zu schaffen habe.

14. Daß der Sohn Gottes, so die menschliche Natur angenommen, nachdem er Knechtsgestalt abgelegt, nicht alle Werke seiner Allmächtigkeit in, durch und mit seiner menschlichen Natur verrichte, sondern nur etliche, und allein an dem Ort, da die menschliche Natur räumlich sei.

15. Daß er nach der menschlichen Natur der Allmächtigkeit und anderer Eigenschaften göttlicher Natur allerdinge nicht fähig sei; wider den ausgedrückten [ausdrücklichen] Spruch Christi: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden", Matth. 28; und St. Paulus: „In ihm wohnet alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig", Kol. 2.

16. Daß ihm größere Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden gegeben, nämlich größere und mehr denn allen Engeln und andern Kreaturen, aber mit der Allmächtigkeit Gottes habe er keine Gemeinschaft, sei ihm auch dieselbe nicht gegeben. Daher sie eine mediam potentiam, das ist, eine solche Gewalt zwischen Gottes allmächtiger Gewalt und anderer Kreaturen Gewalt, dichten, die Christo nach seiner Menschheit durch die Erhöhung gegeben, die weniger denn Gottes allmächtige Gewalt und größer denn anderer Kreaturen Gewalt sei.

17. Daß Christus nach seinem menschlichen Geist ein gewisses Maß habe, wieviel er wissen solle, und daß er nicht mehr wisse, denn ihm gebührt und vonnöten sei, zu seinem Richteramt zu wissen.

18. Daß Christus noch nicht vollkommene Erkenntnis Gottes und aller seiner Werke habe; von dem doch geschrieben steht, daß „in ihm alle Schätze der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis verborgen seien", Kol. 2.

19. Daß Christo nach seinem menschlichen Geist unmöglich sei zu wissen, was von Ewigkeit gemunicata, in humanam naturam effusa et a Deo separata virtute et proprietate eo modo quo divina natura ubique praesens sit.

28] IX. Quod humana natura divinae ratione substantiae atque essentiae suae vel proprietatum divinarum essentialium exaequata sit.

29] X. Quod humana natura in Christo in omnia loca coeli et terrae localiter expansa sit, quod ne quidem divinae naturae est tribuendum.

30] XI. Quod Christo impossibile sit [R. 611 propter humanae naturae proprietatem, ut simul in pluribus quam in uno loco, nedum ubique suo cum corpore esse possit.

31] XII. Quod sola humanitas pro nobis passa sit nosque redemerit, et quod Filius Dei in passione nullam prorsus cum humanitate (re ipsa) communicationem habuerit, perinde ac si id negotium nihil ad ipsum pertinuisset.

32] XIII. Quod Filius Dei tantummodo divinitate sua nobis in terris, in Verbo, sacramentis, in omnibus denique aerumnis nostris praesens sit, et quod haec praesentia prorsus ad humanitatem nihil pertineat. Christo enim, postquam nos passione et morte sua redemerit, secundum humanitatem suam nihil amplius nobiscum in terris esse negotii.

33] XIV. Quod Filius Dei, qui humanam naturam assumpsit, iam post depositam servi formam non omnia opera omnipotentiae suae in et cum humanitate sua et per eam efficiat, sed tantum aliqua, et quidem in eo tantum loco, ubi humana natura est localiter.

34] XV. Quod secundum humanitatem omnipotentiae aliarumque proprietatum divinae naturae prorsus non sit capax. Idque asserere audent contra expressum testimonium Christi, Matth. 28, 18: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra.* Et contradicunt Paulo, qui ait Col. 2, 9: *In ipso inhabitat tota divinitatis plenitudo corporaliter.*

35] XVI. Quod Christo secundum humanitatem data quidem sit maxima potestas in coelo et in terra, videlicet maior et amplior, quam omnes angeli et creaturae acceperint, sed tamen ita, ut cum omnipotentia Dei nullam habeat communicationem, neque omnipotentia illi data sit. Itaque mediam quandam potentiam inter omnipotentiam Dei et inter aliarum creaturarum potentiam fingunt, datam Christo secundum humanam eius naturam per exaltationem, quae minor quidem sit quam Dei omnipotentia, maior tamen omnium aliarum creaturarum potestate.

36] XVII. Quod Christo secundum [R. 612 spiritum suum humanum certi limites positi sint, quantum videlicet ipsum scire oporteat, et quod non plus sciat, quam ipsi conveniat, et ad exsecutionem sui officii, iudicis nimirum, necessario requiratur.

37] XVIII. Quod Christus ne hodie quidem perfectam habeat cognitionem Dei et omnium ipsius operum, cum tamen de Christo scriptum sit Col. 2, 3, *in ipso omnes thesauros sapientiae et scientiae absconditos esse.*

38] XIX. Quod Christo secundum humanitatis suae spiritum impossibile sit scire, quid

nature because of this essential power and property, communicated to, and poured out into, the human nature and separated from God.

9. That the human nature has become equal to and like the divine nature in its substance and essence, or in its essential properties.

10. That the human nature of Christ is locally extended to all places of heaven and earth, which should not be ascribed even to the divine nature.

11. That because of the property of the human nature it is impossible for Christ to be able to be at the same time in more than one place, much less everywhere, with His body.

12. That only the mere humanity has suffered for us and redeemed us, and that the Son of God in the suffering had actually no communion with the humanity, as though it did not concern Him.

13. That Christ is present with us on earth in the Word, the Sacraments, and in all our troubles, only according to His divinity, and that this presence does not at all pertain to His human nature, according to which also, as they say, He, after having redeemed us by His suffering and death, has nothing to do with us any longer upon earth.

14. That the Son of God who assumed the human nature, after He has laid aside the form of a servant, does not perform all the works of His omnipotence in, through, and with His human nature, but only some, and only in the place where His human nature is locally.

15. That according to His human nature He is not at all capable of omnipotence and other attributes of the divine nature, against the express declaration of Christ, Matt. 28, 18: *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth,* and of St. Paul, Col. 2, 9: *In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.*

16. That to Him [to Christ according to His humanity] greater power is given in heaven and upon earth, namely, greater and more than to all angels and other creatures, but that He has no communion with the omnipotence of God, nor that this has been given Him. Hence they devise *mediam potentiam,* that is, a power between the almighty power of God and the power of other creatures given to Christ according to His humanity by the exaltation, such as would be less than God's almighty power and greater than that of other creatures.

17. That Christ according to His human mind has a certain limit as to how much He is to know, and that He knows no more than is becoming and needful for Him to know for [the execution of] His office as Judge.

18. That Christ does not yet have a perfect knowledge of God and all His works; of whom nevertheless it is written Col. 2, 3: *In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.*

19. That it is impossible for Christ according to His human mind to know what has been

weſen, was jetzund allenthalben geſchehe und noch in Ewigkeit ſein werde.

20. Da gelehrt und der Spruch Matth. 28: „Mir iſt gegeben alle Gewalt“ uſw. alſo gedeutet und läſterlich verkehrt wird, daß Chriſto nach der göttlichen Natur in der Auferſtehung und ſeiner Himmelfahrt reſtituiert, das iſt, wiederum zugeſtellt worden ſei alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden, als hätte er im Stande ſeiner [Er]Niedrigung auch nach der Gottheit ſolche abgelegt und verlaſſen. Durch welche Lehre nicht allein die Worte des Teſtaments Chriſti verkehrt [werden], ſondern auch der verdammten arianiſchen Ketzerei der Weg bereitet [wird], daß endlich Chriſtus' ewige Gottheit verleugnet, und alſo Chriſtus ganz und gar ſamt unſerer Seligkeit verloren [würde], da [wenn] ſolcher falſchen Lehre aus beſtändigem Grunde göttliches Worts und unſers einfältigen chriſtlichen Glaubens nicht widerſprochen würde.

ab aeterno fuerit, quid iam nunc ubique fiat et quid in omnem aeternitatem sit futurum.

39] XX. Reiicimus etiam damnamusque, quod dictum Christi Matth. 28, 19: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra*, horribili et blasphema interpretatione a quibusdam depravatur in hanc sententiam: quod Christo secundum divinam suam naturam in resurrectione et ascensione ad coelos iterum restituta fuerit omnis potestas in coelo et in terra, perinde quasi, dum in statu humiliationis erat, eam potestatem etiam secundum divinitatem deposuisset et exuisset. Hac enim doctrina non modo verba testamenti Christi falsa explicatione pervertuntur, verum etiam dudum damnatae Arianae haeresi via de novo sternitur, ut tandem aeterna Christi divinitas negetur, et Christus totus, quantus quantus est, una cum salute nostra amittatur, nisi huic impiae doctrinae ex solidis Verbi Dei et fidei nostrae catholicae fundamentis constanter contradicatur.

IX.

Von der Höllenfahrt Chriſti.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Hauptſtreit über dieſen Artikel.

Es iſt auch unter etlichen Theologen, ſo der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion zugetan, über dieſen Artikel geſtritten worden: wann und auf was Weiſe der HErr Chriſtus, vermöge [laut] unſers einfältigen chriſtlichen Glaubens, gen Hölle gefahren, ob es geſchehen ſei vor oder nach ſeinem Tode; item, ob es nach der Seele allein oder nach der Gottheit allein oder mit Leib und Seele, geiſtlich oder leiblich zu[ge]gangen; item, ob dieſer Artikel gehöre zum Leiden oder zum herrlichen Sieg und Triumph Chriſti.

Nachdem aber dieſer Artikel wie auch der vor[her]gehende nicht mit den Sinnen noch mit der Vernunft begriffen werden kann, ſondern muß allein mit dem Glauben gefaßt werden, iſt unſer einhellig Bedenken, daß ſolches nicht zu disputieren, ſondern nur aufs einfältigſte geglaubt und gelehrt werden ſolle; inmaßen D. Luther ſeliger in der Predigt zu Torgau Anno 33 uſw. ſolchen Artikel ganz chriſtlich erklärt, alle unnützlichen, unnotwendigen Fragen abgeſchnitten und zu chriſtlicher Einfalt des Glaubens alle frommen Chriſten vermahnt [hat].

Denn es iſt genug, daß wir wiſſen, daß Chriſtus in die Hölle gefahren, die Hölle allen Gläubigen zerſtört und ſie aus der Gewalt des Todes, Teufels, ewiger Verdammnis des hölliſchen Rachens erlöſt habe. Wie aber ſolches zu[ge]gangen, ſollen wir ſparen bis in die andere Welt, da uns nicht allein dies Stück, ſondern auch noch anderes mehr geoffenbart [werden wird], das wir hier einfältig geglaubt [haben] und mit unſerer blinden Vernunft nicht begreifen können.

IX. [R. 613

DE DESCENSU CHRISTI AD INFEROS.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

1] Disceptam fuit super hoc articulo inter quosdam theologos, qui Augustanam Confessionem profitentur: quando et quomodo Dominus noster Iesus Christus, ut testatur fides nostra catholica, ad inferos descenderit, an id ante vel post mortem eius factum sit. Praeterea quaesitum fuit, num anima tantum, an divinitate sola, an vero anima et corpore descenderit, idque an spiritualiter an vero corporaliter sit factum. Disputatum etiam est, num hic articulus ad passionem an vero ad gloriosam victoriam et triumphum Christi sit referendus.

2] Cum autem hic fidei nostrae articulus, sicut et praecedens, neque sensibus neque ratione nostra comprehendi queat, sola autem fide acceptandus sit, unanimi consensu consulimus, de hac re non esse disputandum, sed quam simplicissime hunc articulum credendum et docendum esse. Atque in hoc negotio sequamur piam D. Lutheri doctrinam, qui hunc articulum in concione Torgae habita (anno etc. XXXIII.) pie admodum explicuit, omnes inutiles et curiosas quaestiones praecidit atque ad piam fidei simplicitatem omnes Christianos adhortatus est.

3]

4] Satis enim nobis esse debet, si sciamus, Christum ad inferos descendisse, infernum omnibus credentibus destruxisse, nosque per ipsum e potestate mortis et Satanae, ab aeterna damnatione atque adeo e faucibus inferni ereptos. Quo autem modo haec effecta fuerint, non curiose scrutemur, sed [R. 614 huius rei cognitionem alteri saeculo reservemus, ubi non modo hoc mysterium, sed et alia multa in hac vita simpliciter a nobis credita revelabuntur, quae captum caecae nostrae rationis excedunt.

from eternity, what at present is occurring everywhere, and what will be in eternity.

20. When it is taught, and the passage Matt. 28, 18: *All power is given unto Me*, etc., is thus interpreted and blasphemously perverted, namely, that all power in heaven and on earth was restored, that is, delivered again to Christ according to the divine nature, at the resurrection and His ascension to heaven, as though He had also according to His divinity laid this aside and abandoned it in His state of humiliation. By this doctrine not only the words of the testament of Christ are perverted, but also the way is prepared for the accursed Arian heresy, so that finally the eternal deity of Christ is denied, and thus Christ, and with Him our salvation, are entirely lost if this false doctrine were not firmly contradicted from the immovable foundation of the divine Word and our simple Christian [catholic] faith.

IX.

OF THE DESCENT OF CHRIST TO HELL.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Chief Controversy concerning This Article.

It has also been disputed among some theologians who have subscribed to the Augsburg Confession concerning this article: When and in what manner the Lord Christ, according to our simple Christian faith, descended to hell: whether this was done before or after His death; also, whether it occurred according to the soul alone, or according to the divinity alone, or with body and soul, spiritually or bodily; also, whether this article belongs to the passion or to the glorious victory and triumph of Christ.

But since this article, as also the preceding, cannot be comprehended by the senses or by our reason, but must be grasped by faith alone, it is our unanimous opinion that there should be no disputation concerning it, but that it should be believed and taught only in the simplest manner; according as Dr. Luther, of blessed memory, in his sermon at Torgau in the year 1533 has explained this article in an altogether Christian manner, separated from it all useless, unnecessary questions, and admonished all godly Christians to Christian simplicity of faith.

For it is sufficient that we know that Christ descended into hell, destroyed hell for all believers, and delivered them from the power of death and of the devil, from eternal condemnation and the jaws of hell. But how this occurred we should [not curiously investigate, but] reserve until the other world, where not only this point [mystery], but also still others will be revealed, which we here simply believe, and cannot comprehend with our blind reason.

X.

Von Kirchengebräuchen,

so man Adiaphora oder Mitteldinge nennt.

Von Zeremonien oder Kirchengebräuchen, welche in Gottes Wort weder geboten noch verboten, sondern um guter Ordnung und Wohlstands [Wohlanstands, kirchlicher Schicklichkeit] willen in die Kirche eingeführt, hat sich auch zwischen den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession ein Zwiespalt zugetragen.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Der Hauptstreit von diesem Artikel.

Die Hauptfrage aber ist gewesen, ob man zur Zeit der Verfolgung und im Fall des Bekenntnisses, wenn die Feinde des Evangelii sich gleich nicht mit uns in der Lehre vergleichen, dennoch mit unverletztem Gewissen etliche gefallene [in Abgang gekommene, abgeschaffte] Zeremonien, so an ihm selbst [so an sich] Mitteldinge und von Gott weder geboten noch verboten [sind], auf der Widersacher Dringen und Erfordern wiederum aufrichten und sich also mit ihnen in solchen Zeremonien und Mitteldingen vergleichen möge. Der eine Teil hat ja, der andere hat nein dazu gesagt.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Die rechte, wahrhaftige Lehre und Bekenntnis von diesem Artikel.

1. Zur Hinlegung [Beilegung] auch dieses Zwiespalts glauben, lehren und bekennen wir einhellig, daß die Zeremonien oder Kirchengebräuche, welche in Gottes Wort weder geboten noch verboten, sondern allein um Wohlstands und guter Ordnung willen angestellt [eingeführt sind], an ihnen und für sich selbst kein Gottesdienst, auch kein Teil desselben seien; Matth. 15: „Sie ehren mich umsonst mit menschlichen Geboten."

2. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß die Gemeinde Gottes jedes Orts und jeder Zeit nach derselben Gelegenheit Macht habe, solche Zeremonien zu ändern, wie es der Gemeinde Gottes am nützlichsten und erbaulichsten sein mag.

3. Doch daß hierin alle Leichtfertigkeit und Ärgernis gemieden, und sonderlich der Schwachgläubigen mit allem Fleiß verschont werde, 1 Kor. 8; Röm. 14.

4. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß zur Zeit der Verfolgung, wenn ein rundes Bekenntnis des Glaubens von uns erfordert [wird], in solchen Mitteldingen den Feinden nicht zu weichen [sei]; wie der Apostel geschrieben: „So bestehet nun in der Freiheit, damit uns Christus befreiet hat, und laßt euch nicht wiederum in das knechtische Joch fangen!" Gal. 5. Item: „Ziehet nicht am fremden Joch! Was hat das Licht für Gemeinschaft mit der Finsternis?" 2 Kor. 6. Item: „Auf daß die Wahrheit des Evangelii bei euch bestünde, wichen wir denselben nicht eine Stunde, untertänig zu sein", Gal. 2. Denn in solchem Falle ist es nicht mehr um Mitteldinge, sondern um die Wahrheit des Evangelii, um die christliche

X.

DE CEREMONIIS ECCLESIASTICIS,

quae vulgo adiaphora seu res mediae et indifferentes vocantur.

1] Orta est etiam inter theologos Augustanae Confessionis controversia de ceremoniis seu ritibus ecclesiasticis, qui in Verbo Dei neque praecepti sunt neque prohibiti, sed ordinis tantum et decori gratia in ecclesiam sunt introducti.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

2] Quaesitum fuit, num persecutionis tempore et in casu confessionis (etiamsi adversarii nobiscum in doctrina consentire nolint) nihilominus salva conscientia aliquae iam abrogatae ceremoniae, quae per se indifferentes et a Deo neque mandatae neque prohibitae sint, postulantibus id et urgentibus adversariis iterum in usum revocari possint, et an hoc modo cum pontificiis in eiusmodi ceremoniis et adiaphoris conformari recte queamus. Una pars hoc fieri posse affirmavit, altera vero negavit.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera doctrina et confessio de hoc articulo.

3] I. Ad hanc controversiam dirimendam unanimi consensu credimus, docemus [R. 615 et confitemur, quod ceremoniae sive ritus ecclesiastici (qui Verbo Dei neque praecepti sunt neque prohibiti, sed tantum decori et ordinis causa instituti) non sint per se cultus divinus aut aliqua saltem pars cultus divini. Scriptum est enim Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me, docentes doctrinas, mandata hominum.*

4] II. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, ecclesiae Dei ubivis terrarum et quocunque tempore licere, pro re nata ceremonias tales mutare iuxta eam rationem, quae ecclesiae Dei utilissima et ad aedificationem eiusdem maxime accommodata iudicatur.

5] III. Ea tamen in re omnem levitatem fugiendam et offendicula cavenda, imprimis vero infirmorum in fide rationem habendam et iis parcendum esse censemus, 1 Cor. 8, 9; Rom. 14, 13.

6] IV. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod temporibus persecutionum, quando perspicua et constans confessio a nobis exigitur, hostibus evangelii in rebus adiaphoris non sit cedendum. Sic enim apostolus inquit Gal. 5, 1: *Qua libertate Christus nos liberavit, in ea state et nolite iterum iugo servitutis subiici.* Et alibi, 2 Cor. 6, 14: *Nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus* etc. *Quae enim est societas luci ad tenebras* etc.? Item Gal. 2, 5: *Quibus neque ad horam cessimus subiectione, ut veritas evangelii permaneret apud vos.* In tali enim rerum statu non agitur iam amplius de adiaphoris, sed de veritate evangelii et de libertate Christiana sarta tectaque

X.

OF CHURCH RITES

Which are [Commonly] Called Adiaphora or Matters of Indifference.

Concerning ceremonies or church rites which are neither commanded nor forbidden in God's Word, but have been introduced into the Church for the sake of good order and propriety, a dissension has also occurred among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Chief Controversy concerning This Article.

The chief question, however, has been, whether, in time of persecution and in case of confession, even if the enemies of the Gospel have not reached an agreement with us in doctrine, some abrogated ceremonies, which in themselves are matters of indifference and are neither commanded nor forbidden by God, may nevertheless, upon the pressure and demand of the adversaries, be reestablished without violence to conscience, and we may thus [rightly] have conformity with them in such ceremonies and adiaphora. To this the one side has said Yea, the other, Nay.

AFFIRMATIVA.

The Correct and True Doctrine and Confession concerning This Article.

1. For settling also this controversy we unanimously believe, teach, and confess that the ceremonies or church rites which are neither commanded nor forbidden in God's Word, but have been instituted alone for the sake of propriety and good order, are in and of themselves no divine worship, nor even a part of it. Matt. 15, 9: *In vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*

2. We believe, teach, and confess that the congregation of God of every place and every time has the power, according to its circumstances, to change such ceremonies in such manner as may be most useful and edifying to the congregation of God.

3. Nevertheless, that herein all frivolity and offense should be avoided, and especial care should be taken to exercise forbearance towards the weak in faith. 1 Cor. 8, 9; Rom. 14, 13.

4. We believe, teach, and confess that in time of persecution, when a plain [and steadfast] confession is required of us, we should not yield to the enemies in regard to such adiaphora, as the apostle has written Gal. 5, 1: *Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again in the yoke of bondage.* Also 2 Cor. 6, 14: *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers,* etc. *For what concord hath light with darkness?* Also Gal. 2, 5: *To whom we gave place, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might remain with you.* For in such a case it is no longer a question concerning adiaphora, but concerning the truth of the Gospel, concerning [preserving] Chris-

Freiheit und um die Bestätigung öffentlicher Abgötterei wie auch um Verhütung des Ärgernisses der Schwachgläubigen zu tun, darin wir nichts zu vergeben haben, sondern rund bekennen und darüber leiden sollen, was uns Gott zuschickt und über uns den Feinden seines Worts verhängt [über uns verhängt und den Feinden seines Wortes zuläßt].

5. Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß keine Kirche die andere verdammen soll, daß eine weniger oder mehr äußerlicher von Gott ungebotener Zeremonien denn die andere hat, wenn sonst in der Lehre und allen derselben Artikeln wie auch im rechten Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente miteinander Einigkeit gehalten [wird], nach dem wohlbekannten Spruch: Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei, Ungleichheit des Fastens soll die Einigkeit im Glauben nicht trennen.

NEGATIVA.

Falsche Lehre von diesem Artikel.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir als unrecht und dem Worte Gottes zuwider, wenn gelehrt wird:

1. Daß Menschengebote und Satzungen in der Kirche für sich selbst als ein Gottesdienst oder Teil desselben gehalten werden sollen.

2. Wenn solche Zeremonien, Gebote und Satzungen mit Zwang als notwendig der Gemeinde Gottes wider ihre christliche Freiheit, so sie in äußerlichen Dingen hat, aufgedrungen werden.

3. Item, daß man zur Zeit der Verfolgung und öffentlichen Bekenntnisses den Feinden des heiligen Evangelii (welches zum Abbruch der Wahrheit dient) in dergleichen Mitteldingen und Zeremonien möge willfahren oder sich mit ihnen vergleichen.

4. Item, wenn solche äußerliche Zeremonien und Mitteldinge also abgeschafft werden, als sollte es der Gemeinde Gottes nicht freistehen, nach ihrer guten Gelegenheit, wie es jederzeit der Kirche am nützlichsten, sich eines oder mehrerer in christlicher Freiheit zu gebrauchen.

conservanda, et quomodo cavendum sit, ne manifeste idololatria confirmetur et infirmi in fide offendantur. In huiusmodi rebus nostrum certe non est aliquid adversariis largiri, sed officium nostrum requirit, ut piam et ingenuam confessionem edamus, et ea patienter feramus, quae Dominus nobis ferenda imposuerit et hostibus Verbi Dei in nos permiserit.

7] V. Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod ecclesia alia aliam damnare non [R. 616 debeat, propterea quod haec vel illa plus minusve externarum ceremoniarum, quas Dominus non instituit, observet, si modo in doctrina eiusque articulis omnibus et in vero sacramentorum usu sit inter eas consensus. Hoc enim vetus et verum dictum est: *Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei.*

NEGATIVA.

Falsae doctrinae de hoc articulo reiectio.

8] Repudiamus atque damnamus haec falsa et Verbo Dei contraria dogmata:

9] I. Quod humanae traditiones et constitutiones in ecclesiasticis rebus per se pro cultu Dei aut certe pro parte divini cultus sint habendae.

10] II. Quando eiusmodi ceremoniae et constitutiones ecclesiae Dei coactione quadam tamquam necessariae obtruduntur, et quidem contra libertatem Christianam, quam ecclesia Christi in rebus eiusmodi externis habet.

11] III. Cum asseritur, quod tempore persecutionis, quando clara confessio requiritur, hostibus evangelii in observatione eiusmodi rerum adiaphorarum gratificari et cum ipsis pacisci et consentire liceat, quae res cum detrimento veritatis coelestis coniuncta est.

12] IV. Cum externae ceremoniae, quae indifferentes sunt, ea opinione abrogantur, quasi ecclesiae Dei liberum non sit pro re nata, ut iudicaverit ad aedificationem utile esse, hanc vel illam ceremoniam ratione libertatis Christianae usurpare.

XI.

Von der ewigen Vorsehung und Wahl Gottes.

Von diesem Artikel ist kein öffentlicher Zwiespalt unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession eingefallen [erregt worden]. Dieweil es aber ein tröstlicher Artikel, wenn er recht gehandelt, und deshalben [und damit seinethalben] nicht künftiglich ärgerliche Disputation eingeführt werden möchte, ist derselbe in dieser Schrift auch erklärt worden.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Reine, wahrhaftige Lehre von diesem Artikel.

1. Anfänglich ist der Unterschied zwischen der praescientia et praedestinatione, das ist, zwischen der Vorsehung und ewigen Wahl Gottes, mit Fleiß zu merken.

XI. [R. 617

DE AETERNA PRAEDESTINATIONE ET ELECTIONE DEI.

1] De hoc articulo non quidem publice mota est controversia inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos; sed tamen, cum hic articulus magnam piis mentibus consolationem afferat, si recte et dextre explicetur, visum est, eundem in hoc scripto declarare, ne forte temporis progressu disputationes aliquae cum offendiculo coniunctae de hac re exoriantur.

AFFIRMATIVA.

Sincera doctrina de hoc articulo.

2] I. Primum omnium est, quod accurate observari oportet, discrimen esse inter praescientiam et praedestinationem sive aeternam electionem Dei.

tian liberty, and concerning sanctioning open idolatry, as also concerning the prevention of offense to the weak in the faith [how care should be taken lest idolatry be openly sanctioned and the weak in faith be offended]; in which we have nothing to concede, but should plainly confess and suffer on that account what God sends, and what He allows the enemies of His Word to inflict upon us.

5. We believe, teach, and confess also that no Church should condemn another because one has less or more external ceremonies not commanded by God than the other, if otherwise there is agreement among them in doctrine and all its articles, as also in the right use of the holy Sacraments, according to the well-known saying: *Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei*, Disagreement in fasting does not destroy agreement in faith.

NEGATIVA.

False Doctrine concerning This Article.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn as wrong and contrary to God's Word when it is taught:

1. That human ordinances and institutions in the church should be regarded as in themselves a divine worship or part of it.

2. When such ceremonies, ordinances, and institutions are violently forced upon the congregation of God as necessary, contrary to its Christian liberty which it has in external things.

3. Also, that in time of persecution and public confession [when a clear confession is required] we may yield to the enemies of the Gospel in such adiaphora and ceremonies, or may come to an agreement with them (which causes injury to the truth).

4. Also, when these external ceremonies and adiaphora are abrogated in such a manner as though it were not free to the congregation of God to employ one or more [this or that] in Christian liberty, according to its circumstances, as may be most useful at any time to the Church [for edification].

XI.

OF GOD'S ETERNAL FOREKNOWLEDGE [PREDESTINATION] AND ELECTION.

Concerning this article no public dissension has occurred among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. But since it is a consolatory article, if treated properly, and lest offensive disputations concerning the same be instituted in the future, it is also explained in this writing.

AFFIRMATIVA.

The Pure and True Doctrine concerning This Article.

1. To begin with [First of all], the distinction between *praescientia et praedestinatio*, that is, between God's foreknowledge and His eternal election, ought to be accurately observed.

2. Denn die Vorsehung Gottes ist anders nichts, denn daß Gott alle Dinge weiß, ehe sie geschehen, wie geschrieben steht: „Gott im Himmel kann verborgene Dinge offenbaren; der hat dem König Nebukadnezar angezeigt, was in künftigen Zeiten geschehen soll", Dan. 2.

3. Diese Vorsehung geht zugleich über die Frommen und Bösen, ist aber keine Ursache des Bösen, weder der Sünde, daß man unrecht tue (welche ursprünglich aus dem Teufel und des Menschen bösem, verkehrtem Willen herkommt), noch ihres Verderbens, daran sie selbst schuldig [schuld], sondern ordnet allein dasselbe und steckt ihm ein Ziel, wie lang es währen, und alles, unangesehen daß es an ihm selbst böse, seinen Auserwählten zu ihrem Heil dienen solle.

4. Die Prädestination aber oder ewige Wahl Gottes geht allein über die frommen, wohlgefälligen Kinder Gottes, die eine Ursache ist ihrer Seligkeit, welche er auch schafft, und was zur selbigen gehört, verordnet, darauf unsere Seligkeit so steif gegründet [ist], daß sie die Pforten der Hölle nicht überwältigen können, Joh. 10; Matth. 16.

5. Solche ist nicht in dem heimlichen Rat Gottes zu erforschen, sondern in dem Wort zu suchen, da sie auch geoffenbart worden ist.

6. Das Wort Gottes aber führt uns zu Christo, der das Buch des Lebens ist, in welchem alle die geschrieben und erwählt sind, welche da ewig selig werden sollen; wie geschrieben steht: „Er hat uns durch denselben (Christum) erwählet, ehe der Welt Grund geleget war", Eph. 1.

7. Dieser Christus ruft zu ihm [zu sich] alle Sünder und verheißt ihnen Erquickung, und ist ihm Ernst, daß alle Menschen zu ihm kommen und ihnen [sich] helfen lassen sollen, denen er sich im Wort anbeut [anbietet], und will, daß man es höre und nicht die Ohren verstopfen oder das Wort verachten soll; verheißt dazu die Kraft und Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes, göttlichen Beistand zur Beständigkeit und ewigen Seligkeit.

8. Derhalben wir von solcher unserer Wahl zum ewigen Leben weder aus der Vernunft noch aus dem Gesetz Gottes urteilen sollen, welche uns entweder in ein wild, wüst, epikurisch Leben oder in Verzweiflung führen und schädliche Gedanken in den Herzen der Menschen erwecken, daß sie bei sich selbst gedenken, auch solcher Gedanken sich nicht recht erwehren können, solange sie ihrer Vernunft folgen: Hat mich Gott erwählt zur Seligkeit, so kann ich nicht verdammt werden, ich tue, was ich wolle; und wiederum: Bin ich nicht erwählt zum ewigen Leben, so hilft's nichts, was ich Gutes tue; es ist doch alles umsonst.

9. Sondern es muß allein aus dem heiligen Evangelio von Christo gelernt werden, in welchem klar bezeugt wird, wie **Gott alles unter den Unglauben beschlossen, auf daß er sich aller erbarme, und nicht will, daß jemand verloren werde, sondern sich jedermann zur Buße bekehre und an den HErrn Christum glaube,** Hesek. 18. 33; 1 Joh. 2.

3] II. Praescientia enim Dei nihil aliud est, quam quod Deus omnia noverit, antequam fiant, sicut scriptum est Dan. 2, 28: *Est Deus in coelo, revelans mysteria, qui indicavit tibi, rex Nabuchodonosor, quae ventura sunt in novissimis temporibus.*

4] III. Haec Dei praescientia simul ad bonos et malos pertinet, sed interim non est causa mali, neque est causa peccati, quae hominem ad scelus impellat. Peccatum enim ex diabolo et ex hominis prava et mala voluntate oritur. Neque haec Dei praescientia causa est, quod homines pereant; hoc enim sibi ipsis imputare debent. Sed praescientia Dei disponit malum et metas illi constituit, quousque progredi et quamdiu durare debeat, idque [R. 618 eo dirigit, ut, licet per se malum sit, nihilominus electis Dei ad salutem cedat.

5] IV. Praedestinatio vero seu aeterna Dei electio tantum ad bonos et dilectos filios Dei pertinet, et haec est causa ipsorum salutis. Etenim eorum salutem procurat et ea, quae ad ipsam pertinent, disponit. Super hanc Dei praedestinationem salus nostra ita fundata est, ut inferorum portae eam evertere nequeant, Ioh. 10, 28; Matth. 16, 18.

6] V. Haec Dei praedestinatio non in arcano Dei consilio est scrutanda, sed in Verbo Dei, in quo revelatur, quaerenda est.

7] VI. Verbum autem Dei deducit nos ad Christum; is est liber ille vitae, in quo omnes inscripti et electi sunt, qui salutem aeternam consequuntur. Sic enim scriptum est Eph. 1, 4: *Elegit nos in Christo ante mundi constitutionem.*

8] VII. Christus vero omnes peccatores ad se vocat et promittit illis levationem. Et serio vult, ut omnes homines ad se veniant et sibi consuli et subveniri sinant. His sese Redemptorem in Verbo offert et vult, ut Verbum audiatur, et ut aures non obturentur nec Verbum negligatur et contemnatur. Et promittit se largiturum virtutem et operationem Spiritus Sancti et auxilium divinum, ut in fide constantes permaneamus et vitam aeternam consequamur.

9] VIII. De nostra igitur electione ad vitam aeternam neque ex rationis nostrae iudicio neque ex lege Dei iudicandum est, ne vel dissolutae et Epicureae vitae nos tradamus, vel in desperationem incidamus. Qui enim rationis suae iudicium in hoc negotio sequuntur, in horum cordibus hae perniciosae cogitationes (quibus aegerrime resistere possunt) excitantur: Si (inquiunt) Deus me ad aeternam salutem elegit, non potero damnari, quidquid etiam designavero. Contra vero, [R. 619 si non sum electus ad vitam aeternam, nihil plane mihi profuerit, quantumcunque boni fecero; omnes enim conatus mei irriti erunt.

10] IX. Vera igitur sententia de praedestinatione ex evangelio Christi discenda est. In eo enim perspicue docetur, quod *Deus omnes sub incredulitatem concluserit, ut omnium misereatur,* et quod *nolit quemquam perire, sed potius, ut omnes convertantur et in Christum credant,* Rom. 11, 32. Ezech. 18, 23; 33, 11. 1 Ioh. 2, 2. [2 Petr. 3, 9.]

2. For the foreknowledge of God is nothing else than that God knows all things before they happen, as it is written Dan. 2, 28: *There is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets and maketh known to the king Nebuchadnezzar what shall be in the latter days.*

3. This foreknowledge extends alike over the godly and the wicked, but it is not the cause of evil, neither of sin, namely, of doing what is wrong (which originally arises from the devil and the wicked, perverse will of man), nor of their ruin [that men perish], for which they themselves are responsible [which they must ascribe to themselves]; but it only regulates it, and fixes a limit to it [how far it should progress and] how long it should last, and all this to the end that it should serve His elect for their salvation, notwithstanding that it is evil in itself.

4. The predestination or eternal election of God, however, extends only over the godly, beloved children of God, being a cause of their salvation, which He also provides, as well as disposes what belongs thereto. Upon this [predestination of God] our salvation is founded so firmly that the gates of hell cannot overcome it. John 10, 28; Matt. 16, 18.

5. This [predestination of God] is not to be investigated in the secret counsel of God, but to be sought in the Word of God, where it is also revealed.

6. But the Word of God leads us to Christ, who is the Book of Life, in whom all are written and elected that are to be saved in eternity, as it is written Eph. 1, 4: *He hath chosen us in Him* [Christ] *before the foundation of the world.*

7. This Christ calls to Himself all sinners and promises them rest, and He is in earnest [seriously wills] that all men should come to Him and suffer themselves to be helped, to whom He offers Himself in His Word, and wishes them to hear it and not to stop their ears or [neglect and] despise the Word. Moreover, He promises the power and working of the Holy Ghost, and divine assistance for perseverance and eternal salvation [that we may remain steadfast in the faith and attain eternal salvation].

8. Therefore we should judge concerning this our election to eternal life neither from reason nor from the Law of God, which lead us either into a reckless, dissolute, Epicurean life or into despair, and excite pernicious thoughts in the hearts of men, for they cannot, as long as they follow their reason, successfully refrain from thinking: If God has elected me to salvation, I cannot be condemned, no matter what I do; and again: If I am not elected to eternal life, it is of no avail what good I do; it is all [all my efforts are] in vain anyway.

9. But it [the true judgment concerning predestination] must be learned alone from the holy Gospel concerning Christ, in which it is clearly testified that *God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon all,* and that *He is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance and believe in the Lord Christ.* Rom. 11, 32; Ezek. 18, 23; 33, 11; 2 Pet. 3, 9; 1 John 2, 2.

10. Wer nun sich also mit dem geoffenbarten Willen Gottes bekümmert und der Ordnung nachgeht, welche St. Paulus in der Epistel an die Römer gehalten, der zuvor die Menschen zur Buße, Erkenntnis der Sünden, zum Glauben an Christum, zum göttlichen Gehorsam weist, ehe er vom Geheimnis der ewigen Wahl Gottes redet: dem ist solche Lehre nützlich und tröstlich.

11. Daß aber **viele berufen und wenige auserwählt sind,** hat es nicht diese Meinung, als wolle Gott nicht jedermann selig machen, sondern die Ursache ist, daß sie Gottes Wort entweder gar nicht hören, sondern mutwillig verachten, die Ohren und ihr Herz verstocken und also dem Heiligen Geist den ordentlichen Weg verstellen, daß er sein Werk in ihnen nicht haben kann, oder da sie es gehört haben, wiederum in [den] Wind schlagen und nicht achten, daran nicht Gott oder seine Wahl, sondern ihre Bosheit schuldig [schuld] ist, 2 Petr. 2; Luk. 11; Hebr. 12.

12. Und so fern soll sich ein Christ des Artikels von der ewigen Wahl Gottes annehmen, wie sie im Wort Gottes geoffenbart [ist], welches uns Christum als das Buch des Lebens vorhält, das er uns durch die Predigt des heiligen Evangelii aufschleußt [aufschließt] und offenbart, wie geschrieben steht: **„Welche er erwählet hat, die hat er auch berufen"**, Röm. 8, in dem wir die ewige Wahl des Vaters suchen sollen, der in seinem ewigen göttlichen Rat beschlossen [hat], daß er außerhalb denen, so seinen Sohn Christum erkennen und wahrhaftig an ihn glauben, niemand wolle selig machen, und sich anderer Gedanken entschlagen, welche nicht aus Gott, sondern aus Eingeben des bösen Feindes herfließen, dadurch er sich untersteht, uns den herrlichen Trost zu schwächen oder gar zu nehmen, den wir in dieser heilsamen Lehre haben: daß wir wissen, wie wir aus lauter Gnade, ohne all unser Verdienst, in Christo zum ewigen Leben erwählt seien, und daß uns niemand aus seiner Hand reißen könne; wie er denn solche gnädige Erwählung nicht allein mit bloßen Worten zusagt, sondern auch mit dem Eide beteuert und mit den heiligen Sakramenten versiegelt hat, deren wir uns in unsern höchsten Anfechtungen erinnern und trösten und damit die feurigen Pfeile des Teufels auslöschen können.

13. Daneben sollen wir uns zum höchsten befleißigen, nach dem Willen Gottes zu leben und **unsern Beruf,** wie St. Petrus vermahnt, **festzumachen,** 2 Petr. 1, und sonderlich an das geoffenbarte Wort uns halten; das kann und wird uns nicht fehlen.

14. Durch diese kurze Erklärung der ewigen Wahl Gottes wird Gott seine Ehre ganz und völlig gegeben, daß er allein aus lauter Barmherzigkeit ohne all unser Verdienst uns selig mache nach dem Vorsatz seines Willens; daneben auch niemand einige Ursache zur Kleinmütigkeit oder rohem, wildem Leben gegeben [wird].

11] X. Qui igitur voluntatem Dei revelatam inquirunt eoque ordine progrediuntur, quem divus Paulus in epistola ad Romanos secutus est (qui hominem prius deducit ad poenitentiam, ad agnitionem peccatorum, ad fidem in Christum, ad obedientiam mandatorum Dei, quam de aeternae praedestinationis mysterio loquatur): iis doctrina de praedestinatione Dei salutaris est et maximam consolationem affert.

12] XI. Quod vero scriptum est [Matth. 22, 14]: *Multos quidem vocatos, paucos vero electos esse,* non ita accipiendum est, quasi Deus nolit, ut omnes salventur, sed damnationis impiorum causa est, quod Verbum Dei aut prorsus non audiant, sed contumaciter contemnant, aures obturent et cor indurent et hoc modo Spiritui Sancto viam ordinariam praecludant, ut opus suum in eis efficere nequeat, aut certe quod Verbum auditum flocci pendant atque abiiciant. Quod igitur pereunt, neque Deus neque ipsius electio, sed malitia eorum in culpa est. 2 Petr. 2, 1 sqq. Luc. 11, 49. 52. Heb. 12, 25 sqq.

13] XII. Huc usque homo pius in meditatione articuli de aeterna Dei electione tuto progredi potest, quatenus videlicet ea in Verbo Dei est revelata. Verbum Dei enim nobis Christum, librum vitae, proponit, is nobis per evangelii praedicationem aperitur et evolvitur, sicut scriptum est Rom. 8, 30: *Quos elegit, hos vocavit.* In Christo igitur electio aeterna Dei Patris est quaerenda. Is in aeterno suo [R. 620 consilio decrevit, quod praeter eos, qui Filium eius, Iesum Christum, agnoscunt et in eum vere credunt, neminem salvum facere velit. Reliquae cogitationes ex animis piorum penitus excutiendae sunt, quia non a Deo, sed ex afflatu Satanae proficiscuntur, quibus humani generis hostis hoc agit, ut dulcissimam illam consolationem vel enervet, vel penitus e medio tollat, quam ex saluberrima hac doctrina haurire possumus: qua videlicet certi reddimur, quod mera gratia sine ullo nostro merito in Christo ad vitam aeternam electi simus, et quod nemo ex ipsius manibus rapere nos possit. Et hanc clementissimam electionem non nudis verbis, sed interposito iureiurando Dominus contestando confirmavit et venerabilibus sacramentis nobis obsignavit, quorum in summis tentationibus meminisse et ex iis consolationem petere debemus, ut ignita diaboli tela exstinguamus.

14] XIII. Interim tamen summo studio in eo elaboremus, ut ad normam voluntatis divinae vitam nostram instituamus et *vocationem nostram* (ut divus Petrus loquitur) *firmam faciamus,* 2 Petr. 1, 10, neque a Dei revelato Verbo latum unguem recedamus; illud enim nunquam nos fallet.

15] XIV. Hac brevi explicatione aeternae electionis divinae honos suus Deo plene et in solidum tribuitur, quod videlicet secundum voluntatis suae propositum mera misericordia sine ullo nostro merito salvos nos faciat. Neque tamen hac doctrina vel gravioribus illis animi perturbationibus et pusillanimitati vel Epicurismo [Epicureismo] ansa praebetur.

10. Whoever, now, is thus concerned about the revealed will of God, and proceeds according to the order which St. Paul has observed in the Epistle to the Romans, who first directs men to repentance, to knowledge of sins, to faith in Christ, to divine obedience, before he speaks of the mystery of the eternal election of God, to him this doctrine [concerning God's predestination] is useful and consolatory.

11. However, that *many are called and few chosen*, Matt. 22, 14, does not mean that God is not willing to save everybody; but the reason is that they either do not at all hear God's Word, but wilfully despise it, stop their ears and harden their hearts, and in this manner foreclose the ordinary way to the Holy Ghost, so that He cannot perform His work in them, or, when they have heard it, make light of it again and do not heed it, for which [that they perish] not God or His election, but their wickedness, is responsible. [2 Pet. 2, 1 ff.; Luke 11, 49. 52; Heb. 12, 25 f.]

12. Thus far a Christian should occupy himself [in meditation] with the article concerning the eternal election of God, as it has been revealed in God's Word, which presents to us Christ as the Book of Life, which He opens and reveals to us by the preaching of the holy Gospel, as it is written Rom. 8, 30: *Whom He did predestinate, them He also called.* In Him we are to seek the eternal election of the Father, who has determined in His eternal divine counsel that He would save no one except those who know His Son Christ and truly believe on Him. Other thoughts are to be [entirely] banished [from the minds of the godly], as they proceed not from God, but from the suggestion of the Evil Foe, whereby he attempts to weaken or entirely to remove from us the glorious consolation which we have in this salutary doctrine, namely, that we know [assuredly] that out of pure grace, without any merit of our own, we have been elected in Christ to eternal life, and that no one can pluck us out of His hand; as He has not only promised this gracious election with mere words, but has also certified it with an oath and sealed it with the holy Sacraments, which we can [ought to] call to mind in our most severe temptations, and take comfort in them, and therewith quench the fiery darts of the devil.

13. Besides, we should use the greatest diligence to live according to the will of God, and, as St. Peter admonishes, 2 Ep. 1, 10, *make our calling sure*, and especially adhere to [not recede a finger's breadth from] the revealed Word; that can and will not fail us.

14. By this brief explanation of the eternal election of God His glory is entirely and fully given to God, that out of pure mercy alone, without all merit of ours, He saves us according to the purpose of His will; besides, also, no cause is given any one for despondency or a vulgar, wild life [no opportunity is afforded either for those more severe agitations of mind and faint-heartedness or for Epicureanism].

ANTITHESIS oder NEGATIVA.

Falſche Lehre von dieſem Artikel.

Demnach glauben und halten wir: welche die Lehre von der gnädigen Wahl Gottes zum ewigen Leben alſo führen, daß ſich die betrübten Chriſten derſelben nicht tröſten können, ſondern dadurch zur Kleinmütigkeit oder Verzweiflung verurſacht, oder die Unbußfertigen in ihrem Mutwillen geſtärkt werden, daß ſolche Lehre nicht nach dem Wort und Willen Gottes, ſondern nach der Vernunft und Anſtiftung des leidigen Satans getrieben werde, weil alles, was geſchrieben iſt, wie der Apoſtel zeugt, „uns zur Lehre geſchrieben [iſt], auf daß wir durch Geduld und Troſt der Schrift Hoffnung haben", Röm. 15. Demnach verwerfen wir folgende Irrtümer:

1. Als wenn gelehrt wird, daß Gott nicht wolle, daß alle Menſchen Buße tun und dem Evangelio glauben.

2. Item, wenn Gott uns zu ſich berufe, daß es nicht ſein Ernſt ſei, daß alle Menſchen zu ihm kommen ſollen.

3. Item, daß Gott nicht wolle, daß jedermann ſelig werde, ſondern [daß etliche], unangeſehen ihre Sünde, allein aus dem bloßen Rat, Vorſatz und Willen Gottes zur Verdammnis verordnet [ſeien], daß ſie nicht können ſelig werden.

4. Item, daß nicht allein die Barmherzigkeit Gottes und das allerheiligſte Verdienſt Chriſti, ſondern auch in uns eine Urſache ſei der Wahl Gottes, um welcher willen Gott uns zum ewigen Leben erwählt habe.

Welches alles läſterliche und erſchreckliche irrige Lehren ſind, dadurch den Chriſten aller Troſt genommen [wird], den ſie im heiligen Evangelio und Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente haben, und derwegen in der Kirche Gottes nicht ſollten geduldet werden.

NEGATIVA. [R. 621

Falsae doctrinae de hoc articulo reiectio.

16] Credimus igitur et sentimus, quando doctrina de electione Dei ad vitam aeternam eo modo proponitur, ut perturbatae piae mentes ex ea consolationem nullam capere queant, sed potius per eam in animi angustias aut desperationem coniiciantur, aut impoenitentes in dissoluta sua vita confirmentur, quod articulus hic non ad normam Verbi et voluntatis Dei, sed iuxta humanae rationis iudicium, et quidem impulsu Satanae, male et perperam tractetur. *Quaecunque enim scripta sunt* (inquit apostolus), *ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt, ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturarum spem habeamus*, Rom. 15, 4. Reiicimus itaque omnes, quos iam enumerabimus, errores:

17] I. Quod Deus nolit, ut omnes homines poenitentiam agant et evangelio credant.

18] II. Quando Deus nos ad se vocat, quod non serio hoc velit, ut omnes homines ad ipsum veniant.

19] III. Quod nolit Deus, ut omnes salventur, sed quod quidam, non ratione peccatorum suorum, verum solo Dei consilio, proposito et voluntate ad exitium destinati sint, ut prorsus salutem consequi non possint.

20] IV. Quod non sola Dei misericordia et sanctissimum Christi meritum, sed etiam in nobis ipsis aliqua causa sit electionis divinae, cuius causae ratione Deus nos ad vitam aeternam elegerit.

21] Haec dogmata omnia falsa sunt, horrenda et blasphema, iisque piis mentibus omnis prorsus consolatio eripitur, quam ex evangelio et sacramentorum usu capere deberent, et idcirco in ecclesia Dei nequaquam sunt ferenda.

Dies iſt die kurze und einfältige Erklärung der ſtreitigen Artikel, ſo eine Zeitlang von den Theologen Augsburgiſcher Konfeſſion widerwärtig disputiert und gelehrt worden. Daraus ein jeder einfältiger Chriſt nach Anleitung Gottes Worts und ſeines einfältigen Katechismi vernehmen kann, was recht oder unrecht ſei, da nicht allein die reine Lehre geſetzt, ſondern auch derſelben widerwärtige, irrige Lehre ausgeſetzt [verurteilt], verworfen und alſo die eingefallenen ärgerlichen Spaltungen gründlich entſchieden ſind.

Der allmächtige Gott und Vater unſers HErrn JEſu verleihe die Gnade ſeines Heiligen Geiſtes, daß wir alle in ihm einig ſeien und in ſolcher chriſtlichen und ihm wohlgefälligen Einigkeit beſtändiglich bleiben! Amen.

22] Haec brevis est et simplicissima articulorum controversorum explicatio, de quibus inter theologos Augustanae Confessionis aliquamdiu disceptatum et discrepantibus inter se sententiis disputatum est. Et ex hac declaratione homo pius quantumvis simplex [R. 622 secundum analogiam Verbi Dei et Catechismi simplicem doctrinam deprehendere potest, quid verum sit, quid falsum. Non enim tantummodo sincera doctrina diserte est recitata, verum etiam contraria et falsa doctrina repudiata est et reiecta, et controversiae illae, offendiculorum plenae, solide sunt decisae atque diiudicatae.

23] Faxit Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ut per gratiam Spiritus Sancti omnes in ipso consentientes et concordes simus atque in consensu pio, qui ipsi probetur, constanter perseveremus! Amen.

ANTITHESIS or NEGATIVA.

False Doctrine concerning This Article.

Accordingly, we believe and hold: When any teach the doctrine concerning the gracious election of God to eternal life in such a manner that troubled Christians cannot comfort themselves therewith, but are thereby led to despondency or despair, or the impenitent are strengthened in their wantonness, that such doctrine is treated [wickedly and erroneously] not according to the Word and will of God, but according to reason and the instigation of the cursed Satan. *For,* as the apostle testifies, Rom. 15, 4, *whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.* Therefore we reject the following errors:

1. As when it is taught that God is unwilling that all men repent and believe the Gospel.

2. Also, that when God calls us to Himself, He is not in earnest that all men should come to Him.

3. Also, that God is unwilling that every one should be saved, but that some, without regard to their sins, from the mere counsel, purpose, and will of God, are ordained to condemnation so that they cannot be saved.

4. Also, that not only the mercy of God and the most holy merit of Christ, but also in us there is a cause of God's election, on account of which God has elected us to everlasting life.

All these are blasphemous and dreadful erroneous doctrines, whereby all the comfort which they have in the holy Gospel and the use of the holy Sacraments is taken from Christians, and therefore should not be tolerated in the Church of God.

This is the brief and simple explanation of the controverted articles, which for a time have been debated and taught controversially among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. Hence every simple Christian, according to the guidance of God's Word and his simple Catechism, can perceive what is right or wrong, since not only the pure doctrine has been stated, but also the erroneous contrary doctrine has been repudiated and rejected, and thus the offensive divisions that have occurred are thoroughly settled [and decided].

May Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus grant the grace of His Holy Ghost that we all may be one in Him, and constantly abide in this Christian unity, which is well pleasing to Him! Amen.

[XII.]

Von andern Rotten und Sekten, so sich niemals zu der Augsburgischen Konfession bekannt.

Damit uns auch nicht stillschweigend solche zugemessen [werden], weil wir derselben in vorgesetzter Erklärung keine Meldung getan, haben wir zu Ende allein die bloßen Artikel erzählen wollen, darin sie sich irren und vielgedachtem unserm christlichen Glauben und Bekenntnis zuwider lehren.

Irrige Artikel der Wiedertäufer.

Die Wiedertäufer sind unter sich selbst in viele Haufen geteilt, da einer viel, der andere wenig Irrtümer bestreitet [verteidigt]; insgemein aber führen sie solche Lehre, die weder in der Kirche noch in der Polizei und weltlichem Regiment noch in der Haushaltung zu dulden noch zu leiden [sind].

Unleidliche Artikel in der Kirche.

1. Daß Christus seinen Leib und Blut nicht von Maria der Jungfrau angenommen, sondern vom Himmel mit sich gebracht [habe].

2. Daß Christus nicht wahrhaftiger Gott [sei], sondern nur mehr Gaben des Heiligen Geistes habe denn sonst ein heiliger Mensch.

3. Daß unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott nicht allein auf dem einigen Verdienst Christi, sondern in der Erneurung und also in unserer eigenen Frömmigkeit stehe, in der wir wandeln. Welche zum großen Teil auf eigene, sonderliche, selbsterwählte Geistlichkeit gesetzt und im Grunde anderes nichts denn eine neue Möncherei ist.

4. Daß die Kinder, so nicht getauft, vor Gott nicht Sünder, sondern gerecht und unschuldig seien, welche in ihrer Unschuld, weil sie noch nicht zu ihrem Verstand [ge]kommen, ohne die Taufe (deren, ihrem Vorgeben nach, sie nicht bedürfen) selig werden. Verwerfen also die ganze Lehre von der Erbsünde, und was derselben anhanget [anhängt].

5. Daß die Kinder nicht sollen getauft werden, bis sie zu ihrem Verstand kommen und ihren Glauben selbst bekennen können.

6. Daß der Christen Kinder darum, weil sie von christlichen und gläubigen Eltern geboren, auch ohne und vor der Taufe heilig und Gottes Kinder seien; auch der Ursache [halben] der Kinder Taufe weder hochhalten noch befördern, wider die ausgedrückten [ausdrücklichen] Worte der Verheißung Gottes, die sich allein auf die erstreckt, **welche seinen Bund halten und denselben nicht verachten,** Gen. 17.

7. Daß dies keine rechte christliche Gemeinde sei, darin noch Sünder gefunden werden.

8. Daß man keine Predigt hören noch in den Tempeln besuchen solle, darin zuvor päpstische Messe gehalten und gelesen worden.

XII.

DE ALIIS HAERESIBUS ET SECTIS, quae nunquam Augustanam Confessionem sunt amplexae.

1] Ne tacita cogitatione haereses illae et sectae nobis tribuantur, propterea quod earum in commemorata declaratione expressam mentionem non fecimus, visum est articulos earum ad calcem (ut dicitur) huius scripti nude recitare, in quibus nostri temporis haeretici a veritate dissentiunt et sincerae nostrae religioni et confessioni contrarium docent.

Errores Anabaptistarum.

Anabaptistae in multas sectas sunt divisi, 2] quarum aliae plures, aliae pauciores errores defendunt. Generatim tamen omnes talem doctrinam profitentur, quae neque in ecclesia neque in politia neque in oeconomia tolerari potest.

Articuli Anabaptistici, qui in Ecclesia Ferri Non Possunt. [R. 623

3] I. Quod Christus carnem et sanguinem suum non e Maria virgine assumpserit, sed e coelo attulerit.

4] II. Quod Christus non sit verus Deus, sed tantummodo ceteris sanctis sit superior, quia plura Spiritus Sancti dona acceperit quam alius quispiam homo sanctus.

5] III. Quod iustitia nostra coram Deo non in solo Christi merito, sed in renovatione atque adeo in nostra propria probitate, in qua ambulemus, consistat. Ea vero Anabaptistarum iustitia magna ex parte electicia et humanitus excogitata quadam sanctimonia constat et revera nil aliud est quam novus quidam monachatus.

6] IV. Quod infantes non baptizati coram Deo non sint peccatores, sed iusti et innocentes et in illa sua innocentia, cum usum rationis nondum habeant, sine Baptismo (quo videlicet ipsorum opinione non egeant) salutem consequantur. Et hoc modo reiiciunt totam de peccato originali doctrinam, reliqua etiam, quae ex ea dependent.

7] V. Quod infantes baptizandi non sint, donec usum rationis consequantur et fidem suam ipsi profiteri possint.

8] VI. Quod Christianorum liberi eam ob causam, quia parentibus Christianis et fidelibus orti sunt (etiam praeter et ante susceptum Baptismum), revera sancti et in filiorum Dei numero sint habendi. Qua de causa etiam neque paedobaptismum magni faciunt, neque id operam dant, ut infantes baptizentur, quod cum expressis verbis promissionis divinae pugnat; ea enim tantum ad eos pertinet, *qui foedus Dei observant, illudque non contemnunt,* Gen. 17, 7 sqq.

9] VII. Quod ea non sit vera et [R. 624 Christiana ecclesia, in qua aliqui adhuc peccatores reperiuntur.

10] VIII. Quod conciones non sint audiendae ullae in iis templis, in quibus aliquando missae pontificiae sunt celebratae.

(XII.)

OF OTHER FACTIONS [HERESIES] AND SECTS,

Which Never Embraced the Augsburg Confession.

In order that such [heresies and sects] may not silently be ascribed to us, because, in the preceding explanation, we have made no mention of them, we intend at the end [of this writing] simply to enumerate the mere articles wherein they [the heretics of our time] err and teach contrary to our Christian faith and confession to which we have often referred.

Erroneous Articles of the Anabaptists.

The Anabaptists are divided among themselves into many factions, as one contends for more, another for less errors; however, they all in common propound [profess] such doctrine as is to be tolerated or allowed neither in the Church, nor in the commonwealth and secular government, nor in domestic life.

Articles that Cannot be Tolerated in the Church.

1. That Christ did not assume His body and blood from the Virgin Mary, but brought them with Him from heaven.

2. That Christ is not true God, but only [is superior to other saints, because He] has more gifts of the Holy Ghost than any other holy man.

3. That our righteousness before God consists not in the sole merit of Christ alone, but in renewal, and hence in our own godliness [uprightness] in which we walk. This is based in great part upon one's own special, self-chosen [and humanly devised] spirituality [holiness], and in fact is nothing else than a new sort of monkery.

4. That children who are not baptized are not sinners before God, but righteous and innocent, who in their innocency, because they have not yet attained their reason [the use of reason], are saved without Baptism (which, according to their assertion, they do not need). Therefore they reject the entire doctrine concerning original sin and what belongs to it.

5. That children are not to be baptized until they have attained their reason [the use of reason], and can themselves confess their faith.

6. That the children of Christians, because they have been born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and children of God even without and before Baptism; and for this reason they neither attach much importance to the baptism of children nor encourage it, contrary to the express words of God's promise which pertains only to those *who keep His covenant and do not despise it.* Gen. 17, 7 ff.

7. That that is no true Christian congregation [church] in which sinners are still found.

8. That no sermon is to be heard nor attended in those churches in which formerly papal masses have been celebrated and said.

9. Daß man nichts mit den Kirchendienern, so das Evangelium vermöge [laut] Augsburgischer Konfession predigen und der Wiedertäufer Predigen und Irrtümer strafen, zu schaffen haben, ihnen auch weder dienen noch etwas arbeiten, sondern [sie] als die Verkehrer Gottes Worts fliehen und meiden soll.

Unleidliche Artikel in der Polizei.

1. Daß die Obrigkeit kein gottgefälliger Stand im Neuen Testament sei.

2. Daß ein Christenmensch mit gutem, unverletztem Gewissen das Amt der Obrigkeit nicht tragen noch verwalten könne.

3. Daß ein Christ mit unverletztem Gewissen das Amt der Obrigkeit in zufälligen Sachen wider die Bösen nicht gebrauchen [dürfe], noch derselben Untertanen ihre habende und von Gott empfangene Gewalt zum Schutz und Schirm anrufen mögen.

4. Daß ein Christenmensch mit gutem Gewissen keinen Eid schwören noch mit Eid seinem Landesfürsten oder Oberherrn die Erbhuld[ig]ung tun könne.

5. Daß die Obrigkeit im Neuen Testament in [mit] unverletztem Gewissen die Übeltäter am Leben nicht strafen könne.

Unleidliche Artikel in der Haushaltung.

1. Daß ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen nichts Eigenes behalten noch besitzen könne, sondern schuldig sei, dasselbe in die Gemein [in die Gemeinde- oder Kommunkasse] zu geben.

2. Daß ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen kein Gastgeber, Kaufmann oder Messerschmied sein könne.

3. Daß Eheleute um des Glaubens willen sich voneinander scheiden und eins das andere verlassen und mit einem andern, das seines Glaubens ist, sich verehelichen möge.

Irrige Artikel der Schwenkfeldianer.

1. Daß alle die keine rechte Erkenntnis des regierenden Himmelskönigs Christi haben, welche Christum nach dem Fleisch für eine Kreatur halten.

2. Daß das Fleisch Christi durch die Erhöhung also alle göttlichen Eigenschaften angenommen, daß er, Christus, als Mensch an Macht, Kraft, Majestät, Herrlichkeit dem Vater und dem Wort allenthalben im Grad und Stelle des Wesens gleich, daß nunmehr einerlei Wesen, Eigenschaft, Wille und Glorie beider Naturen in Christo seien, und daß das Fleisch Christi zu dem Wesen der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit gehöre.

3. Daß der Kirchendienst, das gepredigte und gehörte Wort, nicht sei ein Mittel, dadurch Gott der Heilige Geist die Menschen lehre, die seligmachende Erkenntnis Christi, Bekehrung, Buße, Glauben und neuen Gehorsam in ihnen wirke.

4. Daß das Taufwasser nicht sei ein Mittel, dadurch Gott der HErr die Kindschaft versiegele und die Wiedergeburt wirke.

11] IX. Quod homo pius nihil prorsus commercii habere debeat cum ecclesiae ministris, qui evangelion Christi iuxta Augustanae Confessionis sententiam docent et Anabaptistarum conciones ac errores reprehendunt, et quod eiusmodi ecclesiae ministris neque servire, neque operam locare liceat, sed quod iidem, ut perversores Verbi divini, vitandi et fugiendi sint.

Articuli Anabaptistici, qui in Politia sunt Intolerabiles.

12] I. Quod magistratus officium non sit sub novo testamento genus vitae, quod Deo placeat.

13] II. Quod homo Christianus salva et illaesa conscientia officio magistratus fungi non possit.

14] III. Quod homo Christianus illaesa conscientia officium magistratus, rebus ita ferentibus, adversus improbos administrare et exsequi, et subditi potestatem illam, quam magistratus a Deo accepit, ad defensionem implorare non possint.

15] IV. Quod homo Christianus sana conscientia iusiurandum praestare et iuramento interposito obedientiam et fidem suo principi aut magistratui promittere nequeat.

16] V. Quod magistratus sub novo testamento bona conscientia homines facinorosos capitali supplicio afficere non possit.

Articuli Anabaptistici, qui in Oeconomia Ferri Non Possunt.

17] I. Quod homo pius non possit [R. 625 conscientia salva proprium tenere et possidere, sed quod is, quidquid omnino facultatum habeat, id totum in commune conferre debeat.

18] II. Quod homo Christianus illaesa conscientia neque cauponariam neque mercaturam exercere aut arma conficere possit.

19] III. Quod coniugibus propter diversam religionem divortium facere et cum alia persona, quae in religione non dissentiat, matrimonium contrahere liceat.

Errores Schwencofeldianorum.

20] I. Quod omnes illi, qui Christum secundum carnem creaturam esse dicunt, non habeant veram regnantis coelestis Regis agnitionem.

21] II. Quod caro Christi per exaltationem eo modo omnes proprietates divinas acceperit, ut Christus, quatenus homo est, potentia, virtute, maiestate, gloria Patri et τῷ λόγῳ per omnia, in gradu et statu essentiae omnino aequalis sit, ita ut iam utriusque in Christo naturae una sit essentia, eaedem proprietates, eadem voluntas eademque gloria, et quod caro Christi ad sacrosanctae Trinitatis essentiam pertineat.

22] III. Quod ministerium Verbi, praedicatum et auditu perceptum Verbum, non sit instrumentum illud, per quod Deus Spiritus Sanctus homines doceat, salutaremque Christi agnitionem largiatur et conversionem, veram poenitentiam, fidem et novam obedientiam in ipsis efficiat.

23] IV. Quod aqua Baptismi non sit medium, per quod Dominus adoptionem in filiis Dei obsignet et regenerationem efficiat.

9. That one [a godly man] must not have anything to do with those ministers of the Church who preach the Gospel according to the Augsburg Confession, and rebuke the sermons and errors of the Anabaptists; also, that he is neither to serve nor in any way to labor for them, but to flee from and shun them as perverters of God's Word.

Articles that Cannot be Tolerated in the Government.

1. That under the New Testament the magistracy is not an estate pleasing to God.
2. That a Christian cannot with a good, inviolate conscience hold or discharge the office of magistrate.
3. That a Christian cannot without injury to conscience use the office of the magistracy against the wicked in matters as they occur [matters so requiring], nor that subjects may invoke for their protection and defense the power which the magistrates possess and have received from God.
4. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience take an oath, nor with an oath do homage [promise fidelity] to the hereditary prince of his country or sovereign.
5. That under the New Testament magistrates cannot, without injury to conscience, inflict capital punishment upon malefactors.

Articles that Cannot be Tolerated in Domestic Life.

1. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience hold or possess property, but is in duty bound to devote it to the common treasury.
2. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience be an innkeeper, merchant, or cutler [maker of arms].
3. That the married may be divorced on account of [diverse] faith, and the one may abandon the other and be married to another person who is of his faith.

Erroneous Articles of the Schwenkfeldians.

1. That all those have no true knowledge of Christ as reigning King of heaven who regard Christ according to the flesh as a creature.
2. That the flesh of Christ by His exaltation has assumed all divine properties in such a manner that Christ as man is in might, power, majesty, and glory altogether, as regards degree and position of essence, equal to the Father and to the Word, so that now there is only one essence, property, will, and glory of both natures in Christ, and that the flesh of Christ belongs to the essence of the Holy Trinity.
3. That the ministry of the Church [ministry of the Word], the Word preached and heard, is not a means whereby God the Holy Ghost teaches men, and works in them the saving knowledge of Christ, conversion, repentance, faith, and new obedience.
4. That the water of Baptism is not a means whereby God the Lord seals the adoption of sons and works regeneration.

5. Daß Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl nicht Mittel seien, dadurch und damit Christus seinen Leib und Blut austeile.

6. Daß ein Christenmensch, der wahrhaftig durch den Geist Gottes wiedergeboren, das Gesetz Gottes in diesem Leben vollkommen halten und erfüllen könne.

7. Daß keine rechte christliche Gemeinde sei, da kein öffentlicher Ausschluß oder ordentlicher Prozeß des Bannes gehalten werde.

8. Daß der Diener der Kirche andere Leute nicht nützlich lehren oder rechte, wahrhaftige Sakramente austeilen könne, welcher nicht auch für seine Person wahrhaftig verneuert, wiedergeboren, gerecht und fromm sei.

Irrtum der neuen Arianer.

Daß Christus nicht ein wahrhaftiger, wesentlicher, natürlicher Gott, eines ewigen göttlichen Wesens mit Gott dem Vater und dem Heiligen Geist, sondern allein mit göttlicher Majestät, unter und neben Gott dem Vater, geziert sei.

Irrtum der Antitrinitarier.

Das ist gar eine neue Sekte, zuvor in der Christenheit nicht erhört, welche glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß nicht ein einig, ewig göttlich Wesen sei des Vaters, Sohnes und Heiligen Geistes; sondern wie Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist drei unterschiedliche Personen seien, also habe auch eine jede Person ihr unterschiedlich und von andern Personen der Gottheit abgesondert Wesen, die doch entweder alle drei, wie sonst drei unterschiedene und voneinander in ihrem Wesen abgesonderte Menschen, gleicher Gewalt, Weisheit, Majestät und Herrlichkeit [seien], oder am Wesen und Eigenschaften einander ungleich, daß allein der Vater rechter wahrer Gott sei.

Diese und dergleichen Artikel allzumal, und was denselben mehr Irrtums anhängig [ist] und daraus erfolgt, verwerfen und verdammen wir als unrecht, falsch, ketzerisch, dem Worte Gottes, den dreien Symbolis, der Augsburgischen Konfession und Apologie, den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln und Katechismis Lutheri zuwider, vor welchen alle frommen Christen hohen und niedrigen Standes sich hüten sollen, so lieb ihnen ihrer Seelen Heil und Seligkeit ist.

Daß dies unser aller Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis sei, wie wir solches am Jüngsten Tage vor dem gerechten Richter, unserm HErrn JEsu Christo, verantworten, dawider auch nichts heimlich noch öffentlich reden oder schreiben wollen, sondern gedenken vermittelst der Gnade Gottes dabei zu bleiben, haben wir wohlbedächtig in wahrer Furcht und Anrufung Gottes mit eigenen Händen unterschrieben. [Am Schluß der Epitome steht in den Handschriften: „Actum Bergae, den 29. Mai, Anno 1577." Dann folgen als Unterschriften die Namen: Iacobus Andreae D., Nicolaus Selneccerus D., Andreas Musculus D., Christophorus Cornerus D., David Chytraeus D., Martinus Chemnitius D. Ebenso am Schlusse der Declaratio, jedoch ohne Actum und Datum.]

24] V. Quod panis et vinum in Sacra Coena non sint organa, per quae et cum quibus [R. 626 Christus corpus et sanguinem suum distribuat.

25] VI. Quod homo pius, vere per Spiritum Dei regeneratus, legem Dei in hac vita perfecte servare et implere valeat.

26] VII. Quod non sit vera ecclesia Christi, in qua non vigeat publica excommunicatio et solennis aliquis excommunicationis modus seu, ut vulgo dicitur, processus ordinarius.

27] VIII. Quod is ecclesiae minister alios homines cum fructu docere, aut vera sacramenta dispensare non possit, qui ipse non sit vere renovatus, renatus et vere iustus.

Error Novorum Arianorum.

28] Quod Christus non sit verus, substantialis, naturalis Deus, eiusdem cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto essentiae, sed divina tantum maiestate ita cum Patre ornatus, ut Patre sit inferior.

Error Antitrinitariorum.

29] Haec prorsus nova est haeresis, quae antehac ecclesiis Christi ignota fuit, eorum videlicet, qui opinantur, docent et profitentur, non esse unicam tantum divinam et aeternam Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti essentiam, sed quemadmodum Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus tres sunt distinctae personae, ita unamquamque personam habere distinctam et a reliquis personis Divinitatis separatam essentiam. Et horum alii sentiunt, quod singulae personae in singulis essentiis aequali sint potestate, sapientia, maiestate et gloria, sicut alias tres numero differentes homines, ratione essentiae suae, sunt a se invicem disiuncti [R. 627 et separati. Alii sentiunt, tres illas personas et essentias ita inaequales esse ratione essentiae et proprietatum, ut solus Deus Pater verus sit Deus.

30] Hos atque his similes errores omnes, et eos etiam, qui ab his dependent et ex his consequuntur, reiicimus atque damnamus, utpote qui falsi sint atque haeretici, et qui Verbo Dei, tribus approbatis Symbolis, Augustanae Confessioni, eiusdem Apologiae, Smalcaldicis Articulis et Catechismis Lutheri repugnent, quos etiam errores omnes pii, summi atque infimi, cavere et vitare debent, nisi aeternae suae salutis iacturam facere velint.

31] Quod autem haec sit omnium nostrum fides, doctrina et confessio (de qua in novissimo illo die Iudici Domino nostro Iesu Christo rationem reddere parati sumus), et quod contra hanc doctrinam nihil vel occulte vel aperte dicere aut scribere, sed per gratiam Dei in ea constanter perseverare velimus, in eius rei fidem re bene meditata in vero Dei timore et invocatione nominis eius, hanc Epitomen propriis manibus subscripsimus.

5. That bread and wine in the Holy Supper are not means through and by which Christ distributes His body and blood.

6. That a Christian who is truly regenerated by God's Spirit can perfectly observe and fulfil the Law of God in this life.

7. That it is not a true Christian congregation [church] in which no public excommunication [some formal mode of excommunication] or no regular process of the ban [as it is commonly called] is observed.

8. That the minister of the church who is not on his part truly renewed, regenerate, righteous, and godly cannot teach other men with profit or distribute genuine, true Sacraments.

Error of the New Arians.

That Christ is not true, essential, natural God, of one eternal, divine essence with God the Father and the Holy Ghost, but is only adorned with divine majesty inferior to and alongside of God the Father [is so adorned with divine majesty, with the Father, that He is inferior to the Father].

Error of the Anti-Trinitarians.

This is an entirely new sect, not heard of before in Christendom, [composed of those] who believe, teach, and confess that there is not one only, eternal, divine essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are three distinct persons, so each person has its essence distinct and separate from the other persons of the Godhead; and that nevertheless they are either [some think] all three of equal power, wisdom, majesty, and glory, just as otherwise three men are distinct and separate from one another in their essence, or [others think that these three persons and essences are] unequal with one another in essence and properties, so that the Father alone is properly and truly God.

These and similar articles, one and all, with whatever other errors depend upon and follow from them, we reject and condemn as wrong, false, heretical, contrary to the Word of God, the three Creeds, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and Luther's Catechisms, against which all godly Christians of both high and low station are to be on their guard as they love the welfare and salvation of their souls.

That this is the doctrine, faith, and confession of us all, for which we will answer at the last day before the just Judge, our Lord Jesus Christ, and will neither secretly nor publicly speak or write anything against it, but that we intend by the grace of God to persevere therein, we have after mature deliberation testified, in the true fear of God and invocation of His name, by signing with our own hands [this Epitome].

[Zweiter Teil.]

Gründliche, lautere, richtige und endliche

Wiederholung und Erklärung etlicher Artikel Augsburgischer Konfession,

in welchen eine Zeitlang

unter etlichen Theologen, derselben zugetan, Streit vorgefallen, nach Anleitung Gottes Worts und summarischem Inhalt unserer christlichen Lehre beigelegt und verglichen.

Mit Kurfl. Gn. zu Sachsen Befreiung. Dresden Anno 1579 [*1580].

[PARS SECUNDA.]

Solida, plana ac perspicua

REPETITIO ET DECLARATIO

quorundam Articulorum Augustanae Confessionis,

de quibus aliquamdiu

inter nonnullos theologos, eidem addictos, disputatum fuit, continens earum controversiarum ad normam et analogiam Verbi Dei et compendiariam Christianae nostrae doctrinae formulam et rationem decisionem atque conciliationem.

[PART SECOND.]

Thorough, Pure, Correct, and Final [Solid, Plain, and Clear]

REPETITION AND DECLARATION

of Some Articles of the Augsburg Confession

concerning which, for Some Time, there has been Controversy among Some Theologians who Subscribe Thereto, Decided and Settled according to the Analogy of God's Word and the Summary Contents of Our Christian Doctrine.

Nachdem aus [be]sonderen Gnaden und Barmherzigkeit des Allmächtigen die Lehre von den vornehmsten Artikeln unserer christlichen Religion (welche durch Menschenlehre und -satzungen unter dem Papsttum greulich verfinstert gewesen) durch D. Luther, seligen und heiligen Gedächtnisses, wiederum aus Gottes Wort erläutert und gereinigt, die päpstischen Irrtümer, Mißbräuche und Abgöttereien gestraft, und aber solche reine Reformation von dem Gegenteil für eine neue Lehre geachtet, auch, als ob sie dem Wort Gottes und den christlichen Ordnungen gänzlich zuwider [sei], heftig (gleichwohl mit Ungrund) angezogen, dazu mit unerfindlichen [unwahren] Kalumnien und Auflagen beschwert [worden], haben die christlichen Kur- und Fürsten, auch Stände, welche damals die reine Lehre des heiligen Evangelii angenommen und ihre Kirchen christlich, dem Worte Gottes gemäß [haben] reformieren lassen, auf der großen Reichsversammlung zu Augsburg Anno 30 usw. eine christliche Konfession aus Gottes Wort stellen lassen und dieselbe Kaiser Carolo V. überantwortet, darin sie lauter und rund ihr christliches Bekenntnis getan, was von den vornehmsten Artikeln (sonderlich denen, so zwischen ihnen und den Päpstischen streitig [ge]worden) in den christlichen evangelischen Kirchen gehalten und gelehrt werde, welche [Augsburgische Konfession] von dem Gegenteil gleichwohl sauer angesehen, aber, Gott Lob, bis auf diesen Tag unwiderlegt und unumgestoßen geblieben [ist].

Immensa Dei Optimi Maximi bonitate atque
1] miseratione factum est, ut doctrina de praecipuis Christianae nostrae religionis articulis, quae opinionibus et traditionibus humanis durante papatu horribiliter obscurata fuerat, opera D. Lutheri, piae sanctaeque memoriae, rursus secundum praescriptum et analogiam Verbi Dei sincere explicaretur et repurgaretur, pontificii vero errores, abusus et idolo-
2] maniae graviter redarguerentur. Hac pia reformatione adversarii nova dogmata in ecclesiam Dei introduci putaverunt, eam igitur, quasi Verbo Dei prorsus repugnaret et pias ordinationes penitus everteret, vehementer, falso tamen, criminati sunt et calumniis prope infinitis, quae nullo tamen vel probabili sal-
3] tem colore fulcirentur, oppugnarunt. Ea re moti illustrissimi pietateque religiosa praestantissimi Electores, Principes et Ordines Imperii (qui tum sinceram evangelii doctrinam amplexi fuerant et ecclesias suas ad [R. 629 Verbi Dei normam pie reformaverant) in comitiis frequentissimis et celeberrimis illis Augustae Vindelicorum anno post millesimum quingentesimum trigesimo habitis, sedulo curarunt, ut confessio pia, a sacris litteris collecta, conscriberetur, eamque confessionem Imperatori Carolo V. exhibuerunt. In ea perspicue et candide professi sunt, quid de praecipuis articulis (iis praesertim, qui inter ipsos et pontificios in controversiam venerant) in ecclesiis evangelicis et reformatis crederetur et publice doceretur. Eam confessionem adversarii moleste quidem graviterque acceperunt, sed ad hunc usque diem neque refutare neque evertere potuerunt.

Zu derselben christlichen und in Gottes Wort wohlbegründeten **Augsburgischen Konfession** bekennen wir uns nochmals hiermit von Grund unsers Herzens, bleiben bei derselben einfältigem, hellem und lauterem Verstand, wie solchen die Worte mit sich bringen, und halten gedachte Konfession für ein rein christlich Symbolum, bei dem sich dieser Zeit rechte Christen nächst Gottes Wort sollen finden lassen; wie denn auch vorzeiten in der Kirche Gottes über etliche vorgefallene große Streite christliche Symbola und Bekenntnisse gestellt worden [sind], zu denen sich die reinen Lehrer und Zuhörer mit Herzen und Munde damals bekannt haben. Wir gedenken auch vermittelst der Gnade des Allmächtigen bei mehrgemeldeter christlicher Konfession, wie sie Kaiser Carolo Anno 30 usw. übergeben, bis an unser Ende beständig zu verharren; und ist unser Vorhaben nicht, weder in diesem [in dieser] noch andern Schriften von vielgedachter Konfession im wenigsten [im geringsten] abzuweichen, noch eine andere und neue Konfession zu stellen.

4] Hanc piam atque e fundamentis Verbi Dei solidissimis exstructam *Augustanam Confessionem* nos toto pectore amplecti, publice et sollemniter etiamnum profitemur et simplicem illius, sinceram et perspicuam sententiam, quam verba ipsa monstrant, retinemus. Eamque pium nostri temporis symbolum esse, quod piae mentes post invictam Verbi Dei auctoritatem recipere debeant, iudicamus; quemadmodum olim etiam in ecclesia Dei, exortis gravissimis in religionis negotio certaminibus, confessiones et pia quaedam symbola sunt conscripta, quae sinceri doctores et auditores toto animo amplectebantur et publice
5] profitebantur. Et quidem, bene iuvante nos gratia Dei Optimi Maximi, in illius Confessionis pia doctrina (quemadmodum ea Carolo V. anno etc. XXX. exhibita est) ad ultimos usque vitae nostrae spiritus constantes perseverabimus. Neque in animo habemus, hoc scripto aut quocunque alio a commemorata iam Confessione vel transversum, ut aiunt, unguem discedere, vel aliam aut novam confessionem condere.

Wiewohl aber die christliche Lehre in derselben Konfession mehrernteils (außerhalb [außer] was von den Papisten geschehen) unangefochten geblieben, so kann gleichwohl nicht geleugnet werden, daß etliche Theologi von etlichen hohen und vornehmen Artikeln gemeldeter Konfession abgewichen und den rechten Verstand derselben entweder nicht erreicht oder ja nicht dabei bestanden, etwa auch deren [zuweilen auch derselben] einen fremden

6] Etsi autem pia Confessionis illius [R. 630 doctrina magna ex parte (praeterquam quod a pontificiis factitatum est) non fuit impugnata, fateri tamen oportet, nonnullos theologos in praecipuis quibusdam et magni momenti articulis a doctrina illius Confessionis discessisse, veramque illius sententiam aut non assecutos esse, aut certe non constanter retinuisse, quosdam etiam ei alienam senten-

When, by the special grace and mercy of the Almighty, the doctrine concerning the chief articles of our Christian religion (which under the Papacy had been horribly obscured by human teachings and ordinances) had been explained and purified again from [in accordance with the direction and analogy of] God's Word by Dr. Luther, of blessed and holy memory, and the papistic errors, abuses, and idolatries had been rebuked; and this pure reformation was nevertheless regarded by its opponents as [introducing] a new doctrine and was violently (though without foundation) charged with being entirely contrary to God's Word and the Christian ordinances, and, in addition, was loaded with [almost endless] unsupportable calumnies and accusations, the Christian [the most illustrious and in religious piety most prominent] Electors and Princes, and the Estates [of the Empire] which at that time had embraced the pure doctrine of the Holy Gospel and had their churches reformed in a Christian manner according to God's Word, had a Christian Confession prepared from God's Word at the great Diet of Augsburg in the year 1530 and delivered it to the Emperor Charles V. In this they clearly and plainly made their Christian confession as to what was being held and taught in the Christian evangelical churches concerning the chief articles, especially those in controversy between them and the Papists; and although this Confession was received with disfavor by their opponents, still, thank God, it remains to this day unrefuted and unoverthrown.

To this Christian [pious] Augsburg Confession, so thoroughly grounded in God's Word, we herewith pledge ourselves again [publicly and solemnly] from our inmost hearts; we abide by its simple, clear, and unadulterated meaning as the words convey it, and regard the said Confession as a pure Christian symbol, with which at the present time true Christians ought to be found next to [which pious hearts ought to receive next to the matchless authority of] God's Word; just as in former times concerning certain great controversies that had arisen in the Church of God, symbols and confessions were proposed, to which the pure teachers and hearers at that time pledged themselves with heart and mouth. We intend also, by the grace of the Almighty, faithfully to abide until our end by [the doctrine of] this Christian Confession, mentioned several times, as it was delivered in the year 1530 to the Emperor Charles V; and it is our purpose, neither in this nor in any other writing, to recede in the least from that oft-cited Confession, nor to propose another or new confession.

Now, although the Christian doctrine of this Confession has in great part remained unchallenged (save what has been done by the Papists), yet it cannot be denied that some theologians have departed from some great [principal] and important articles of the said Confession, and either have not attained to their true meaning, or at any rate have not continued steadfastly therein, and occasionally [some] have even undertaken to attach to it a foreign meaning, while at the same time they wished to be regarded as adherents of [they professed to embrace] the Augsburg

Verſtand anzudeuten ſich unterwunden und doch neben dem allem der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion ſein und ſich derſelben behelfen und rühmen wollen; daraus denn beſchwerliche und ſchädliche Spaltungen in den reinen evangeliſchen Kirchen entſtanden; wie denn auch noch bei Lebzeiten der heiligen Apoſtel unter denen, ſo Chriſten heißen wollten und ſich der Lehre Chriſti berühmten, gleichfalls erſchreckliche Irrtümer eingefallen, daher etliche durch die Werke des Geſetzes wollten gerecht und ſelig werden, Act. 15, etliche die Auferſtehung der Toten widerſprochen, 1 Kor. 15, etliche nicht glaubten, daß Chriſtus wahrer ewiger Gott wäre; wider welche ſich die heiligen Apoſtel in ihren Predigten und Schriften heftig [haben] legen müſſen; obwohl ſolche hochwichtige Irrtümer und ernſtliche Streite damals auch nicht ohne großes Ärgernis beide der Ungläubigen und Schwachgläubigen ab[ge]gangen, inmaßen heutigestages unſere Widerſacher, die Papiſten, über den Spaltungen, ſo unter uns entſtanden, frohlocken, der unchriſtlichen und vergeblichen Hoffnung, als ſollten dieſe Uneinigkeiten zu endlichem Untergang der reinen Lehre gereichen; die Schwachgläubigen aber ſich darob ärgern und eines Teils zweifeln, ob die reine Lehre bei uns unter ſo großen Spaltungen ſei [vorhanden ſei], eines Teils nicht wiſſen, welchem Teil ſie in den ſtreitigen Artikeln beifallen ſollen. Denn die eingefallenen Streite nicht nur Mißverſtände [Mißverſtändniſſe] oder Wortgezänke ſind, dafür es etliche halten möchten, da ein Teil des andern Meinung nicht genugſam eingenommen [verſtanden] hätte, und ſich alſo der Span [Zwiſt] allein in etlichen wenig Worten, an welchen nicht viel gelegen, hielte; ſondern es ſind wichtige und große Sachen, darüber geſtritten worden, und alſo geſchaffen [beſchaffen], daß des einen und irrenden Teils Meinung in der Kirche Gottes nicht kann noch ſoll geduldet, noch viel weniger entſchuldigt oder beſtritten [in Streit gezogen, verteidigt] werden.

Derwegen die Notdurft erfordert, ſolche ſtreitigen Artikel aus Gottes Wort und bewährten Schriften alſo zu erklären, daß männiglich [jedermann], ſo eines chriſtlichen Verſtandes [iſt], merken könne, welche Meinung in den ſtreitigen Punkten dem Wort Gottes und der chriſtlichen Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion gemäß ſei oder nicht, und ſich alſo gutherzige Chriſten, denen die Wahrheit angelegen, vor den eingeriſſenen Irrtümern und Korruptelen haben zu verhüten und zu verwahren.

tiam affingere conatos esse, qui nihilominus tamen Augustanam se Confessionem amplecti simularunt et ex ea, quasi gloriantes de eius 7] professione, praetextus quaesiverunt. Ex ea autem re gravia admodum et perniciosa in reformatis ecclesiis dissidia sunt orta; quemadmodum olim etiam, vivis adhuc apostolis, inter eos, qui Christiani haberi volebant et de doctrina Christi gloriabantur, horribiles errores sunt exorti. Quidam enim per opera legis iustificationem et salutem quaerebant, Act. 15, 1—29, alii resurrectionem mortuorum negabant, 1 Cor. 15, 12, alii Christum verum et aeternum Deum esse non credebant. His certe apostoli sese et concionibus et scriptis severe opposuerunt, etsi non ignorabant, errores illos et de rebus tantis acerrima certamina gravissimam offensionem tam apud infideles quam apud infirmos in fide excitare; perinde ac hodie nostri adversarii pontificii propter dissidia illa inter nos orta exsultant, spem illam minime piam et quidem falsam foventes, fore ut ex nostris mutuis concertationibus sanae doctrinae ruina et interitus consequantur. 8] Infirmi vero interim valde offenduntur et perturbantur; quidam dubitant, an inter tot et tanta dissidia etiam vera apud nos doctrina reperiatur; quidam non vident, cui parti in articulis illis controversis subscribere debeant. 9] Mota enim illa certamina non sunt *λογομαχίαι* aut de verbis inanes et non necessariae disceptationes, quales oriri solent, cum altera pars alterius sententiam non satis assecuta est, ut quibusdam fortasse in hoc religionis negotio res habere videntur, qui existimant disputari tantum de paucis quibusdam [R. 631 vocabulis, quae nullius paene aut certe non magni sint momenti. Sed res gravissimae sunt, de quibus controvertitur, et prorsus tales, ut illius partis, quae a vero aberrat, sententia in ecclesia Dei nec possit nec debeat ferri, nedum excusari aut defendi.

10] Quare necessitas exigit, ut controversi illi articuli e Verbo Dei et probatis scriptis perspicue explicentur, quo omnes pii et intelligentes animadvertere possint, cuiusnam partis sententia in controversiis illis motis Verbo Dei et Augustanae Confessioni orthodoxae conformis sit, et quae probatis illis scriptis adversetur, ut bonae et piae mentes, quibus veritas cordi est, corruptelas et errores, qui exorti sunt, effugere et vitare queant.

Von dem ſummariſchen Begriff, Grund, Regel und Richtſchnur,

wie alle Lehre nach Gottes Wort geurteilt, und die eingefallenen Irrungen chriſtlich erklärt und entſchieden werden ſollen.

Weil zu gründlicher, beſtändiger Einigkeit in der Kirche vor allen Dingen vonnöten iſt, daß man einen ſummariſchen, einhelligen Begriff und Form habe, darin die allgemeine ſummariſche Lehre (dazu die Kirchen, ſo der wahrhaftigen chriſtlichen Religion ſind, ſich bekennen) aus Gottes Wort

DE COMPENDIARIA DOCTRINAE FORMA, FUNDAMENTO, NORMA ATQUE REGULA,

ad quam Omnia Dogmata iuxta Analogiam Verbi Dei Diiudicanda et Controversiae Motae Pie Declarandae atque Decidendae sunt.

1] Primo ad solidam, diuturnam et firmam concordiam in ecclesia Dei constituendam necessarium omnino est, ut certa compendiaria forma et quasi typus unanimi consensu approbatus exstet, in quo communis doctrina, quam ecclesiae sincerioris et reformatae religionis

Confession, and to avail themselves and make their boast of it [for a pretext]. From this, grievous and injurious dissensions have arisen in the pure evangelical churches; just as even during the lives of the holy apostles among those who wished to be called Christians, and boasted of Christ's doctrine, horrible errors arose likewise. For some sought to be justified and saved by the works of the Law, Acts 15, 1—29, others denied the resurrection of the dead, 1 Cor. 15, 12, and still others did not believe that Christ was true and eternal God. Against these the holy apostles had to inveigh strenuously in their sermons and writings, although [they were well aware that] also at that time such fundamental errors and severe controversies could not occur without offense both to unbelievers and to those weak in the faith. In a similar manner at present our opponents, the Papists, rejoice at the dissensions that have arisen among us, in the unchristian and vain hope that these discords might finally cause the suppression of the pure doctrine, while those who are weak in faith are [greatly] offended [and disturbed], and some of them doubt whether, amid such dissensions, the pure doctrine is with us, and others do not know with whom to side with respect to the articles in controversy. For the controversies which have occurred are not, as some would regard them, mere misunderstandings or disputes concerning words [as are apt to occur], one side not having sufficiently grasped the meaning of the other, and the difficulty lying thus in a few words which are not of great moment; but here the subjects of controversy are important and great, and of such a nature that the opinion of the party in error cannot be tolerated in the Church of God, much less be excused or defended.

Necessity, therefore, requires us to explain these controverted articles according to God's Word and approved writings, so that every one who has Christian understanding can notice which opinion concerning the matters in controversy accords with God's Word and the Christian Augsburg Confession, and which does not. And sincere Christians who have the truth at heart may guard and protect themselves against [flee and avoid] the errors and corruptions that have arisen.

OF THE COMPREHENSIVE SUMMARY, FOUNDATION, RULE, AND STANDARD

Whereby All Dogmas should be Judged according to God's Word, and the Controversies that have Occurred should be Explained and Decided in a Christian Manner.

Since for thorough, permanent unity in the Church it is, above all things, necessary that we have a comprehensive, unanimously approved summary and form wherein is brought together from God's Word the common doctrine, reduced to a brief compass, which the

zusammengezogen [ist]; wie denn die alte Kirche allewege zu solchem [Ge]Brauch ihre gewissen Symbola gehabt; und aber solches nicht auf Privatschriften, sondern auf solche Bücher gesetzt werden solle, **die im Namen der Kirchen, so zu einer** Lehre und Religion sich bekennen, gestellt, approbiert und angenommen [worden]: so haben wir uns gegeneinander mit Herzen und Mund erklärt, daß wir kein sonderliches oder neues Bekenntnis unsers Glaubens machen oder annehmen wollen, sondern uns zu den öffentlichen allgemeinen Schriften bekennen, so für solche Symbola oder gemeine Bekenntnisse in allen Kirchen der Augsburgischen Konfession je und allewege, ehe denn die [der] Zwiespalt unter denen, so sich zur Augsburgischen Konfession bekannt, entstanden, und solange man einhelliglich allenthalben in allen Artikeln bei der reinen Lehre göttliches Worts (wie sie D. Luther seliger erkläret) geblieben, gehalten und gebraucht worden:

1. Als erstlich: zu den **prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testaments,** als zu dem reinen, lautern Brunnen Israelis, welche allein die einige, wahrhaftige Richtschnur ist, nach der alle Lehrer und Lehre zu richten und zu urteilen sind.

2. Und weil vor alters die wahre christliche Lehre, im reinen, gesunden Verstande, aus Gottes Wort in kurze Artikel oder Hauptstücke wider der Ketzer Verfälschung zusammengezogen ist, bekennen wir uns zum andern zu **den drei allgemeinen Symbolis,** nämlich **dem Apostolischen, Nizäischen und des heiligen Athanasii,** als zu den kurzen, christlichen und in Gottes Wort gegründeten herrlichen Bekenntnissen des Glaubens, in welchen allen den Ketzereien, so zur selben Zeit sich in der christlichen Kirche erhoben, lauter und beständig widersprochen wird.

3. Zum dritten, dieweil in diesen letzten Zeiten der gütige Gott aus [be]sondern Gnaden die Wahrheit seines Wortes aus der greulichen Finsternis des Papsttums durch den getreuen Dienst des teuren Mannes Gottes, D. Luthers, wieder ans Licht gebracht hat, und dieselbe Lehre aus und nach Gottes Wort wider des Papsttums und auch anderer Sekten Verfälschung in die Artikel und Hauptstücke der Augsburgischen Konfession zusammengezogen ist, so bekennen wir uns auch zu derselben **Ersten, Ungeänderten Augsburgischen Konfession,** nicht derwegen, daß sie von unsern Theologis gestellt, sondern weil sie aus Gottes Wort genommen und darin fest und wohl gegründet ist, allermaßen [in jeder Weise], wie sie Anno 30 usw. in Schriften verfaßt und dem Kaiser Carolo V. von etlichen christlichen Kur-, Fürsten und Ständen des Römischen Reichs als ein allgemeines Bekenntnis der reformierten Kirchen zu Augsburg übergeben, als dieser Zeit unserm Symbolo, durch welches unsere reformierten Kirchen von der Papisten und andern verworfenen und verdammten Sekten und Ketzereien abgesondert worden, inmaßen denn solches in der alten Kirche also her[ge]kommen und gebräuchlich ge-

profitentur, e Verbo Dei collecta exstet. Etenim ea in re exemplum primitivae ecclesiae sequimur, quae in talem usum sua quaedam
2] certa symbola semper habuit. Cum [R. 632 vero compendiaria illa doctrinae forma non privatis, sed publicis scriptis niti debeat, quae confecta, approbata et recepta sint earum ecclesiarum nomine, quae sinceram doctrinam et religionem unanimi consensu profitentur: mentem nostram invicem corde et ore ita declaravimus et iam declaramus, quod nullam novam aut singularem confessionem fidei nostrae conscribere aut recipere in animo habeamus. Quin potius publica illa et communia scripta amplectimur, quae in omnibus ecclesiis Augustanae Confessionis pro symbolis et communibus confessionibus semper habita sunt, priusquam dissensiones inter eos, qui Augustanam Confessionem profitentur, ortae sunt; quae etiam scripta publicam auctoritatem obtinuerunt, quamdiu magno consensu passim in omnibus articulis sincera Verbi Dei doctrina, ut eam D. Lutherus proposuit, conservata, retenta atque usurpata fuit.

3] I. Primum igitur toto pectore *prophetica et apostolica scripta Veteris et Novi Testamenti,* ut limpidissimos purissimosque Israelis fontes, recipimus et amplectimur et sacras litteras solas unicam et certissimam illam regulam esse credimus, ad quam omnia dogmata exigere, et secundum quam de omnibus tum doctrinis tum doctoribus iudicare oporteat.

4] II. Et quia iam olim sincera Christi doctrina, in genuino et sano sensu, ex sacris litteris collecta et in articulos seu capita brevissima contra haereticorum corruptelas digesta est, amplectimur etiam *tria illa catholica et generalia summae auctoritatis Symbola, Apostolicum* videlicet, *Nicaenum* et *Athanasii.* Haec enim agnoscimus esse breves quidem, sed easdem maxime pias atque in Verbo Dei solide fundatas, praeclaras confessiones fidei, quibus omnes haereses, quae iis temporibus ecclesias Christi perturbarunt, perspicue et solide refutantur.

5] III. Deinde cum postremis hisce [R. 633 temporibus Deus Optimus Maximus summa clementia puritatem Verbi sui tenebris horrendis et plus quam cimmeriis, quibus sub papatu oppressa fuerat, fideli opera praestantissimi viri, D. Lutheri, viri Dei, rursus in lucem produxerit, quae sincera doctrina non modo contra papatum, sed etiam adversus aliarum sectarum corruptelas e Verbo Dei in articulos et capita Augustanae Confessionis digesta est: etiam *Augustanam, primam illam et non mutatam, Confessionem* amplectimur. Idque non ea de causa facimus, quod a nostris theologis sit conscripta, sed quia e Verbo Domini est desumpta et ex fundamentis sacrarum litterarum solide exstructa, sicut ea anno 1530 scripto comprehensa et Imperatori Carolo V. per quosdam Electores, Principes et Ordines Romani Imperii (ut communis pie reformatarum ecclesiarum confessio) Augustae est exhibita. Hanc enim nostri temporis symbolum esse iudicamus, quo reformatae nostrae ecclesiae ab Romanensibus aliisque reiectis et damnatis sectis et haeresibus seiunguntur. Et sane hoc ipsum olim usu in primitiva ecclesia

churches that are of the true Christian religion confess, just as the ancient Church always had for this use its fixed symbols; moreover, since this [comprehensive form of doctrine] should not be based on private writings, but on such books as have been composed, approved, and received in the name of the churches which pledge themselves to one doctrine and religion, we have declared to one another with heart and mouth that we will not make or receive a separate or new confession of our faith, but confess the public common writings which always and everywhere were held and used as such symbols or common confessions in all the churches of the Augsburg Confession before the dissensions arose among those who accept the Augsburg Confession, and as long as in all articles there was on all sides a unanimous adherence to [and maintenance and use of] the pure doctrine of the divine Word, as the sainted Dr. Luther explained it.

1. First [, then, we receive and embrace with our whole heart] *the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments* as the pure, clear fountain of Israel, which is the only true standard by which all teachers and doctrines are to be judged.

2. And since of old the true Christian doctrine, in a pure, sound sense, was collected from God's Word into brief articles or chapters against the corruption of heretics, we confess, in the second place, *the three Ecumenical Creeds,* namely, *the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian,* as glorious confessions of the faith, brief, devout, and founded upon God's Word, in which all the heresies which at that time had arisen in the Christian Church are clearly and unanswerably refuted.

3. In the third place, since in these last times God, out of especial grace, has brought the truth of His Word to light again from the darkness of the Papacy through the faithful service of the precious man of God, Dr. Luther, and since this doctrine has been collected from, and according to, God's Word into the articles and chapters of the Augsburg Confession against the corruptions of the Papacy and also of other sects, we confess also *the First, Unaltered Augsburg Confession* as our symbol for this time, not because it was composed by our theologians, but because it has been taken from God's Word and is founded firmly and well therein, precisely in the form in which it was committed to writing in the year 1530, and presented to the Emperor Charles V at Augsburg by some Christian Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Roman Empire as a common confession of the reformed churches, whereby our reformed churches are distinguished from the Papists and other repudiated and condemned sects and heresies, after the custom and usage of the

wesen, daß die folgenden Synoden, christlichen Bischöfe und Lehrer sich auf das Nizäische Symbolum gezogen und dazu bekannt haben.

4. Zum vierten, was denn vielgemeldeter Augsburgischer Konfession eigentlichen und wahrhaftigen Verstand belangt, damit man sich gegen die Papisten ausführlicher erklärete und verwahrete, und nicht unter dem Namen der Augsburgischen Konfession verdammte Irrtümer in der [in die] Kirche Gottes einschleichen, und derselben sich zu behelfen unterstehen möchten, ist nach übergebener Konfession eine ausführliche **Apologia** gestellt und Anno 1531 durch öffentlichen Druck publiziert. Zu derselben bekennen wir uns auch einhellig, darin gedachte Augsburgische Konfession nicht allein notdürftiglich ausgeführt und verwahrt, sondern auch mit hellen, unwidersprechlichen Zeugnissen der Heiligen Schrift erwiesen worden.

5. Zum fünften bekennen wir uns auch zu den **Artikeln, zu Schmalkalden** in großer Versammlung der Theologen Anno 1537 gestellt, approbiert und angenommen, inmaßen dieselben erstlich begriffen und gedruckt worden, so auf dem Concilio zu Mantua, oder wo es gehalten [werden möchte] im Namen höchst- und hochermeldeter Kurfürsten, Fürsten und Stände als vorgemeldeter Augsburgischer Konfession und Bekenntnis Erklärung, darauf sie durch Gottes Gnade zu verharren entschlossen, überantwortet hat [haben] werden sollen; in welchen ermeldete Lehre Augsburgischer Konfession wiederholt [ist], und etliche Artikel aus Gottes Wort weiter erklärt [sind], auch daneben Ursache und Grund, warum man von papistischen Irrtümern und Abgöttereien abgetreten und mit denselben keine Gemeinschaft zu haben, sich auch über solchen mit dem Papst nicht zu vergleichen wisse noch gedenke, notdürftiglich angezeigt worden.

6. Und dann zum sechsten, weil diese hochwichtigen Sachen auch den gemeinen Mann und Laien belangen, welche, ihrer Seligkeit zugut, dennoch als Christen zwischen reiner und falscher Lehre unterscheiden müssen, bekennen wir uns auch einhellig zu dem **Kleinen und Großen Katechismus D. Luthers,** wie solche von ihm geschrieben und seinen Tomis einverleibt worden, weil dieselben von allen der Augsburgischen Konfession verwandten Kirchen einhellig approbiert, angenommen und öffentlich in Kirchen, Schulen und Häusern gebraucht worden sind, und weil auch in denselben die christliche Lehre aus Gottes Wort für die einfältigen Laien auf das richtigste und einfältigste begriffen und gleichergestalt notdürftiglich erklärt worden.

Diese öffentlichen gemeinen Schriften sind in den reinen Kirchen und Schulen allewege gehalten worden als die Summa und Vorbild der Lehre, welche D. Luther seliger in seinen Schriften aus Gottes Wort wider das Papsttum und andere Sekten stattlich ausgeführt und wohl gegründet hat, auf welches [auf dessen] ausführliche Erklärungen in seinen Lehr- und Streitschriften wir uns gezogen [bezogen] haben wollen, auf Weise und Maß wie D. Luther in der lateinischen Vorrede über seine zusammengedruckten Bücher von seinen Schriften selbst notdürftige und christliche Erinnerung getan und diesen Unterschied ausdrücklich gesetzt hat, daß allein Gottes Wort die

receptum est, ut subsequentes synodi, pii item episcopi et doctores, ad Nicaenum Symbolum provocarent atque se id amplecti publice profiterentur.

6] IV. Postea cum hoc etiam curandum esset, ut propria et genuina Confessionis Augustanae sententia conservaretur atque adversus pontificiorum calumnias plenius explicaretur et praemuniretur, ne sub Augustanae Confessionis praetextu et patrocinio damnati errores sese in ecclesiam Dei paulatim insinuarent: post exhibitam Confessionem luculenta *Apologia* conscripta et anno 1531 typis vulgata est. Eam etiam unanimi consensu approbamus et amplectimur, quia in ea non modo Augustana Confessio perspicue explicatur atque ab adversariorum calumniis vindicatur, verum etiam clarissimis et solidissimis [R. 634 Sacrae Scripturae testimoniis confirmatur.

7] V. Praeterea etiam *Articulos* illos toto pectore amplectimur, qui *Smalcaldiae* in frequentissimo theologorum conventu anno salutis MDXXXVII. conscripti, approbati et recepti sunt. Eos autem articulos intelligimus, quales initio conscripti, postea typis in lucem editi sunt in eum videlicet finem, ut concilio vel Mantuae vel alibi celebrando nomine illustrissimorum Electorum, Principum atque Ordinum Imperii (ut Augustanae Confessionis uberior declaratio, in qua per Dei gratiam constantes perseverare decrevissent) publice proponi posset [possent]. In iis enim articulis doctrina Augustanae Confessionis repetita est et in quibusdam articulis e Verbo Dei amplius declarata, et insuper fundamenta monstrata et graves causae recitatae sunt, cur a pontificiis erroribus et idolomaniis secessionem fecerimus, cur etiam in iis rebus cum pontifice Romano nobis convenire non possit, quodque cum eo in illis conciliari nequeamus.

8] VI. Postremo, quando negotium religionis etiam ad salutem vulgi et laicorum (quos vocant) pertinet, et illis etiam, ratione salutis, necessarium est, ut sinceram doctrinam a falsa discernant, amplectimur etiam *Minorem et Maiorem D. Lutheri Catechismos*, eos dicimus, quales illi ab ipso scripti et tomis eius inserti sunt. Omnes enim ecclesiae Augustanae Confessionis hos catechismos approbarunt atque receperunt, ita ut passim in ecclesiis et scholis publice et in privatis etiam aedibus propositi fuerint. Et pia doctrina, e Verbo Dei desumpta, in iis quam maxime perspicue et simplicissime in usum rudiorum et laicorum est comprehensa et dilucide declarata.

9] Haec publica et ab omnibus piis approbata scripta in purioribus ecclesiis et scholis semper habita fuere pro compendiaria [R. 635 hypotyposi seu forma sanae doctrinae, quam D. Lutherus in suis scriptis e sacris litteris contra papatum et alias sectas deprompsit, luculenter declaravit et solide fundavit. Et ad D. Lutheri explicationes praeclaras tam in polemicis quam didacticis ipsius scriptis comprehensas provocamus, eo videlicet modo, quem D. Lutherus in Latina sua praefatione, tomis operum eius praefixa, de scriptis suis pia et necessaria admonitione nobis ipse monstravit. Ibi enim hoc discrimen (inter divina et hu-

early Church, whereby succeeding councils, Christian bishops and teachers appealed to the Nicene Creed, and confessed it [publicly declared that they embraced it].

4. In the fourth place, as regards the proper and true sense of the oft-quoted Augsburg Confession, an extensive *Apology* was composed and published in print in 1531, after the presentation of the Confession, in order that we might explain ourselves at greater length and guard against the [slanders of the] Papists, and that condemned errors might not steal into the Church of God under the name of the Augsburg Confession, or dare to seek cover under the same. We unanimously confess this also, because not only is the said Augsburg Confession explained as much as is necessary and guarded [against the slanders of the adversaries], but also proven [confirmed] by clear, irrefutable testimonies of Holy Scripture.

5. In the fifth place, we also confess *the Articles* composed, approved, and received *at Smalcald* in the large assembly of theologians, in the year 1537, as they were first framed and printed in order to be delivered in the council at Mantua, or wherever it would be held, in the name of the Estates, Electors, and Princes, as an explanation of the above-mentioned Augsburg Confession, wherein by God's grace they were resolved to abide. In them the doctrine of the Augsburg Confession is repeated, and some articles are explained at greater length from God's Word, and, besides, the cause and grounds are indicated, as far as necessary, why we have abandoned the papistical errors and idolatries, and can have no fellowship with them, and also why we know, and can think of, no way for coming to any agreement with the Pope concerning them.

6. And now, in the sixth place, because these highly important matters [the business of religion] concern also the common people and laymen [as they are called], who, inasmuch as they are Christians, must for their salvation distinguish between pure and false doctrine, we confess also *the Small and the Large Catechisms of Dr. Luther,* as they were written by him and incorporated in his works, because they have been unanimously approved and received by all churches adhering to the Augsburg Confession, and have been publicly used in churches, schools, and in [private] houses, and, moreover, because the Christian doctrine from God's Word is comprised in them in the most correct and simple way, and, in like manner, is explained, as far as necessary [for simple laymen].

In the pure churches and schools these public common writings have been always regarded as the sum and model of the doctrine which Dr. Luther, of blessed memory, has admirably deduced from God's Word, and firmly established against the Papacy and other sects; and to his full explanations in his doctrinal and polemical writings we wish to appeal, in the manner and as far as Dr. Luther himself in the Latin preface to his published works has given necessary and Christian admonition concerning his writings, and has ex-

einige [die alleinige] Richtschnur und Regel aller Lehre sein und bleiben solle, welchem keines Menschen Schriften gleich geachtet, sondern demselben alles unterworfen werden soll.

Es werden aber hiermit andere gute, nützliche, reine Bücher, Auslegungen der Heiligen Schrift, Widerlegungen der Irrtümer, Erklärungen der Lehrartikel nicht verworfen, welche, wofern sie dem jetzt gemeldeten Vorbild der Lehre gemäß, als nützliche Auslegungen und Erklärungen gehalten und nützlich gebraucht können werden; sondern was bisher von der Summa unserer christlichen Lehre gesagt, wird allein dahin gemeint, daß man habe eine einhellige, gewisse, allgemeine Form der Lehre, dazu sich unsere evangelischen Kirchen sämtlich und insgemein bekennen, aus und nach welcher, weil sie aus Gottes Wort genommen, alle andern Schriften, wiefern sie zu probieren und anzunehmen, geurteilt und reguliert sollen werden.

Denn daß wir oberzählte Schriften, nämlich **die Augsburgische Konfession, Apologie, Schmalkaldischen Artikel, Großen und Kleinen Katechismus Lutheri,** vielgedachter Summa unserer christlichen Lehre einverleibt, ist der Ursache geschehen, daß solche für den gemeinen, einhelligen Verstand unserer Kirchen je und allewege gehalten worden, als die auch von den vornehmsten, hocherleuchteten Theologen dieselbe Zeit unterschrieben und alle evangelischen Kirchen und Schulen innegehabt; wie sie auch, inmaßen hievor vermeldet, alle geschrieben und aus[ge]gangen, ehe die Zwiespaltungen unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession entstanden; und dann, weil sie für unparteiisch gehalten und von keinem Teil derer, so sich in [den] Streit eingelassen, können oder sollen verworfen werden, auch keiner, so ohne Falsch der Augsburgischen Konfession [zugetan] ist, sich dieser Schriften beschweren, sondern sie als Zeugen gerne annehmen und gedulden wird: so kann uns niemand verdenken, daß wir auch aus denselben Erläuterung und Entscheid der streitigen Artikel nehmen und, wie wir Gottes Wort, als die ewige Wahrheit, zum Grunde legen, also auch diese Schriften zum Zeugnis der Wahrheit und für den einhelligen rechten Verstand unserer Vorfahren, so bei der reinen Lehre standhaftig gehalten, einführen und anziehen.

mana scripta) perspicue posuit, solas videlicet sacras litteras pro unica regula et norma omnium dogmatum agnoscendas, iisque nullius omnino hominis scripta adaequanda, sed potius omnia subiicienda esse.

10] Haec autem non ita accipi debent, quasi alia utilia et sincera scripta (verbi gratia commentarios in sacras litteras, errorum refutationes, articulorum praecipuorum explicationes) reiicere aut ex hominum manibus excutere velimus. Ea enim scripta (quatenus commemoratae hypotyposi et compendiariae sanae doctrinae conformia sunt) tamquam explicationes atque declarationes utiles retineri et cum fructu legi possunt. Quidquid enim hactenus de compendiaria hypotyposi sanae doctrinae diximus, eo tantum referendum est, ut unanimi consensu approbatam certamque formam doctrinae habeamus, quam evangelicae ecclesiae nostrae simul omnes agnoscant et amplectantur, secundum quam, cum e Verbo Dei sit desumpta, omnia alia scripta iudicare et accommodare oportet, quatenus probanda sint et recipienda.

11] Quod enim commemorata scripta, videlicet *Augustanam Confessionem, Apologiam, Smalcaldicos Articulos, Minorem et Maiorem Catechismos Lutheri,* illa doctrinae nostrae Christianae summa complecti voluerimus, eam ob causam factum est, quod in iis unanimem et communem ecclesiarum nostrarum [R. 636 piam sententiam contineri semper sit iudicatum, quippe quae a praecipuis iisque excellentissimis illius temporis theologis subscriptione confirmata et in evangelicis ecclesiis et scholis **12]** recepta fuere. Et ea quidem (ut paulo ante monuimus) omnia conscripta atque edita sunt, priusquam controversiae illae inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos orirentur, ideoque nihil in illis datum est affectibus; quare etiam ab iis, qui inter se disceptant, reprobari nullo iure possunt. Neque vero quisquam (modo sincere et sine fuco Augustanam Confessionem amplectatur) eorum auctoritatem elevabit aut contemnet, sed ea (ut veritatis testes) recipiet. Quare nemo vitio nobis vertet, quod ad eorum scriptorum declarationem et decisionem in obortis controversiis provo-**13]** camus. Ut enim Verbum Dei tamquam immotam veritatem pro fundamento ponimus, ita illa scripta tamquam veritatis testes et quae unanimem sinceramque maiorum nostrorum, qui in puriore doctrina constantes permansere, sententiam complectantur, in medium recte producimus.

Von streitigen Artikeln,

was die Antithesis oder Gegenlehre belangt.

Weil auch zur Erhaltung reiner Lehre und zu gründlicher, beständiger, gottseliger [* gottgefälliger] Einigkeit in der Kirche vonnöten ist, daß nicht allein die reine heilsame Lehre recht geführt, sondern daß auch die Widersprecher, so anders lehren, gestraft werden, 1 Tim. 3; Tit. 1; denn treue Hirten, wie Lutherus redet, sollen beides tun, die Schäflein weiden oder nähren und den Wölfen wehren, daß sie vor den fremden Stimmen fliehen

De Antithesi

seu reiectione falsae doctrinae in articulis controversis.

14] Necessarium est ad conservandam in ecclesia sinceram doctrinam et ad solidam, firmam Deoque probatam atque gratam concordiam, ut non tantum sana doctrina dextre proponatur, sed etiam contradicentes diversumque docentes redarguantur. Fidelium enim pastorum utrumque officium est (ut D. Lutherus dicere solet), et oviculas pascere et lupum arcere, ut alienas voces vitare discant

pressly drawn this distinction, namely, that the Word of God alone should be and remain the only standard and rule of doctrine, to which the writings of no man should be regarded as equal, but to which everything should be subjected.

But [this is not to be understood as if] hereby other good, useful, pure books, expositions of the Holy Scriptures, refutations of errors, explanations of doctrinal articles, are not rejected; for as far as they are consistent with the above-mentioned type of doctrine, these are regarded as useful expositions and explanations, and can be used with advantage. But what has thus far been said concerning the summary of our Christian doctrine is intended to mean only this, that we should have a unanimously accepted, definite, common form of doctrine, which all our evangelical churches together and in common confess, from and according to which, because it has been derived from God's Word, all other writings should be judged and adjusted as to how far they are to be approved and accepted.

For that we embodied the above-mentioned writings, namely, *the Augsburg Confession, Apology, Smalcald Articles, Luther's Large and Small Catechisms,* in the oft-mentioned Sum of our Christian doctrine, was done for the reason that these have always and everywhere been regarded as the common, unanimously accepted meaning of our churches, and, moreover, have been subscribed at that time by the chief and most enlightened theologians, and have held sway in all evangelical churches and schools. So also, as before mentioned, they were all written and sent forth before the divisions among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession arose; therefore, since they are held to be impartial, and neither can nor should be rejected by either part of those who have entered into controversy, and no one who without guile is an adherent of the Augsburg Confession will complain of these writings, but will cheerfully accept and tolerate them as witnesses [of the truth], no one can think ill of [blame] us that we derive from them an explanation and decision of the articles in controversy, and that, as we lay down God's Word, the eternal truth, as the foundation, so we introduce and quote also these writings as a witness of the truth and as the unanimously received correct understanding of our predecessors who have steadfastly held to the pure doctrine.

Of Articles in Controversy
with Respect to the Antithesis, or Opposite Doctrine.

Moreover, since for the preservation of pure doctrine and for thorough, permanent, godly unity in the Church it is necessary, not only that the pure, wholesome doctrine be rightly presented, but also that the opponents who teach otherwise be reproved, 1 Tim. 3 (2 Tim. 3, 16); Titus 1, 9, — for faithful shepherds, as Luther says, should do both, namely, feed or nourish the lambs and resist the wolves, so that the sheep may flee from strange voices,

mögen, Joh. 10, und das Köstliche von dem Schnöden scheiden, Jer. 15:

So haben wir uns auch darüber und davon gegeneinander gründlich und deutlich erklärt, also daß in alle Wege ein Unterschied soll und muß gehalten werden zwischen unnötigem und unnützem Gezänk, damit, weil es mehr verstört als baut, die Kirche billig nicht soll verwirrt werden, und zwischen nötigem Streit, wenn nämlich solcher Streit vorfällt, welcher die Artikel des Glaubens oder die vornehmen Hauptstücke der christlichen Lehre angeht, da zur Rettung der Wahrheit falsche Gegenlehre gestraft werden muß.

Wiewohl nun obgemeldete Schriften dem christlichen Leser, welcher Lust und Liebe zu der göttlichen Wahrheit trägt, einen lauteren, richtigen Bescheid von allen und jeden streitigen Artikeln unserer christlichen Religion geben, was er vermöge Gottes Worts, der Propheten und Apostel Schriften, für recht und wahr halten und annehmen, und was er als falsch und unrecht verwerfen, fliehen und meiden solle: so haben wir doch, damit die Wahrheit desto deutlicher und klarer behalten und von allen Irrtümern unterschieden, und nicht unter gemeinen Worten etwas versteckt und verborgen möchte werden, uns von den vornehmsten und hochwichtigsten Artikeln, so dieser Zeit in Streit gezogen, von jedem insonderheit hierüber deutlich und ausdrücklich gegeneinander erklärt, daß es ein öffentliches gewisses Zeugnis nicht allein bei den Jetztlebenden, sondern auch bei unsern Nachkommen sein möge, was unserer Kirchen einhellige Meinung und Urteil von den streitigen Artikeln sei und bleiben solle, nämlich:

1. Zum ersten, daß wir verwerfen und verdammen alle Ketzereien und Irrtümer, so in der ersten, alten, rechtgläubigen Kirche aus wahrem, beständigem Grunde der heiligen göttlichen Schrift verworfen und verdammt sind.

2. Zum andern verwerfen und verdammen wir alle Sekten und Ketzereien, so in jetztgemeldeten Schriften des Summarischen Begriffs der Bekenntnis [des Bekenntnisses] unserer Kirchen verworfen sind.

3. Zum dritten, weil innerhalb dreißig Jahren von wegen des **Interims** und sonsten etliche Spaltungen unter etlichen Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession entstanden, haben wir von denselben allen und einem jeden insonderheit unsern Glauben und Bekenntnis rund, lauter und klar in thesi et antithesi, das ist, die rechte Lehre und Gegenlehre, setzen und erklären wollen, damit der Grund göttlicher Wahrheit in allen Artikeln offenbar, und alle unrechtmäßige, zweifelhaftige, verdächtige und verdammte Lehre, wo auch dieselbe und in was Büchern sie gefunden, und wer gleich dieselben geschrieben oder sich noch derselben annehmen wollte, ausgesetzt werde, damit männiglich [jedermann] vor den Irrtümern, so hin und wieder in etlicher Theologen Schriften ausgebreitet, treulich verwarnt sei, und hierin durch keines Menschen Ansehen verführt werde. In welcher Erklärung sich der christliche Leser nach aller Notdurft ersehen und solche gegen oberzählte Schriften halten möge, daraus er eigentlich befinden wird, was von einem jeden Artikel in dem Summarischen Begriff unserer Religion und Glaubens anfangs bekannt, nachmals zu unterschiedlichen

et pretiosum a vili secernere possint. 1 Tim. 3 [2 Tim. 3, 16]; Tit. 1, 9; Ioh. 10, 12; Ier. 15, 19.

Quare in hac etiam parte mentem nostram
15] invicem declaravimus et perspicue [R. 637 declaramus, quod videlicet discrimen sit habendum inter non necessarias atque inutiles contentiones (quae plus destruunt quam aedificant), ne iis ecclesia perturbetur, et inter necessaria certamina, quando tales controversiae incidunt, ubi de articulis fidei aut praecipuis partibus Christianae doctrinae agitur; tum enim ad veritatis defensionem necessario contraria et falsa doctrina est refutanda.

16] Etsi autem paulo ante commemorata scripta pio lectori, qui veritatis coelestis amore flagrat, in omnibus et singulis articulis Christianae nostrae religionis perspicue et dilucide commonstrant, quidnam iuxta Verbi Dei, propheticorum et apostolicorum scriptorum, normam verum sit et amplectendum, et quid falsum et reiiciendum atque fugiendum sit: tamen de praecipuis et summis articulis singulis, qui hisce temporibus in controversiam venerunt, sententiam nostram perspicue et sine omni ambiguitate proponere voluimus. Idque eo consilio, ut veritas magis elucescat clariusque agnoscatur et ab erroribus facilius discernatur, ne quidquam, quod veritati officiat, sub nimis generalibus verbis aut phrasibus occultari possit; tum etiam, ut publicum solidumque testimonium, non modo ad eos, qui nunc vivunt, sed etiam ad omnem posteritatem exstaret, ostendens, quaenam ecclesiarum nostrarum de controversis articulis unanimis fuerit esseque perpetuo debeat decisio atque sententia, videlicet:

17] I. Primo reiicimus atque damnamus omnes haereses et errores, qui in primitiva (recte credentium) ecclesia ex solidis Verbi Dei fundamentis reiecti sunt et damnati.

18] II. Deinde reprobamus et damnamus omnes sectas atque haereses, quae in scriptis paulo ante commemoratis reprobatae sunt.

19] III. Praeterea, cum intra triginta annos partim ex interreligionis, quam *Interim* [R. 638 vocant, formula, partim aliis occasionibus dissidia inter theologos quosdam Augustanae Confessionis orta sint, de illis omnibus et singulis fidem et confessionem nostram non modo in thesi, verum etiam in antithesi (veram videlicet et falsam contrariam doctrinam) diserte, categorice et perspicue proponere et declarare voluimus. Idque ea de causa a nobis factum est, ut solida coelestis doctrinae in omnibus articulis fundamenta rectius conspicerentur, et omnia falsa, ambigua, suspecta et damnata dogmata (quibuscunque libris contineantur et a quocunque tandem vel conscripta sint vel hodie etiamnum defendantur) diserte repudientur, ut omnes ad cavendos errores (hinc inde in quorundam theologorum libris sparsos) fideliter praemoneantur et excitentur, ne in rebus tantis ullius hominis
20] auctoritate seducantur. Hanc nostram controversiarum explicationem si pius lector sedulo perpenderit eamque cum scriptis illis aliquoties commemoratis contulerit, liquido-

John 10, 12, and may separate the precious from the vile, Jer. 15, 19, —

Therefore we have thoroughly and clearly declared ourselves to one another, also regarding these matters, as follows: that a distinction should and must by all means be observed between unnecessary and useless wrangling, on the one hand, whereby the Church ought not to be disturbed, since it destroys more than it builds up, and necessary controversy, on the other hand, as, when such a controversy occurs as involves the articles of faith or the chief heads of the Christian doctrine, where for the defense of the truth the false opposite doctrine must be reproved.

Now, although the aforesaid writings afford the Christian reader, who delights in and has a love for the divine truth, clear and correct information concerning each and every controverted article of our Christian religion, as to what he should regard and receive as right and true according to God's Word of the Prophetic and Apostolic Scriptures, and what he should reject, shun, and avoid as false and wrong; yet, in order that the truth may be preserved the more distinctly and clearly, and be distinguished from all errors, and that nothing be hidden and concealed under ordinary terms [rather general words and phrases], we have clearly and expressly declared ourselves to one another concerning the chief and most important articles, taken one by one, which at the present time have come into controversy, so that there might be a public, definite testimony, not only for those now living, but also for our posterity, what is and should remain the unanimous understanding and judgment [decision] of our churches in reference to the articles in controversy, namely:

1. First, that we reject and condemn all heresies and errors which were rejected and condemned in the primitive, ancient, orthodox Church, upon the true, firm ground of the holy divine Scriptures.

2. Secondly, we reject and condemn all sects and heresies which are rejected in the writings, just mentioned, of the comprehensive summary of the Confession of our churches.

3. Thirdly, since within thirty years some divisions arose among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession on account of the *Interim* and otherwise, it has been our purpose to state and declare plainly [categorically], purely, and clearly our faith and confession concerning each and every one of these in thesis and antithesis, *i. e.*, the true doctrine and its opposite, in order that the foundation of divine truth might be manifest in all articles, and that all unlawful, doubtful, suspicious, and condemned doctrines, wherever and in whatever books they may be found, and whoever may have written them, or even now may be disposed to defend them, might be exposed [distinctly repudiated], so that every one may be faithfully warned against the errors, which are spread here and there in the writings of some theologians, and no one be misled in this matter by the reputation [authority] of any man. From this declaration the Christian reader will inform himself in every emergency, and compare it with the writings enumerated above, and he will find out exactly that what was confessed

Zeiten erklärt und durch uns in dieser Schrift wiederholt, keineswegs widereinander, sondern die einfältige, unwandelbare, beständige Wahrheit sei, und daß wir demnach nicht von einer Lehre zu der andern fallen, wie unsere Widersacher fälschlich ausgeben, sondern bei der einmal übergebenen Augsburgischen Konfession und in einhelligem, christlichem Verstande derselben begehren uns finden zu lassen und dabei durch Gottes Gnade standhaftig und beständig wider alle eingefallenen Verfälschungen zu verharren.

intelliget, ea, quae de unoquoque articulo (in compendiaria illa doctrina nostrae religionis et fidei) initio maiores nostri senserunt atque publice professi sunt, easque declarationes, quae diversis temporibus per intervalla sunt consecutae, et eam doctrinam, quam nunc hoc scripto repetimus, haudquaquam inter se discrepare, sed esse simplicem, immotam ac certissimam veritatem. Et agnoscet lector candidus, nos non de uno dogmate ad aliud (levitate quadam, ut adversarii nos criminantur) transsilire, sed potius nos in eo elaborare, ut semel exhibitam illam Augustanam Confessionem eiusque unanimem, piam et veram sententiam firmiter retineamus, atque in ea doctrina per gratiam Dei (adversus omnes, quae inciderunt, corruptelas) constantes perseveremus.

I.

Von der Erbsünde.

Und erstlich hat sich unter etlichen Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession ein Zwiespalt von der **Erbsünde** zugetragen, was eigentlich dieselbe sei. Denn ein Teil hat gestritten: weil durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt menschlich' Natur und Wesen, daß nunmehr nach dem Fall des verderbten Menschen Natur, Substanz, Wesen oder ja das [der] vornehmste, höchste Teil seines Wesens, als die vernünftige Seele in ihrem höchsten Grad oder vornehmsten Kräften, die Erbsünde selbst sei, welche Natur- oder Personsünde genennet [genannt] worden, darum daß es nicht ein Gedanke, Wort oder Werk, sondern die Natur selbst sei, daraus als aus der Wurzel alle andern Sünden entspringen, und sei derwegen jetzund nach dem Fall, weil die Natur durch die Sünde verderbt, ganz und gar kein Unterschied zwischen des Menschen Natur oder Wesen und zwischen der Erbsünde.

Der andere Teil aber hat dagegen gelehrt, daß die Erbsünde eigentlich nicht sei des Menschen Natur, Substanz oder Wesen, das ist, des Menschen Leib oder Seele, welche auch jetzund nach dem Fall in uns Gottes Geschöpf und Kreaturen sind und bleiben, sondern sei etwas in des Menschen Natur, Leib, Seele und allen seinen Kräften, nämlich eine greuliche, tiefe, unaussprechliche Verderbung derselben, also daß der Mensch der Gerechtigkeit, darin er anfangs erschaffen, mangelt und in geistlichen Sachen zum Guten erstorben und zu allem Bösen verkehrt [ist], und daß von wegen solcher Verderbung und angeborner Sünde, so in der Natur steckt, aus dem Herzen alle wirklichen Sünden herfließen, und müsse also ein Unterschied gehalten werden zwischen des verderbten Menschen Natur und Wesen oder seinem Leib und Seele, welches Gottes Geschöpf und Kreaturen an uns auch nach dem Fall sind, und zwischen der Erbsünde, welche ein Werk des Teufels ist, dadurch die Natur verderbt worden.

Nun ist dieser Streit von der Erbsünde nicht ein unnötiges Gezänk, sondern wenn diese Lehre aus und nach Gottes Wort recht geführt und von allen pelagianischen und manichäischen Irrtümern

I.

[R. 639

DE PECCATO ORIGINIS.

1] Orta est inter nonnullos Augustanae Confessionis theologos controversia *de peccato originali*, quidnam hoc proprie et revera sit. Una enim pars contendit (cum per lapsum Adae humana natura et essentia totaliter corrupta sit), quod nunc post lapsum hominis corrupta natura, substantia et essentia aut certe praecipua et praestantissima pars ipsius essentiae (anima videlicet rationalis in summo suo gradu aut praecipuis potentiis) sit ipsum peccatum originale, quod ideo vocetur peccatum naturae vel personae, quod non sit cogitatio, verbum aut opus quoddam, sed ipsissima natura, e qua tamquam ex radice omnia alia peccata oriantur, eamque ob causam affirmarunt, iam post lapsum (quandoquidem natura per peccatum corrupta est) nullum plane discrimen esse inter hominis naturam, substantiam seu essentiam et inter peccatum originis.

2] Altera vero pars contrarium asseruit: peccatum videlicet originale non esse ipsam hominis naturam, substantiam aut essentiam, hoc est, ipsius hominis corpus et animam (quae hodie in nobis etiam post lapsum sunt manentque Dei opus et creatura), sed malum illud originis esse aliquid in ipsa hominis natura, corpore, anima omnibusque viribus humanis, horrendam videlicet, profundam, intimam atque verbis inexplicabilem humanae naturae corruptionem, ita ut homo originali iustitia, cum qua initio creatus erat, penitus spoliatus careat atque (in rebus spiritualibus) ad bonum prorsus sit mortuus, ad omne [R. 640 vero malum totus plane sit conversus, et ut propter hanc naturae corruptionem et insitum ac innatum peccatum (quod in ipsa natura infixum haeret) e corde humano omnis generis actualia peccata promanent. Discrimen itaque retinendum esse affirmarunt inter corrupti hominis naturam et essentiam, seu animam et corpus hominis, quae in nobis etiam post lapsum sunt Dei opus et creatura, et inter peccatum originale, quod est diaboli opus, per quod natura est depravata.

3] Haec disceptatio de peccato originis non est certamen quoddam non necessarium, sed maximi momenti. Cum enim haec doctrina iuxta Verbi Dei analogiam recte ac sincere

in the beginning concerning each article in the comprehensive summary of our religion and faith, and what was afterward restated at various times, and is repeated by us in this document, is in no way contradictory, but the simple, immutable, permanent truth, and that we, therefore, do not change from one doctrine to another, as our adversaries falsely assert, but earnestly desire to be found loyal to the once-delivered Augsburg Confession and its unanimously accepted Christian sense, and through God's grace to abide thereby firmly and constantly in opposition to all corruptions which have entered.

I.

OF ORIGINAL SIN.

And, to begin with, a controversy has occurred among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession concerning Original Sin, what it properly [and really] is. For one side contended that, since through the fall of Adam man's nature and essence are entirely corrupt, the nature, substance, and essence of the corrupt man, now, since the Fall, or, at any rate, the principal, highest part of his essence, namely, the rational soul in its highest state or principal powers, is original sin itself, which has been called nature-sin or person-sin, for the reason that it is not a thought, word, or work, but the nature itself whence, as from a root, spring all other sins, and that on this account there is now, since the Fall, because the nature is corrupt through sin, no difference whatever between the nature and essence of man and original sin.

But the other side taught, in opposition, that original sin is not properly the nature, substance, or essence of man, that is, man's body or soul, which even now, since the Fall, are and remain the creation and creatures of God in us, but that it is something in the nature, body, and soul of man, and in all his powers, namely, a horrible, deep, inexpressible corruption of the same, so that man is destitute of the righteousness wherein he was originally created, and in spiritual things is dead to good and perverted to all evil; and that, because of this corruption and inborn sin, which inheres in the nature, all actual sins flow forth from the heart; and that hence a distinction must be maintained between the nature and essence of the corrupt man, or his body and soul, which are the creation and creatures of God in us even since the Fall, and original sin, which is a work of the devil, by which the nature has become corrupt.

Now this controversy concerning original sin is not unnecessary wrangling, but if this doctrine is rightly presented from, and according to, God's Word, and separated from all

abgesondert wird, so werden (wie die Apologia spricht) des HErrn Christi Wohltaten und sein teures Verdienst, auch die Gnadenwirkung des Heiligen Geistes desto besser erkannt und mehr gepreiset; es wird auch Gott seine Ehre gegeben, wenn Gottes Werk und Geschöpf am Menschen von des Teufels Werk, dadurch die Natur verderbt [ist], recht unterschieden wird. Derwegen, diesen Zwiespalt christlich und nach Gottes Wort zu erklären und die rechte, reine Lehre von der Erbsünde zu erhalten, wollen wir aus vorgemeldeten Schriften die thesin und antithesin, das ist, rechte Lehre und Gegenlehre, in kurze Hauptstücke fassen.

1. Und erstlich ist's wahr, daß Christen für Sünde halten und erkennen sollen nicht allein die wirkliche Übertretung der Gebote Gottes, sondern daß auch die greuliche, schreckliche Erbseuche, durch welche die ganze Natur verderbt [ist], vor allen Dingen wahrhaftig für Sünde soll gehalten und erkennet [erkannt] werden, ja für die Hauptsünde, welche eine Wurzel und Brunnquell ist aller wirklichen Sünden; und wird von D. Luthero eine Natur- oder Personsünde genennet [genannt], damit anzuzeigen: da gleich [wenngleich] der Mensch nichts Böses gedächte, redete oder wirkte, welches doch nach dem Fall unserer ersten Eltern in diesem Leben menschlicher Natur unmöglich, daß gleichwohl seine Natur und Person sündig, das ist, durch die Erbsünde als mit einem geistlichen Aussatz durch und durch, ganz und gar, vor Gott vergiftet und verderbt sei; um welcher Verderbung willen und von wegen des Falles des ersten Menschen die Natur oder Person von Gottes Gesetz beklagt [angeklagt] und verdammt wird, also daß wir von Natur Kinder des Zorns, des Todes und der Verdammnis sind, wo wir nicht durch das Verdienst Christi davon erlöst werden.

2. Zum andern ist das auch klar und wahr, wie der neunzehnte Artikel in der Augsburgischen Konfession lehrt, daß Gott nicht ist ein Schöpfer, Stifter oder Ursache der Sünde, sondern aus Anstiftung des Teufels durch einen Menschen ist die Sünde (welche ist ein Werk des Teufels) in die Welt [ge]kommen. Röm. 5; 1 Joh. 3. Und noch heutzutage in dieser Verderbung schafft und macht Gott in uns die Sünde nicht, sondern mit der Natur, welche Gott heutzutage an den Menschen noch schafft und macht, wird die Erbsünde durch die fleischliche Empfängnis und Geburt von Vater und Mutter aus sündlichem Samen mit fortgepflanzt.

3. Zum dritten, was dieser Erbschade sei, weiß und kennt keine Vernunft nicht, sondern es muß, wie die Schmalkaldischen Artikel reden, aus der Schrift Offenbarung gelernt und geglaubt werden. Und in der Apologia wird dasselbe kürzlich in diese Hauptstücke gefaßt:

1. Daß dieser Erbschade sei die Schuld, daß wir allesamt von wegen des Ungehorsams Adams und Evas in Gottes Ungnade und Kinder des Zorns von Natur sind, wie der Apostel zu den Römern am 5. Kapitel zeugt.

proponitur et ab omnibus cum Pelagianis tum Manichaeis erroribus separatur, tunc (ut Apologia habet) beneficia Christi et satisfactio seu pretiosissimum ipsius meritum atque operationes Spiritus Sancti gratuitae rectius agnoscuntur et magis celebrantur. Ac insuper Deo gloria sua tribuitur, quando opus Dei et creatura in homine a diaboli opere (per quod 4] natura corrupta est) recte discernitur. Ut igitur haec controversia pie, secundum Verbi Dei analogiam, explicetur, et sincera doctrina de peccato originis conservetur, ex illis, quorum supra mentionem fecimus, scriptis, thesin et antithesin, id est, sinceram doctrinam et falsam huic contrariam, in certa eaque brevia capita colligemus.

5] I. Et primum quidem constat, Christianos non tantum, actualia delicta et transgressiones mandatorum Dei peccata esse, agnoscere et definire debere, sed etiam horrendum atque abominabilem illum hereditarium morbum, per quem tota natura corrupta est, imprimis pro horribili peccato, et quidem pro principio et capite omnium peccatorum (e quo reliquae transgressiones tamquam e radice nascantur et quasi e scaturigine promanent) omnino 6] habendum esse. Et hoc malum aliquando D. Lutherus peccatum *naturae*, item [R. 639 peccatum *personae* appellare solet, ut significet, etiamsi homo prorsus nihil mali cogitaret, loqueretur aut ageret (quod sane post primorum nostrorum parentum lapsum in hac vita humanae naturae est impossibile), tamen nihilominus hominis naturam et personam esse peccatricem, hoc est, peccato originali (quasi lepra quadam spirituali) prorsus et totaliter intimis etiam visceribus et cordis recessibus profundissimis totam esse coram Deo infectam, venenatam et penitus corruptam; et propter hanc corruptionem atque primorum nostrorum parentum lapsum natura aut persona hominis lege Dei accusatur et condemnatur, ita ut natura filii irae, mortis et damnationis mancipia simus, nisi beneficio meriti Christi ab his malis liberemur et servemur.

7] II. Deinde etiam hoc extra controversiam est positum (ut decimus nonus articulus Confessionis Augustanae habet), quod Deus non sit causa, creator vel auctor peccati, sed quod instinctu, opera et machinationibus Satanae *per unum hominem peccatum* (quod est diaboli opus) *in mundum intraverit*. Rom. 5, 12; 1 Ioh. 3, 8. Et hodie, etiam in hac naturae corruptione, Deus non creat aut facit in nobis peccatum, sed una cum natura, quam Deus etiamnum in hominibus creat et efficit, peccatum originale per carnalem conceptionem et nativitatem a patre et matre (ex semine per peccatum corrupto) propagatur.

8] III. Praeterea, quid et quantum sit hoc ingens hereditarium malum, id nulla humana ratio indagare aut agnoscere potest, sed (ut Smalcaldici Articuli loquuntur) ex Scripturae Sacrae patefactione discendum et credendum est, id quod in Apologia breviter his praecipuis capitibus comprehenditur:

9] I. Primo, quod hoc hereditarium malum sit culpa seu reatus, quo fit, ut omnes [R. 640 propter inobedientiam Adae et Evae in odio apud Deum et *natura filii irae simus*, ut apostolus testatur. Rom. 5, 12 sqq. [Eph. 2, 3].

Pelagian and Manichean errors, then (as the *Apology* says) the benefits of the Lord Christ and His precious merit, also the gracious operation of the Holy Ghost, are the better known and the more extolled; moreover, due honor is rendered to God, if His work and creation in man is rightly distinguished from the work of the devil, by which the nature has been corrupted. In order, therefore, to explain this controversy in the Christian way and according to God's Word, and to maintain the correct, pure doctrine of original sin, we shall collect from the above-mentioned writings the thesis and antithesis, that is, the correct doctrine and its opposite, into brief chapters.

1. And first, it is true that Christians should regard and recognize as sin not only the actual transgression of God's commandments; but also that the horrible, dreadful hereditary malady by which the entire nature is corrupted should above all things be regarded and recognized as sin indeed, yea, as the chief sin, which is a root and fountainhead of all actual sins. And by Dr. Luther it is called a nature-sin or person-sin, thereby to indicate that, even though a person would think, speak, or do nothing evil (which, however, is impossible in this life, since the fall of our first parents), his nature and person are nevertheless sinful, that is, thoroughly and utterly infected and corrupted before God by original sin, as by a spiritual leprosy; and on account of this corruption and because of the fall of the first man the nature or person is accused or condemned by God's Law, so that we are by nature the children of wrath, death, and damnation, unless we are delivered therefrom by the merit of Christ.

2. In the second place, this, too, is clear and true, as the Nineteenth Article of the *Augsburg Confession* teaches, that God is not a creator, author, or cause of sin, but by the instigation of the devil through one man sin (which is a work of the devil) has entered the world, Rom. 5, 12; 1 John 3, 7. And even at the present day, in this corruption [in this corruption of nature], God does not create and make sin in us, but with the nature which God at the present day still creates and makes in men original sin is propagated from sinful seed, through carnal conception and birth from father and mother.

3. In the third place, what [and how great] this hereditary evil is no reason knows and understands, but, as the *Smalcald Articles* say, it must be learned and believed from the revelation of Scripture. And in the *Apology* this is briefly comprehended under the following main heads:

1. That this hereditary evil is the guilt [by which it comes to pass] that, by reason of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, we are all in God's displeasure, and by nature children of wrath, as the apostle shows Rom. 5, 12 ff.; Eph. 2, 3.

2. Zum andern, daß es auch eine gänzliche Darbung [Entbehrung] oder Mangelung der angeschaffenen Erbgerechtigkeit im Paradies oder des Bildes Gottes, nach welchem der Menſch anfänglich in Wahrheit, Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit geſchaffen, und zugleich ein Unvermögen und Untüchtigkeit zu allen Gottesſachen [ſei], oder wie die lateiniſchen Worte lauten: Descriptio peccati originalis detrahit naturae non renovatae et dona et vim seu facultatem et actus inchoandi et efficiendi spiritualia. Das iſt: Die Beſchreibung der Erbſünde benimmt der unverneuerten Natur die Gaben, Kraft und alle Wirkung, in geiſtlichen Dingen etwas anzufangen und zu wirken.

3. Daß die Erbſünde (an der menſchlichen Natur) nicht allein ſei ein ſolcher gänzlicher Mangel alles Guten in geiſtlichen, göttlichen Sachen, ſondern daß ſie zugleich auch ſei anſtatt des verlornen Bildes Gottes in dem Menſchen eine tiefe, böſe, greuliche, grundloſe, unerforſchliche und unausſprechliche Verderbung der ganzen Natur und aller Kräfte, ſonderlich der höchſten, vornehmſten Kräfte der Seele im Verſtand, Herzen und Willen, daß dem Menſchen nunmehr nach dem Fall angeerbt wird **eine angeborne böſe Art und inwendige Unreinigkeit des Herzens, böſe Luſt und Neigung,** daß wir alle von Art und Natur ſolch Herz, Sinn und Gedanken aus Adam ererben, welches nach ſeinen höchſten Kräften und Licht der Vernunft natürlich ſtracks wider Gott und ſeine höchſten Gebote geſinnt und geartet, ja eine Feindſchaft wider Gott iſt, was ſonderlich göttliche, geiſtliche Sachen belangt. Denn ſonſt in natürlichen, äußerlichen Sachen, ſo der Vernunft unterworfen, hat der Menſch noch etlichermaßen Verſtand, Kraft und Vermögen, wiewohl gar ſehr geſchwächt, welches doch alles auch durch die Erbſünde vergiftet und verunreinigt wird, daß es vor Gott nichts taugt.

4. Die Strafe und Pön der Erbſünde, ſo Gott auf Adams Kinder und auf die Erbſünde gelegt, iſt der Tod, die ewige Verdammnis, auch ander leiblich und geiſtlich, zeitlich und ewig Elend, Tyrannei und Herrſchaft des Teufels, daß die menſchliche Natur dem Reich des Teufels unterworfen und unter des Teufels Gewalt dahingegeben und unter ſeinem Reich gefangen [iſt], der manchen großen, weiſen Menſchen in der Welt mit ſchrecklichem Irrtum, Ketzerei und anderer Blindheit betäubt und verführt und ſonſt die Menſchen zu allerlei Laſtern dahinreißt.

5. Zum fünften, derſelbe Erbſchade iſt ſo groß und greulich, daß er allein um des HErrn Chriſti willen in den Getauften und Gläubigen vor Gott zugedeckt und vergeben muß werden. Es muß auch und kann die dadurch verrückte [verkehrte], verderbte menſchliche Natur allein durch des Heiligen Geiſtes Wiedergeburt und Erneurung geheilt werden, welches doch in dieſem Leben nur angefangen, aber allererſt in jenem Leben vollkommen ſein wird.

Dieſe Punkte, ſo allhier allein ſummariſcherweiſe angezogen, werden in obgemeldeten Schriften der gemeinen Bekenntnis [des gemeinen Be-

10] II. Deinde, quod sit per omnia totalis carentia, defectus seu privatio concreatae in paradiso iustitiae originalis seu imaginis Dei, ad quam homo initio in veritate, sanctitate atque iustitia creatus fuerat, et quod simul etiam sit impotentia et ineptitudo, *ἀδυναμία* et stupiditas, qua homo ad omnia divina seu spiritualia sit prorsus ineptus. Verba Apologiae Latine sic habent: *Descriptio peccati originalis detrahit naturae non renovatae et dona et vim seu facultatem et actus inchoandi et efficiendi spiritualia.*

11] III. Praeterea, quod peccatum originale in humana natura non tantummodo sit eiusmodi totalis carentia seu defectus omnium bonorum in rebus spiritualibus ad Deum pertinentibus, sed quod sit etiam, loco imaginis Dei amissae in homine, intima, pessima, profundissima (instar cuiusdam abyssi), inscrutabilis et ineffabilis corruptio totius naturae et omnium virium, imprimis vero superiorum et principalium animae facultatum, in mente, intellectu, corde et voluntate. Itaque iam post lapsum homo hereditario a parentibus accipit *congenitam pravam vim, internam immunditiem cordis, pravas concupiscentias et pravas* **12]** *inclinationes,* ita ut omnes natura talia corda, tales sensus et cogitationes ab Adamo hereditaria et naturali propagatione consequamur, quae secundum summas suas vires et iuxta lumen rationis naturaliter e diametro cum Deo et summis ipsius mandatis pugnent, atque inimicitia sint adversus Deum, praesertim quantum ad res divinas et spirituales attinet. In aliis enim externis et huius mundi rebus, quae rationi subiectae sunt, relictum est homini adhuc aliquid intellectus, virium et facultatum, etsi hae etiam miserae reliquiae valde sunt debiles et quidem haec ipsa quantulacunque per morbum illum hereditarium [R. 641 veneno infecta sunt atque contaminata, ut coram Deo nullius momenti sint.

13] IV. Poenae vero peccati originalis, quas Deus filiis Adae ratione huius peccati imposuit, haec sunt: mors, aeterna damnatio et praeter has aliae corporales, spirituales, temporales atque aeternae aerumnae et miseriae, tyrannis et dominium Satanae, quod videlicet humana natura regno diaboli subiecta est, cui in miserrimam servitutem tradita, captiva ab eo tenetur. Is certe multos magnos et sapientes homines in mundo horribilibus erroribus ac haeresibus et caecitate multiplici fascinat et seducit, ac miseros mortales saepe in varia et atrocia scelera praecipitat.

14] V. Hoc hereditarium malum tantum tamque horrendum est, ut nullo alio modo nisi propter solum Christum (in hominibus baptizatis et credentibus) coram Deo contegi et condonari possit. Et quidem humana natura, quae hoc malo perversa et tota corrupta est, aliter sanari non potest, nisi ut per Spiritum Sanctum regeneretur et renovetur. Idque opus Spiritus Sancti in hac vita tantummodo in nobis inchoatur, in altera demum vita absolvetur et perficietur.

15] Haec capita de peccato originis, quae hoc loco summarie tantum recitavimus, in commemoratis scriptis, quae confessionem

2. Secondly, that it is an entire want or lack of the concreated hereditary righteousness in Paradise, or of God's image, according to which man was originally created in truth, holiness, and righteousness; and at the same time an inability and unfitness for all the things of God, or, as the Latin words read: *Descriptio peccati originalis detrahit naturae non renovatae et dona et vim seu facultatem et actus inchoandi et efficiendi spiritualia;* that is: The definition of original sin takes away from the unrenewed nature the gifts, the power, and all activity for beginning and effecting anything in spiritual things.

3. That original sin (in human nature) is not only this entire absence of all good in spiritual, divine things, but that, instead of the lost image of God in man, it is at the same time also a deep, wicked, horrible, fathomless, inscrutable, and unspeakable corruption of the entire nature and all its powers, especially of the highest, principal powers of the soul in the understanding, heart, and will, so that now, since the Fall, man inherits *an inborn wicked disposition and inward impurity of heart, evil lust and propensity;* that we all by disposition and nature inherit from Adam such a heart, feeling, and thought as are, according to their highest powers and the light of reason, naturally inclined and disposed directly contrary to God and His chief commandments, yea, that they are enmity against God, especially as regards divine and spiritual things. For in other respects, as regards natural, external things which are subject to reason, man still has to a certain degree understanding, power, and ability, although very much weakened, all of which, however, has been so infected and contaminated by original sin that before God it is of no use.

4. The punishment and penalty of original sin, which God has imposed upon the children of Adam and upon original sin, are death, eternal damnation, and also other bodily and spiritual, temporal and eternal miseries, and the tyranny and dominion of the devil, so that human nature is subject to the kingdom of the devil and has been surrendered to the power of the devil, and is held captive under his sway, who stupefies [fascinates] and leads astray many a great, learned man in the world by means of dreadful error, heresy, and other blindness, and otherwise rushes men into all sorts of crime.

5. Fifthly, this hereditary evil is so great and horrible that only for the sake of the Lord Christ it can be covered and forgiven before God in the baptized and believing. Moreover, human nature, which is perverted and corrupted thereby, must and can be healed only by the regeneration and renewal of the Holy Ghost, which, however, is only begun in this life, but will not be perfect until in the life to come.

These points, which have been quoted here only in a summary way, are set forth more

kenntniſſes] unſerer chriſtlichen Lehre ausführlicher erklärt.

Solche Lehre aber muß nun alſo erhalten und verwahrt werden, daß ſie nicht abweiche entweder auf die pelagianiſche oder auf die manichäiſche Seite. Derhalben ſoll auch kürzlich gemeldet werden, welche Gegenlehre von dieſem Artikel in unſern Kirchen ausgeſetzt [verurteilt] und verworfen werde.

1. Und erſtlich, wider die alten und neuen Pelagianer, werden geſtraft und verworfen dieſe falſchen opiniones und Lehren, als wäre die Erbſünde allein ein reatus oder Schuld von wegen fremder Verwirkung, ohne einige unſerer Natur Verderbung.

2. Item, als wären die ſündlichen böſen Lüſte nicht Sünde, ſondern conditiones oder angeſchaffene und weſentliche Eigenſchaften der Natur.

3. Oder als wäre der obgemeldete Mangel und Schade nicht eigentlich und wahrhaftig vor Gott ſolche Sünde, darum [um derentwillen] der Menſch außer Chriſto ein Kind des Zorns und der Verdammnis, auch im Reich und unter der Gewalt des Satans ſein müßte.

4. Es werden auch ausgeſetzt und verworfen dieſe und dergleichen pelagianiſche Irrtümer, als: daß die Natur auch nach dem Fall unverderbt und ſonderlich in geiſtlichen Sachen ganz gut und rein und in ihren naturalibus, das iſt, in ihren natürlichen Kräften, vollkommen ſein ſolle.

5. Oder daß die Erbſünde nur von außen ein ſchlechter, [ge]ringſchätziger, eingeſprengter Fleck oder anfliegender [von außen ſich anſetzender] Makel, vel corruptio tantum accidentium aut qualitatum, das iſt, eine Verderbung allein etlicher zufälligen Dinge, an des Menſchen Natur wäre, dabei und darunter die Natur gleichwohl ihre Güte und Kraft auch zu geiſtlichen Sachen habe und behalte.

6. Oder daß die Erbſünde nicht eine Beraubung oder Mangelung, ſondern nur ein äußerliches Hindernis ſolcher geiſtlichen guten Kräfte wäre, als wenn ein Magnet mit Knoblauchſaft beſtrichen wird, dadurch ſeine natürliche Kraft nicht weggenommen, ſondern allein gehindert wird; oder daß dieſelbige [derſelbe] Makel wie ein Fleck vom Angeſicht oder Farbe von der Wand leichtlich könne abgewiſcht werden.

7. Gleichfalls werden auch geſtraft und verworfen, ſo da lehren, es ſei wohl die Natur durch den Fall ſehr geſchwächt und verderbt, habe aber gleichwohl nicht ganz und gar alles Gute, was zu göttlichen, geiſtlichen Sachen gehört, verloren, ſei auch nicht [es verhalte ſich mit der Natur auch nicht], wie man in unſern Kirchen ſingt: „Durch Adams Fall iſt ganz verderbt menſchlich' Natur und Weſen", ſondern [unſere Natur] habe noch aus und von der natürlichen Geburt, wie klein, wenig und gering es auch ſei, dennoch etwas Gutes, als: Fähigkeit, Geſchicklichkeit, Tüchtigkeit oder Vermögen, in geiſtlichen Sachen etwas anzufangen, wirken oder mit[zu]wirken. Denn was äußerliche, zeitliche, weltliche Sachen und Händel, ſo der Vernunft unterworfen, belangt, davon ſoll im nachfolgenden Artikel Erklärung geſchehen.

Dieſe und dergleichen Gegenlehre wird darum geſtraft und verworfen; denn Gottes Wort lehrt,

Christianae nostrae doctrinae complectuntur, copiosius explicantur.

16] Haec vero doctrina sic asserenda, conservanda atque munienda est, ut in neutram partem, hoc est, neque ad Pelagianos neque ad Manichaeos errores, declinet. Itaque (quanta fieri potest brevitate) etiam contraria de hoc articulo doctrina, quae ab ecclesiis nostris reprobatur et reiicitur, est recitanda.

17] I. Repudiantur igitur et reiiciuntur veterum et recentiorum Pelagianorum [R. 642 falsae opiniones et dogmata vana, quod peccatum originale sit tantum reatus aut culpa, quae ex aliena transgressione (absque ulla naturae nostrae corruptione) sit contracta.

18] II. Quod pravae concupiscentiae non sint peccatum, sed conditiones quaedam aut concreatae essentiales naturae proprietates.

19] III. Quod defectus ille et malum hereditarium non sit proprie et vere coram Deo tale peccatum, propter quod homo filius irae et damnationis habeatur, cuius ratione sub tyrannide et regno Satanae ei sit pereundum, nisi Christo inseratur et per eum liberetur.

20] IV. Reprobantur etiam et reiiciuntur hi et similes Pelagiani errores, ut: quod natura etiam post lapsum incorrupta, et quidem praecipue quoad res spirituales, tota adhuc bona ac pura sit et in suis naturalibus, hoc est, in potentiis et viribus suis naturalibus, perfecta et integra sit.

21] V. Aut quod peccatum originis tantum sit externus quidam, nullius prope momenti, naevus aut aspersa macula aut corruptio tantum accidentium et qualitatum, cum qua et sub qua nihilominus natura suam bonitatem et vires, etiam in rebus spiritualibus, habeat et retineat.

22] VI. Vel quod originale peccatum non sit defectus, spoliatio aut privatio, sed tantummodo externum quoddam impedimentum spiritualium bonarum virium, perinde ac si magnes allii succo illinitur, ubi non tollitur vis ipsius naturalis, sed tantummodo impeditur; vel quod macula ista tamquam macula a facie aut color a pariete facile abstergi possit.

23] VII. Repudiantur similiter et reiiciuntur etiam ii, qui docent, naturam ex lapsu humani generis valde quidem debilitatam atque corruptam esse, non tamen prorsus omnem bonitatem (quoad res divinas et spirituales) amisisse. Et falsum esse contendunt, [R. 643 quod ecclesiae nostrae canunt, *per lapsum Adae penitus humanam naturam et essentiam corruptam esse.* Aiunt enim, hominem ex naturali nativitate adhuc aliquid boni, quantulumcunque etiam et quam minutulum, exiguum atque tenue id sit, reliquum habere, capacitatem videlicet, aptitudinem, habilitatem, potentiam et vires aliquas, in rebus spiritualibus aliquid inchoandi, operandi aut **24]** cooperandi. Quod vero ad externa, temporalia et ad hunc mundum pertinentia negotia, quae rationi subiecta sunt, attinet, de his in sequentibus articulis dicetur.

25] Haec atque huius generis veritati contraria dogmata eam ob causam reprehendun-

fully in the above-mentioned writings of the common confession of our Christian doctrine.

Now this doctrine must be so maintained and guarded that it may not deflect either to the Pelagian or the Manichean side. For this reason the contrary doctrine concerning this article, which is censured and rejected in our churches, should also be briefly stated.

1. And first, in opposition to the old and the new Pelagians, the following false opinions and dogmas are censured and rejected, namely, that original sin is only a *reatus* or guilt, on account of what has been committed by another, without any corruption of our nature.

2. Also, that sinful, evil lusts are not sins, but *conditiones*, or concreated and essential properties of the nature.

3. Or as though the above-mentioned defect and evil were not properly and truly sin before God, on account of which man without Christ [unless he be grafted into Christ and be delivered through Him] must be a child of wrath and damnation, also in the dominion and beneath the power of Satan.

4. The following and similar Pelagian errors are also censured and rejected, namely: that nature, even since the Fall, is said to be incorrupt, and that especially with respect to spiritual things entirely good and pure, and *in naturalibus*, that is, in its natural powers, it is said to be perfect.

5. Or that original sin is only external, a slight, insignificant spot sprinkled or a stain dashed upon the nature of man, or *corruptio tantum accidentium aut qualitatum, i. e.*, a corruption only in some accidental things, along with and beneath which the nature nevertheless possesses and retains its integrity and power even in spiritual things.

6. Or that original sin is not a despoliation or deficiency, but only an external impediment to these spiritual good powers, as when a magnet is smeared with garlic-juice, whereby its natural power is not removed, but only hindered; or that this stain can be easily washed away, as a spot from the face or pigment from the wall.

7. They are rebuked and rejected likewise who teach that the nature has indeed been greatly weakened and corrupted through the Fall, but that nevertheless it has not entirely lost all good with respect to divine, spiritual things, and that what is sung in our churches, *Through Adam's fall is all corrupt, Nature and essence human*, is not true, but from natural birth it still has something good, small, little and inconsiderable though it be, namely, capacity, skill, aptness or ability to begin, to effect, or to help effect something in spiritual things. For concerning external, temporal, worldly things and transactions, which are subject to reason, there will be an explanation in the succeeding article.

These and contrary doctrines of like kind are censured and rejected for the reason that

daß die verderbte Natur aus und von ihr selbst in geistlichen, göttlichen Sachen nichts Gutes, auch nicht das wenigste, als gute Gedanken, vermöge, und nicht allein das, sondern daß sie aus und für sich selbst vor Gott nichts anderes denn sündigen könne. Gen. 6 und 8.

Also muß auch diese Lehre auf der andern Seite vor dem manichäischen Irrtum verwahrt werden. Derhalben werden auch diese und dergleichen irrige Lehren verworfen, als: daß jetzt, nach dem Fall, die menschliche Natur anfangs rein und gut geschaffen, und danach von außen die Erbsünde (als etwas Wesentliches) durch den Satan in die Natur eingegossen und eingemengt werde, wie Gift unter Wein gemengt wird.

Denn obwohl in Adam und Eva die Natur erstlich rein, gut und heilig geschaffen, so ist doch durch den Fall die Sünde nicht also in ihre Natur [ge=] kommen, wie die Manichäer geschwärmt haben, als hätte der Satan etwas wesentliches Böses geschaffen oder gemacht und mit ihrer Natur vermengt; sondern da aus Verleitung des Satans durch den Fall, nach Gottes Gericht und Urteil, der Mensch zur Strafe die angeschaffene Erbgerechtigkeit verloren, ist durch solche Privation oder Mangel, Darbung [Entbehrung] und Verwundung, so durch den Satan geschehen, die menschliche Natur also, wie droben gesagt, verkehrt und verderbt, daß mit demselben Mangel und Verderbung jetzund die Natur allen Menschen, so natürlicherweise von Vater und Mutter empfangen und geboren werden, angeerbt wird. Denn nach dem Fall wird die menschliche Natur nicht erstlich rein und gut geschaffen und danach allererst durch die Erbsünde verderbt, sondern im ersten Augenblick unserer Empfängnis ist der Same, daraus der Mensch formiert wird, sündig und verderbt. So ist auch die Erbsünde nicht etwas für sich selbst, in oder außer des verderbten Menschen Natur selbständig, wie sie auch des verderbten Menschen eigen Wesen, Leib oder Seele oder der Mensch selber nicht ist. Es kann und soll auch die Erbsünde und die dadurch verderbte menschliche Natur nicht also unterschieden werden, als wäre die Natur vor Gott rein, gut, heilig und unverderbt, aber allein die Erbsünde, so darin wohnt, wäre böse.

Item, wie Augustinus von den Manichäern schreibt, als ob nicht der verderbte Mensch selber von wegen der angebornen Erbsünde sündigte, sondern etwas anderes und Fremdes im Menschen, und daß also Gott durchs Gesetz nicht die Natur, als durch die Sünde verderbt, sondern nur allein die Erbsünde darin anklage und verdamme. Denn wie droben in thesi, das ist, in Erklärung der reinen Lehre von der Erbsünde, gesetzt, ist die ganze Natur des Menschen, so natürlicherweise von Vater und Mutter geboren wird, an Leib und Seele, in allen Kräften durch und durch auf das alleräußerste (was ihre im Paradies angeschaffene Güte, Wahrheit, Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit betrifft und anlangt) durch die Erbsünde verderbt und verkehrt. Non tamen in aliam substantiam genere aut specie diversam, priori abolita, transmutata est. Das ist: Jedoch ist sie nicht ganz und gar vertilgt oder in eine andere Substanz verwandelt, welche nach ihrem Wesen

tur et reiiciuntur, quia Verbo Domini docemur, quod corrupta natura ex se et suis viribus in rebus spiritualibus et divinis nihil boni, et ne minimum quidem, utpote ullas bonas cogitationes, habeat. Neque id modo, sed insuper etiam asserunt, quod natura corrupta ex se et viribus suis coram Deo nihil aliud nisi peccare possit. Gen. 6. 8.

26] Vera autem haec doctrina etiam ab altera parte contra Manichaeorum errores probe munienda est. Quare haec et similia alia falsa dogmata reiiciuntur, ut: quod initio quidem humana natura bona et pura a Deo creata sit, verum iam, post lapsum, extrinsecus peccatum originale (tamquam quiddam essentiale) per Satanam in naturam infusum et cum ea permixtum sit, quemadmodum venenum vino admiscetur.

27] Etsi enim in Adamo et Eva natura initio pura, bona et sancta creata est, tamen per lapsum peccatum non eo modo ipsorum naturam invasit (ut Manichaei furenter dixerunt), quasi Satan aliquod malum substantiale creasset aut formasset et illud cum natura ipsorum commiscuisset. Quin potius cum seductione Satanae per lapsum iusto Dei iudicio (in poenam hominum) iustitia [R. 644 concreata seu originalis amissa esset, defectu illo, privatione seu spoliatione et vulneratione (quorum malorum Satan causa est) humana natura eo modo, quo supra diximus, perversa et corrupta est, ut iam natura una cum illo defectu et corruptione ad omnes homines, qui naturali modo a parentibus concipiuntur et **28**] nascuntur, hereditario propagetur. Post lapsum enim iam humana natura non pura et bona primum creatur, et deinde demum per originis peccatum corrumpitur, sed in primo conceptionis nostrae momento ipsum semen, ex quo homo formatur, peccato iam contaminatum et corruptum est. Et hoc originale peccatum non est quiddam in natura vel extra naturam corrupti hominis per se subsistens, sed neque est hominis corrupti propria essentia, corpus aut anima aut homo ipse. Neque **29**] etiam originale peccatum eo modo a corrupta per illud natura est discernendum, quasi ipsa natura coram Deo pura, bona, sancta et incorrupta exstaret, et tantum inhabitans in illa peccatum originis esset malum.

30] Neque ea sententia, quam Augustinus Manichaeis tribuit, illa ratione probari potest, quod nimirum non homo ipse corruptus (ratione innati peccati originalis) peccet, sed aliud quiddam et alienum in homine, et quod Deus per legem non ipsam naturam (quatenus peccato corrupta est), sed tantum peccatum originale (quod sit in natura) accuset atque damnet. Tota enim hominis natura (ut supra in thesi seu assertione sincerae doctrinae de peccato originali diximus), qualis naturali modo a parentibus generatur, corpore et anima in omnibus viribus prorsus, tota extreme est per peccatum originis corrupta et perversa, quoad bonitatem suam, veritatem, sanctitatem et iustitiam, quae dotes in paradiso naturae erant concreatae. Non tamen penitus deleta, abolita aut in aliam substantiam, genere aut specie diversam, id est, quae secundum suam essentiam non sit [R. 645

God's Word teaches that the corrupt nature, of and by itself, has no power for anything good in spiritual, divine things, not even for the least, as good thoughts; and not only this, but that of and by itself it can do nothing in the sight of God but sin, Gen. 6, 5; 8, 21.

In the same manner this doctrine must also be guarded on the other side against Manichean errors. Accordingly, the following and similar erroneous doctrines are rejected, namely: that now, since the Fall, human nature is in the beginning created pure and good, and that afterwards original sin from without is infused and mingled with the nature by Satan (as something essential), as poison is mingled with wine [that in the beginning human nature was created by God pure and good, but that now, since the Fall, original sin, etc.].

For although in Adam and Eve the nature was originally created pure, good, and holy, nevertheless sin did not enter their nature through the Fall in the way fanatically taught by the Manicheans, as though Satan had created or made some evil substance, and mingled it with their nature. But since man, by the seduction of Satan through the Fall, has lost his concreated hereditary righteousness according to God's judgment and sentence, as a punishment, human nature, as has been said above, is so perverted and corrupted by this deprivation or deficiency, want, and injury, which has been caused by Satan, that at present the nature is transmitted, together with this defect and corruption [propagated in a hereditary way], to all men, who are conceived and born in a natural way from father and mother. For since the Fall human nature is not at first created pure and good, and only afterward corrupted by original sin, but in the first moment of our conception the seed from which man is formed is sinful and corrupt. Moreover, original sin is not something by itself, existing independently in, or apart from, the nature of the corrupt man, as it neither is the real essence, body, or soul of the corrupt man, or the man himself. Nor can and should original sin and the nature of man corrupted thereby be so distinguished as though the nature were pure, good, holy, and uncorrupted before God, while original sin alone which dwells therein were evil.

Also, as Augustine writes concerning the Manicheans, as though it were not the corrupt man himself that sins by reason of inborn original sin, but something different and foreign in man, and that God, accordingly, accuses and condemns by the Law, not the nature as corrupt by sin, but only the original sin therein. For, as stated above *in thesi*, that is, in the explanation of the pure doctrine concerning original sin, the entire nature of man, which is born in the natural way of father and mother, is entirely and to the farthest extent corrupted and perverted by original sin, in body and soul, in all its powers, as regards and concerns the goodness, truth, holiness, and righteousness concreated with it in Paradise. *Non tamen in aliam substantiam genere aut specie diversam, priori abolita, transmutata est*, that is: Nevertheless the nature is not entirely exterminated or changed into another substance, which, according to its essence, could not be said to be like our nature [but is diverse in genus or

unſerer Natur nicht gleich und alſo mit uns nicht eines Weſens ſein ſollte.

Es wird auch von wegen ſolcher Verderbung die ganze verderbte Natur des Menſchen durchs Geſetz angeklagt und verdammt, wo nicht die Sünde um Chriſti willen vergeben wird.

Es beklagt [verklagt] aber und verdammt das Geſetz unſere Natur nicht darum, daß wir Menſchen von Gott erſchaffen ſind, ſondern darum, daß wir ſündig und böſe ſind, wie auch nicht darum und ſofern die Natur und das Weſen auch nach dem Fall in uns ein Werk, Geſchöpf und Kreatur Gottes iſt, ſondern darum und ſofern ſie durch die Sünde vergiftet und verderbt iſt.

Wiewohl aber die Erbſünde die ganze menſchliche Natur wie ein geiſtlich Gift und Ausſatz (wie Lutherus redet) vergiftet und verderbt hat, daß man in unſerer verderbten Natur augenſcheinlich nicht zeigen und weiſen kann die Natur beſonders für ſich und die Erbſünde auch beſonders für ſich, ſo iſt doch gleichwohl nicht ein Ding **die verderbte Natur** oder das Weſen des verderbten Menſchen, Leib und Seele oder der Menſch ſelber, von Gott erſchaffen (darin die Erbſünde wohnt, dadurch auch Natur, Weſen oder der ganze Menſch verderbet; wie auch in dem äußerlichen Ausſatz der Menſchen Natur oder Weſen wohnt und dieſelbe verderbt; wie auch in dem äußerlichen Ausſatz der Leib, ſo ausſätzig iſt, und der Ausſatz an oder im Leibe nicht ein Ding ſind, wenn man eigentlich reden will, ſondern es muß ein Unterſchied gehalten werden auch zwiſchen unſerer Natur, wie ſie von Gott erſchaffen und erhalten wird, darin die Sünde wohnt, und zwiſchen der Erbſünde, ſo in der Natur wohnt: die beiden müſſen und können auch unterſchiedlich nach der Heiligen Schrift betrachtet, gelehrt und geglaubt werden.

Und ſolchen Unterſchied zu erhalten, bringen und zwingen die vornehmſten Artikel unſers chriſtlichen Glaubens. Als erſtlich im Artikel von der Schöpfung zeugt die Schrift, daß Gott nicht allein vor dem Fall [die] menſchliche Natur geſchaffen habe, ſondern daß ſie auch nach dem Fall eine Kreatur und Werk Gottes ſei. Deut. 32; Jeſ. 45. 54. 64; Act. 17; Apok. 4.

„Deine Hände" (ſpricht Hiob) „haben mich gearbeitet und gemacht alles, was ich um und um bin; und verſenkeſt mich ſo gar. Gedenke doch, daß du mich aus Leimen gemacht haſt und würdeſt [wirſt] mich wieder zur Erde machen. Haſt du mich nicht wie Milch gemolken und wie Käſe laſſen gerinnen? Du haſt mir Haut und Fleiſch angezogen, mit Beinen und Adern haſt du mich zuſammengefüget. Leben und Wohltat haſt du an mir getan, und dein Aufſehen bewahret meinen Atem", Hiob 10.

„Ich danke dir" (ſpricht David), „daß ich wunderbarlich gemacht bin; wunderbarlich ſind deine Werke, und das erkennet meine Seele wohl. Es war dir mein Gebein nicht verhohlen, da ich im Verborgenen gemacht ward, da ich gebildet ward unten in der Erde. Deine Augen ſahen mich, da ich noch unbereitet war, und waren alle Tage auf dein Buch geſchrieben, die noch werden ſollten und derſelben keiner da war", Pſalm 139.

similis nostrae naturae, atque **ita nobiscum** non unius essentiae sit, transmutata est.

31] Et quidem propter hanc corruptionem tota hominis corrupta natura per legem accusatur et condemnatur, nisi peccatum propter Christum remittatur.

32] Lex autem naturam nostram non eam ob causam accusat et damnat, quod homines simus, a Deo creati, sed ea de causa, quod peccatores et mali simus. Neque eatenus lex naturam accusat et damnat, quatenus etiam post lapsum ea in nobis est opus et creatura Dei, sed propterea et eatenus, quod per peccatum infecta et corrupta est.

33] Etsi vero peccatum originale totam hominis naturam ut spirituale quoddam venenum et horribilis lepra (quemadmodum D. Lutherus loquitur) infecit et corrupit, ita quidem, ut iam in nostra natura corrupta ad oculum non monstrari possint distincte haec duo, ipsa natura sola et originale peccatum solum, tamen non unum et idem est *corrupta natura* seu substantia corrupti hominis, corpus et anima, aut homo ipse a Deo creatus, in quo originale peccatum habitat (cuius ratione natura, substantia, totus denique homo corruptus est), et *ipsum originale peccatum*, quod in hominis natura aut essentia habitat eamque corrumpit, quemadmodum etiam in lepra corporali ipsum corpus leprosum et lepra ipsa in corpore non sunt unum et idem, si proprie et distincte ea de re disserere velimus. Discrimen igitur retinendum est inter naturam nostram, qualis a Deo creata est hodieque conservatur, in qua peccatum originale habitat, et inter ipsum peccatum originis, quod in natura habitat. Haec enim duo secundum Sacrae Scripturae regulam distincte considerari, doceri et credi debent et possunt.

34] Et quidem ad retinendum hoc discrimen movemur, urgemur atque cogimur [R. 646 praecipuis articulis Christianae fidei nostrae. In primo enim articulo de creatione docet Sacra Scriptura, Deum non modo ante lapsum humanam naturam creasse, verum etiam eandem post lapsum esse Dei opus et creaturam. Deut. 32, 6; Es. 45, 11; 54, 5; 64, 8; Act. 17, 25; Iob. 10; Apoc. 4, 11.

35] *Manus tuae* (inquit Iob. 10, 8—12) *fecerunt me et plasmaverunt me totum in circuitu; et sic repente praecipitas me? Memento, quaeso, quod sicut lutum feceris me et in pulverem reduces me. Nonne sicut lac mulsisti me et sicut caseum me coagulasti? Pelle et carnibus vestiisti me, ossibus et nervis compegisti me. Vitam et misericordiam tribuisti mihi, et visitatio tua custodivit spiritum meum.*

36] *Confiteor tibi* (inquit David Ps. 139, 14—16), *quod mirabiliter formatus sum; mirabilia sunt opera tua, et anima mea cognoscit abunde. Non est occultatum os meum a te, quod fecisti in occulto, et substantia mea* (id est, *formatio mei*, seu: *cum formarer*) *in inferioribus terrae. Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui, et in libro tuo omnes dies mei scripti sunt, qui adhuc futuri sunt, et nullus adhuc ex eis esset.*

species], and therefore cannot be of one essence with us.

Because of this corruption, too, the entire corrupt nature of man is accused and condemned by the Law, unless the sin is forgiven for Christ's sake.

But the Law accuses and condemns our nature, not because we have been created men by God, but because we are sinful and wicked; not because and so far as nature and its essence, even since the Fall, is a work and creature of God in us, but because and so far as it has been poisoned and corrupted by sin.

But although original sin, like a spiritual poison and leprosy (as Luther says), has poisoned and corrupted the whole human nature, so that we cannot show and point out to the eye the nature apart by itself, and original sin apart by itself, nevertheless *the corrupt nature*, or essence of the corrupt man, body and soul, or the man himself whom God has created (and in whom dwells original sin, which also corrupts the nature, essence, or the entire man), and *original sin*, which dwells in man's nature or essence, and corrupts it, are not one thing; as also in external leprosy the body which is leprous, and the leprosy on or in the body, are not, properly speaking, one thing. But a distinction must be maintained also between our nature as created and preserved by God, in which sin is indwelling, and original sin, which dwells in the nature. These two must and also can be considered, taught, and believed separately according to Holy Scripture.

Moreover, the chief articles of our Christian faith urge and compel us to preserve this distinction. For instance, in the first place, in the article of Creation, Scripture testifies that God has created human nature not only before the Fall, but that it is a creature and work of God also since the Fall, Deut. 32, 6; Is. 45, 11; 54, 5; 64, 8; Acts 17, 25; Rev. 4, 11.

Thine hands, says Job, *have made me and fashioned me together round about; yet Thou dost destroy me. Remember, I beseech Thee, that Thou hast made me as the clay; and wilt Thou bring me into dust again? Hast Thou not poured me out as milk and curdled me as cheese? Thou hast clothed me with skin and flesh, and fenced me with bones and sinews. Thou hast granted me life and favor, and Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit.* Job 10, 8—12.

I will praise Thee, says David, *for I am fearfully and wonderfully made. Marvelous are Thy works, and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from Thee when I was made in secret and curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance yet being unperfect, and in Thy book all my members were written which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them*, Ps. 139, 14—16.

Im Prediger Salomonis steht geschrieben: „Denn der Staub muß wieder zur Erde kommen, wie er gewesen ist, und der Geist wieder zu Gott, der ihn gegeben hat", Eccl. 12.

Diese Sprüche zeugen lauter [klar], daß Gott auch nach dem Fall des Menschen Schöpfer sei und ihm Leib und Seele erschaffe. Darum kann der verderbte Mensch nicht ohne allen Unterschied die Sünde selbst sein, sonst wäre Gott ein Schöpfer der Sünde; wie auch unser Kleiner Katechismus in der Auslegung des ersten Artikels bekennt, da also geschrieben: „Ich glaube, daß mich Gott geschaffen hat samt allen Kreaturen, mir Leib und Seele, Augen, Ohren und alle Glieder, Vernunft und alle Sinne gegeben hat und noch erhält." Desgleichen im Großen Katechismo steht also geschrieben: „Das meine und glaube ich, daß ich Gottes Geschöpf bin, das ist, daß er mir gegeben hat und ohne Unterlaß erhält Leib, Seele und Leben, Gliedmaßen klein und groß, alle Sinne, Vernunft und Verstand" usw. Wiewohl dieselbe Kreatur und das Werk Gottes durch die Sünde jämmerlich verderbt ist; denn die Massa, daraus Gott jetzund den Menschen formiert und macht, ist in Adam verderbt und verkehrt und wird also auf uns geerbt.

Und hier sollen billig fromme, christliche Herzen die unaussprechliche Güte Gottes bedenken, daß solche verderbte, verkehrte, sündliche massam Gott nicht alsbald von sich wirft ins höllische Feuer, sondern daraus formiert und macht die jetzige menschliche Natur, so durch die Sünde jämmerlich verderbt [ist], auf daß er sie durch seinen lieben Sohn von Sünden reinigen, heiligen und selig machen möge.

Aus diesem Artikel findet sich nun der Unterschied unwidersprechlich und klar. Denn die Erbsünde kommt nicht von Gott her; Gott ist nicht ein Schöpfer oder Stifter der Sünde. Es ist auch die Erbsünde nicht eine Kreatur oder Werk Gottes, sondern sie ist des Teufels Werk.

Wenn nun ganz und gar kein Unterschied sein sollte zwischen der Natur und dem Wesen unsers Leibes und Seele, so durch die Erbsünde verderbt, und zwischen der Erbsünde, dadurch die Natur verderbt ist, so würde folgen, daß entweder Gott, weil er ist ein Schöpfer dieser unserer Natur, auch die Erbsünde schaffte und machte, welche auch also sein Werk und Kreatur sein würde, oder, weil die Sünde ein Werk des Teufels ist, daß der Satan ein Schöpfer wäre dieser unserer Natur, unsers Leibes und Seele, welche auch ein Werk oder Geschöpf des Satans sein müßte, wenn ohne allen Unterschied unsere verderbte Natur die Sünde selbst sein sollte; welches beides wider den Artikel unsers christlichen Glaubens ist. Derwegen und auf daß Gottes Geschöpf und Werk am Menschen von des Teufels Werk unterschieden möge werden, sagen wir, daß es Gottes Geschöpf sei, daß der Mensch Leib und Seele hat; item, daß es Gottes Werk sei, daß der Mensch etwas gedenken [denken], reden, tun und wirken könne; denn „in ihm leben, weben und sind wir", Act. 17. Daß aber die Natur verderbt [ist], Gedanken, Worte und Werke böse sind, das ist anfänglich ein Werk des Satans,

37] Et Ecclesiastae Salomonis 12, 7 scriptum est: *Revertetur pulvis in terram suam, unde erat, et spiritus redibit ad eum, qui dedit illum.*

38] Haec Scripturae dicta luculenter testantur, quod Deus etiam post lapsum nihilominus sit hominis Creator, qui ipsius corpus et animam creet. Itaque verum esse non potest, quod corruptus homo sine omni discrimine sit ipsum peccatum, alias consequeretur Deum esse peccati creatorem. Sicut etiam Minor noster Catechismus in explicatione primi articuli testatur, ubi ita scriptum est: *Credo, quod Deus me creaverit, sicut et omnes alias creaturas, quodque mihi animam et corpus, oculos, aures et omnia membra, rationem et sensus omnes largitus sit et adhuc conservet.* Et in Maiore Catechismo haec verba [R. 647 exstant: *Hoc sentio et credo me esse Dei creaturam, hoc est, mihi ab ipso donata esse et semper conservari corpus meum, animam, vitam, membra tam minima quam maxima, omnes sensus totamque meam rationem et intellectum* etc. Etiamsi negari non possit, quod ista creatura et opus Dei per peccatum horribiliter sint corrupta. Massa enim illa, ex qua hodie Deus hominem format et fingit, in Adamo corrupta et perversa est et ita hereditario modo in nos propagatur.

39] Et hoc loco omnes piae mentes ineffabilem Dei bonitatem merito agnoscere debent, quod videlicet hanc penitus corruptam, perversam et peccato contaminatam massam Deus non statim a facie sua in aeternum Gehennae incendium abiicit, sed quod ex ea, quantumvis peccato horribiliter corrupta, format atque fingit humanam naturam, quam hodie circumferimus, ut per unigenitum dilectum Filium suum a peccato eam emundet, sanctificet atque salvam faciat.

40] Quare ex hoc primo fidei nostrae articulo clarissime elucet discrimen. Originale enim peccatum non est a Deo, neque Deus est creator vel auctor peccati. Nec originale peccatum est opus aut creatura Dei, sed est opus diaboli.

41] Quodsi prorsus nulla differentia esset inter naturam seu substantiam corporis atque animae nostrae, quae per peccatum originis corrupta sunt, et inter ipsum peccatum originale, quod naturam corrumpit, sequeretur alterutrum, videlicet aut Deum (quippe huius naturae nostrae Creatorem) etiam ipsum peccatum originis creare et formare, id enim hac ratione ipsius opus et creatura esset; aut certe conficeretur (cum peccatum sit opus diaboli), ipsum Satanam huius nostrae naturae, corporis atque animae, creatorem, atque ita naturam nostram opus et creaturam [R. 648 diaboli esse, si absque omni discrimine nostra corrupta natura ipsum peccatum esset. Utrumque autem absurdum primo fidei nostrae Christianae articulo repugnat. Qua-
42] propter, ut opus et creatura Dei in homine ab opere diaboli discerni queat, asserimus, quod homo corpus et animam habet, id habere eum beneficio creationis divinae, et quidem id ipsum Dei esse opus, quod homo aliquid cogitare, loqui, agere, operari potest. *In ipso enim vivimus, movemur et sumus,* inquit apostolus

In the Ecclesiastes of Solomon it is written: *Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit to God, who gave it,* Eccl. 12, 7.

These passages clearly testify that God even since the Fall is the Creator of man, and creates his body and soul. Therefore corrupt man cannot, without any distinction, be sin itself, otherwise God would be a creator of sin; as also our *Small Catechism* confesses in the explanation of the First Article, where it is written: *I believe that God has made me and all creatures, that He has given me my body and soul, eyes, ears, and all my members, my reason and all my senses, and still preserves them.* Likewise in the *Large Catechism* it is thus written: *This is what I believe and mean,* that is, *that I am a creature of God; that He has given and constantly preserves to me my body, soul, and life, members great and small, and all my senses, mind, and reason.* Nevertheless, this same creature and work of God is lamentably corrupted by sin; for the mass (*massa*) from which God now forms and makes man was corrupted and perverted in Adam, and is thus transmitted by inheritance to us.

And here pious Christian hearts justly ought to consider the unspeakable goodness of God, that God does not immediately cast from Himself into hell-fire this corrupt, perverted, sinful mass, but forms and makes from it the present human nature, which is lamentably corrupted by sin, in order that He may cleanse it from all sin, sanctify and save it by His dear Son.

From this article, now, the distinction is found indisputably and clearly. For original sin does not come from God. God is not a creator or author of sin. Nor is original sin a creature or work of God, but it is a work of the devil.

Now, if there were to be no difference whatever between the nature or essence of our body and soul, which is corrupted by original sin, and original sin, by which the nature is corrupted, it would follow either that God, because He is the Creator of this our nature, also created and made original sin, which, accordingly, would also be His work and creature; or, because sin is a work of the devil, that Satan would be the creator of this our nature, of our body and soul, which would also have to be a work or creation of Satan if, without any distinction, our corrupt nature should have to be regarded as sin itself; both of which teachings are contrary to the article of our Christian faith. Therefore, in order that God's creation and work in man may be distinguished from the work of the devil, we say that it is God's creation that man has body and soul; also, that it is God's work that man can think, speak, do, and work anything; for *in Him we live, and move, and*

der durch die Sünde Gottes Werk in Adam also verderbt hat, welches daher [von Adam her] auf uns geerbt wird.

Act. 17, 28. Quod vero natura hominis corrupta est, quod cogitationes, verba et facta eius prava sunt, hoc originaliter et principaliter est opus Satanae, qui per peccatum opus Dei in Adamo miserabiliter corrupit, quae naturae depravatio inde in nos hereditario derivata est.

Zum andern, im Artikel von der Erlösung zeugt die Schrift gewaltig, daß Gottes Sohn unsere menschliche Natur ohne Sünde angenommen, also daß er uns, seinen Brüdern, allenthalben gleich [ge]worden sei, ausgenommen die Sünde, Hebr. 2. Unde veteres dixerunt: Christum nobis, fratribus suis, consubstantialem esse secundum assumptam naturam, quia naturam, quae, excepto peccato, eiusdem generis, speciei et substantiae cum nostra est, assumpsit, et contrariam sententiam manifeste haereseos damnarunt. Das ist: Daher alle alten rechtgläubigen Lehrer gehalten, daß Christus nach der angenommenen Menschheit mit uns, seinen Brüdern, *eines* Wesens sei; denn er hat seine menschliche Natur, welche unserer menschlichen Natur in ihrem Wesen und allen wesentlichen Eigenschaften durchaus (allein die Sünde ausgenommen) gleich ist, an sich genommen, und haben die Gegenlehre als öffentliche Ketzerei verdammt.

43] In secundo fidei nostrae articulo de redemptione sacrae litterae luculenter testantur, quod Filius Dei humanam nostram naturam (sine peccato tamen) assumpserit, ita quidem, ut nobis, fratribus suis, per omnia similis fieret, peccato excepto, ut apostolus docet Hebr. 2, 4. Unde omnes veteres orthodoxi dixerunt, Christum secundum assumptam humanam naturam nobis, *fratribus suis, consubstantialem esse*, quia naturam, quae (excepto peccato) eiusdem generis, speciei et substantiae cum nostra est, assumpsit. Et contrariam sententiam ut haeresin manifeste damnarunt.

Wenn nun kein Unterschied wäre zwischen der Natur oder dem Wesen des verderbten Menschen und zwischen der Erbsünde, so müßte folgen, daß Christus entweder unsere Natur nicht angenommen, weil er die Sünde nicht hätte angenommen, oder, weil er unsere Natur angenommen, daß er auch die Sünde hätte angenommen, welches beides wider die Schrift ist. Weil aber Gottes Sohn unsere menschliche Natur und nicht die Erbsünde an sich genommen, so ist hieraus klar, daß die menschliche Natur (auch nach dem Fall) und die Erbsünde nicht *ein* Ding sei [seien], sondern unterschieden werden müssen.

44] Iam si nullum esset discrimen inter hominis corrupti naturam seu substantiam et inter peccatum originis, horum alterutrum consequeretur: aut Christum naturam nostram non assumpsisse, quandoquidem certum est, quod peccatum non assumpserit, aut Christum assumpsisse etiam peccatum, cum naturam nostram assumpserit. Horum utrumque Sacrae Scripturae repugnat. Cum igitur Filius Dei naturam nostram humanam, non autem peccatum originale, assumpserit, manifestum est, quod humana natura, etiam post lapsum, et peccatum originis non sint [R. 649 unum et idem, sed quod diligenter sint discernenda.

Zum dritten, im Artikel von der Heiligung zeugt die Schrift, daß Gott den Menschen von der Sünde abwasche, reinige, heilige, und daß Christus sein Volk von ihren Sünden selig mache. So kann ja die Sünde der Mensch selber nicht sein; denn den Menschen nimmt Gott um Christus' willen zu Gnaden auf, aber der Sünde bleibt er in Ewigkeit feind. Ist [Es ist] derhalben unchristlich und abscheulich, zu hören, daß die Erbsünde im Namen der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit getauft, geheiligt und selig gemacht werde, und dergleichen Reden mehr (damit [mit Anführung welcher] wir einfältige Leute nicht verärgern wollen), so in der neuen Manichäer Schriften zu finden.

45] In tertio articulo fidei nostrae Christianae, de sanctificatione, testatur Sacra Scriptura, quod Deus hominem *a peccato abluat, emundet, sanctificet* [1 Ioh. 1, 7], et quod Christus *populum suum salvum faciat a peccatis eorum*, Matth. 1, 21. Ergo peccatum originis non potest esse ipsemet homo. Deus enim hominem propter Christum in gratiam recipit, peccatum autem in omnem aeternitatem odit. Quare impium est et auditu horrendum, quod peccatum originale in nomine sacrosanctae Trinitatis baptizetur, sanctificetur et salvetur, et si quae sunt alia huius farinae prorsus paradoxa, quae in scriptis recentiorum Manichaeorum leguntur. Ea recitare nolumus, ne pias mentes offendamus.

Zum vierten, im Artikel von der Auferstehung zeugt die Schrift, daß eben dieses unsers Fleisches Substanz, aber ohne Sünde, auferstehen [werde], und daß wir im ewigen Leben eben diese Seele, aber ohne Sünde, haben und behalten werden.

46] Quarto. In articulo de resurrectione Scriptura perspicue docet, quod huius nostrae carnis, quam circumferimus, substantia (sed tamen a peccato mundata) sit resurrectura, et quod in vita aeterna eam ipsam animam (sed peccato non contaminatam) habituri et retenturi simus.

Wenn nun ganz und gar kein Unterschied wäre zwischen unserm verderbten Leib und Seele und zwischen der Erbsünde, so würde wider diesen Artikel des christlichen Glaubens folgen, daß entweder dies unser Fleisch am Jüngsten Tage nicht auferstehen [werde], und daß wir im ewigen Leben

47] Iam si nulla prorsus esset differentia inter corpus et animam nostram corruptam et inter peccatum originale, rursus duo absurda, quae cum hoc articulo e diametro pugnant, consequerentur: aut, videlicet, hanc carnem in die novissimo non resurrecturam,

have our being, Acts 17, 28. But that the nature is corrupt, that its thoughts, words, and works are wicked, is originally a work of Satan, who has thus corrupted God's work in Adam through sin, which from him is transmitted by inheritance to us.

Secondly, in the article of Redemption the Scriptures testify forcibly that God's Son assumed our human nature without sin, so that He was in all things, sin excepted, made like unto us, His brethren, Heb. 2, 14. *Unde veteres dixerunt: Christum nobis, fratribus suis, consubstantialem esse secundum assumptam naturam, quia naturam, quae, excepto peccato, eiusdem generis, speciei et substantiae cum nostra est, assumpsit; et contrariam sententiam manifeste haereseos damnarunt.* That is: Hence all the old orthodox teachers have maintained that Christ, according to His assumed humanity, is of one essence with us, His brethren; for He has assumed His human nature, which in all respects (sin alone excepted) is like our human nature in its essence and all essential attributes; and they have condemned the contrary doctrine as manifest heresy.

Now, if there were no distinction between the nature or essence of corrupt man and original sin, it must follow that Christ either did not assume our nature, because He did not assume sin, or that, because He assumed our nature, He also assumed sin; both of which ideas are contrary to the Scriptures. But inasmuch as the Son of God assumed our nature, and not original sin, it is clear from this fact that human nature, even since the Fall, and original sin, are not one [and the same] thing, but must be distinguished.

Thirdly, in the article of Sanctification Scripture testifies that God cleanses, washes, and sanctifies man from sin, 1 John 1, 7, and that Christ saves His people from their sins, Matt. 1, 21. Sin, therefore, cannot be man himself; for God receives man into grace for Christ's sake, but to sin He remains hostile to eternity. Therefore it is unchristian and horrible to hear that original sin is baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity, sanctified and saved, and other similar expressions found in the writings of the recent Manicheans, with which we will not offend simple-minded people.

Fourthly, in the article of the Resurrection Scripture testifies that precisely the substance of this our flesh, but without sin, will rise again, and that in eternal life we shall have and retain precisely this soul, but without sin.

Now, if there were no difference whatever between our corrupt body and soul and original sin, it would follow, contrary to this article of the Christian faith, either that this

nicht dies Wesen unsers Leibes und Seele, sondern eine andere Substanz (oder eine andere Seele) haben würden, weil wir da werden ohne Sünde sein; oder daß auch die Sünde auferstehen und im ewigen Leben in den Auserwählten sein und bleiben würde.

Hieraus ist klar, daß diese Lehre (mit allem, so ihr anhängt und daraus folgt), müsse verworfen werden, da vorgegeben und gelehrt wird, daß die Erbsünde des verderbten Menschen Natur, Substanz, Wesen, Leib oder Seele selbst sei, also daß ganz und gar kein Unterschied zwischen unserer verderbten Natur, Substanz und Wesen und zwischen der Erbsünde sein solle. Denn die vornehmsten Artikel unsers christlichen Glaubens zeugen stark und gewaltig, warum ein Unterschied zwischen der Natur oder Substanz des Menschen, so durch die Sünde verderbt, und zwischen der Sünde, damit und dadurch der Mensch verderbt ist, soll und muß gehalten werden. Und dies sei genug zur einfältigen Erklärung der Lehre und Gegenlehre (in thesi et antithesi) von diesem Streit, soviel die Hauptsache an ihr selbst belangt, an diesem Ort, da nicht ausführlich disputiert [wird], sondern artikelweise nur die vornehmsten Hauptstücke gehandelt werden.

Was aber die Wörter und Weise zu reden anlangt, ist das Beste und Sicherste, daß man das Vorbild der gesunden Worte, wie in der Heiligen Schrift und in den obgemeldeten Büchern von diesem Artikel geredet wird, [ge]brauche und behalte.

Es sollen auch aequivocationes vocabulorum, das ist, die Wörter und Reden, so in mancherlei Verstand gezogen und gebraucht werden, Wortgezänke zu verhüten, fleißig und unterschiedlich erklärt werden. Als, wenn man sagt: Gott schafft die Natur der Menschen, da wird durch das Wort „Natur" verstanden das Wesen, Leib und Seele der Menschen. Oft aber nennt man die Art oder Unart eines Dinges seine Natur, als wenn man sagt: Der Schlange Natur ist, daß sie sticht und vergiftet. Also spricht Lutherus, daß Sünde und sündigen des verderbten Menschen Art und Natur sei.

Also heißt Erbsünde eigentlich die tiefe Verderbung unserer Natur, wie sie in [den] Schmalkaldischen Artikeln beschrieben wird. Zuzeiten aber wird das Konkretum oder Subjektum, das ist, der Mensch selber mit Leib und Seele, darin die Sünde ist und steckt, mitbegriffen, darum daß der Mensch durch die Sünde verderbt, vergiftet und sündig ist, als wenn Lutherus spricht: „Deine Geburt, deine Natur und dein ganzes Wesen ist Sünde", das ist, sündig und unrein.

Naturſünde, Perſonſünde, wesentliche Sünde erklärt Lutherus selber, daß er es also meine, daß nicht allein die Worte, Gedanken und Werke Sünde sei [seien], sondern daß die ganze Natur, Person und Wesen des Menschen durch die Erb-

et nos in altero illo saeculo non has corporis et animae nostrae substantias, sed aliam substantiam sive aliam animam habituros, cum constet, nos tum ab omni peccato fore mundos; aut, quod etiam peccatum in novissimo die resurrecturum et in vita illa aeterna in electis futurum et mansurum sit.

48] Ex his omnibus luce meridiana clarius est, hanc Manichaeorum doctrinam et omnes opiniones, quae ex ea dependent et consequuntur, reiici oportere, cum videlicet asseritur, quod peccatum originale sit hominis [R. 650 corrupti natura, substantia, essentia, corpus et anima ipsa, adeo ut nullum prorsus sit discrimen inter corruptam nostram naturam, substantiam et essentiam et inter peccatum originis. Praecipui enim articuli fidei nostrae Christianae magnas gravissimasque causas afferunt, quare differentia inter naturam seu substantiam hominis (per peccatum corrupti) et inter ipsum peccatum (quo homo corruptus **49**] est) constituenda et retinenda sit. Et haec sufficere existimamus ad simplicem declarationem doctrinae sincerae et falsae contrariae (in thesi et antithesi) de hac controversia, quantum ad principalem ipsius statum attinet, hoc quidem loco, ubi non copiose et argute disputatur, sed certis quibusdam articulis tantum praecipua capita tractanda sunt.

50] Quod vero ad vocabula et phrases attinet, utilissimum est et tutissimum, ut forma sanorum verborum, quibus in hoc articulo explicando sacrae litterae et supra commemorata scripta publica et recepta utuntur, usurpetur et retineatur.

51] Sed et aequivocationes vocabulorum, ad cavendas *λογομαχίας*, diligenter et diserte sunt explicandae. Verbi gratia, cum dicitur: Deus creat hominum naturam, per vocabulum *naturae* intelligitur ipsa substantia, corpus et anima hominis. Saepe autem proprietas aut conditio alicuius rei (tam in bonam quam in malam partem) vocatur eius rei natura, ut cum dicitur: Serpentis natura est icere et veneno inficere (ibi exprimitur non serpentis substantia, sed malitia). In hac sententia D. Lutherus utitur vocabulo naturae, cum dicit peccatum et peccare esse corrupti hominis naturam.

52] Sic igitur peccatum originale proprie significat profundissimam illam naturae nostrae corruptionem, quemadmodum ea [R. 651 in Articulis Smalcaldicis describitur. Interdum etiam concretum seu subiectum, hoc est, hominem ipsum cum corpore et anima, in quo peccatum est et infixum haeret, simul complectimur, idque eam ob causam, quod totus homo peccato corruptus, veneno infectus et foedissima lue originalis peccati contaminatus sit. In hanc sententiam loquitur D. Lutherus, cum inquit: *Tua nativitas, tua natura, tota tua substantia est peccatum*, hoc est, peccatrix seu peccato polluta et impurissima.

53] Et cum Lutherus utitur hisce vocabulis: *peccatum naturae, peccatum personae, peccatum substantiale aut essentiale*, satis ipse mentem suam declarat, quod hoc velit, non tantum hominis sermones, cogitationes et

our flesh will not rise again at the last day, and that in eternal life we shall not have the present essence of our body and soul, but another substance (or another soul), because then we shall be without sin; or that [at the last day] sin also will rise again, and will be and remain in the elect in eternal life.

Hence it is clear that this doctrine [of the Manicheans] (with all that depends upon it and follows from it) must be rejected, when it is asserted and taught that original sin is the nature, substance, essence, body, or soul itself of corrupt man, so that between our corrupt nature, substance, and essence and original sin there is no distinction whatever. For the chief articles of our Christian faith forcibly and emphatically testify why a distinction should and must be maintained between man's nature or substance, which is corrupted by sin, and the sin, with which and by which man is corrupted. For a simple statement of the doctrine and the contrary teaching (*in thesi et antithesi*) in this controversy, as regards the principal matter itself, is sufficient in this place, where the subject is not argued at length, but only the principal points are treated, article by article.

But as regards terms and expressions, it is best and safest to use and retain the form of sound words employed concerning this article in the Holy Scriptures and the abovementioned books.

Also, to avoid strife about words, *aequivocationes vocabulorum*, that is, words and expressions which are applied and used in various meanings, should be carefully and distinctly explained; as when it is said: God creates the nature of men, there by the term *nature* the essence, body, and soul of men are understood. But often the disposition or vicious quality of a thing is called its nature, as when it is said: It is the nature of the serpent to bite and poison. Thus Luther says that sin and sinning are the disposition and nature of corrupt man.

Therefore original sin properly signifies the deep corruption of our nature, as it is described in the *Smalcald Articles*. But sometimes the concrete person or the subject, that is, man himself with body and soul, in which sin is and inheres, is also comprised under this term, for the reason that man is corrupted by sin, poisoned and sinful, as when Luther says: "Thy birth, thy nature, and thy entire essence is sin," that is, sinful and unclean.

Luther himself explains that by nature-sin, person-sin, essential sin he means that not only the words, thoughts, and works are sin,

sünde zu Grund [bis auf den Grund] gänzlich verderbt sei.

Was aber die lateinischen Worte substantia und accidens anlangt, soll der Einfältigen Kirche [soll die Kirche, die eben zum großen Teil aus einfältigen, schlichten, ungelehrten Leuten besteht], weil solche Worte dem gemeinen Manne unbekannt, mit denselben in öffentlichen Predigten billig verschont werden. Wenn aber die Gelehrten unter sich oder bei andern, welchen solche Worte nicht unbekannt, sich derselben in diesem Handel gebrauchen, inmaßen [wie] Eusebius, Ambrosius und sonderlich Augustinus, wie auch andere vornehme Kirchenlehrer mehr, aus Not, diese Lehre wider die Ketzer zu erklären, getan, so nehmen sie vor eine immediatam divisionem, das ist, [sie nehmen] vor eine solche Teilung, dazwischen kein Mittel ist [eine Teilung nach dem kontradiktorischen Gegensatz, die kein tertium interveniens, kein zwischen die Gegensätze sich einschiebendes Drittes, zuläßt], daß alles, was da ist, müsse entweder substantia, das ist, ein selbständig Wesen, oder accidens, das ist, ein zufälliges Ding, sein, das nicht für sich selbst wesentlich besteht, sondern in einem andern selbständigen Wesen ist und davon kann unterschieden werden; welche Teilung auch Cyrillus und Basilius gebrauchen.

opera esse peccata, sed totam hominis naturam, personam et substantiam hominis per originale peccatum prorsus et omnino esse depravata et totaliter corrupta.

54] Quod vero ad Latina vocabula *substantiae* et *accidentis* attinet, in publicis concionibus coram simplice plebe (quae horum vocabulorum significationem et vim non tenet) ab iis abstinendum censemus, ut ea in re piae et sanctae simplicitatis ecclesiae ratio habeatur. Cum autem viri docti, vel inter se vel cum aliis (quibus haec vocabula non sunt ignota) disserentes, iis in hoc negotio utuntur, tum immediatam hanc divisionem ponunt: quod omne, quidquid est, aut substantia sit aut accidens, quod non per se subsistit, sed in aliqua substantia est et ab ea discerni potest. Et sequuntur ea in re viri eruditi exemplum Eusebii, Ambrosii, imprimis Augustini, Cyrilli, Basilii aliorumque praecipuorum ecclesiae doctorum, qui cogente necessitate in explicatione articuli de peccato originis hisce vocabulis in genuina sua sententia contra haereticos sunt usi.

Und dieweil unter andern dieses auch ein ungezweifelter, unwidersprechlicher Grundspruch in der Theologia ist, daß eine jede substantia oder selbständiges Wesen, sofern es eine Substanz ist, entweder Gott selber oder ein Werk und Geschöpf Gottes sei, so hat Augustinus in vielen Schriften wider die Manichäer mit allen wahrhaftigen Lehrern wohlbedacht und mit Ernst die Rede: Peccatum originis est substantia vel natura, das ist: Die Erbsünde ist des Menschen Natur oder Wesen, verdammt und verworfen; nach welchem [dem Augustin folgend haben nach ihm] auch alle Gelehrten und Verständigen allezeit gehalten, daß dasjenige, so nicht für sich selbst besteht, noch ein Teil ist eines andern selbständigen Wesens, sondern in einem andern Ding wandelbarlich ist, nicht eine substantia, das ist, etwas Selbständiges, sondern ein accidens, das ist, etwas Zufälliges, sei. Also pflegt Augustinus beständig auf diese Weise zu reden: die Erbsünde sei nicht die Natur selbst, sondern ein accidens vitium in natura, das ist, ein zufälliger Mangel und Schaden in der Natur. Wie man denn auf solche Weise auch in unsern Schulen und Kirchen nach der Dialektika vor diesem Zank frei und unverdächtig geredet hat und deswegen weder von D. Luther noch einigem rechtschaffenen Lehrer unserer reinen evangelischen Kirchen jemals gestraft worden [ist].

55] Et cum sit indubitatum certissimumque axioma in re theologica, quod omnis [R. 652 substantia (quatenus est substantia) aut sit Deus ipse aut opus et creatura Dei, Augustinus in multis suis scriptis contra Manichaeos (quemadmodum et reliqui sinceri ecclesiae doctores) rem diligentissime expendit et propositionem hanc: *Peccatum originis est substantia vel natura*, magno zelo reiecit atque damnavit. Et post eum etiam omnes eruditi et intelligentes semper senserunt, quidquid non per se subsistit, nec est pars alterius per se subsistentis essentiae, sed in alio est mutabiliter, id substantiam non esse, id est, quiddam per se subsistens, sed accidens, quod aliunde accidit. Et Augustinus constanter in hanc sententiam loqui solet: *Peccatum originale non est ipsa natura, sed accidens vitium* 56] *in natura.* Et hoc ipso modo etiam nostro saeculo in scholis et ecclesiis nostris (iuxta regulas dialecticae) ante motam hanc controversiam libere et sine ulla haereseos suspicione locuti sunt viri docti, neque eam ob causam vel a D. Luthero vel ab ullo alio sincero doctore evangelicarum ecclesiarum unquam sunt reprehensi.

Weil denn die unwidersprechliche Wahrheit ist, daß alles, was da ist, entweder eine Substanz oder ein accidens, das ist, entweder ein selbständiges Wesen oder etwas Zufälliges in demselben ist, inmaßen kurz hiervor [kurz zuvor] mit Zeugnissen der Kirchenlehrer angezeigt und erwiesen [ist], und kein Rechtverständiger [kein wahrhaft Verständiger] jemals daran gezweifelt [hat], so dringet die Not, und kann hier keiner vorüber, wenn jemand fragen wollte, ob die Erbsünde eine Substanz, das ist, ein solches Ding, das für sich selbst bestehe und nicht in einem andern ist, oder ein accidens, das ist, ein solch Ding sei, das nicht für sich

57] Cum igitur haec sit immota veritas, quod, quidquid est, id aut substantia sit aut accidens, hoc est, vel per se subsistens quiddam vel quod aliunde accidit et in substantia haeret, quemadmodum paulo ante testimonio ecclesiasticorum scriptorum docuimus et demonstravimus, neque ea de re quisquam, qui est sanae mentis, dubitaverit, profecto necessario fatendum est, neque effugio ulli locus est, si quis quaerat, an peccatum sit substantia, id est, res quaedam per se subsistens et non in alio, an vero accidens, hoc est, res non per se subsistens, sed in alio inhaerens,

but that the entire nature, person, and essence of man are altogether corrupted from the root by original sin.

However, as to the Latin words *substantia* and *accidens*, a church of plain people ought to be spared these terms in public sermons, because they are unknown to ordinary men. But when learned men among themselves, or with others to whom these words are not unknown, employ such terms in treating this subject, as Eusebius, Ambrose, and especially Augustine, and also still other eminent church-teachers have done, because they were necessary to explain this doctrine in opposition to the heretics, they assume *immediatam divisionem*, that is, a division between which there is no mean, so that everything that is must be either *substantia*, that is, a self-existent essence, or *accidens*, that is, an accidental matter which does not exist by itself essentially, but is in another self-existent essence and can be distinguished from it; which division Cyril and Basil also use.

And since, among others, this, too, is an indubitable, indisputable axiom in theology, that every *substantia* or self-existing essence, so far as it is a substance, is either God Himself or a work and creation of God, Augustine, in many writings against the Manicheans, in common with all true teachers, has, after due consideration and with earnestness, condemned and rejected the statement: *Peccatum originis est substantia vel natura*, that is, original sin is man's nature or substance. After him all the learned and intelligent also have always maintained that whatever does not exist by itself, nor is a part of another self-existing essence, but exists, subject to change, in another thing, is not a *substantia*, that is, something self-existing, but an *accidens*, that is, something accidental. Accordingly, Augustine is accustomed constantly to speak in this way: Original sin is not the nature itself, but an *accidens vitium in natura*, that is, an accidental defect and damage in the nature. In this way, previous to this controversy, [learned] men spoke, also in our schools and churches, according to the rules of logic, freely and without being suspected [of heresy], and were never censured on this account either by Dr. Luther or any orthodox teacher of our pure, evangelical churches.

Now, then, since it is the indisputable truth that everything that is, is either a substance or an *accidens*, that is, either a self-existing essence or something accidental in it, as has just been shown and proved by testimonies of the church-teachers, and no truly intelligent man has ever had any doubts concerning this, necessity here constrains, and no one can evade it, if the question be asked whether original sin is a substance, that is, such a thing as exists by itself, and is not in another, or whether it is an *accidens*, that is, such a thing as does not exist by itself, but is in another, and cannot exist or be by itself,

ſelbſt beſteht, ſondern in einem andern iſt und für ſich ſelbſt nicht beſtehen noch ſein kann: ſo muß er fein rund heraus bekennen, daß die Erbſünde keine Subſtanz, ſondern ein Akzidens ſei.

Darum auch der Kirche Gottes zum beſtändigen Frieden in dieſer Zweiſpaltung [in dieſem Zwieſpalt] nimmermehr geholfen, ſondern die Uneinigkeit vielmehr geſtärkt und erhalten [wird], wenn die Kirchendiener im Zweifel ſtecken bleiben, ob die Erbſünde eine Subſtanz oder Akzidens ſei und alſo recht und eigentlich genennet [genannt] werde.

Demnach, ſoll den Kirchen und Schulen dieſes ärgerlichen und hochſchädlichen Streits zu Grund [gründlich] abgeholfen werden, [ſo] iſt vonnöten, daß männiglich deshalben eigentlich berichtet werde [daß jedermann hierüber genau belehrt werde].

Wenn aber weiter gefragt wird, was denn die Erbſünde für ein Akzidens ſei, das iſt eine andere Frage, darauf kein Philoſophus, kein Papiſt, kein Sophiſt, ja keine menſchliche Vernunft, wie ſcharf auch dieſelbe immermehr ſein mag, die rechte Erklärung geben kann, ſondern aller Verſtand und Erklärung muß allein aus Heiliger Schrift genommen werden, welche bezeugt, daß die Erbſünde ſei ein unausſprechlicher Schaden und eine ſolche Verderbung menſchlicher Natur, daß an derſelben und allen ihren innerlichen und äußerlichen Kräften nichts Reines noch Gutes geblieben, ſondern alles zumal verderbet [alles durch und durch verderbt ſei], daß der Menſch durch die Erbſünde wahrhaftig vor Gott geiſtlich tot und zum Guten mit allen ſeinen Kräften erſtorben ſei.

Dergeſtalt denn [auf ſolche Weiſe wird] durch das Wort accidens die Erbſünde nicht verkleinert, wenn es nach Gottes Wort alſo erklärt wird, inmaßen D. Luther in ſeiner lateiniſchen Auslegung über das dritte Kapitel des erſten Buchs Moſe wider die Verkleinerung der Erbſünde mit großem Ernſt geſchrieben hat; ſondern ſolch Wort dient allein dazu, den Unterſchied zwiſchen dem Werk Gottes (welches iſt unſere Natur, unangeſehen, daß ſie verderbt iſt) und zwiſchen des Teufels Werk (welches iſt die Sünde, die im Werk Gottes ſteckt und desſelben allertiefſte und unausſprechliche Verderbung iſt) anzuzeigen.

Alſo hat auch Lutherus in dieſem Handel das Wort [* accidens wie auch das Wort] qualitas gebraucht und nicht verworfen, daneben aber auch mit beſonderem Ernſt und großem Eifer auf das allerfleißigſte erklärt und männiglich [jedermann] eingebildet, was es für eine greuliche Qualität und accidens ſei, dadurch die menſchliche Natur nicht ſchlecht verunreinigt, ſondern ſo tief verderbt iſt, daß nichts Reines noch unverderbt in derſelben geblieben; wie ſeine Worte über den 90. Pſalm lauten: Sive igitur peccatum originis *qualitatem* sive *morbum* vocaverimus, profecto extremum malum est non solum pati aeternam iram et mortem, sed ne agnoscere quidem, quae pateris. Das iſt: Wir nennen die Erbſünde eine **Qualität** oder **Seuche,** ſo iſt ſie fürwahr der äußerſte Schaden, daß wir nicht allein den ewigen Zorn Gottes und den ewigen Tod leiden ſollen, ſondern auch nicht verſtehen, was wir leiden. Und abermals über das erſte Buch Moſe, Kap. 3: Qui isto veneno peccati originis a planta pedis usque ad verticem infecti sumus, siquidem in natura adhuc integra accidere. Das iſt: Wir ſind durch das Gift der Erbſünde von der Fußſohle an bis auf die Scheitel [den Scheitel] vergiftet, dieweil ſolches noch in der vollkommenen Natur uns zugefallen.

quod simpliciter, categorice et rotunde respondendum ac fatendum sit, peccatum non esse substantiam, sed accidens.

58] Quare ecclesiae Dei (ad constituendam firmam pacem quoad hanc controversiam) non consulitur, sed dissidia magis foventur [R. 653 et confirmantur, si ecclesiae ministri in dubio relinquantur, an peccatum originale substantia sit an vero accidens, et an illud recte et proprie substantia vel accidens nominetur.

59] Quapropter si controversiam hanc (plenam certe offensionis et detrimenti) solide componere velimus, necessarium est, ut unusquisque de hoc negotio recte erudiatur.

60] Quando autem praeterea quaeritur, qualenam accidens sit peccatum originis, haec iam alia est quaestio. Huius quaestionis declarationem veram nullus philosophus, nullus papista, nullus sophista, imo nulla humana ratio (quae etiam acutissimi sit iudicii) proferre potest, sed eius explicatio e sola Sacra Scriptura est petenda. Ea vero testatur, quod peccatum originale sit ineffabile malum et tanta humanae naturae corruptio, quae in natura omnibusque eius viribus tam internis quam externis nihil sinceri, nihil boni reliquerit, sed omnia penitus depravarit, ita quidem certe, ut homo, ratione peccati originalis, coram Deo vere et spiritualiter ad bonum cum omnibus viribus suis plane sit emortuus.

61] Hac facta explicatione, per vocabulum accidentis peccatum originis haudquaquam extenuatur, cum videlicet illud iuxta Verbi Dei analogiam ita declaratur, quemadmodum D. Lutherus in Latino suo commentario in caput tertium Geneseos contra extenuationem peccati originalis magno zelo disseruit. Vocabulum autem *accidentis* in hunc tantum finem usurpatur, ut discrimen inter opus Dei (quod est nostra natura, etiam corrupta) et inter diaboli opus (quod est peccatum in opere Dei inhaerens, eius videlicet operis intima et ineffabilis corruptio) monstretur.

62] Et sane D. Lutherus ipse in hoc negotio usus est vocabulo *accidentis*, quemadmodum etiam *qualitatis*, neque eas voces [R. 654 reiecit. Interim tamen singulari diligentia et magno zelo declaravit et inculcavit, quam horribilis sit qualitas et accidens, per quod humana natura non tantum contaminata aut impura facta, verum etiam adeo in universum corrupta est, ut nihil sinceri, nihil sani prorsus in ea sit relictum. Sic enim verba eius in explicatione Psalmi nonagesimi habent: *Sive igitur peccatum originis qualitatem sive morbum vocaverimus, profecto extremum malum est non solum pati aeternam iram et mortem, sed ne agnoscere quidem, quae pateris.* Et in commentario super tertium caput Geneseos inquit: *Qui isto veneno peccati originis a planta pedis usque ad verticem infecti sumus, siquidem in natura adhuc integra haec accidere* etc.

he must confess straight and pat that original sin is no substance, but an *accidens*.

For this reason, too, the Church of God will never be helped to permanent peace in this controversy, but the dissension will rather be strengthened and kept up, if the ministers of the Church remain in doubt as to whether original sin is a substance or an *accidens*, and whether it is rightly and properly named thus.

Hence, if the churches and schools are to be thoroughly relieved of this scandalous and very mischievous controversy, it is necessary that each and every one be properly instructed concerning this matter.

But if it be further asked what kind of an *accidens* original sin is, that is another question, of which no philosopher, no papist, no sophist, yea, no human reason, however acute it may be, can give the right explanation, but all understanding and every explanation of it must be derived solely from the Holy Scriptures, which testify that original sin is an unspeakable evil and such an entire corruption of human nature that in it and all its internal and external powers nothing pure or good remains, but everything is entirely corrupt, so that on account of original sin man is in God's sight truly spiritually dead, with all his powers dead to that which is good.

In this way, then, original sin is not extenuated by the word *accidens*, [namely] when it is explained according to [the analogy of] God's Word, after the manner in which Dr. Luther, in his Latin exposition of the third chapter of Genesis, has written with great earnestness against the extenuation of original sin; but this word serves only to indicate the distinction between the work of God (which our nature is, notwithstanding that it is corrupt) and the work of the devil (which the sin is that inheres in God's work, and is the most profound and indescribable corruption of it).

Therefore Luther also in his treatment of this subject has employed the term *accidens*, as also the term *qualitas* [quality], and has not rejected them; but at the same time he has, with special earnestness and great zeal, taken the greatest pains to explain and to inculcate upon each and every one what a horrible quality and *accidens* it is, by which human nature is not merely polluted, but so deeply corrupted that nothing pure or incorrupt has remained in it, as his words on Ps. 90 run: *Sive igitur peccatum originis* QUALITATEM *sive* MORBUM *vocaverimus, profecto extremum malum est non solum pati aeternam iram et mortem, sed ne agnoscere quidem, quae pateris.* That is: Whether we call original sin a *quality* or a *disease*, it is indeed the utmost evil, that we are not only to suffer the eternal wrath of God and eternal death, but that we do not even understand what we suffer. And again, on Gen. 3: *Qui isto veneno peccati originis a planta pedis usque ad verticem infecti sumus, siquidem in natura adhuc integra accidere.* That is: We are infected with the poison of original sin from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, inasmuch as this happened to us in a nature still perfect.

II.

Vom freien Willen oder menschlichen Kräften.

Nachdem ein Zwiespalt nicht allein zwischen den Papisten und den Unsern, sondern auch unter etlichen Theologen der Augsburgischen Konfession selbst von dem freien Willen eingefallen [entstanden], wollen wir zuvörderst, worüber der Streit gewesen, eigentlich [deutlich] anzeigen.

Denn weil der Mensch mit seinem freien Willen in vier unterschiedlichen, ungleichen Ständen gefunden und betrachtet werden kann, ist jetzund die Frage nicht, wie es um denselben **vor dem Fall** geschaffen [beschaffen war], oder was er **nach dem Fall** vor seiner Bekehrung **in äußerlichen Sachen,** dies zeitliche Leben belangend, vermöge; wie auch nicht, was er in geistlichen Sachen, nachdem er durch den Geist Gottes **wiedergeboren** und von demselben regiert wird, oder wenn er **von den Toten ersteht,** für einen freien Willen haben werde; sondern die Hauptfrage ist einig und allein, was des **unwiedergebornen** Menschen Verstand und Wille **in seiner Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt aus eigenen und nach dem Fall übergebliebenen Kräften** vermöge: wenn das Wort Gottes gepredigt, und uns die Gnade Gottes angeboten wird, ob er sich zu solcher Gnade bereiten, dieselbe annehmen und das Jawort dazu sagen könnte. Dies ist die Frage, darüber nun etliche viel Jahre in den Kirchen Augsburgischer Konfession unter etlichen Theologen gestritten worden.

Denn der eine Teil hat gehalten und gelehrt: obwohl der Mensch aus eigenen Kräften nicht vermöge, Gottes Gebote zu erfüllen, Gott wahrhaftig trauen, fürchten und lieben ohne die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes, doch habe er noch so viel natürlicher Kräfte vor der Wiedergeburt übrig, daß er etlichermaßen sich zur Gnade bereiten und das Jawort, doch schwächlich, geben, aber, wenn die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes nicht dazukomme, damit nichts ausrichten könnte, sondern im Kampf daniederliegen müßte.

So haben auch die alten und neuen Enthusiasten gelehrt, daß Gott die Menschen ohne alle Mittel und Instrument der Kreatur, das ist, ohne die äußerliche Predigt und Gehör Gottes Worts, durch seinen Geist bekehre und zu der seligmachenden Erkenntnis Christi ziehe.

Wider diese beiden Teile haben die reinen Lehrer Augsburgischer Konfession gelehrt und gestritten, daß der Mensch durch den Fall unserer ersten Eltern also verderbt, daß er in göttlichen Sachen, unsere Bekehrung und Seelen Seligkeit belangend, von Natur blind [sei], wenn Gottes Wort gepredigt wird, dasselbe nicht verstehe noch verstehen könnte, sondern für eine Torheit halte, auch aus ihm [aus sich] selbst sich nicht zu Gott nähere, sondern ein Feind Gottes sei und bleibe, bis er mit der Kraft des Heiligen Geistes durch das gepredigte und gehörte Wort aus lauter Gnade ohne alles sein Zutun bekehrt, gläubig, wiedergeboren und erneuert werde.

II.

DE LIBERO ARBITRIO SIVE DE VIRIBUS HUMANIS.

1] Cum de libero arbitrio seu viribus humanis non modo inter nos et pontificios hactenus controversum fuerit, verum etiam ea de re quidam Augustanae Confessionis theologi disceptarint, primum omnium, quinam controversiae huius inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos status fuerit, perspicue docebimus.

2] Quandoquidem homo, ratione liberi sui arbitrii, in quatuor, et quidem valde diversis, statibus considerari potest, iam non quaeritur, quale fuerit ipsius arbitrium *ante lapsum;* aut quale id sit *post lapsum* ante hominis conversionem *in rebus externis,* quae ad [R. 655 hanc vitam spectant; neque quaeritur, quale sit illud arbitrium, aut quantae ipsius vires, etiam in rebus spiritualibus, *postquam* per Spiritum Dei *regeneratus* est et a Dei Spiritu iam regitur; aut quale liberum arbitrium sit habiturus, quando *a mortuis resurget.* Sed hic est verus et unicus controversiae status: quid hominis *nondum renati* intellectus et voluntas *in ipsa conversione et regeneratione ex propriis suis et post lapsum reliquis viribus* praestare possit, quando videlicet Verbum Dei praedicatur, et Dei gratia nobis offertur. Hic quaeritur, an homo ad hanc Dei gratiam apprehendendam sese applicare, eam amplecti et Verbo Dei assentiri possit. Haec disputatio iam aliquot et quidem multos annos in ecclesiis Augustanae Confessionis inter theologos nonnullos fuit agitata.

3] Una pars sensit atque docuit: quamvis homo propriis suis viribus legem Dei implere, Deo vere confidere, ipsum timere et diligere, sine gratia Spiritus Sancti non possit, tamen tantum adhuc ipsi virium naturalium, ante regenerationem, reliquum esse, ut aliquo modo se ad gratiam Dei praeparare, applicare et assentiri, languide tamen, possit, sed nisi accedat gratia Spiritus Sancti, nihil illum qualemcunque assensum praestare posse, sed in lucta succumbere.

4] Ex altera autem parte enthusiastae tum veteres tum recentiores docuere, quod Deus hominem sine ullo medio aut instrumento creaturarum, hoc est, sine externa praedicatione et absque auditione Verbi Dei, per Spiritum suum convertat et ad salutarem Christi agnitionem pertrahat.

5] Contra utriusque partis corruptelas sinceri Augustanae Confessionis doctores asseruerunt, hominem ex lapsu primorum nostrorum parentum ita penitus corruptum [R. 656 esse, ut in rebus spiritualibus, quae ad conversionem et salutem nostram spectant, natura caecus sit et Verbum Dei praedicatum neque intelligat neque intelligere possit, sed illud ut rem stultam iudicet et nunquam a se ipso ad Deum appropinquet, sed potius inimicus Dei sit et maneat, donec virtute Spiritus Sancti per Verbum praedicatum et auditum ex mera gratia sine omni sua propria cooperatione convertatur, fide donetur, regeneretur et renovetur. 1 Cor. 2.

II.

OF FREE WILL, OR HUMAN POWERS.

Since a division has occurred not only between the Papists and us, but also among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession themselves, concerning free will, we shall, first of all, show exactly the points in controversy.

For since man with [respect to] his free will is found and can be considered in four distinct, dissimilar states, the question at present is not what was the condition of the same *before the Fall*, or what he is able to do *since the Fall* and before his conversion *in external things* which pertain to this temporal life; also not what sort of a free will he will have in spiritual things after he has been *regenerated* and is controlled by God's Spirit, or when he rises *from the dead*. But the principal question is only and alone, what the intellect and will of the *unregenerate* man is able to do *in his conversion* and *regeneration* from his *own powers remaining* after the Fall: whether he is able, when the Word of God is preached, and the grace of God is offered us, to prepare himself for grace, accept the same, and assent thereto. This is the question upon which, for quite a number of years now, there has been a controversy among some theologians in the churches of the Augsburg Confession.

For the one side has held and taught that, although man cannot from his own powers fulfil God's command, or truly trust in God, fear and love Him, without the grace of the Holy Ghost, nevertheless he still has so much of natural powers left before regeneration as to be able to prepare himself to a certain extent for grace, and to assent, although feebly; however, that he cannot accomplish anything by them, but must succumb in the struggle, if the grace of the Holy Ghost is not added thereto.

Moreover [On the other side], both the ancient and modern enthusiasts have taught that God converts men, and leads them to the saving knowledge of Christ through His Spirit, without any created means and instrument, that is, without the external preaching and hearing of God's Word.

Against both these parties the pure teachers of the Augsburg Confession have taught and contended that by the fall of our first parents man was so corrupted that in divine things pertaining to our conversion and the salvation of our souls he is by nature blind, that, when the Word of God is preached, he neither does nor can understand it, but regards it as foolishness; also, that he does not of himself draw nigh to God, but is and remains an enemy of God, until he is converted, becomes a believer [is endowed with faith], is regenerated and renewed, by the power of the Holy Ghost through the Word when preached and heard, out of pure grace, without any cooperation of his own.

Diesen Zwiespalt nach Anleitung Gottes Worts christlich zu erklären und durch seine Gnade hinzulegen [beizulegen], ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, wie nachfolgt:

Daß nämlich in geistlichen und göttlichen Sachen des unwiedergebornen Menschen Verstand, Herz und Wille aus eigenen natürlichen Kräften ganz und gar nichts verstehen, glauben, annehmen, gedenken, wollen, anfangen, verrichten, tun, wirken oder mitwirken könne, sondern sei ganz und gar zum Guten erstorben und verdorben, also daß in des Menschen Natur nach dem Fall vor der Wiedergeburt nicht ein Fünklein der geistlichen Kräfte übriggeblieben noch vorhanden, mit welchem er aus ihm [aus sich] selber sich zur Gnade Gottes bereiten oder die angebotene Gnade annehmen, noch derselben für und von sich selbst fähig sein oder sich dazu applizieren oder schicken könne oder aus seinen eigenen Kräften etwas zu seiner Bekehrung, weder zum ganzen noch zum halben oder zu einigem dem wenigsten oder geringsten Teil, helfen, tun, wirken oder mit[zu]wirken vermöge von ihm [aus sich] selbst als von ihm selbst, sondern sei der Sünde Knecht, Joh. 8, und des Teufels Gefangener, davon [von dem] er getrieben wird, Eph. 2; 2 Tim. 2. Daher der natürliche freie Wille seiner verkehrten Art und Natur nach allein zu demjenigen, das Gott mißfällig und zuwider ist, kräftig und tätig ist.

Diese Erklärung und Hauptantwort auf die im Eingang dieses Artikels gesetzte Hauptfrage und statum controversiae bestätigen und bekräftigen folgende Gründe des göttlichen Worts, welche, ob sie wohl der hoffärtigen Vernunft und Philosophie zuwider sind, so wissen wir doch, daß dieser verkehrten Welt Weisheit nur Torheit vor Gott ist, und daß von den Artikeln des Glaubens allein aus Gottes Wort soll geurteilt werden.

Denn erstlich des Menschen Vernunft oder natürlicher Verstand, ob er gleich noch wohl ein dunkel Fünklein des [der] Erkenntnis, daß ein Gott sei, wie auch, Röm. 1, von der Lehre des Gesetzes hat, dennoch also unwissend, blind und verkehrt ist, daß, wenn schon die allersinnreichsten und gelehrtesten Leute auf Erden das Evangelium vom Sohn Gottes und Verheißung der ewigen Seligkeit lesen oder hören, dennoch dasselbe aus eigenen Kräften nicht vernehmen, fassen, verstehen noch glauben und für Wahrheit halten können, sondern je größeren Fleiß und Ernst sie anwenden und diese geistlichen Sachen mit ihrer Vernunft begreifen wollen, je weniger sie verstehen oder glauben und solches alles allein für Torheit oder Fabeln halten, ehe sie durch den Heiligen Geist erleuchtet und gelehrt werden. 1 Kor. 2: „Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nichts vom Geiste Gottes; denn es ist ihm eine Torheit, und kann es nicht begreifen, denn es wird geistlich ergründet." 1 Kor. 1: „Dieweil die Welt durch ihre Weisheit Gott in seiner Weisheit nicht erkannte, hat es Gott also gefallen, durch die Predigt des Evangelii, welches die Welt für Torheit hält, die Gläubigen selig zu machen." Eph. 4: „Die andern Menschen" (die nicht durch Gottes Geist wiedergeboren sind) „wandeln in der Eitelkeit ihres Sinnes, welcher Verstand verfinstert ist und sind fremde von dem Leben, das aus Gott ist, durch die Unwissenheit, die in ihnen ist, durch die Blindheit ihres Herzens." Matth. 13: „Mit sehenden

6] Ut autem haec controversia iuxta Verbi Dei analogiam pie declaretur et per ipsius gratiam decidatur, doctrina, fides et confessio nostra haec est, ut sequitur:

7] Credimus, quod hominis non renati intellectus, cor et voluntas in rebus spiritualibus et divinis ex propriis naturalibus viribus prorsus nihil intelligere, credere, amplecti, cogitare, velle, inchoare, perficere, agere, operari aut cooperari possint, sed homo ad bonum prorsus corruptus et mortuus sit, ita ut in hominis natura post lapsum ante regenerationem ne scintillula quidem spiritualium virium reliqua manserit aut restet, quibus ille ex se ad gratiam Dei praeparare se, aut oblatam gratiam apprehendere, aut eius gratiae (ex sese et per se) capax esse possit, aut se ad gratiam applicare, aut accommodare, aut viribus suis propriis aliquid ad conversionem suam vel ex toto vel ex dimidia vel minima parte conferre, agere, operari aut cooperari (ex se ipso, tamquam ex semet ipso) possit, sed homo sit *peccati servus et mancipium Satanae*, a quo agitatur. Ioh. 8, 34; Eph. 2, 2; 2 Tim. 2, 26. Inde adeo naturale liberum arbitrium, ratione corruptarum virium et naturae suae depravatae, dumtaxat ad ea, quae Deo displicent et adversantur, activum et efficax est.

8] Hanc piam declarationem et generalem (ad statum causae, in exordio huius tractationis propositum) responsionem e Verbo Dei desumpta argumenta, quae recitabimus, [R. 657 confirmant. Licet autem ea supercilio humanae rationis et philosophiae displiceant, tamen novimus mundi huius perversissimi sapientiam coram Deo esse stultitiam, et quod de capitibus religionis nostrae tantummodo ex Verbo Dei sit iudicandum.

9] I. Primo, etsi humana ratio seu naturalis intellectus hominis obscuram aliquam notitiae illius scintillulam reliquam habet, quod sit Deus, et particulam aliquam legis tenet, Rom. 1, 19 sqq., tamen adeo ignorans, caeca et perversa est ratio illa, ut, etiamsi ingeniosissimi et doctissimi homines in hoc mundo evangelium de Filio Dei et promissiones divinas de aeterna salute legant vel audiant, tamen ea propriis viribus percipere, intelligere, credere et vera esse statuere nequeant. Quin potius, quanto diligentius in ea re elaborant, ut spirituales res istas suae rationis acumine indagent et comprehendant, tanto minus intelligunt et credunt et ea omnia pro stultitia et meris nugis et fabulis habent, priusquam a Spiritu Sancto illuminentur et 10] doceantur. Sic enim scribit apostolus 1 Cor. 2, 14: *Animalis homo non percipit ea, quae sunt Spiritus Dei; stultitia enim est illi, et non potest intelligere, quia spiritualiter examinantur.* Et 1 Cor. 1, 21: *Quia in Dei sapientia non cognovit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.* Et alibi, Eph. 4, 17 sq., de hominibus impiis et nondum renatis in hanc sententiam scribit: *Gentes ambulant in vanitate sensus sui, tenebris obscuratum habentes intellectum, alienati a vita Dei per ignorantiam, quae est in illis, propter caecitatem cordis ipsorum.* Et Christus inquit

In order to explain this controversy in a Christian manner, according to the guidance of God's Word, and by His grace to decide it, our doctrine, faith, and confession are as follows:

Namely, that in spiritual and divine things the intellect, heart, and will of the unregenerate man are utterly unable, by their own natural powers, to understand, believe, accept, think, will, begin, effect, do, work, or concur in working anything, but they are entirely dead to what is good, and corrupt, so that in man's nature since the Fall, before regeneration, there is not the least spark of spiritual power remaining, nor present, by which, of himself, he can prepare himself for God's grace, or accept the offered grace, nor be capable of it for and of himself, or apply or accommodate himself thereto, or by his own powers be able of himself, as of himself, to aid, do, work, or concur in working anything towards his conversion, either wholly, or half, or in any, even the least or most inconsiderable part; but that he is the servant [and slave] of sin, John 8, 34, and a captive of the devil, by whom he is moved, Eph. 2, 2; 2 Tim. 2, 26. Hence the natural free will according to its perverted disposition and nature is strong and active only with respect to what is displeasing and contrary to God.

This declaration and principal [general] reply to the chief question and statement of the controversy presented in the introduction to this article is confirmed and substantiated by the following arguments from God's Word, and although they are contrary to proud reason and philosophy, yet we know that the wisdom of this perverted world is only foolishness before God, and that articles of faith must be judged only from God's Word.

For, first, although man's reason or natural intellect indeed has still a dim spark of the knowledge that there is a God, as also of the doctrine of the Law, Rom. 1, 19 ff., yet it is so ignorant, blind, and perverted that when even the most ingenious and learned men upon earth read or hear the Gospel of the Son of God and the promise of eternal salvation, they cannot from their own powers perceive, apprehend, understand, or believe and regard it as true, but the more diligence and earnestness they employ, wishing to comprehend these spiritual things with their reason, the less they understand or believe, and before they become enlightened and are taught by the Holy Ghost, they regard all this only as foolishness or fictions. 1 Cor. 2, 14: *The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him.* 1 Cor. 1, 21: *For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* Eph. 4, 17 f.: *They* (that is, those not born again of God's Spirit) *walk in the vanity of their mind, having the understanding darkened, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart.* Matt. 13, 11 ff.; Luke 8, 18: *Seeing*

Augen sehen sie nicht, und mit hörenden Ohren hören sie nicht; denn sie verstehen es nicht. Euch aber ist [ist's] gegeben, daß ihr das Geheimnis des Himmelreichs vernehmet." Röm. 3: „Da ist nicht, der verständig sei, da ist nicht, der nach Gott frage; sie sind allesamt abgewichen und allesamt untüchtig worden; da ist niemand, der Gutes tue, auch nicht einer." Also nennt die Schrift den natürlichen Menschen in geistlichen und göttlichen Sachen stracks eine Finsternis, Eph. 5; Act. 26. Joh. 1: „Das Licht leuchtet in der Finsternis" (das ist, in der finsteren, blinden Welt, die Gott nicht erkennt noch achtet), „und die Finsternis haben's nicht begriffen." Item, die Schrift lehrt, daß der Mensch in Sünden nicht allein schwach und krank, sondern ganz erstorben und tot sei, Eph. 2; Kol. 2.

Wie nun der Mensch, so leiblich tot ist, sich nicht kann aus eigenen Kräften bereiten oder schicken, daß er das zeitliche Leben wieder bekomme, also kann der Mensch, so geistlich tot ist in den Sünden, sich nicht aus eigener Macht zur Erlangung der geistlichen und himmlischen Gerechtigkeit und Lebens schicken oder wenden, wo er nicht durch den Sohn Gottes vom Tode der Sünde frei und lebendig gemacht wird.

Also nimmt die Schrift des natürlichen Menschen Verstand, Herzen und Willen alle Tüchtigkeit, Geschicklichkeit, Fähigkeit und Vermögen, in geistlichen Sachen etwas Gutes und Rechtes zu gedenken, zu verstehen, können, anfangen, wollen, vornehmen, tun, wirken oder mitwirken, als von ihm selbst. 2 Kor. 3: „Wir sind nicht tüchtig, etwas zu gedenken als von uns selber, sondern daß wir tüchtig sind, ist von Gott." Röm. 3: „Sie sind allesamt untüchtig." Joh. 8: „Meine Rede fähet nicht in euch." Joh. 1: „Die Finsternis haben's nicht begriffen oder angenommen." 1 Kor. 2: „Der natürliche Mensch vernimmt nicht" oder, wie das griechische Wort eigentlich lautet, fähet oder faßt nicht, nimmt nicht an, „was des Geistes ist", oder ist nicht fähig der geistlichen Sachen; „denn er hält es für Torheit und kann's nicht verstehen." Viel weniger wird er dem Evangelio wahrhaftig glauben oder das Jawort dazu geben und für Wahrheit halten können. Röm. 8: „Des Fleisches" oder natürlichen Menschen „Sinn ist eine Feindschaft wider Gott, sintemal er dem Gesetz Gottes nicht untertan ist; denn er vermag es auch nicht." Und in Summa bleibt's ewig wahr, das der Sohn Gottes spricht: „Ohne mich könnt ihr nichts tun." Und Paulus Phil. 2: „Gott ist's, der in euch wirket beide das Wollen und das Vollbringen nach seinem Wohlgefallen." Welcher liebliche Spruch allen frommen Christen, die ein kleines Fünklein und Sehnen nach Gottes Gnade und der ewigen Seligkeit in ihrem Herzen fühlen und empfinden, sehr tröstlich ist, daß sie wissen, daß Gott diesen Anfang der wahren Gottseligkeit in ihrem Herzen angezündet hat und wolle sie in der großen Schwachheit ferner stärken und ihnen helfen, daß sie in wahrem Glauben bis ans Ende beharren.

Hierher gehören auch alle Gebete der Heiligen, darin sie bitten, daß sie von Gott gelehrt, erleuchtet und geheiligt werden, und eben damit anzeigen, daß sie dasjenige, so sie von Gott bitten, aus eige-

Matth. 13, 11 sqq., Luc. 8, 10: *Videntes non vident et audientes non audiunt, neque intelligunt* etc. *Vobis autem datum est nosse mysterium regni Dei.* Et rursus apostolus ait Rom. 3, 11. 12: *Non est intelligens, non est requirens Deum; omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt; non est, qui faciat* [R. 658 *bonum, non est usque ad unum.* Et Sacra Scriptura hominem naturalem in rebus divinis et spiritualibus *tenebras* vocat, Eph. 5, 8; Act. 26, 18. Ioh. 1, 5: *Lux in tenebris lucet*, hoc est, in tenebricoso et excaecato mundo, qui Deum neque novit neque curat, *et tenebrae eam non comprehenderunt.* Quin etiam sacrae litterae docent, hominem in peccatis non tantummodo languidum et aegrotum, verum etiam prorsus mortuum esse, Eph. 2, 1. 5; Col. 2, 13.

11] Sicut igitur homo, qui corporaliter mortuus est, se ipsum propriis viribus praeparare aut accommodare non potest, ut vitam externam recipiat, ita homo spiritualiter in peccatis mortuus se ipsum propriis viribus ad consequendam spiritualem et coelestem iustitiam et vitam praeparare, applicare aut vertere non potest, nisi per Filium Dei a morte peccati liberetur et vivificetur.

12] Scriptura igitur hominis naturalis intellectui, cordi et voluntati omnem aptitudinem, capacitatem et facultatem in rebus spiritualibus aliquid boni et recti (ex semet ipso) cogitandi, intelligendi, inchoandi, volendi, proponendi, agendi, operandi et cooperandi adimit. Sic enim inquit apostolus 2 Cor. 3, 5: *Non quod idonei simus cogitare aliquid a nobis, quasi ex nobis, sed quod idonei sumus, id ex Deo est* etc. Rom. 3, 12: *Omnes inutiles facti sunt. Sermo meus,* ait Christus Ioh. 8, 37, *non capit in vobis.* Ioh. 1, 5: *Tenebrae non comprehenderunt* (seu receperunt) *lucem.* 1 Cor. 2, 14: *Animalis homo non percipit* (vel, ut Graecum vocabulum significanter exprimit, *οὐ δέχεται*, non capit, non comprehendit, non accipit) *ea, quae sunt Spiritus Dei,* vel non est capax rerum spiritualium; *stultitia enim est illi, et non potest intelligere* etc. Multo **13]** minus igitur eiusmodi animalis seu naturalis homo evangelio vere credere aut assentiri et id pro veritate agnoscere poterit. Rom. 8, 7: *Carnis,* sive naturalis hominis, *sensus inimicitia est adversus Deum, quia legi Dei* [R. 659 *non subiicitur, ac ne potest id quidem.* **14]** Summa, verum est perpetuoque manebit verum, quod Filius Dei inquit Ioh. 15, 5: *Sine me nihil potestis facere.* Et apostolus ait Phil. 2, 13: *Deus est, qui operatur in vobis et velle et perficere pro bona voluntate.* Quae Scripturae dulcissima sententia omnibus piis mentibus, quae scintillulam aliquam et desiderium gratiae divinae et aeternae salutis in cordibus suis sentiunt, eximiam consolationem affert. Certi enim sunt, quod ipse Deus initium illud verae pietatis tamquam flammulam in cordibus ipsorum accenderit, quodque velit eos etiam in magna infirmitate porro confirmare et iuvare, ut in vera fide ad finem usque perseverent.

15] Huc referantur etiam omnes sanctorum precationes, quibus petunt, ut a Deo doceantur, illuminentur et sanctificentur. His enim precibus fatentur, quod ea, quae petunt, suis

they see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand; but it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. Rom. 3, 11. 12: *There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are all together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.* Accordingly, the Scriptures flatly call natural man in spiritual and divine things darkness, Eph. 5, 8; Acts 26, 18. John 1, 5: *The light shineth in darkness* (that is, in the dark, blind world, which does not know or regard God), *and the darkness comprehendeth it not.* Likewise, the Scriptures teach that man in sins is not only weak and sick, but defunct and entirely dead, Eph. 2, 1. 5; Col. 2, 13.

Now, just as a man who is physically dead cannot of his own powers prepare or adapt himself to obtain temporal life again, so the man who is spiritually dead in sins cannot of his own strength adapt or apply himself to the acquisition of spiritual and heavenly righteousness and life, unless he is delivered and quickened by the Son of God from the death of sin.

Therefore the Scriptures deny to the intellect, heart, and will of the natural man all aptness, skill, capacity, and ability to think, to understand, to be able to do, to begin, to will, to undertake, to act, to work or to concur in working anything good and right in spiritual things as of himself. 2 Cor. 3, 5: *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.* Rom. 3, 12: *They are together become unprofitable.* John 8, 37: *My Word hath no place in you.* John 1, 5: *The darkness comprehendeth* (or receiveth) *it not* [the light]. 1 Cor. 2, 14: *The natural man receiveth not* (or, as the Greek word properly signifies, grasps not, comprehends not, accepts not) *the things of the Spirit,* that is, he is not capable of spiritual things; *for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them.* Much less will he truly believe the Gospel, or assent thereto and regard it as truth. Rom. 8, 7: *The carnal mind,* or the mind of the natural man, *is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be.* And, in a word, it remains eternally true what the Son of God says, John 15, 5: *Without Me ye can do nothing.* And Paul, Phil. 2, 13: *It is God which worketh in you both to will and to do of His good pleasure.* To all godly Christians who feel and experience in their hearts a small spark or longing for divine grace and eternal salvation this precious passage is very comforting; for they know that God has kindled in their hearts this beginning of true godliness, and that He will further strengthen and help them in their great weakness to persevere in true faith unto the end.

Here belong also all the prayers of the saints in which they pray that they may be taught, enlightened, and sanctified by God, and by this very act declare that they cannot obtain those things which they ask of God from their

nen natürlichen Kräften nicht haben mögen; wie allein im 119. Pſalm David mehr als zehnmal bittet, daß ihm Gott wolle Verſtand mitteilen, daß er ſeine göttliche Lehre recht faſſen und lernen möge. Dergleichen Gebete ſind im Paulo Eph. 1, Kol. 1, Phil. 1. Welche Gebete und Sprüche von unſerer Unwiſſenheit und Unvermögen uns nicht der Urſache halben vorgeſchrieben ſind, daß wir faul und träge werden ſollen, Gottes Wort zu leſen, hören und betrachten, ſondern daß wir erſtlich Gott von Herzen danken, daß er uns aus der Finſternis der Unwiſſenheit und Gefängnis der Sünde und des Todes durch ſeinen Sohn freigemacht und durch die Taufe und Heiligen Geiſt wiedergeboren und erleuchtet hat.

Und nachdem Gott den Anfang durch ſeinen Heiligen Geiſt in der Taufe, rechte Erkenntnis Gottes und Glauben, angezündet und gewirkt [hat, ſollen wir] ihn ohne Unterlaß bitten, daß er durch denſelben Geiſt und ſeine Gnade, vermittelſt täglicher Übung Gottes Wort zu leſen und zu üben, in uns den Glauben und ſeine himmliſchen Gaben bewahren, von Tag zu Tag ſtärken und bis an das Ende erhalten wolle. Denn wo Gott nicht ſelber Schulmeiſter iſt, ſo kann man nichts, das ihm angenehm und uns und andern heilſam iſt, ſtudieren und lernen.

Zum andern zeugt Gottes Wort, daß des natürlichen, unwiedergebornen Menſchen Verſtand, Herz und Wille in Gottes Sachen ganz und gar nicht allein von Gott abgewandt, ſondern auch wider Gott zu allem Böſen gewendet und verkehrt ſei; item, nicht alleine ſchwach, unvermöglich, untüchtig und zum Guten erſtorben, ſondern auch durch die Erbſünde alſo jämmerlich verkehrt, durchgiftet und verderbt ſei, daß er von Art und Natur ganz böſe und Gott widerſpenſtig und feind und zu allem, das Gott mißfällig und zuwider iſt, allzu kräftig, lebendig und tätig ſei. Gen. 8: „Das Dichten und Trachten des menſchlichen Herzens iſt nur böſe von Jugend auf.“ Jer. 17: „Des Menſchen Herz iſt trotzig und verzagt“ oder verkehret und voll Elends, „das nicht auszugründen iſt.“ Dieſen Spruch erklärt St. Paulus Röm. 8: „Des Fleiſches Sinn iſt eine Feindſchaft wider Gott.“ Gal. 5: „Das Fleiſch gelüſtet wider den Geiſt; dieſelbigen ſind widereinander.“ Röm. 7: „Wir wiſſen, daß das Geſetz geiſtlich iſt, ich aber bin fleiſchlich, unter die Sünde verkauft.“ Und bald hernach: „Ich weiß, daß in mir, das iſt, in meinem Fleiſch, nichts Guts wohnet; denn ich habe Luſt an dem Geſetz Gottes nach dem inwendigen Menſchen“, ſo durch den Heiligen Geiſt wiedergeboren iſt; „ich ſehe aber ein ander Geſetz in meinen Gliedern, das widerſtrebet dem Geſetz in meinem Gemüt und nimmt mich gefangen in der Sünden Geſetz.“

So nun im heiligen Paulo und andern Wiedergebornen der natürliche oder fleiſchliche freie Wille auch nach der Wiedergeburt Gottes Geſetz widerſtrebt, viel mehr wird er vor der Wiedergeburt Gottes Geſetz und Willen widerſpenſtig und feind ſein; daraus offenbar iſt (wie in dem Artikel von der Erbſünde weiter erklärt [iſt], darauf wir uns geliebter Kürze halben gezogen [bezogen] haben wollen), daß der freie Wille aus ſeinen eigenen natürlichen Kräften nicht allein nichts zu ſeiner ſelbſt Bekehrung, Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit wirnaturalibus viribus habere nequeant. Et quidem David in uno duntaxat psalmo, Ps. 119, decies et amplius orat pro intellectu, ut doctrinam divinam recte capere et discere queat. Tales precatiunculae multae admodum in scriptis Paulinis exstant, Eph. 1, 17; Col. 1, 9; Phil. 1, 9, quae preces et sententiae de ignorantia et impotentia nostra non ideo nobis praescriptae sunt, ut ad legendum, audiendum atque meditandum Verbum Dei tardiores atque remissiores reddamur, sed ut primum Deo toto pectore gratias agamus, quod nos e tenebris ignorantiae et captivitate peccati ac mortis per Filium suum liberaverit et per Baptismum et Spiritum Sanctum regeneraverit atque illuminaverit.

16] Et postquam Deus per Spiritum Sanctum suum initium in Baptismo fecit atque veram Dei agnitionem et fidem in cordibus nostris accendit atque operatus est, assiduis precibus orandus est, ut per eundem Spiritum sua gratia (per quotidiana exercitia audiendi, legendi et ad usum transferendi Verbum Dei) in nobis fidem et coelestia sua dona [R. 660 fovere, de die in diem confirmare et ad finem usque conservare velit. Nisi enim Dominus ipse doctoris et praeceptoris officio fungatur, nihil eorum, quae ipsi grata, nobis autem et aliis salutaria sunt, discemus.

17] II. Deinde Verbum Dei testatur, hominis naturalis, non renati intellectum, cor et voluntatem in rebus divinis prorsus non modo a Deo aversa, verum etiam adversus Deum ad omne malum conversa et penitus depravata esse. Item, hominem non tantum infirmum, imbecillem, ineptum et ad bonum emortuum, verum etiam per peccatum originis adeo miserabiliter perversum, veneno peccati infectum et corruptum esse, ut ex ingenio et natura sua totus sit malus, Deo rebellis et inimicus et ad omnia ea, quae Deus odit, nimium sit potens, vivus, efficax. Gen. 8, 21: *Sensus et cogitatio humani cordis tantum mala sunt, ab adolescentia sua. Pravum est cor hominis,* ait Ieremias 17, 9, *et inscrutabile; quis cognoscet illud?* Hoc dictum apostolus his verbis interpretatur Rom. 8, 7: *Sensus carnis inimicitia est adversus Deum.* Gal. 5, 17: *Caro concupiscit adversus Spiritum; haec sibi invicem adversantur.* Et ad Romanos, 7, 14, sic ait: *Scimus quod lex spiritualis est, ego autem carnalis, venundatus sub peccato.* Et paulo post: *Scio, quod in me, hoc est, in carne mea, non habitet bonum* etc. *Condelector enim lege Dei secundum interiorem hominem* (qui ex Spiritu Sancto renatus est); *video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captivantem me in lege peccati* etc.

18] Si autem in beato apostolo Paulo et aliis renatis hominibus naturale vel carnale liberum arbitrium, etiam post regenerationem, legi divinae repugnat, quanto magis ante regenerationem legi et voluntati Dei rebellabit et inimicum erit! Ex his manifestum est (ut in articulo de peccato originis pluribus [R. 661 ostendimus, ad quae brevitatis causa nunc nos referimus), liberum arbitrium propriis et naturalibus suis viribus non modo nihil ad conversionem, iustitiam et salutem suam ope-

own natural powers; as, in Ps. 119 alone David prays more than ten times that God would impart to him understanding, that he might rightly comprehend and learn the divine doctrine. [Very many] similar prayers are in the writings of Paul, Eph. 1, 17; Col. 1, 9; Phil. 1, 9. These prayers and passages concerning our ignorance and inability have been written for us, not for the purpose of rendering us idle and remiss in reading, hearing, and meditating upon God's Word, but, first, that we should thank God from the heart that by His Son He has delivered us from the darkness of ignorance and the captivity of sin and death, and through Baptism and the Holy Ghost regenerated and illumined us.

And after God through the Holy Ghost in Baptism has kindled and effected a beginning of the true knowledge of God and faith, we should pray Him without ceasing that through the same Spirit and His grace, by means of the daily exercise of reading and practising God's Word, He would preserve in us faith and His heavenly gifts, strengthen us from day to day, and keep us to the end. For unless God Himself be our schoolmaster, we can study and learn nothing that is acceptable to Him and salutary to ourselves and others.

Secondly, God's Word testifies that the intellect, heart, and will of the natural, unregenerate man in divine things are not only turned entirely away from God, but also turned and perverted against God to every evil; also, that he is not only weak, incapable, unfit, and dead to good, but also is so lamentably perverted, infected, and corrupted by original sin that he is entirely evil, perverse, and hostile to God by his disposition and nature, and that he is exceedingly strong, alive, and active with respect to everything that is displeasing and contrary to God. Gen. 8, 22: *The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.* Jer. 17, 9: *The heart of man is deceitful and desperately wicked,* or perverted and full of misery, *so that it is unfathomable.* This passage St. Paul explains Rom. 8: *The carnal mind is enmity against God.* Gal. 5, 17: *The flesh lusteth against the spirit; and these are contrary the one to the other.* Rom. 7, 14: *We know that the Law is spiritual; but I am carnal, sold under sin.* And soon after, 18, 23: *I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing. For I delight in the Law of God after the inward man,* which is regenerate by the Holy Ghost; *but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.*

Now, if in St. Paul and in other regenerate men the natural or carnal free will even after regeneration strives against God's Law, it will be much more obstinate and hostile to God's Law and will before regeneration. Hence it is manifest (as it is further declared in the article concerning original sin, to which we now refer for the sake of brevity) that the free will from its own natural powers, not only cannot work or concur in working any-

ken oder mitwirken noch dem Heiligen Geist, so ihm durch das Evangelium Gottes Gnade und die Seligkeit anbeut [anbietet], folgen, glauben oder das Jawort dazu geben kann, sondern aus angeborner, böser, widerspenstiger Art Gott und seinem Willen feindlich widerstrebt, wo er nicht durch Gottes Geist erleuchtet und regiert wird.

Derhalben auch die Heilige Schrift des unwiedergebornen Menschen Herz einem harten Stein, so dem, der ihn anrührt, nicht weicht, sondern widersteht, und einem ungehobelten Block und wildem, unbändigem Tier vergleicht; nicht daß der Mensch nach dem Fall nicht mehr eine vernünftige Kreatur sei, oder ohne Gehör und Betrachtung des göttlichen Wortes zu Gott bekehrt werde, oder in äußerlichen, weltlichen Sachen nichts Gutes oder Böses verstehen, oder freiwillig tun oder lassen könne.

Denn wie Doktor Luther im 90. Psalm spricht: In weltlichen und äußerlichen Geschäften, was die Nahrung und leibliche Notdurft betrifft, ist der Mensch witzig, vernünftig und fast [sehr] geschäftig; aber in geistlichen und göttlichen Sachen, was der Seelen Heil betrifft, da ist der Mensch wie eine Salzsäule, wie Lots Weib, ja wie Klotz und Stein, wie ein tot Bild, das weder Augen noch Mund, weder Sinn noch Herz braucht; sintemal der Mensch den grausamen, grimmigen Zorn Gottes über die Sünde und Tod nicht sieht noch erkennt, sondern fährt immer fort in seiner Sicherheit, auch wissentlich und willig, und kommt darüber in tausend Gefährlichkeit, endlich in den ewigen Tod und Verdammnis; und da hilft kein Bitten, kein Flehen, kein Vermahnen, ja auch kein Dräuen, Schelten, ja alles Lehren und Predigen ist bei ihm verloren, ehe er durch den Heiligen Geist erleuchtet, bekehrt und wiedergeboren wird, dazu denn kein Stein oder Block, sondern allein der Mensch erschaffen ist. Und da Gott nach seinem gerechten, gestrengen Gericht die gefallenen bösen Geister gänzlich in Ewigkeit verworfen, hat er doch aus besonderer lauter Barmherzigkeit gewollt, daß die arme, gefallene menschliche Natur wiederum der Bekehrung, der Gnade Gottes und des ewigen Lebens fähig und teilhaftig werden und sein möchte, nicht aus eigener, natürlicher, wirklicher Geschicklichkeit, Tüchtigkeit oder Fähigkeit (denn es ist eine widerspenstige Feindschaft wider Gott), sondern aus lauter Gnade, durch gnädige, kräftige Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes. Und das heißt D. Luther capacitatem [non activam, sed passivam], die er also erklärt: Quando patres liberum arbitrium defendunt, capacitatem libertatis eius praedicant, quod scilicet verti potest ad bonum per gratiam Dei et fieri revera liberum, ad quod creatum est. Das ist: Wenn die Väter den freien Willen verteidigen, reden sie davon, daß er der Freiheit fähig sei dergestalt, daß er durch Gottes Gnade zum Guten bekehrt und wahrhaftig frei könnte werden, dazu er anfangs erschaffen ist. (Tom. 1, p. 236.) Dergleichen auch Augustinus, lib. 2, contra Iulianum, geschrieben. (D. Luther über das 6. Kapitel Hoseas; item, in der Kirchenpostille über die Epistel am Christtag, Tit. 3; item, über das Evangelium Dom. 3. post Epiphaniae.)

rari aut cooperari, aut Spiritui Sancto (qui homini in evangelio gratiam et salutem offert) obsequi, credere aut assentiri posse, sed potius, pro insita sua rebelli et contumaci natura, Deo et voluntati eius hostiliter repugnare, nisi Spiritu Dei illuminetur atque regatur.

19] Eam ob causam sacrae litterae hominis non renati cor duro lapidi, qui ad tactum non cedat, sed resistat, item rudi trunco, interdum etiam ferae indomitae comparant; non quod homo post lapsum non amplius sit rationalis creatura, aut quod absque auditu et meditatione Verbi divini ad Deum convertatur, aut quod in rebus externis et civilibus nihil boni aut mali intelligere possit, aut libere aliquid agere vel omittere queat.

20] Nam (ut D. Lutherus in Commentario super Psalmum 90. dicit) in civilibus externis rebus, quae ad victum et corporalem sustentationem pertinent, homo est industrius, ingeniosus et quidem admodum negotiosus; sed in spiritualibus et divinis rebus, quae ad animae salutem spectant, homo est instar statuae salis (in quam uxor patriarchae Lot est conversa), imo est similis trunco et lapidi ac statuae vita carenti, quae neque oculorum, oris aut ullorum sensuum cordisve usum 21] habet. Homo enim horrendam Dei iram adversus peccatum et ex ea consequentem mortem neque videt neque agnoscit, sed strenue in carnali sua securitate (etiam sciens volensque) pergit et ita in mille pericula, tandem etiam in aeternam mortem et damnationem se praecipitat. Neque ab eo ad interitum cursu homo precibus, admonitionibus, obsecrationibus, minis, obiurgationibus revocari se patitur, nulla doctrina, nullae conciones apud eum locum habent, antequam per Spiritum [R. 662 Sanctum illuminatur, convertitur et regene-22] ratur. Ad hanc vero Spiritus Sancti renovationem nullus lapis, nullus truncus, sed solus homo creatus est. Et cum Deus, severissimo et iustissimo suo iudicio, lapsos malos spiritus prorsus in aeternum abiecerit, singulari nihilominus et mera miseratione voluit, ut miserrima ex lapsu hominis natura conversionis et gratiae Dei ac vitae aeternae rursus capax particepsque fieret et esset, non ex sua propria, naturali et activa aut efficaci habilitate, aptitudine aut capacitate (natura enim hominis est inimicitia adversus Deum), sed ex mera gratia, per clementem et efficacem opera-23] tionem Spiritus Sancti. Et hoc ipsum vocat D. Lutherus capacitatem (non activam, sed passivam) eamque his verbis declarat: *Quando patres liberum arbitrium defendunt, capacitatem libertatis eius praedicant, quod scilicet verti potest ad bonum per gratiam Dei et fieri revera liberum, ad quod creatum est.* (Tom. 1, p. 236.) Horum similia etiam Augustinus, lib. 2, contra Iulianum, scripsit. [Augustinus: „Naturam demonstravit (Ambrosius) etiam istam, quae sub peccato nascitur et cuius ortus in vitio est, esse iustificationis capacem, sed sane per gratiam."] (D. Lutherus in 6. caput Oseae et in Postillis ecclesiasticis, in epistolam nativitatis Christi, Tit. 3, et ibidem Dominica 3. post Epiphaniae.)

thing for its own conversion, righteousness, and salvation, nor follow [obey], believe, or assent to the Holy Ghost, who through the Gospel offers him grace and salvation, but from its innate, wicked, rebellious nature it resists God and His will hostilely, unless it be enlightened and controlled by God's Spirit.

On this account the Holy Scriptures also compare the heart of the unregenerate man to a hard stone, which does not yield to the one who touches it, but resists, and to a rough block, and to a wild, unmanageable beast; not that man since the Fall is no longer a rational creature, or is converted to God without hearing and meditating upon the divine Word, or in external, worldly things cannot understand, or of his free will do, or abstain from doing, anything good or evil.

For, as Doctor Luther says Ps. 90: "In worldly and external affairs, which pertain to the livelihood and maintenance of the body, man is cunning, intelligent, and quite active; but in spiritual and divine things, which pertain to the salvation of the soul, man is like a pillar of salt, like Lot's wife, yea, like a log and a stone, like a lifeless statue, which uses neither eyes nor mouth, neither sense nor heart. For man neither sees nor perceives the terrible and fierce wrath of God on account of sin and death [resulting from it], but ever continues in his security, even knowingly and willingly, and thereby falls into a thousand dangers, and finally into eternal death and damnation; and no prayers, no supplications, no admonitions, yea, also no threats, no chiding, are of any avail, yea, all teaching and preaching is lost upon him, until he is enlightened, converted, and regenerated by the Holy Ghost, for which [renewal of the Holy Ghost], indeed, no stone or block, but man alone, was created. And although God, according to His just, strict sentence, has utterly cast away the fallen evil spirits forever, He has nevertheless, out of special, pure mercy, willed that poor fallen human nature might again become and be capable and participant of conversion, the grace of God and eternal life; not from its own natural, active [or effective] skill, aptness, or capacity (for the nature of man is obstinate enmity against God), but from pure grace, through the gracious efficacious working of the Holy Ghost." And this Dr. Luther calls *capacitatem (non activam, sed passivam)*, which he explains thus: *Quando patres liberum arbitrium defendunt, capacitatem libertatis eius praedicant, quod scilicet verti potest ad bonum per gratiam Dei et fieri revera liberum, ad quod creatum est.* That is: *When the Fathers defend the free will, they are speaking of this, that it is capable of freedom in this sense, that by God's grace it can be converted to good, and become truly free, for which it was created in the beginning.* (Tom. 1, p. 236.) To like effect also Augustine has written, lib. 2, *Contra Iulianum.* Doctor Luther on Hosea 6; also in the Church-Postil on the Epistle for Christmas; also on the Gospel for the third Sunday after Epiphany.

Aber zuvor und ehe der Mensch durch den Heiligen Geist erleuchtet, bekehrt, wiedergeboren, verneuert und gezogen wird, kann er für sich selbst und aus seinen eigenen natürlichen Kräften in geistlichen Sachen und seiner selbst Bekehrung oder Wiedergeburt etwas anzufangen, wirken oder mitzuwirken gleich so wenig als ein Stein oder Block oder Ton. Denn ob er wohl die äußerlichen Gliedmaßen regieren und das Evangelium hören und etlichermaßen betrachten, auch davon reden kann, wie in den Pharisäern und Heuchlern zu sehen ist, so hält er es doch für Torheit und kann es nicht glauben, [ver]hält sich auch in dem Fall ärger als ein Block, daß er Gottes Willen widerspenstig und feind ist, wo nicht der Heilige Geist in ihm kräftig ist und den Glauben und andere gottgefällige Tugenden und Gehorsam in ihm anzündet und wirkt.

Wie denn zum dritten die Heilige Schrift die Bekehrung, den Glauben an Christum, die Wiedergeburt, Erneurung und alles, was zu derselben wirklichem Anfang und Vollziehung gehört, nicht den menschlichen Kräften des natürlichen freien Willens, weder zum ganzen noch zum halben noch zu einigem, dem wenigsten oder geringsten Teil zugeleget [zulegt], sondern in solidum, das ist, ganz und gar, allein der göttlichen Wirkung und dem Heiligen Geist zuschreibt, wie auch die Apologia sagt.

Die Vernunft und freier Wille vermag etlichermaßen äußerlich ehrbar zu leben; aber neugeboren werden, inwendig ander Herz, Sinn und Mut bekommen, das wirkt allein der Heilige Geist. Der **öffnet den Verstand und das Herz, die Schrift zu verstehen** und aufs Wort achtzugeben, wie Luk. 24 geschrieben: „Er öffnete ihnen das Verständnis, daß sie die Schrift verstunden." Item Act. 16: „Lydia hörte zu, welcher tat der HErr das Herz auf, daß sie darauf achthatte, was von Paulo geredet ward." **Er wirkt in uns beide das Wollen und das Vollbringen,** Phil. 2; **gibt Buße,** Act. 5; 2 Tim. 2; **wirkt den Glauben,** Phil. 1: „Euch ist von Gott gegeben, daß ihr an ihn glaubet." Eph. 2: „Gottes Gabe ist es." Joh. 6: „Das ist Gottes Werk, daß ihr an den glaubet, den er gesandt hat." **Gibt ein verständig Herz, sehende Augen und hörende Ohren,** Deut. 29; Matth. 13. **Ist ein Geist der Wiedergeburt und Erneurung,** Tit. 3. **Nimmt das harte, steinerne Herz weg und gibt ein neues, weiches, fleischern Herz, daß wir in seinen Geboten wandeln,** Ezech. 11. 36; Deut. 30; Ps. 51. **Schafft uns in Christo JEsu zu guten Werken,** Eph. 2, **und zu neuen Kreaturen,** 2 Kor. 5; Gal. 6. Und in Summa: „Alle gute Gabe ist von Gott", Jak. 1. „Niemand kann zu Christo kommen, der Vater ziehe ihn denn", Joh. 6. „Niemand kennet den Vater, denn wem es der Sohn offenbaren will", Matth. 11. „Niemand kann Christum einen HErrn nennen ohne durch den Heiligen Geist", 1 Kor. 12. Und „ohne mich", spricht Christus, „könnt ihr nichts tun", Joh. 15. Denn „alle unsere Tüchtigkeit ist von Gott", 2 Kor. 3. Und „was hast du, das du nicht empfangen hast? Was rühmest du dich denn, als der es nicht empfangen hätte?" 1 Kor. 4. Wie denn sonderlich von diesem Spruch St. Augustinus schreibt, daß er dadurch überzeugt sei, seine vorige irrige Meinung fallen zu lassen, da er gehalten habe, De Praedestinatione, cap. 3: Gratiam

24] Antequam autem homo per Spiritum Sanctum illuminatur, convertitur, regeneratur et trahitur, ex sese et propriis naturalibus suis viribus in rebus spiritualibus et ad conversionem aut regenerationem suam nihil inchoare, operari aut cooperari potest, nec plus quam lapis, truncus aut limus. Etsi enim locomotivam potentiam seu externa membra regere, evangelium audire et aliquo modo meditari, atque etiam de eo disserere potest, ut in Pharisaeis et hypocritis est videre, tamen id tacitis cogitationibus ut rem stultam spernit neque credere potest. Et hac in parte deterior est trunco, quia voluntati divinae rebellis est et inimicus, nisi Spiritus Sanctus in ipso sit efficax et fidem aliasque Deo probatas virtutes atque obedientiam in ipso accendat et operetur.

25] III. Praeterea sacrae litterae hominis conversionem, fidem in Christum, regenerationem, renovationem et omnia, quae ad [R. 663 illam efficaciter inchoandam et absolvendam pertinent, nequaquam humanis viribus naturalis liberi arbitrii, neque ex toto neque dimidia, aut ulla vel minima ex parte, sed in solidum, id est, simpliciter, *soli* divinae operationi et Spiritui Sancto ascribunt, sicut etiam Apologia testatur.

26] Ratio et naturale liberum arbitrium habet aliquo modo facultatem, ut externam honestam vitam instituere possit; at ut interne homo renascatur ipsiusque cor et animus immutentur, hoc solius Spiritus Sancti opus est. Et sane is donat intellectum et cor hominis aperit, ut Scripturam intelligat et Verbo Domini attendat, ut Luc. 24, 27 scriptum est: *Aperuit ipsis Scripturam, ut eam intelligerent.* Et Act. 16, 14: *Lydiae auscultanti Dominus aperuit cor intendere his, quae dicebantur a Paulo. Operatur enim Dominus in nobis utrumque, et velle et perficere,* Phil. 2, 13, *dat poenitentiam,* Act. 5, 31; 2 Tim. 2, 25, *operatur fidem,* ut apostolus ait Phil. 1, 29: *Vobis donatum est, ut in eum credatis.* Eph. 2, 8: *Donum Dei est.* Et Christus inquit Ioh. 6, 29: *Hoc est opus Dei, ut credatis in eum, quem misit ille.* Deut. 29, 4; Matth. 13, 15: *Dominus donat cor intelligens, oculos videntes et aures audientes.* Tit. 3, 5: *Spiritus Sanctus est Spiritus regenerationis et renovationis.* Ezech. 11, 19; 36, 26; Deut. 30, 6; Ps. 51, 12: Ille *aufert durum lapideum cor et donat novum, molle et carneum cor, ut in praeceptis eius ambulemus.* Eph. 2, 10: Ille nos in Christo Iesu *creat ad opera bona* et nos *novas creaturas* facit, 2 Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15. Et ut paucis dicamus, Iac. 1, 17: *Omne donum bonum est a Deo.* Ioh. 6, 44: *Nemo potest ad Christum venire, nisi Pater traxerit eum.* Matth. 11, 27: *Nemo novit Patrem, nisi cui Filius revelare voluerit.* 1 Cor. 12, 3: *Nemo potest Christum Dominum appellare nisi per Spiritum Sanctum. Sine me,* inquit Christus, Ioh. 15, 5, *nihil facere potestis.* 2 Cor. 3, 5: *Omnis sufficientia nostra a Deo est.* 1 Cor. 4, 7: *Et quid habes, quod non accepisti? Quid igitur gloriaris, quasi non acceperis?* Et sane divus [R. 664

27] Augustinus hoc Scripturae loco convictum

But before man is enlightened, converted, regenerated, renewed, and drawn by the Holy Ghost, he can of himself and of his own natural powers begin, work, or concur in working in spiritual things and in his own conversion or regeneration just as little as a stone or a block or clay. For although he can control the outward members and hear the Gospel, and to a certain extent meditate upon it, also discourse concerning it, as is to be seen in the Pharisees and hypocrites, nevertheless he regards it as foolishness, and cannot believe it. And in this respect he acts even worse than a block, inasmuch as he is rebellious and hostile to God's will, unless the Holy Ghost is efficacious in him, and kindles and works in him faith and other virtues pleasing to God, and obedience.

Thirdly, in this manner, too, the Holy Scriptures ascribe conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renewal, and all that belongs to their efficacious beginning and completion, not to the human powers of the natural free will, neither entirely, nor half, nor in any, even the least or most inconsiderable part, but *in solidum*, that is, entirely, solely, to the divine working and the Holy Ghost, as also the *Apology* teaches.

Reason and free will are able to a certain extent to live an outwardly decent life; but to be born anew, and to obtain inwardly another heart, mind, and disposition, this only the Holy Ghost effects. He opens the understanding and heart to understand the Scriptures and to give heed to the Word, as it is written Luke 24, 45: *Then opened He their understanding that they might understand the Scriptures.* Also Acts 16, 14: *Lydia heard us; whose heart the Lord opened that she attended unto the things which were spoken of Paul. He worketh in us both to will and to do of His own good pleasure,* Phil. 2, 13. He *gives repentance,* Acts 5, 31; 2 Tim. 2, 25. He *works faith,* Phil. 1, 29: *For unto you it is given, in behalf of Christ, not only to believe on Him.* Eph. 2, 8: *It is the gift of God.* John 6, 29: *This is the work of God, that ye believe on Him whom He hath sent.* He *gives an understanding heart, seeing eyes, and hearing ears,* Deut. 29, 4; Matt. 13, 15. He *is a Spirit of regeneration and renewal,* Titus 3, 5. 6. He *takes away the hard heart of stone, and gives a new tender heart of flesh, that we may walk in His commands,* Ezek. 11, 19; Deut. 30, 6; Ps. 51, 10. He *creates us in Christ Jesus to good works,* Eph. 2, 10, and *makes us new creatures,* 2 Cor. 5, 17; Gal. 6, 15. And, in short, *Every good gift is of God,* Jas. 1, 17. *No one can come to Christ unless the Father draw him,* John 6, 44. *No one knoweth the Father, save him to whom the Son will reveal Him,* Matt. 11, 27. *No one can call Christ Lord except by the Holy Ghost,* 1 Cor. 12, 3. *Without Me,* says Christ, *ye can do nothing,* John 15, 5. All *our sufficiency is of God,* 2 Cor. 3, 5. *What hast thou that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory as if thou hadst not received it?* 1 Cor. 4, 7. Accordingly, St. Augustine particularly writes of this passage that by it he was convinced that he must lay aside his former erroneous opinion, when he had maintained the following in his treatise *De Praedestinatione,* chap. 3: *Gratiam Dei in eo tantum consistere, quod in praeconio veritatis Dei voluntas nobis revelaretur; ut autem praedicato nobis evangelio consentiremus,*

Dei in eo tantum consistere, quod in praeconio veritatis Dei voluntas nobis revelaretur; ut autem praedicato nobis evangelio consentiremus, nostrum esse proprium et ex nobis esse. Item erravi (inquit), cum dicerem, nostrum esse credere et velle; Dei autem, dare credentibus et volentibus facultatem operandi. Das ist: „In dem habe ich geirrt, daß ich gehalten habe, die Gnade Gottes stehe allein darin, daß Gott in der Predigt der Wahrheit seinen Willen offenbare; aber daß wir dem gepredigten Evangelio Beifall tun, das sei unser eigen Werk und stehe in unsern Kräften." Item spricht St. Augustinus weiter: „Ich habe geirrt, da ich sagte, es stehe in unserer Macht, dem Evangelio zu glauben und [zu] wollen; aber Gottes Werk sei es, zu geben die Kraft denen, die da glauben und wollen, daß sie etwas wirken könnten."

se esse fatetur, ut opinionem, quam antea ea de re falsam conceperat, abiiceret. Senserat enim, gratiam Dei in eo tantum consistere, quod in praeconio veritatis Dei voluntas nobis revelaretur; ut autem praedicato nobis evangelio consentiremus, nostrum esse proprium et ex nobis esse. Item, *erravi* (inquit) *cum dicerem, nostrum esse credere et velle; Dei autem, dare credentibus et volentibus facultatem operandi.*

Diese Lehre ist in Gottes Wort gegründet und der Augsburgischen Konfession, auch andern Schriften, droben vermeldet, gemäß, wie die nachfolgenden Zeugnisse ausweisen.

28] Haec doctrina in sacris litteris solidissima fundamenta habet et Augustanae Confessioni aliisque scriptis publicis et approbatis, quorum supra mentionem fecimus, plane conformis est, quemadmodum dicta, quae recitabimus, luculenter testantur.

Im XX. Artikel sagt die Konfession also: „Dieweil durch den Glauben der Heilige Geist gegeben wird, so wird auch das Herz geschickt, gute Werke zu tun. Denn zuvor, dieweil es ohne den Heiligen Geist [ist], so ist es zu schwach, dazu ist es in des Teufels Gewalt, der die arme menschliche Natur zu viel Sünden treibt." [* Und bald danach: „Denn außer dem Glauben und außerhalb Christo ist menschliche Natur und Vermögen viel zu schwach, gute Werke zu tun."]

29] In Articulo XX. Augustana Confessio haec verba habet: *Homines sine Christo, sine fide et sine Spiritu Sancto sunt in potestate diaboli, qui impellit homines ad varia et manifesta scelera. Ideo primum docentur homines de fide, quomodo Spiritus Sanctus detur, et quod Christus nos iuvet et tegat contra diabolum* etc. Et paulo post: *Humana ratio et virtus sine Christo nimis infirma est ad resistendum diabolo, qui impellit homines ad peccandum* etc.

Diese Sprüche zeugen klar, daß die Augsburgische Konfession des Menschen Willen in geistlichen Sachen gar nicht für frei erkennt, sondern sagt, er sei des Teufels Gefangener; wie sollte er sich denn können aus eigenen Kräften zum Evangelio oder Christo wenden?

30] Ex his manifestum est, quod Augustana Confessio hominis voluntatem in rebus spiritualibus haudquaquam liberam pronuntiet, sed affirmet, hominem esse in diaboli potestate. Quomodo igitur suis ipse viribus ad evangelion aut ad Christum se convertere posset?

Die Apologia (über den 18. Artikel) lehrt vom freien Willen also: „Und wir sagen auch, daß die Vernunft etlichermaßen einen freien Willen habe; denn in den Dingen, welche mit der Vernunft zu fassen, haben wir einen freien Willen." Und bald danach: „Solche Herzen, die ohne den Heiligen Geist sind, die sind ohne Gottesfurcht, ohne Glauben, Vertrauen, glauben nicht, daß Gott sie erhöre, daß er ihre Sünden vergebe, und daß er ihnen in Nöten helfe; darum sind sie gottlos. Nun kann ein böser Baum nicht gute Früchte tragen, und ohne Glauben kann Gott niemand gefallen. Darum ob wir gleich nachgeben, daß in unserm Vermögen sei, solche äußerliche Werke zu tun, so sagen wir doch, daß der freie Wille und Vernunft in geistlichen Sachen nichts vermöge" usw. Hieraus [ist] lauter zu sehen, daß die Apologia des Menschen Willen kein Vermögen zuschreibt, weder das Gute anzufangen noch für sich selbst mitzuwirken.

31] Apologia Confessionis (Articulo 18.) de libero arbitrio ad hunc modum docet: *Non adimimus humanae voluntati libertatem. Habet enim libertatem in operibus et rebus deligendis, quas ratio per se comprehendit* etc. Et paulo post: *Humana corda sine Spiritu Sancto sunt sine timore Dei, sine fide et* [R. 665 *fiducia erga Deum, non credunt se exaudiri a Deo, sibi remitti peccata et in tribulatione velle Deum opem ferre; igitur sunt impia.*

32] *Porro arbor mala non potest ferre bonos fructus* [Matth. 7, 18]. *Et sine fide impossibile est placere Deo* [Hebr. 11, 6]. *Igitur, etiamsi concedimus libero arbitrio libertatem et facultatem externa legis opera efficiendi, tamen illa spiritualia non tribuemus libero arbitrio, scilicet vere timere Deum, vere credere Deo* etc. Haec satis clare testantur, quod Apologia humanae voluntati nullas vires attribuat vel bonum inchoandi vel ex sese cooperandi.

In den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln (Von der Sünde) werden auch nachfolgende Irrtümer vom freien Willen verworfen: „Daß der Mensch habe einen freien Willen, Gutes zu tun und Böses zu lassen" usw. Und bald danach wird auch als ein Irrtum verworfen, wenn gelehrt wird: „Es sei nicht in der Schrift gegründet, daß zu den guten Werken vonnöten sei der Heilige Geist mit seiner Gnade" usw.

33] In Articulis Smalcaldicis (De peccato originis) sequentes errores de libero arbitrio reiiciuntur: *Quod homo liberum habeat arbitrium bonum agendi et malum omittendi* etc. Et post aliqua tamquam error repudiatur, cum docetur: *Non posse ex Scriptura probari, ad bonum opus necessario requiri Spiritum Sanctum et eius gratiam.*

Ferner steht in den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln (Von der Buße) also: „Und diese Buße währt

34] Praeterea in Articulis Smalcaldicis (De poenitentia) haec leguntur: *Et haec poeni-*

nostrum esse proprium et ex nobis esse. Item erravi (inquit), cum dicerem, nostrum esse credere et velle; Dei autem, dare credentibus et volentibus facultatem operandi. That is: *I erred in this, that I held that the grace of God consists only in this, that God in the preaching of the truth reveals His will; but that our consenting to the preached Gospel is our own work, and is within our own powers.* Likewise, St. Augustine writes further: *I erred when I said that it is within our own power to believe the Gospel and to will; but it is God's work to give to them that believe and will the power to effect something.*

This doctrine is founded upon God's Word, and conformable to the *Augsburg Confession* and other writings above mentioned, as the following testimonies prove.

In Article XX the Confession says as follows: *Because through faith the Holy Ghost is given, the heart thus becomes fit for doing good works. For before, because it is without the Holy Ghost, it is too weak, and, besides, is in the devil's power, who drives poor human nature into many sins.* [Without Christ, without faith, and without the Holy Ghost men are in the power of the devil, who drives men to manifold and open crimes. Therefore men are first taught regarding faith, how the Holy Spirit is given, and that Christ aids and protects us against the devil, etc.] And a little afterward: *For without faith and without Christ human nature and ability* [*reason and virtue*] *are much too weak to do good works* [*to resist the devil who drives men into sinning*].

These passages clearly testify that the *Augsburg Confession* does not at all recognize [pronounce] the will of man in spiritual things as free, but says that he is the devil's captive; how, then, is he to be able of his own powers to turn himself to the Gospel or Christ?

The *Apology* (Art. XVIII) teaches thus of free will: [We do not deny liberty to the human will.] *We also say that reason has, to a certain extent, a free will; for in the things which are to be comprehended by reason* [*as such*] *we have a free will* [*liberty in the choice of works and things*]. And a little after: *For such hearts as are without the Holy Ghost are without the fear of God, without faith, without trust* [*in God*]; *they do not believe that God hears them, that He forgives their sins, and helps them in troubles; therefore they are godless. Now, "a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit," and "without faith it is impossible to please God." Therefore, although we concede that it is within our ability to perform such an outward work* [*we concede to free will the liberty and power to perform the outward works of the Law*], *nevertheless, we say that in spiritual things* [*truly to fear God, truly to believe in God*] *the free will and reason have no ability,* etc. Here it is clearly seen that the *Apology* ascribes no ability to the will of man, either for beginning good or for cooperating of itself.

In the *Smalcald Articles* (Of Sin) also the following errors concerning the free will are rejected: *That man has a free will to do good and omit evil,* etc. And shortly afterward it is also rejected as an error when men teach: *That it is not founded upon Scripture, that for a good work the Holy Ghost with His grace is necessary.*

Furthermore, we read in the *Smalcald Articles* (Of Repentance), as follows: *And*

bei den Christen bis in den Tod; denn sie beißt sich mit der übrigen Sünde im Fleisch durchs ganze Leben, wie St. Paulus Röm. 7 zeugt, daß er kämpfe mit dem Gesetz seiner Glieder, und das nicht durch eigene Kräfte, sondern durch die Gabe des Heiligen Geistes, welche folgt auf die Vergebung der Sünden. Dieselbe Gabe reinigt und fegt täglich die übrigen Sünden aus und arbeitet, den Menschen recht rein und heilig zu machen." Diese Worte sagen gar nichts von unserm Willen, oder daß derselbe auch in den neugebornen Menschen etwas aus ihm selbst wirke, sondern schreiben es zu der Gabe des Heiligen Geistes, welche den Menschen reinige und ihn täglich frömmer und heiliger mache, und werden hiervon unsere eigenen Kräfte gänzlich ausgeschlossen.

Im Großen Katechismo D. Luthers steht also geschrieben (über den 3. Artikel des christlichen Glaubens): „Derselben christlichen Kirche bin ich auch ein Stück und Glied, aller Güter, so sie hat, teilhaftig und Mitgenoß, durch den Heiligen Geist dahin gebracht und eingeleibt dadurch, daß ich Gottes Wort gehört habe und noch höre, welches ist der Anfang hineinzukommen. Denn vorhin, ehe wir dazu", zur christlichen Kirche, [„ge]kommen, sind wir gar des Teufels gewesen, als die von Gott und Christo nichts gewußt haben. So bleibt der Heilige Geist bei der heiligen Gemeinde der Christenheit bis auf den Jüngsten Tag, dadurch er uns heilet [* holet], und braucht sie dazu, das Wort zu führen und treiben, dadurch er die Heiligung macht und mehrt, daß wir täglich zunehmen und stark werden im Glauben und seinen Früchten, so er schaffet" usw. In diesen Worten gedenkt der Katechismus unsers freien Willens oder Zutuns mit keinem Wort, sondern gibt's alles dem Heiligen Geist, daß er durchs Predigtamt uns in die Christenheit bringe, darinnen heilige und verschaffe, daß wir täglich zunehmen im Glauben und guten Werken.

tentia in Christianis usque ad mortem durat. Luctatur enim cum reliquiis peccati in carne per totam vitam, quemadmodum divus Paulus Rom. 7, 23 testatur, se luctari cum lege membrorum suorum, atque hoc non propriis viribus, sed Spiritus Sancti dono, quod remissionem peccatorum statim sequitur. Hoc donum quotidie aliquid de reliquiis peccati expurgat et in hoc incumbit, ut hominem vere mundum **35**] *et sanctum reddat.* Haec verba prorsus nihil de nostra voluntate loquuntur, neque dicunt, quod ea etiam in renatis aliquid ex sese operetur, sed omnia Spiritus Sancti dono ascribunt, quod hominem emundet et de die in diem meliorem et sanctiorem faciat, et ab eo opere vires nostrae propriae prorsus excluduntur.

36] Maior D. Lutheri Catechismus sic habet (de tertio articulo Symboli Apostolici): *Illius catholicae Christianae ecclesiae ego quoque pars sum et membrum, omnium bonorum, quae ipsa habet, particeps et consors; per Spiritum Sanctum enim ad eam communionem coelestium bonorum introductus et* [R. 666 *ecclesiae sum insertus, hoc videlicet medio, quod Verbum Dei audivi et adhuc audio; hoc enim initium est, per quod aditus ad ecclesiam* **37**] *Dei nobis patet. Antequam enim in ecclesiam Christi introducti sumus, vilissima diaboli mancipia eramus, quia de Deo et Christo nihil noveramus. Spiritus Sanctus autem manet cum sancta ecclesia catholica ad novissimum usque diem et per ecclesiam nos sanat eiusque opera utitur in docendo et propagando Dei Verbo, per quod ipse sanctificationem nostram operatur et promovet, ut de die in diem proficiamus et in fide confirmemur, atque in ferendis bonis fidei fructibus, quos ipse efficit, progressus subinde maiores facia-* **38**] *mus* etc. In his omnibus, quae iam e catechismo recitavimus, liberi nostri arbitrii aut cooperationis nostrae ne uno quidem verbulo fit mentio, sed omnia Spiritui Sancto attribuuntur, quod videlicet nos per ministerium Verbi in ecclesiam Dei introducat, in qua nos sanctificet et efficiat, ut quotidie in fide et bonis operibus proficiamus.

Und obwohl die Neugebornen auch in diesem Leben so fern [so weit] kommen, daß sie das Gute wollen, und es ihnen liebet [lieb ist], auch Gutes tun und in demselben zunehmen, so ist doch solches (wie droben vermeldet) nicht aus unserm Willen und unserm Vermögen, sondern der Heilige Geist, wie Paulus selbst davon redet, wirkt solch Wollen und Vollbringen, Phil. 2. Wie er auch zu [den] Ephesern [am] 2. solch Werk allein Gott zuschreibt, da er sagt: „Wir sind sein Werk, geschaffen in Christo JEsu zu guten Werken, zu welchen uns Gott zuvor bereitet hat, daß wir darinnen wandeln sollen."

Im Kleinen Katechismo D. Luthers steht also geschrieben: „Ich glaube, daß ich nicht aus eigener Vernunft noch Kraft an JEsum Christum, meinen HErrn, glauben oder zu ihm kommen kann, sondern der Heilige Geist hat mich durchs Evangelium berufen, mit seinen Gaben erleuchtet, im rechten Glauben geheiligt und erhalten; gleichwie er die ganze Christenheit auf Erden beruft, sammelt, erleuchtet, heiligt und bei JEsu Christo erhält im rechten einigen Glauben" usw.

39] Quamvis autem renati etiam in hac vita eo usque progrediantur, ut bonum velint eoque delectentur et bene agere atque in pietate proficere studeant, tamen hoc ipsum (ut paulo ante dictum est) non a nostra voluntate aut a viribus nostris proficiscitur, sed Spiritus Sanctus (ut Paulus Phil. 2, 13 ipse de hac re loquitur) operatur in nobis illud *velle et perficere.* Quemadmodum etiam alibi apostolus hoc opus soli Deo tribuit, cum inquit Eph. 2, 10: *Ipsius sumus factura, creati in Christo Iesu ad opera bona, quae praeparavit Deus, ut in illis ambulemus.*

40] In Minori Catechismo D. Lutheri sic scriptum est: *Credo me non propria mea ratione aut virtute in Iesum Christum, Dominum meum, credere ac ad ipsum venire* [R. 667 *posse, quandoquidem Spiritus Sanctus me per evangelium vocavit, suis donis illuminavit, in recta fide sanctificavit et conservavit; quemadmodum universam Christianam ecclesiam in terris vocat, colligit, illuminat, sanctificat et in vera ac una fide in Iesum Christum conservat* etc.

in Christians this repentance continues until death, because through the entire life it contends with sin remaining in the flesh, as Paul, Rom. 7, 23, testifies *that he wars with the Law in his members,* etc., *and that not by his own powers, but by the gift of the Holy Ghost, which follows the remission of sins. This gift daily cleanses and sweeps out the remaining sins, and works so as to render man truly pure and holy.* These words say nothing whatever of our will, or that even in regenerate men it works anything of itself, but ascribe it to the gift of the Holy Ghost, which cleanses man and makes him daily more godly and holy; and our own powers are entirely excluded therefrom.

In the *Large Catechism* of Dr. Luther (the Third Article of the Christian Faith) it is written thus: *And I am also a part and member of the same, a sharer and joint owner of all the goods it possesses, brought to it and incorporated into it by the Holy Ghost, by having heard and continuing to hear the Word of God, which is the beginning of entering it. For formerly, before we had attained to this, we were altogether of the devil, knowing nothing of God and of Christ. Thus, until the last day, the Holy Ghost abides with the holy congregation or Christendom, by means of which He brings us to Christ, and which He employs to teach and preach to us the Word, whereby He works and promotes sanctification, causing* [*this community*] *daily to grow and become strong in the faith and the fruits of the Spirit, which He produces.* In these words the Catechism does not mention our free will or cooperation with a single word, but ascribes everything to the Holy Ghost, namely, that through the office of the ministry He brings us into the Christian Church, wherein He sanctifies us, and brings it about that we daily grow in faith and good works.

And although the regenerate even in this life advance so far that they will what is good, and love it, and even do good and grow in it, nevertheless this (as above stated) is not of our will and ability, but the Holy Ghost, as Paul himself speaks concerning this, works such *willing and doing,* Phil. 2, 13. As also in Eph. 2, 10 he ascribes this work to God alone, when he says: *For we are His workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk therein.*

In the *Small Catechism* of Dr. Luther it is thus written: *I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ, my Lord, or come to Him; but the Holy Ghost has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me with His gifts, and sanctified and kept me in the true faith; even as He calls, gathers, enlightens, and sanctifies the whole Christian Church on earth, and keeps it with Jesus Christ in the one true faith,* etc.

Und in der Auslegung des Vaterunsers, in der andern Bitte, sind diese Worte: „Wie geschieht das?“ nämlich daß Gottes Reich zu uns komme. Antwort: „Wenn der himmlische Vater uns seinen Heiligen Geist gibt, daß wir seinem heiligen Wort durch seine Gnade glauben und göttlich leben“ usw.

Diese Zeugnisse sagen, daß wir aus eigenen Kräften zu Christo nicht kommen mögen [können], sondern Gott müsse uns seinen Heiligen Geist geben, dadurch wir erleuchtet, geheiligt und also zu Christo durch den Glauben gebracht und bei ihm erhalten werden, und wird weder unsers Willens noch Mitwirkens gedacht.

Hierauf wollen wir einen Spruch setzen, da sich D. Luther nachmals mit einer Protestation, daß er bei solcher Lehre bis an sein Ende zu verharren gedenke, erklärt im Großen Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl, da er also sagt: „Hiemit verwerfe und verdamme ich als eitel Irrtum alle Lehren, so unsern freien Willen preisen, als die stracks wider solche Hilfe und Gnade unsers Heilandes JEsu Christi strebet [streben]. Denn weil außerhalb Christo der Tod und die Sünde unsere Herren und der Teufel unser Gott und Fürst ist, kann da keine Kraft noch Macht, kein Witz noch Verstand sein, damit wir zu der Gerechtigkeit und Leben uns könnten schicken oder [danach] trachten, sondern müssen Verblendete und Gefangene der Sünde und des Teufels eigen sein, zu tun und zu gedenken, was ihnen gefällt, und Gott mit seinen Geboten [zu]wider ist.“

In diesen Worten gibt D. Luther, seligen und heiligen Gedächtnisses, unserm freien Willen keine einige Kraft, sich zur Gerechtigkeit zu schicken oder danach zu trachten, sondern sagt, daß der Mensch, verblendet und gefangen, allein des Teufels Willen, und was Gott dem HErrn zuwider ist, tue. Darum ist hier kein Mitwirken unsers Willens in der Bekehrung des Menschen, und muß der Mensch gezogen und aus Gott neugeboren werden; sonst ist kein Gedanke in unsern Herzen, der sich zu dem heiligen Evangelio, dasselbe anzunehmen, von sich selbst wenden möchte [könnte]. Wie auch D. Luther von diesem Handel im Buch De Servo Arbitrio, das ist, von dem gefangenen Willen des Menschen, wider Erasmum geschrieben und diese Sache wohl und gründlich ausgeführt und erhalten [dargetan, bewiesen] und nachmals in der herrlichen Auslegung des ersten Buchs Mose, und sonderlich über das 26. Kapitel, wiederholt und erklärt hat; inmaßen daselbst er auch etliche andere sonderbare durch Erasmum neben eingeführte Disputationen, als de absoluta necessitate etc., wie er solches gemeint und verstanden haben wolle, wider allen Mißverstand und Verkehrung zum besten und fleißigsten verwahrt hat; darauf wir uns auch hiermit gezogen [bezogen haben wollen] und andere dahin weisen. [In der Auslegung Luthers zu 1 Mos. 26, 9 heißt es u. a.: „Libet autem ex hoc loco captare occasionem disputandi de dubitatione, de Deo et voluntate Dei. Audio enim, spargi passim sceleratas voces inter nobiles et magnates de praedestinatione sive praescientia divina. Sic enim loquuntur: Si sum praedestinatus, sive bene, sive male egero, salvabor. Si non sum praedestinatus, damnabor, nulla ratione habita operum. Contra has impias voces libenter multis disputarem, si possem per incertam valetudinem, quia, si sunt verae voces, ut ipsis quidem videtur, tum plane tollitur incarnatio Filii Dei, passio et resurrectio, et quidquid fecit pro salute mundi. Quid proderunt prophetae ac tota Scriptura Sacra? quid sacramenta? Abiiciamus ergo et conculcemus ista omnia.“ — „Opponenda est autem cogitationibus

41] Et in explicatione secundae petitionis in Oratione Dominica haec sunt verba: *Qui fit hoc?* ut scilicet regnum Dei ad nos veniat. Responsio: *Quando coelestis Pater nobis Spiritum Sanctum suum largitur, ut Verbo eius sancto per gratiam Dei credamus et pie vivamus* etc.

42] Haec testimonia affirmant nos propriis viribus non posse ad Christum venire, sed Deum dare nobis Spiritum suum Sanctum, a quo illuminamur, sanctificamur et ita ad Christum per fidem adducimur atque in ipso conservamur. Hic nec voluntatis nostrae nec cooperationis mentio fit.

43] His adiungimus dictum, quo D. Lutherus tandem adhibita protestatione se ipsum declarat, quod in hac doctrina usque ad vitae finem perseverare velit. Verba in *Maiore Confessione de Sacrosancta Coena* haec sunt: *Reiicio et damno tamquam meros errores omnia dogmata, quae nostrum liberum arbitrium praedicant, utpote quae auxilio et gratiae Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi simpliciter repugnant. Cum enim extra Christum mors et peccatum nobis dominentur, et diabolus sit deus et princeps noster, non potest hic esse ulla potentia aut virtus, sapientia aut intelligentia in nobis, qua ad iustitiam et vitam nos parare et eam quaerere possimus; sed constat nos plane excaecatos et captivos et peccati ac diaboli mancipia esse et facere atque cogitare ea, quae ipsis placent et Deo et praeceptis eius adversa sunt.*

44] In his verbis D. Lutherus, piae [R. 668 sanctaeque memoriae, libero nostro arbitrio prorsus nihil virium tribuit, quibus se homo ad iustitiam praeparare aut eam quaerere possit. Contra vero docet hominem excaecatum et captivum tantummodo voluntati Satanae parere, et ea, quae Deo displicent, facere. Quare non est in hoc negotio somnianda ulla cooperatio voluntatis nostrae in hominis conversione. Etenim necesse est, ut homo divinitus trahatur et ex Deo renascatur, Ioh. 6, 65; alias nulla in cordibus nostris cogitatio est, quae a se ipso ad evangelion amplectendum sese convertat. Hoc negotium D. Lutherus in libro suo *De Servo Arbitrio* contra Erasmum egregie et solide explicuit atque sententiam hanc piam et invictam esse demonstravit. Postea in commentario illo praeclaro, quem in Genesin scripsit (praecipue in explicatione 26. capitis), eandem repetivit et declaravit. Eo loco etiam alias quasdam peculiares ab Erasmo motas disputationes (ut de absoluta necessitate etc.) attigit, et quomodo ea intelligi et accipi vellet, contra omnes sinistras suspiciones et corruptelas pia explicatione optime munivit. Ea hic repetita esse volumus et, ut diligenter legantur, omnes hortamur.

And in the explanation of the Second Petition of the Lord's Prayer the following words occur: *How is this done? When our Heavenly Father gives us His Holy Spirit, so that by His grace we believe His holy Word and live a godly life,* etc.

These testimonies state that by our own powers we cannot come to Christ, but God must give us His Holy Ghost, by whom we are enlightened, sanctified, and thus brought to Christ through faith, and kept with Him; and no mention is made either of our will or cooperation.

To this we will add a passage in which Dr. Luther declared himself later, with a solemn protestation that he intended to persevere in this doctrine unto the end, in his Large Confession concerning the Holy Supper, where he says: *Herewith I reject and condemn as nothing but error all dogmas which extol our free will, as they directly conflict with this help and grace of our Savior Jesus Christ. For since outside of Christ death and sin are our lords, and the devil our god and prince, there can be no power or might, no wisdom or understanding, whereby we can qualify ourselves for, or strive after, righteousness and life; but we must be blinded people and prisoners of sin and the devil's own, to do and to think what pleases them and is contrary to God and His commandments.*

In these words Dr. Luther, of blessed and holy memory, ascribes to our free will no power whatever to qualify itself for righteousness or strive after it, but says that man is blinded and held captive to do only the devil's will, and that which is contrary to God the Lord. Therefore there is here no cooperation of our will in the conversion of man, and man must be drawn and born anew of God; otherwise there is no thought in our hearts which of itself could turn to the holy Gospel for the purpose of accepting it. Even so Dr. Luther wrote of this matter also in his book *De Servo Arbitrio, i. e.,* Of the Captive Will of Man, in opposition to Erasmus, and elucidated and supported this position well and thoroughly, and afterward he repeated and explained it in his glorious exposition of the book of Genesis, especially of chapter 26. There likewise his meaning and understanding of some other peculiar disputations introduced incidentally by Erasmus, as of absolute necessity, etc., have been secured by him in the best and most careful way against all misunderstanding and perversion; to which we also hereby appeal and refer others.

istis vera et firma cognitio Christi, sicut saepe moneo, imprimis utile et necessarium esse, ut cognitio Dei certissima sit in nobis et firma animi assensione apprehensa haereat; alioqui inanis erit fides nostra. Si enim non stat promissionibus suis Deus, tum de nostra salute actum est; cum e contra haec nostra consolatio sit, tametsi nos mutemur, ut ad immutabilem tamen confugiamus. Sic enim de se affirmat, Mal. 3, 6: ‚Ego Dominus et non mutor'; et Rom. 11, 29: ‚Sine poenitentia enim sunt dona et vocatio Dei.' Sic igitur in libello *De Servo Arbitrio* et alibi docui, esse distinguendum, quando agitur de notitia, vel potius de subiecto divinitatis. Aut enim disputandum est de Deo abscondito aut de Deo revelato. De Deo, quatenus non est revelatus, nulla est fides, nulla scientia et cognitio nulla. Atque ibi tenendum est, quod dicitur: Quae supra nos, nihil ad nos. Eiusmodi enim cogitationes, quae supra aut extra revelationem Dei sublimius aliquid rimantur, prorsus diabolicae sunt, quibus nihil amplius proficitur, quam ut nos ipsos in exitium praecipitemus, quia obiiciunt obiectum impervestigabile, videlicet Deum non revelatum. Quin potius retineat Deus sua decreta et mysteria in abscondito: non est, cur ea manifestari nobis tantopere laboremus. Moses etiam petebat, ut ostenderet ipsi Deus faciem suam. Sed respondet Dominus Ex. 33, 20: ‚Posteriora mea tibi ostendam, faciem autem meam videre non poteris.' Est enim curiositas ista ipsum peccatum originis, quo impellimur, ut ad Deum affectemus viam naturali speculatione. Sed est ingens peccatum, et conatus inutilis et irritus. Sic enim inquit Christus Ioh. 6, 65; 14, 6: ‚Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me.' Ideo quando ad Deum non revelatum accedimus, ibi nulla fides, nullum verbum neque ulla cognitio est, quia est invisibilis Deus, quem tu non facies visibilem." — „Haec studiose et accurate sic monere et tradere volui, quia post meam mortem multi meos libros proferent in medium et inde omnis generis errores et deliria sua confirmabunt. Scripsi autem inter reliqua, esse omnia absoluta et necessaria; sed simul addidi, quod aspiciendus sit Deus revelatus, sicut in Psalmo canimus: ‚Er heisst Iesus Christ, der Herr Zebaoth, und ist kein ander Gott', Iesus Christus est Dominus Zebaoth, nec est alius Deus, et alias saepissime. Sed istos locos omnes transibunt, et eos tantum arripient de Deo abscondito. Vos igitur, qui nunc me auditis, memineritis, me hoc docuisse, non esse inquirendum de praedestinatione Dei absconditi, sed ea acquiescendum esse, quae revelatur per vocationem et per ministerium Verbi. Ibi enim potes de fide et salute tua certus esse ac dicere: Ego credo in Filium Dei, qui dixit: ‚Qui credit in Filium, habet vitam aeternam', Ioh. 3, 36. Ergo in eo non est damnatio aut ira, sed beneplacitum Dei Patris. Haec eadem autem alibi quoque in libris meis protestatus sum, et nunc etiam viva voce trado: ideo sum excusatus." E. opp. exeg. 6, 290. 292. 300.]

Derhalben iſt es unrecht gelehrt, wenn man vorgibt, daß der unwiedergeborne Menſch noch ſo viel Kräfte habe, daß er begehre, das Evangelium anzunehmen, ſich mit demſelben zu tröſten, und alſo der natürliche menſchliche Wille in der Bekehrung etwas mitwirke. Denn ſolche irrige Meinung iſt der heiligen göttlichen Schrift, der chriſtlichen Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion, derſelben Apologia, den Schmalkaldiſchen Artikeln, dem Großen und Kleinen Katechismo Lutheri und andern dieſes vortrefflichen, hocherleuchteten Theologen Schriften zuwider.

Dieweil aber dieſe Lehre vom Unvermögen und Bosheit unſers natürlichen freien Willens und von unſerer Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt, daß ſie allein Gottes und nicht unſerer Kräfte Werk ſei, beides von Enthuſiaſten und Epikurern unchriſtlich mißbraucht wird, und viele Leute durch ſolche Reden wüſt und wild und zu allen chriſtlichen Übungen im Beten, Leſen und chriſtlicher Betrachtung faul und träge werden, indem ſie ſagen: weil ſie aus ihren eigenen natürlichen Kräften ſich nicht vermögen, zu Gott [zu] bekehren, wollen ſie Gott immerzu gänzlich widerſtreben oder warten, bis ſie Gott mit Gewalt wider ihren Willen bekehre; oder: weil ſie in dieſen geiſtlichen Sachen nichts tun können, ſondern alles allein des Heiligen Geiſtes Wirkung ſei, ſo wollen ſie weder Wort noch Sakrament achten, hören oder leſen, ſondern warten, bis ihnen Gott vom Himmel ohne Mittel ſeine Gaben eingieße, daß ſie eigentlich bei ſich ſelbſt fühlen und merken können, daß ſie Gott bekehrt habe;

45] Quare male docetur, cum fingitur, hominem non renatum adhuc tantum habere virium, ut evangelium amplecti eoque sese consolari cupiat, et hoc modo humanam voluntatem (qualis natura est) in conversione aliquo modo cooperari. Haec enim falsa opinio Sacrosanctae Scripturae, piae Augustanae Confessioni, eiusdem Apologiae, Smalcaldicis Articulis, Maiori et Minori Catechismis Lutheri et aliis huius excellentissimi et divinitus illuminati theologi scriptis repugnat.

46] Non ignoramus autem et enthusiastas et Epicuraeos pia hac, de impotentia et malitia naturalis liberi arbitrii, doctrina (qua conversio et regeneratio nostra soli Deo, nequaquam autem nostris viribus tribuitur) impie, turpiter et maligne abuti. Et [R. 669 multi impiis illorum sermonibus offensi atque depravati, dissoluti et feri fiunt atque omnia pietatis exercitia, orationem, sacram lectionem, pias meditationes remisse tractant, aut prorsus negligunt ac dicunt: quandoquidem propriis suis naturalibus viribus ad Deum sese convertere nequeant, perrecturos se in illa sua adversus Deum contumacia, aut exspectaturos, donec a Deo violenter et contra suam ipsorum voluntatem convertantur. Et cum in hisce spiritualibus rebus nullam agendi facultatem habeant, sed totum illud conversionis negotium solius Spiritus Sancti operatio sit, negant se porro Verbum Dei vel audituros vel lecturos, aut sacramento usuros, sed exspectare velle, donec ipsis Deus immediate coelitus dona sua infundat, ut revera in se ipsis sentire et experientia ipsa certiores fieri possint, se a Deo conversos esse.

Therefore it is teaching incorrectly to assert that unregenerate man has still so much power as to desire to receive the Gospel and to be comforted by it, and that thus the natural human will cooperates somewhat [in a manner] in conversion. For such an erroneous opinion is contrary to the holy, divine Scriptures, the Christian *Augsburg Confession*, its *Apology*, the *Smalcald Articles*, the *Large* and the *Small Catechisms* of Luther, and other writings of this excellent, highly [divinely] enlightened theologian.

This doctrine concerning the inability and wickedness of our natural free will and concerning our conversion and regeneration, namely, that it is a work of God alone and not of our powers, is [impiously, shamefully, and maliciously] abused in an unchristian manner both by enthusiasts and by Epicureans; and by their speeches many persons have become disorderly and irregular, and idle and indolent in all Christian exercises of prayer, reading and devout meditation; for they say that, since they are unable from their own natural powers to convert themselves to God, they will always strive with all their might against God, or wait until God converts them by force against their will; or since they can do nothing in these spiritual things, but everything is the operation of God the Holy Ghost alone, they will regard, hear, or read neither the Word nor the Sacrament, but wait until God, without means, instils into them His gifts from heaven, so that they can truly feel and perceive in themselves that God has converted them.

Andere, kleinmütige Herzen auch in schwere Gedanken und Zweifel fallen möchten, ob sie Gott erwählt habe und durch den Heiligen Geist solche seine Gaben in ihnen auch wirken wolle, dieweil sie keinen starken, brennenden Glauben und herzlichen Gehorsam, sondern eitel Schwachheit, Angst und Elend empfinden:

So wollen wir jetzt ferner aus Gottes Wort berichten, wie der Mensch zu Gott bekehrt werde, wie und durch was Mittel (nämlich durch das mündliche Wort und die heiligen Sakramente) der Heilige Geist in uns kräftig sein und wahre Buße, Glauben und neue geistliche Kraft und Vermögen zum Guten in unsern Herzen wirken und geben wolle, und wie wir uns gegen solche Mittel verhalten und dieselben brauchen sollen.

Gottes Wille ist's nicht, daß jemand verdammt werde, sondern daß alle Menschen sich zu ihm bekehren und ewig selig werden. Hesek. 33: „So wahr ich lebe, will ich nicht den Tod des Sünders, sondern daß er sich bekehre und lebe." Denn „also hat Gott die Welt geliebet, daß er seinen eingebornen Sohn gab, auf daß alle, die an ihn glauben, nicht verloren werden, sondern das ewige Leben haben".

Derhalben läßt Gott aus unermeßlicher Güte und Barmherzigkeit sein göttlich ewig Gesetz und den wunderbarlichen Rat von unserer Erlösung, nämlich das heilige, alleinseligmachende Evangelium von seinem ewigen Sohn, unserm einigen Heiland und Seligmacher JEsu Christo, öffentlich predigen, dadurch er ihm [sich] eine ewige Kirche aus dem menschlichen Geschlecht sammelt und in der Menschen Herzen wahre Buße und Erkenntnis der Sünden, wahren Glauben an den Sohn Gottes, JEsum Christum, wirkt; und will Gott durch dieses Mittel, und nicht anders, nämlich durch sein heiliges Wort, so man dasselbe predigen hört oder liest und die Sakramente nach seinem Wort gebraucht, die Menschen zur ewigen Seligkeit berufen, zu sich ziehen, bekehren, wiedergebären und heiligen. 1 Kor. 1: „Dieweil die Welt durch ihre Weisheit Gott [in seiner Weisheit] nicht erkannte, gefiel es Gott wohl, durch törichte Predigt selig zu machen die, so daran glauben." Act. 10: Petrus wird dir das Wort sagen, dadurch du und dein ganzes Haus selig wirst." Röm. 10: „Der Glaube kommt aus der Predigt, das Predigen aber durch Gottes Wort." Joh. 17: „Heilige sie, Vater, in deiner Wahrheit! Dein Wort ist die Wahrheit. Ich bitte aber für alle, die durch ihr Wort an mich glauben werden." Derhalben der ewige Vater vom Himmel herab von seinem lieben Sohn und allen, so in seinem Namen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden predigen, ruft: „Den sollt ihr hören", Matth. 17.

Diese Predigt sollen nun alle die hören, die da wollen selig werden. Denn die Predigt Gottes Worts und das Gehör desselben sind des Heiligen Geistes Werkzeuge, bei, mit und durch welche er kräftig wirken und die Menschen zu Gott bekehren und in ihnen beides das Wollen und das Vollbringen wirken will.

Dieses Wort kann der Mensch, so auch noch

47] Alii vero, ut infirmae et perturbatae mentes, non satis recte intellecta pia nostra doctrina de libero arbitrio, fortasse in tristes has cogitationes et periculosam dubitationem incidere possent: an sint a Deo electi, et an Deus dona illa per Spiritum Sanctum in ipsis operari velit, praesertim cum in cordibus suis non adeo firmam et flagrantem fidem promptamque obedientiam, sed solummodo meras infirmitates, miserias et angustias sentiant.

48] Hanc ob causam porro e Verbo Dei docebimus, quomodo homo ad Deum convertatur, quomodo et quibus mediis (videlicet per Verbum vocale et per sacramenta) Spiritus Sanctus in nobis efficax sit et veram poenitentiam, fidem novasque spirituales vires ac facultates ad bene agendum in cordibus nostris operari et largiri velit, et quemadmodum nos erga oblata illa media gerere et iis quomodo uti debeamus.

49] Non est voluntas Dei, ut quisquam pereat, sed vult, ut omnes homines ad [R. 670 ipsum convertantur et in aeternum salvi fiant. *Vivo ego*, inquit Dominus Ezech. 33, 11, *nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat.* Ioh. 3, 16: *Sic enim Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis, qui in eum crediderit, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam.*

50] Propterea Deus pro sua ineffabili bonitate et clementia curat, ut et sua divina et immota lex et mirandum consilium de liberatione nostra, sanctum videlicet et salvificum evangelion de aeterno Filio suo, unico Salvatore et Redemptore nostro, Iesu Christo, publice annuntientur. Ea praedicatione aeternam ecclesiam sibi e genere humano colligit et in hominum mentibus veram poenitentiam, agnitionem peccatorum et fidem veram in Filium Dei, Iesum Christum, operatur. Et visum est Deo per hoc medium, et non alio modo, nimirum per sanctum Verbum suum, cum id vel praedicari auditur vel legitur, et per sacramentorum legitimum usum homines ad aeternam salutem vocare, ad se trahere, convertere, regenerare et sanctificare. *Quia* **51]** *in Dei sapientia*, inquit apostolus 1 Cor. 1, 21, *non cognovit mundus per sapientiam Deum, placuit Deo per stultitiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes.* Et angelus inquit Act. 10, 5. 6: *Petrus loquetur tibi verba, in quibus salvus eris tu et universa domus tua.* Et Rom. 10, 17: *Fides est ex auditu, auditus autem per Verbum Dei.* Item Ioh. 17, 17. 20: *Sanctifica eos, Pater, in veritate tua! Verbum tuum est veritas* etc. *Oro autem pro iis etiam, qui per sermonem ipsorum in me sunt credituri.* Quapropter aeternus Deus, Pater coelestis, coelitus de Filio suo dilecto et de omnibus, qui ipsius nomine poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum praedicant, clamat Matth. 17, 5: *Hunc audite.*

52] Hanc Verbi Dei praedicationem audire oportet omnes, qui aeternam salutem consequi cupiunt. Praedicatio enim Verbi Dei et eiusdem auscultatio sunt Spiritus Sancti [R. 671 instrumenta, cum quibus et per quae efficaciter agere et homines ad Deum convertere, atque in ipsis et velle et perficere operari vult.

53] Hoc Dei Verbum homo, etiam nondum

Other desponding [weak and disturbed] hearts [our godly doctrine concerning the free will not being rightly understood] might perhaps fall into hard thoughts and [perilous] doubts as to whether God has elected them, and will work His gifts also in them through the Holy Ghost, especially when they are sensible of no strong, ardent faith and sincere obedience, but only of weakness, fear, and misery.

For this reason we shall now relate, furthermore, from God's Word how man is converted to God, how and through what means (namely, through the oral Word and the holy Sacraments) the Holy Ghost wants to be efficacious in us, and to work and bestow in our hearts true repentance, faith, and new spiritual power and ability for good, and how we should conduct ourselves towards these means, and [how we should] use them.

It is not God's will that any one should be damned [perish], but that all men should be converted to Him and be saved eternally. Ezek. 33, 11: *As I live, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.* John 3, 16: *For God so loved the world that He gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life.*

Therefore God, out of His immense goodness and mercy, has His divine eternal Law and His wonderful plan concerning our redemption, namely, the holy, alone-saving Gospel of His eternal Son, our only Savior and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, publicly preached; and by this [preaching] collects an eternal Church for Himself from the human race, and works in the hearts of men true repentance and knowledge of sins, and true faith in the Son of God, Jesus Christ. And by this means, and in no other way, namely, through His holy Word, when men hear it preached or read it, and the holy Sacraments when they are used according to His Word, God desires to call men to eternal salvation, draw them to Himself, and convert, regenerate, and sanctify them. 1 Cor. 1, 21: *For after that in the wisdom of God the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe.* Acts 10, 5. 6: Peter *shall tell thee what thou oughtest to do.* Rom. 10, 17: *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God.* John 17, 17. 20: *Sanctify them by Thy truth; Thy Word is truth,* etc. *Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on Me through their Word.* Therefore the eternal Father calls down from heaven concerning His dear Son and concerning all who preach repentance and forgiveness of sins in His name: *Hear ye Him,* Matt. 17, 5.

Now, all who wish to be saved ought to hear this preaching [of God's Word]. For the preaching and hearing of God's Word are instruments of the Holy Ghost, by, with, and through which He desires to work efficaciously, and to convert men to God, and to work in them both to will and to do.

This Word man can externally hear and

nicht zu Gott bekehrt und wiedergeboren ist, äußerlich hören und lesen; denn in diesen äußerlichen Dingen, wie oben gesagt, hat der Mensch auch nach dem Fall etlichermaßen einen freien Willen, daß er zur Kirche gehen, der Predigt zuhören oder nicht zuhören mag [kann].

Durch dieses Mittel, nämlich die Predigt und Gehör seines Wortes, wirkt Gott und bricht unsere Herzen und zeucht [zieht] den Menschen, daß er durch die Predigt des Gesetzes seine Sünde und Gottes Zorn erkennt und wahrhaftiges Schrecken, Reue und Leid im Herzen empfindet, und durch die Predigt und Betrachtung des heiligen Evangelii von der gnadenreichen Vergebung der Sünden in Christo ein Fünklein des Glaubens in ihm angezündet wird, [so daß er] die Vergebung der Sünden um Christi willen annimmt und sich mit der Verheißung des Evangelii tröstet; und wird also der Heilige Geist (welcher dieses alles wirkt) in das Herz gegeben.

Wiewohl nun beides, des Predigers Pflanzen und Begießen und des Zuhörers Laufen und Wollen, umsonst wäre, und keine Bekehrung darauf folgen würde, wo nicht des Heiligen Geistes Kraft und Wirkung dazukäme, welcher durch das gepredigte, gehörte Wort die Herzen erleuchtet und bekehrt, daß die Menschen solchem Wort glauben und das Jawort dazu geben, so soll doch weder Prediger noch Zuhörer an dieser Gnade und Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes zweifeln, sondern gewiß sein, wenn das Wort Gottes nach dem Befehl und Willen Gottes rein und lauter gepredigt [wird], und die Menschen mit Fleiß und Ernst zuhören und dasselbe betrachten, daß gewißlich Gott mit seiner Gnade gegenwärtig sei und gebe, wie gemeldet, das der Mensch sonst aus seinen eigenen Kräften weder nehmen noch geben kann. Denn von der Gegenwärtigkeit, Wirkung und Gaben des Heiligen Geistes soll und kann man nicht allewege ex sensu, wie und wann man's im Herzen empfindet, urteilen, sondern, weil es oft mit großer Schwachheit verdeckt wird und zugeht, sollen wir aus und nach der Verheißung gewiß sein, daß das gepredigte, gehörte Wort Gottes sei ein Amt und Werk des Heiligen Geistes, dadurch er in unsern Herzen gewißlich kräftig ist und wirkt, 2 Kor. 2.

Da aber ein Mensch die Predigt nicht hören noch Gottes Wort lesen will, sondern das Wort und die Gemeinde Gottes verachtet und stirbt also und verdirbt in seinen Sünden, der kann weder Gottes ewiger Wahl sich trösten noch seine Barmherzigkeit erlangen; denn Christus, in dem wir erwählt sind, allen Menschen seine Gnade im Wort und heiligen Sakramenten anbeut [anbietet] und ernstlich will, daß man es hören soll, und hat verheißen, wo zwei oder drei in seinem Namen versammelt sind und mit seinem heiligen Wort umgehen, will er mitten unter ihnen sein.

Da aber ein solcher Mensch verachtet des Heiligen Geistes Werkzeug und will nicht hören, so geschieht ihm nicht unrecht, wenn der Heilige Geist ihn nicht erleuchtet, sondern in der Finsternis seines Unglaubens stecken und verderben läßt, davon geschrieben steht: „Wie oft habe ich deine Kinder versammeln wollen, wie eine Henne versammelt

ad Deum conversus nec renatus, externis auribus audire aut legere potest. In eiusmodi enim externis rebus, ut supra dictum est, homo adhuc etiam post lapsum aliquo modo liberum arbitrium habet, ut ad coetus publicos ecclesiasticos accedere, Verbum Dei audire vel non audire possit.

54] Per hoc medium seu instrumentum, praedicationem nimirum et auditionem Verbi, Deus operatur, emollit corda nostra trahitque hominem, ut ex concionibus legis et peccata sua et iram Dei agnoscat et veros terrores atque contritionem in corde suo sentiat. Et per annuntiationem ac meditationem evangelii de gratuita et clementissima peccatorum remissione in Christo scintillula fidei in corde ipsius accenditur, quae remissionem peccatorum propter Christum amplectitur et sese promissione evangelii consolatur, et hoc modo Spiritus Sanctus, qui haec omnia operatur, in cor mittitur, Gal. 4, 6.

55] Etsi autem utrumque, tum concionatoris plantare et rigare, tum auditoris currere et velle, frustra omnino essent neque conversio sequeretur, nisi Spiritus Sancti virtus et operatio accederet, qui per Verbum praedicatum et auditum corda illuminat et convertit, ut homines Verbo credere et assentiri possint, tamen neque concionator neque auditor de hac Spiritus Sancti gratia et operatione dubitare debent. Quin potius uterque certo sciat, si Verbum Dei iuxta mandatum et voluntatem Dei pure et sincere praedicatum fuerit, et homines diligenter et serio auscultaverint illudque meditati fuerint, certissime Dominum gratia sua praesentem adesse et largiri ea, ut paulo ante dictum [R. 672 est, quae homo alias suis propriis viribus ne-
56] que accipere neque dare potest. De praesentia enim, operatione et donis Spiritus Sancti non semper ex sensu (quomodo videlicet et quando in corde sentiuntur) iudicari debet aut potest, sed, quia haec saepe multiplici infirmitate contecta fiunt, ex promissione Verbi Dei certo statuere debemus, quod Verbum Dei praedicatum et auditum revera sit ministerium et organon Spiritus Sancti, per quod in cordibus nostris vere efficax est et operatur, 2 Cor. 2, 14 sqq. [3, 5 sq.].

57] At si homo quispiam neque Verbum Dei audire neque legere velit, sed potius ministerium Verbi et ecclesiam Dei contemnat et in peccatis suis ita moriatur et pereat, is neque ex aeterna Dei praedestinatione quidquam consolationis capere neque misericordiam apud Deum consequi potest. Christus enim, in quo electi sumus, omnibus hominibus clementiam suam in Verbo et sacramentis offert et serio vult, ut Verbum illud audiatur, ac promisit Matth. 18, 20: *ubicunque duo aut tres in nomine eius congregati fuerint* et Verbum eius pie tractaverint, *ibi se in medio ipsorum affuturum.*

58] Quare cum homo profanus instrumenta seu media Spiritus Sancti contemnit neque Verbum Dei audire vult, non fit illi iniuria, si a Spiritu Sancto non illuminetur, sed in tenebris infidelitatis suae relinquatur et pereat. De hac re sic scriptum exstat Matth. 23, 37: *Quoties volui congregare filios tuos,*

read, even though he is not yet converted to God and regenerate; for in these external things, as said above, man even since the Fall has to a certain extent a free will, so that he can go to church and hear or not hear the sermon.

Through this means, namely, the preaching and hearing of His Word, God works, and breaks our hearts, and draws man, so that through the preaching of the Law he comes to know his sins and God's wrath, and experiences in his heart true terrors, contrition, and sorrow, and through the preaching and consideration of the holy Gospel concerning the gracious forgiveness of sins in Christ a spark of faith is kindled in him, which accepts the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, and comforts itself with the promise of the Gospel, and thus the Holy Ghost (who works all this) is sent into the heart, Gal. 4, 6.

Now, although both, the planting and watering of the preacher, and the running and willing of the hearer, would be in vain, and no conversion would follow it if the power and efficacy of the Holy Ghost were not added thereto, who enlightens and converts the hearts through the Word preached and heard, so that men believe this Word and assent thereto, still, neither preacher nor hearer is to doubt this grace and efficacy of the Holy Ghost, but should be certain that when the Word of God is preached purely and truly, according to the command and will of God, and men listen attentively and earnestly and meditate upon it, God is certainly present with His grace, and grants, as has been said, what otherwise man can neither accept nor give from his own powers. For concerning the presence, operation, and gifts of the Holy Ghost we should not and cannot always judge *ex sensu* [from feeling], as to how and when they are experienced in the heart; but because they are often covered and occur in great weakness, we should be certain from, and according to, the promise, that the Word of God preached and heard is [truly] an office and work of the Holy Ghost, by which He is certainly efficacious and works in our hearts, 2 Cor. 2, 14 ff.; 3, 5 ff.

But if a man will not hear preaching nor read God's Word, but despises the Word and congregation of God, and thus dies and perishes in his sins, he neither can comfort himself with God's eternal election nor obtain His mercy; for Christ, in whom we are chosen, offers to all men His grace in the Word and holy Sacraments, and wishes earnestly that it be heard, and has promised that where two or three are gathered together in His name and are occupied with His holy Word, He will be in their midst.

But when such a person despises the instrument of the Holy Ghost, and will not hear, no injustice is done to him if the Holy Ghost does not enlighten him, but allows him to remain in the darkness of his unbelief and to perish; for regarding this matter it is written: *How often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her*

ihre Jungen unter ihre Flügel, und ihr habt nicht gewollt!" Matth. 23.

Und in diesem Fall mag man wohl sagen, daß der Mensch nicht sei ein Stein oder Block. Denn ein Stein oder Block widerstrebt dem nicht, der ihn bewegt, versteht auch nicht und empfindet nicht, was mit ihm gehandelt wird, wie ein Mensch Gott dem HErrn widerstrebt mit seinem Willen so lange, bis er bekehrt wird. Und ist gleichwohl wahr, daß ein Mensch vor der Bekehrung dennoch eine vernünftige Kreatur ist, welche einen Verstand und Willen hat, doch nicht einen Verstand in göttlichen Sachen oder einen Willen, etwas Gutes und Heilsames zu wollen. Jedoch kann er zu seiner Bekehrung (wie droben auch gemeldet) ganz und gar nichts tun und ist in solchem Fall viel ärger denn ein Stein und Block; denn er widerstrebt dem Wort und Willen Gottes, bis Gott ihn vom Tode der Sünde erweckt, erleuchtet und verneuert.

Und wiewohl Gott den Menschen nicht zwingt, daß er müsse fromm werden (denn welche allezeit dem Heiligen Geist widerstreben und sich für und für auch der erkannten Wahrheit widersetzen, wie Stephanus von den verstockten Juden redet Act. 7, die werden nicht bekehrt), jedoch zeucht [zieht] Gott der HErr den Menschen, welchen er bekehren will, und zeucht ihn also, daß aus einem verfinsterten Verstand ein erleuchteter Verstand und aus einem widerspenstigen Willen ein gehorsamer Wille wird. Und das nennt die Schrift „ein neues Herz erschaffen".

Derhalben kann auch nicht recht gesagt werden, daß der Mensch vor seiner Bekehrung einen modum agendi oder eine Weise, nämlich etwas Gutes und Heilsames in göttlichen Sachen zu wirken, habe. Denn weil der Mensch vor der Bekehrung „tot ist in Sünden", Eph. 2, so kann in ihm keine Kraft sein, etwas Gutes in göttlichen Sachen zu wirken, und hat also auch keinen modum agendi oder Weise, in göttlichen Sachen zu wirken. Wenn man aber davon redet, wie Gott in dem Menschen wirke, so hat gleichwohl Gott der HErr einen modum agendi oder Weise zu wirken in einem Menschen, als in einer vernünftigen Kreatur, und eine andere zu wirken in einer andern, unvernünftigen Kreatur oder in einem Stein und Block. Jedoch kann nichtsdestoweniger dem Menschen vor seiner Bekehrung kein modus agendi oder einige Weise, in geistlichen Sachen etwas Gutes zu wirken, zugeschrieben werden.

Wenn aber der Mensch bekehrt worden und also erleuchtet ist und sein Wille verneuert, alsdann so will der Mensch Gutes (sofern er neugeboren oder ein neuer Mensch ist) und „hat Lust am Gesetz Gottes nach dem innerlichen Menschen", Röm. 7, und tut forthin so viel und so lange Gutes, soviel und -lange er vom Geist Gottes getrieben wird, wie Paulus sagt: „Die vom Geist Gottes getrieben werden, die sind Gottes Kinder." Und ist solcher Trieb des Heiligen Geistes nicht eine coactio oder ein Zwang, sondern der bekehrte Mensch tut freiwillig Gutes, wie David sagt: „Nach deinem Sieg wird [dir] dein Volk williglich opfern." Und bleibt gleichwohl auch in den Wiedergebornen, das St. Paulus geschrieben Röm. 7: „Ich habe Lust an Gottes Gesetz nach dem inwendigen Menschen; ich sehe aber ein ander Gesetz in meinen Gliedern, das da widerstreitet dem Gesetz in meinem Gemüt und nimmt

quemadmodum gallina congregat pullos suos sub alas, et noluisti!

59] Et hac ratione recte etiam dici potest, hominem non esse lapidem aut truncum. Lapis enim aut truncus non reluctatur ei, a quo movetur, sed neque intelligit aut sentit, quid secum agatur, sicut homo Deo sua voluntate reluctatur, donec ad Dominum conversus fuerit. Et tamen verum est, [R. 673 quod homo, etiam ante conversionem, sit creatura rationalis, quae intellectum et voluntatem habeat (intellectum autem non in rebus divinis, et voluntatem, non ut bonum et salutare aliquid velit); sed tamen ad conversionem suam (ut saepe iam est dictum) prorsus nihil conferre potest. Et hac in parte multo est deterior lapide aut trunco, quia repugnat Verbo et voluntati Dei, donec Deus eum a morte peccati resuscitet, illuminet atque renovet.

60] Etsi autem Dominus hominem non cogit, ut convertatur (qui enim *semper Spiritui Sancto resistunt*, Act. 7, 51, et veritati agnitae perseverantes repugnant, quod sanctus Stephanus induratis Iudaeis tribuit, hi non convertuntur), attamen trahit Deus hominem, quem convertere decrevit. Sic autem eum trahit, ut ex intellectu caecato illuminatus fiat intellectus, et ex rebelli voluntate fiat prompta et obediens voluntas. Et hoc ipsum Scriptura vocat *novum cor creare* [Ps. 51, 12].

61] Eam ob causam etiam non recte dicitur, hominem ante conversionem in rebus spiritualibus habere *modum agendi* aliquid, quod sit bonum et salutare. Cum enim homo ante conversionem *in peccatis mortuus* sit, Eph. 2, 5, non potest in ipso aliqua vis ad bene agendum in rebus spiritualibus inesse, itaque non habet modum agendi seu operandi aliquid **62]** in rebus divinis. Quando vero de eo agitur, quomodo Deus in homine operetur, verum quidem est, quod Deus alium modum agendi habeat in homine, utpote in creatura rationali, et alium modum in alia aliqua irrationali creatura, vel in lapide aut trunco. Nihilominus ea de causa homini ante conversionem eius modus agendi aliquid boni in rebus divinis tribui non potest.

63] Quando vero iam homo est conversus et illuminatus, eiusque voluntas renovata est, tunc homo *vult bonum*, quatenus renatus et novus homo est, *et lege Dei delectatur secundum interiorem hominem*, Rom. 7, 22. Et in posterum tantum boni et tamdiu bonum operatur, quantum et quamdiu a Spiritu Dei impellitur, sicut divus Paulus ait [Rom. 8, 14]: *Qui Spiritu Dei aguntur, hi sunt filii Dei.* **64]** Haec autem agitatio Spiritus Sancti non est coactio, sed homo conversus sponte [R. 674 bonum operatur, quemadmodum David inquit Ps. 110, 3: *Post victoriam tuam populus tuus tibi spontaneus offeret.* Et tamen simul etiam in renatis lucta carnis et spiritus reliqua manet, de qua Paulus ait Rom. 7, 22 sq.: *Delector lege Dei secundum interiorem hominem; video autem aliam legem in membris meis repugnantem legi mentis meae et captivantem*

chickens under her wings; and ye would not! Matt. 23, 37.

And in this respect it may well be said that man is not a stone or block. For a stone or block does not resist the person who moves it, nor does it understand and is sensible of what is being done with it, as man with his will so long resists God the Lord until he is [has been] converted. And it is nevertheless true that man before his conversion is still a rational creature, having an understanding and will, however, not an understanding with respect to divine things, or a will to will something good and salutary. Yet he can do nothing whatever towards his conversion (as has also been said [frequently] above), and is in this respect much worse than a stone and block; for he resists the Word and will of God, until God awakens him from the death of sin, enlightens and renews him.

And although God does not force man to become godly (for those who always resist the Holy Ghost and persistently oppose the known truth, as Stephen says of the hardened Jews, Acts 7, 51, are not converted), yet God the Lord draws the man whom He wishes [decreed] to convert, and draws him in such a way that his darkened understanding is turned into an enlightened one and his perverse will into an obedient one. And this [just this] is what the Scriptures call *creating a new heart*, Ps. 51, 10.

And for this reason it cannot be correctly said that man before his conversion has a *modus agendi*, or a way, namely, of working something good and salutary in divine things. For inasmuch as man before his conversion is *dead in sins*, Eph. 2, 5, there can be in him no power to work anything good in divine things, and hence, too, he has no *modus agendi*, or way of working in divine things. But when we treat of the matter how God works in man, God has nevertheless [it is true, indeed, that God has] one *modus agendi*, or way of working in man, as in a rational creature, and another way of working in some other, irrational creature, or in a stone and block. Nevertheless, no *modus agendi*, or no way whatever of working something good in spiritual things, can be ascribed to man before his conversion.

But when man has been converted, and is thus enlightened, and his will is renewed, it is then that man wills what is good (so far as he is regenerate or a new man), and *delights in the Law of God after the inward man*, Rom. 7, 22, and henceforth does good to such an extent and as long as he is impelled by God's Spirit, as Paul says, Rom. 8, 14: *For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.* And this impulse of the Holy Ghost is not a *coactio*, or coercion, but the converted man does good spontaneously, as David says, Ps. 110, 4: *Thy people shall be willing in the day of Thy power.* And nevertheless that also [the strife of the flesh and spirit] remains in the regenerate of which St. Paul wrote, Rom. 7, 22 f.: *For I delight in the Law of God after the inward man; but I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in*

mich gefangen in der Sünde Gesetz, welches ist in meinen Gliedern." Item: „So diene ich nun mit dem Gemüt dem Gesetz Gottes, aber mit dem Fleisch dem Gesetz der Sünde." Item Gal. 5: „Das Fleisch gelüstet wider den Geist und den Geist wider das Fleisch; dieselbigen sind widereinander, daß ihr nicht tut, was ihr wollt."

Daraus denn folgt, alsbald der Heilige Geist, wie gesagt, durchs Wort und [die] heiligen Sakramente solch sein Werk der Wiedergeburt und Erneurung in uns angefangen hat, so ist es gewiß, daß wir durch die Kraft des Heiligen Geistes mitwirken können und sollen, wiewohl noch in großer Schwachheit; solches aber nicht aus unsern fleischlichen, natürlichen Kräften, sondern aus den neuen Kräften und Gaben, so der Heilige Geist in der Bekehrung in uns angefangen hat; wie St. Paulus ausdrücklich und ernstlich vermahnt, daß wir „als Mithelfer die Gnade Gottes nicht vergeblich empfangen"; welches denn anders nicht denn also soll verstanden werden, daß der bekehrte Mensch so viel und lange Gutes tue, soviel und -lange ihn Gott mit seinem Heiligen Geist regiert, leitet und führt; und sobald Gott seine gnädige Hand von ihm abzöge, könnte er nicht einen Augenblick in Gottes Gehorsam bestehen [verharren]. Da es aber also wollte verstanden werden, daß der bekehrte Mensch neben dem Heiligen Geist dergestalt mitwirkte, wie zwei Pferde miteinander einen Wagen ziehen, könnte solches ohne Nachteil der göttlichen Wahrheit keineswegs zugegeben werden.

me in lege peccati, quae est in membris meis. Et ibidem, v. 25: *Servio igitur mente legi Dei, carne vero legi peccati.* Et ad Galatas, 5, 17, inquit: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem. Haec enim sibi invicem adversantur, ut non, quaecunque vultis, illa faciatis.*

65] Ex his consequitur, quam primum Spiritus Sanctus (ut dictum est) per Verbum et sacramenta opus suum regenerationis et renovationis in nobis inchoavit, quod revera tunc per virtutem Spiritus Sancti cooperari possimus ac debeamus, quamvis multa adhuc infirmitas concurrat. Hoc vero ipsum, quod cooperamur, non ex nostris carnalibus et naturalibus viribus est, sed ex novis illis viribus et donis, quae Spiritus Sanctus in conver-
66] sione in nobis inchoavit. In quam sententiam divus Paulus expressis verbis graviter hortatur, ut curemus, ne tamquam Dei *cooperarii frustra Dei gratiam acceperimus*, 2 Cor. 6, 1. Quod tamen sic et non aliter intelligendum est: hominem iam conversum tantum atque tamdiu bene operari, quantum et quamdiu a Deo per Spiritum Sanctum ducitur, regitur et gubernatur. Quam primum enim Dominus clementem suam manum ab ipso retraheret, homo quidem ne ad minimum momentum [homo ne ad minimum momentum quidem] in obedientia divina perseverare posset. Si quis vero Pauli dictum in ea sententia accipere vellet, quasi homo conversus una cum Spiritu Sancto eo modo cooperaretur, quemadmodum duo equi simul una currum trahunt, equidem hoc citra veritatis divinae iacturam concedi haudquaquam posset. (2 Cor. 6, 1: *Συνεργοῦντες παρακαλοῦμεν.* Nos, qui sumus administri seu cooperarii Dei, monemus vos, ut nostrum exemplum imitemini, qui estis arvum et aedificatio Dei, 1 Cor. 3, 9, ne gratia Dei in vobis sit inanis, 1 Cor. 15, 10, sed ut sitis templum Dei viventis et habitantis in vobis, 2 Cor. 6, 16.)

Darum ist ein großer Unterschied zwischen den getauften und ungetauften Menschen. Denn weil nach der Lehre St. Pauli, Gal. 3, „alle die, so getauft sind, Christum angezogen" [haben] und also wahrhaftig wiedergeboren [sind], haben sie nun arbitrium liberatum, das ist, wie Christus sagt, sie sind wiederum freigemacht, der Ursache: denn sie nicht allein das Wort hören, sondern auch demselben, wiewohl in großer Schwachheit, Beifall tun und [es] annehmen können.

Denn weil wir in diesem Leben allein die Erstlinge des Geistes empfangen, und die Wiedergeburt nicht vollkommen, sondern in uns allein angefangen [ist], bleibt der Streit und Kampf des Fleisches wider den Geist auch in den Auserwählten und wahrhaftig wiedergebornen Menschen, da unter den Christen nicht allein ein großer Unterschied gespürt, daß einer schwach, der andere stark im Geist [ist], sondern es befindet's auch ein jeder Christ bei sich selbst, daß er zu einer Zeit freudig im Geist, zur andern Zeit furchtsam und erschrocken, zu einer Zeit brünstig in der Liebe, stark im Glauben und in der Hoffnung, zur andern Zeit kalt und schwach sich befindet.

Da aber [wenn aber] die Getauften wider das Gewissen gehandelt, die Sünde in ihnen [in sich] herrschen lassen und also den Heiligen Geist in ihnen selbst betrübt und verloren [haben], dürfen sie zwar nicht wieder getauft, sondern müssen wiederum bekehrt werden, inmaßen hievor [wie vorhin] notdürftig vermeldet worden.

67] Quapropter ingens discrimen est [R. 675 inter homines baptizatos et non baptizatos. Cum enim, iuxta Pauli doctrinam [Gal. 3, 27], *omnes, qui baptizati sunt, Christum induerint* et revera sint renati, habent illi iam liberatum arbitrium, hoc est, rursus liberati sunt, ut Christus testatur [Ioh. 8, 36]. Unde etiam non modo Verbum Dei audiunt, verum etiam, licet non sine multa infirmitate, eidem assentiri illudque fide amplecti possunt.

68] Cum enim in hac vita tantum primitias Spiritus acceperimus, et regeneratio nondum sit absoluta, sed solummodo in nobis inchoata, manet perpetua quaedam lucta inter carnem et spiritum etiam in electis et vere renatis hominibus. Et quidem non modo inter Christianos magnum discrimen deprehenditur, quorum hic infirmus, ille robustus est spiritu, verum etiam hanc diversitatem quilibet Christianus in semet ipso animadvertere potest, se nunc quidem excelso animo esse et ad omnia virtute spiritus paratum promptumque, nunc vero timido et trepido; et iam quidem caritate ardere, firmum in fide et spe esse, post vero frigere et imbecillitatem suam sentire.

69] Cum vero homines baptizati contra conscientiam aliquid patrarint et peccato in mortali suo corpore dominium concesserint atque ita Spiritum Sanctum in se ipsis contristarint et amiserint, non opus est quidem, ut rebaptizentur, necesse est autem, ut rursus convertantur, de qua re antea satis dictum est.

my members. Also, v. 25: *So, then, with my mind I myself serve the Law of God, but with the flesh the law of sin.* Also, Gal. 5, 17: *For the flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.*

From this, then, it follows that as soon as the Holy Ghost, as has been said, through the Word and holy Sacraments, has begun in us this His work of regeneration and renewal, it is certain that through the power of the Holy Ghost we can and should cooperate, although still in great weakness. But this [that we cooperate] does not occur from our carnal natural powers, but from the new powers and gifts which the Holy Ghost has begun in us in conversion, as St. Paul expressly and earnestly exhorts that *as workers together with Him* we *receive not the grace of God in vain,* 2 Cor. 6, 1. But this is to be understood in no other way than that the converted man does good to such an extent and so long as God by His Holy Spirit rules, guides, and leads him, and that as soon as God would withdraw His gracious hand from him, he could not for a moment persevere in obedience to God. But if this were understood thus [if any one would take the expression of St. Paul in this sense], that the converted man cooperates with the Holy Ghost in the manner as when two horses together draw a wagon, this could in no way be conceded without prejudice to the divine truth. (2 Cor. 6, 1: *Συνεργοῦντες παρακαλοῦμεν: We who are servants or coworkers with God beseech you who are God's husbandry and God's building,* 1 Cor. 3, 9, *to imitate our example, that the grace of God may not be among you in vain,* 1 Cor. 15, 10, *but that ye may be the temple of God, living and dwelling in you,* 2 Cor. 6, 16.)

Therefore there is a great difference between baptized and unbaptized men. For since, according to the doctrine of St. Paul, Gal. 3, 27, *all who have been baptized have put on Christ,* and thus are truly regenerate, they have now *arbitrium liberatum* (a liberated will), that is, as Christ says, *they have been made free again,* John 8, 36; whence they are able not only to hear the Word, but also to assent to it and accept it, although in great weakness.

For since we receive in this life only the first-fruits of the Spirit, and the new birth is not complete, but only begun in us, the combat and struggle of the flesh against the spirit remains even in the elect and truly regenerate men; for there is a great difference perceptible among Christians not only in this, that one is weak and another strong in the spirit, but each Christian, moreover, experiences in himself that at one time he is joyful in spirit, and at another fearful and alarmed; at one time ardent in love, strong in faith and hope, and at another cold and weak.

But when the baptized have acted against their conscience, allowed sin to rule in them, and thus have grieved and lost the Holy Ghost in them, they need not be rebaptized, but must be converted again, as has been sufficiently said before.

Denn das ist einmal wahr, daß in wahrhaftiger Bekehrung müsse eine Änderung, neue Regung und Bewegung im Verstand, Willen und Herzen geschehen, daß nämlich das Herz die Sünde erkenne, vor Gottes Zorn sich fürchte, von der Sünde sich abwende, die Verheißung der Gnade in Christo erkenne und annehme, gute geistliche Gedanken, christlichen Vorsatz und Fleiß habe und wider das Fleisch streite. Denn wo der keines geschieht oder ist, da ist auch keine wahre Bekehrung. Weil aber die Frage ist de causa efficiente, das ist, wer solches in uns wirke, und woher der Mensch das habe, und wie er dazu komme, so berichtet diese Lehre: dieweil die natürlichen Kräfte des Menschen dazu nichts tun oder helfen können, 1 Kor. 2; 2 Kor. 3, daß Gott aus unermeßlicher Güte und Barmherzigkeit uns zuvorkomme und sein heiliges Evangelium, dadurch der Heilige Geist solche Bekehrung und Verneurung in uns wirken und ausrichten will, predigen lasse und durch die Predigt und Betrachtung seines Wortes den Glauben und andere gottselige Tugenden in uns anzündet, daß es Gaben und Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes allein seien; und weist uns diese Lehre zu den Mitteln, dadurch der Heilige Geist solches anfangen und wirken will, erinnert auch, wie dieselben Gaben erhalten, gestärkt und gemehrt werden, und vermahnt, daß wir dieselbe Gnade Gottes an uns nicht sollen lassen vergeblich sein, sondern fleißig üben, in Betrachtung, wie schwere Sünde es sei, solche Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes [zu] hindern und [ihr zu] widerstreben.

70] Hoc enim certissimum est in vera conversione immutationem, renovationem et motum fieri oportere in hominis intellectu, voluntate et corde, ut nimirum hominis mens peccata agnoscat, iram Dei metuat, a peccato sese avertat, promissionem gratiae in [R. 676 Christo agnoscat et apprehendat, pias cogitationes animo agitet, bonum propositum habeat atque diligentiam in moribus suis regendis adhibeat et contra carnem pugnet. Ubi enim nihil horum fit, ibi procul dubio etiam non **71**] est vera ad Deum conversio. Cum autem quaestio sit *de causa efficiente*, hoc est, quisnam haec in nobis operetur, unde homo hoc ipsum habeat, et quomodo id consequi possit, haec pia doctrina ostendit horum bonorum fontem, hoc videlicet modo: Cum naturales hominis vires ad veram conversionem nihil conferre aut quidquam adiumenti afferre possint, 1 Cor. 2; 2 Cor. 3, Deus ineffabili bonitate et misericordia nos praevenit et evangelion (per quod Spiritus Sanctus conversionem et renovationem in nobis operari et perficere vult) annuntiari curat et per Verbi sui praedicationem et meditationem fidem aliasque pietatis virtutes in nobis accendit, ita quidem, ut haec omnia solius Spiritus Sancti **72**] dona sint atque operationes. Quin etiam haec sincera doctrina ostendit nobis media, per quae Spiritus Sanctus haec, quae diximus, in nobis vult inchoare et efficere, et monet, quomodo haec dona conserventur, confirmentur et augeantur, et hortatur, ut gratiam illam divinam non frustra acceperimus, sed ut dona illa sedulo exerceamus, cogitantes, quam grave sit peccatum, tales Spiritus Sancti operationes impedire aut illis resistere.

Aus dieser gründlichen Erklärung der ganzen Lehre vom freien Willen können nun auch zum letzten die eingefallenen Fragen, darüber nun etliche viel Jahre in den Kirchen Augsburgischer Konfession gestritten worden (An homo ante, in, post conversionem Spiritui Sancto repugnet, vel pure passive se habeat; an homo convertatur ut truncus; an Spiritus Sanctus detur repugnantibus, et an conversio hominis fiat per modum coactionis; das ist: ob der Mensch vor, in oder nach seiner Bekehrung dem Heiligen Geist widerstrebe, und ob er ganz und gar nichts tue, sondern allein leide, was Gott in ihm wirkt; item, ob der Mensch in der Bekehrung sich halte und sei wie ein Block; item, ob der Heilige Geist gegeben werde denen, die ihm widerstreben; item, ob die Bekehrung geschehe durch einen Zwang, daß Gott die Menschen wider ihren Willen zu ihrer Bekehrung mit Gewalt zwinge), geurteilt [beurteilt] und die Gegenlehre und Irrtümer erkannt, ausgesetzt, gestraft und verworfen werden, als:

73] Ex hac solida totius doctrinae de libero arbitrio explicatione de quaestionibus illis, quae iam multis annis in ecclesiis Augustanae Confessionis agitatae sunt, iudicari potest. Verbi gratia, quod quaesitum fuit: An homo ante, in vel post conversionem Spiritui Sancto repugnet, vel pure passive se habeat; an homo convertatur ut truncus; an Spiritus Sanctus detur repugnantibus, et an conversio hominis fiat per modum coactionis. Haec atque huiusmodi multa iuxta recitatam piam nostram de hoc articulo doctrinam facile diiudicari et contraria falsa dogmata [R. 677 et errores agnosci, redargui atque reiici possunt, ut sunt:

1. Erstlich der Stoicorum und Manichäer Unsinnigkeit, daß alles, was geschieht, müsse also geschehen, et hominem coactum omnia facere, das ist, daß der Mensch alles aus Zwang tue, und daß des Menschen Wille auch in äußerlichen Werken keine Freiheit oder Vermögen habe, äußerliche Gerechtigkeit und ehrliche Zucht etlichermaßen zu leisten und die äußerlichen Sünden und Laster zu meiden, oder daß der [daß des] Menschen Wille zu bösen äußerlichen Taten, Unzucht, Raub und Mord usw., gezwungen werde.

74] I. Primo Stoicorum et Manichaeorum furores, qui asseruerunt, omnia, quae fiunt, necessario fieri, et quidem eo, quo fiunt, et non alio modo, et hominem coactum omnia facere, et quod hominis voluntas etiam in externis operibus nullam omnino libertatem aut facultatem (ad externam civilem iustitiam et disciplinam honestam aliquo modo praestandam et ad vitanda externa peccata et flagitia) habeat, aut quod hominis voluntas ad externa scelera, libidines, rapinas, caedes etc., violenter cogatur.

2. Danach der groben Pelagianer Irrtum, daß der freie Wille aus eigenen natürlichen Kräften, ohne den Heiligen Geist, sich selbst zu Gott be-

75] II. Deinde crassus ille Pelagianorum error, quod liberum arbitrium ex propriis naturalibus viribus sine Spiritu Sancto sese

For this is certainly true that in genuine conversion a change, new emotion [renewal], and movement in the intellect, will, and heart must take place, namely, that the heart perceive sin, dread God's wrath, turn from sin, perceive and accept the promise of grace in Christ, have good spiritual thoughts, a Christian purpose and diligence, and strive against the flesh. For where none of these occurs or is present, there is also no true conversion. But since the question is *de causa efficiente* (concerning the efficient cause), that is, who works this in us, and whence man has this, and how he attains it, this doctrine informs us that, since the natural powers of man cannot do anything or help towards it, 1 Cor. 2, 14; 2 Cor. 3, 5, God, out of His infinite goodness and mercy, comes first to us [precedes us], and causes His holy Gospel to be preached, whereby the Holy Ghost desires to work and accomplish in us this conversion and renewal, and through preaching and meditation upon His Word kindles in us faith and other godly virtues, so that they are gifts and operations of the Holy Ghost alone. This doctrine, therefore, directs us to the means whereby the Holy Ghost desires to begin and work this [which we have mentioned], also instructs us how those gifts are preserved, strengthened, and increased, and admonishes us that we should not let this grace of God be bestowed on us in vain, but diligently exercise it [those gifts], and ponder how grievous a sin it is to hinder and resist such operations of the Holy Ghost.

From this thorough explanation of the entire doctrine concerning free will we can now judge, lastly, also the questions upon which, for quite a number of years, there has been controversy in the churches of the Augsburg Confession (*An homo ante, in, post conversionem Spiritui Sancto repugnet, vel pure passive se habeat; an homo convertatur ut truncus; an Spiritus Sanctus detur repugnantibus, et an conversio hominis fiat per modum coactionis;* that is, Whether man before, in, or after his conversion resists the Holy Ghost, and whether he does nothing whatever, but only suffers what God works in him [or is purely passive]; likewise, whether in conversion man acts and is like a block; likewise, whether the Holy Ghost is given to those who resist Him; likewise, whether conversion occurs by coercion, so that God coerces men to conversion by force against their wills), and can perceive, expose, censure, and reject the opposite dogmas and errors, namely:

1. First, the folly of the Stoics and Manicheans [who asserted] that everything that happens must so happen, *et hominem coactum omnia facere*, that is, that man does everything from coercion, and that even in outward works the will of man has no freedom or ability to render to a certain extent external righteousness and respectable deportment, and to avoid external sins and vices, or that the will of man is coerced to external wicked deeds, inchastity, robbery, murder, etc.

2. Secondly, the error of the gross Pelagians, that the free will, from its own natural

kehren, dem Evangelio glauben und Gottes Gesetz mit [dem] Herzen gehorsam sein und mit diesem seinem freiwilligen Gehorsam Vergebung der Sünden und ewiges Leben verdienen könne.

3. Zum dritten der Papisten und Schullehrer [Scholastiker] Irrtum, die es ein wenig subtiler gemacht und gelehrt haben, daß der Mensch aus seinen natürlichen Kräften könne den Anfang zum Guten und zu seiner selbst Bekehrung machen, und daß alsdann der Heilige Geist, weil der Mensch zum Vollbringen zu schwach [sei], dem aus eigenen natürlichen Kräften angefangenen Guten zu Hilfe komme.

4. Zum vierten der Synergisten Lehre, welche vorgeben, daß der Mensch nicht allerdings in geistlichen Sachen zum Guten erstorben, sondern übel verwundet und halb tot [sei]. Derhalben, obwohl der freie Wille zu schwach sei, den Anfang zu machen und sich selbst aus eigenen Kräften zu Gott zu bekehren und dem Gesetz Gottes mit [dem] Herzen gehorsam zu sein, dennoch, wenn der Heilige Geist den Anfang macht und uns durch das Evangelium beruft und seine Gnade, Vergebung der Sünden und ewige Seligkeit anbeut [anbietet], daß alsdann der freie Wille aus seinen eigenen natürlichen Kräften Gott begegnen und etlichermaßen etwas, wiewohl wenig und schwächlich, dazu tun, helfen und mitwirken, sich zur Gnade Gottes schicken und applizieren und dieselbe ergreifen, annehmen und dem Evangelio glauben, auch in [der] Fortsetzung und Erhaltung dieses Werks aus seinen eigenen Kräften neben dem Heiligen Geist **mitwirken könne.**

Dagegen aber ist oben nach der Länge erwiesen, daß solche Kraft, nämlich facultas applicandi se ad gratiam, das ist, natürlich sich zur Gnade zu schicken, nicht aus unsern eigenen natürlichen Kräften, sondern allein durch des Heiligen Geistes Wirkung herkomme.

5. Item, diese der Päpste und Mönche Lehren, daß der Mensch könne nach der Wiedergeburt das Gesetz Gottes in diesem Leben gänzlich erfüllen und durch diese Erfüllung des Gesetzes vor Gott gerecht sei und das ewige Leben verdiene.

6. Dagegen sind auch mit allem Ernst und Eifer die Enthusiasten zu strafen und keineswegs in der Kirche Gottes zu dulden, welche dichten [wähnen], daß Gott ohne alle Mittel, ohne Gehör des göttlichen Wortes und ohne Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente, den Menschen zu sich ziehe, erleuchte, gerecht und selig mache.

7. Item, die da dichten, daß Gott in der Bekehrung und Wiedergeburt ein neues Herz und neuen Menschen also schaffe, daß des alten Adams Substanz und Wesen und sonderlich die vernünftige Seele ganz vertilgt, und ein neues Wesen der Seele aus nichts erschaffen werde. Diesen Irrtum straft St. Augustinus ausdrücklich im 25. Psalm, da er den Spruch Pauli: Deponite veterem hominem, „Leget den alten Menschen ab" usw., anzeucht [anzieht] und erklärt mit diesen Worten: Ne aliquis arbitretur, deponendam esse aliquam substantiam, exposuit, quid esset: *Deponite veterem hominem et induite novum*, cum dicit in consequentibus: *quapropter deponentes mendacium, loquimini veritatem.* Ecce, hoc est deponere veterem hominem et induere novum etc. Das ist: „Damit nicht jemand dafürhalten möchte, als müßte die Substanz oder

ad Deum convertere, evangelio credere, legem Dei etiam toto corde implere atque hac libera et spontanea sua obedientia remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam promereri possit.

76] III. Postea Papistarum et Scholasticorum error, qui aliquanto subtilius falsam opinionem suam proposuerunt et docuerunt, quod homo naturalibus suis viribus initium ad agendum bonum et ad conversionem suam facere possit, sed quia infirmior sit, quam ut bene coepta perficere queat, quod Spiritus Sanctus illa, quae naturalibus propriis viribus inchoata erant, adiuvet et absolvat.

77] IV. Item, Synergistarum dogma, qui fingunt, hominem in rebus spiritualibus non prorsus ad bonum esse emortuum, sed tantum graviter vulneratum et semimortuum esse. Et quamvis liberum arbitrium infirmius sit, quam ut initium facere et se ipsum propriis viribus ad Deum convertere et legi Dei toto corde obedire possit, tamen, si Spiritus [R. 678 Sanctus initium faciat et nos per evangelion vocet, gratiam suam, remissionem peccatorum et aeternam salutem nobis offerat, tunc liberum arbitrium propriis suis naturalibus viribus Deo occurrere et aliquo modo (aliquid saltem, etsi parum et languide) ad conversionem suam conferre, eam adiuvare, cooperari, sese ad gratiam praeparare et applicare, eam apprehendere, amplecti, evangelio credere et quidem in continuatione et conservatione huius operis propriis suis viribus una cum Spiritu Sancto *cooperari posse.*

78] Contra hunc errorem supra luculenter demonstratum est, quod facultas applicandi se ad gratiam non ex nostris naturalibus propriis viribus, sed ex sola Spiritus Sancti operatione promanet.

79] V. Item Pontificum et Monachorum doctrina, quod homo, postquam regeneratus est, legem Dei in hac vita perfecte implere possit, et quod per hanc impletionem legis coram Deo iustificetur et vitam aeternam promereatur.

80] VI. Ab altera parte magna severitate et pio zelo redarguendi sunt Enthusiastae neque in ecclesia Dei ferendi, qui somniant, Deum sine omnibus mediis, sine auditione Verbi divini et sine usu sacramentorum, hominem ad se trahere, illuminare, iustificare et salvum facere.

81] VII. Item qui fingunt, Deum in conversione et regeneratione novum cor, atque adeo novum hominem ita creare, ut veteris Adami substantia et essentia (praesertim vero anima rationalis) penitus aboleatur, et nova animae essentia ex nihilo creetur. Hunc errorem expresse refutat divus Augustinus in explicatione psalmi vigesimi quinti, quo loco dictum Pauli [Eph. 4, 22]: *Deponite veterem hominem* etc., affert et interpretatur hisce verbis: *Ne aliquis arbitretur, deponendam* [R. 679 *esse aliquam substantiam, exposuit, quid esset: Deponite veterem hominem et induite novum* etc., *cum dicit in consequentibus: quapropter deponentes mendacium, loquimini veritatem. Ecce, hoc est deponere veterem hominem et induere novum.*

powers, without the Holy Ghost, can turn to God, believe the Gospel, and be obedient to God's Law from the heart, and by this its voluntary obedience can merit the forgiveness of sins and eternal life.

3. Thirdly, the error of the Papists and scholastics, who have proceeded in a somewhat more subtile manner, and have taught that man from his own natural powers can make a beginning of doing good and of his own conversion, and that then the Holy Ghost, because man is too weak to bring it to completion, comes to the aid of the good begun from a person's own natural powers.

4. Fourthly, the doctrine of the Synergists, who pretend that man is not absolutely dead to good in spiritual things, but is badly wounded and half dead. Therefore, although the free will is too weak to make a beginning, and to convert itself to God by its own powers, and to be obedient to God's Law from the heart, nevertheless, when the Holy Ghost makes a beginning, and calls us through the Gospel, and offers His grace, the forgiveness of sins, and eternal salvation, that then the free will, from its own natural powers, can meet God, and to a certain extent, although feebly, do something towards it, help and cooperate thereto, can qualify itself for, and apply itself to, grace, and apprehend, accept it, and believe the Gospel, and can also cooperate, by its own powers, with the Holy Ghost, in the continuation and maintenance of this work.

Over against this, however, it has been shown at length above that such power, namely, *facultas applicandi se ad gratiam*, that is, to qualify one's self by nature for grace, does not proceed from our own natural powers, but alone from the operation of the Holy Ghost.

5. Likewise, the following doctrine of the Popes and monks, that after his regeneration man can completely fulfil the Law of God in this life, and that through this fulfilment of the Law he is righteous before God and merits eternal life.

6. On the other hand, the enthusiasts should be rebuked with great earnestness and zeal, and should in no way be tolerated in the Church of God, who imagine [dream] that God, without any means, without the hearing of the divine Word, and without the use of the holy Sacraments, draws men to Himself, and enlightens, justifies, and saves them.

7. Also those who imagine that in conversion and regeneration God creates a new heart and new man in such a way that the substance and essence of the old Adam, and especially the rational soul, are completely destroyed, and a new essence of the soul is created out of nothing. This error St. Augustine expressly rebukes in [his exposition of] Psalm 25, where he quotes the passage from Paul, Eph. 4, 22: *Put off the old man*, etc., and explains it in the following words: *Ne aliquis arbitretur deponendam esse aliquam substantiam, exposuit, quid esset: „Deponite veterem hominem et induite novum", cum dicit in consequentibus: „Quapropter deponentes mendacium, loquimini veritatem." Ecce, hoc est deponere veterem hominem et induere novum* etc.; that is, *Lest any one might think that the substance or essence of man is to be laid aside, he has himself explained what it is to lay aside the old man, and to put on the new, when he*

Wesen des Menschen abgelegt werden, hat er selbst erklärt, was da sei, den alten Menschen ablegen und den neuen anziehen, da er in nachfolgenden Worten sagt: ‚Darum leget ab die Lügen und redet die Wahrheit.' Siehe, das ist den alten Menschen ablegen und den neuen anziehen."

8. Item, wo diese Reden unerklärt gebraucht werden, daß des Menschen Wille vor, in und nach der Bekehrung dem Heiligen Geist widerstrebe, und daß der Heilige Geist werde gegeben denen, so ihm widerstreben.

Denn aus vorgehender Erklärung ist öffentlich, wo durch den Heiligen Geist gar keine Veränderung zum Guten im Verstande, Willen und Herzen geschieht, und der Mensch der Verheißung ganz nicht glaubt und von Gott zur Gnade nicht geschickt gemacht wird, sondern ganz und gar dem Wort widerstrebt, daß da keine Bekehrung geschehe oder sein könne. Denn die Bekehrung ist eine solche Veränderung durch des Heiligen Geistes Wirkung in des Menschen Verstand, Willen und Herzen, daß der Mensch durch solche Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes könne die angebotene Gnade annehmen. Und zwar alle die, so des Heiligen Geistes Wirkungen und Bewegungen, die durchs Wort geschehen, widerspenstig, verharrlich widerstreben, die empfangen nicht, sondern betrüben und verlieren den Heiligen Geist.

Nun bleibt gleichwohl auch in den Wiedergebornen eine Widerspenstigkeit, davon die Schrift meldet, daß „das Fleisch gelüstet wider den Geist", item, „die fleischlichen Lüste wider die Seele streiten", und daß „das Gesetz in den Gliedern widerstrebe dem Gesetz im Gemüte", Röm. 7.

Derhalben der Mensch, so nicht wiedergeboren ist, Gott gänzlich widerstrebt und ist ganz und gar ein Knecht der Sünde. Der Wiedergeborne aber hat Lust an Gottes Gesetz nach dem inwendigen Menschen, sieht aber gleichwohl in seinen Gliedern der Sünde Gesetz, welches widerstrebt dem Gesetz im Gemüt; derhalben so dient er mit dem Gemüt dem Gesetz Gottes, aber mit dem Fleisch dem Gesetz der Sünde, Röm. 7. Auf solche Weise kann und soll die rechte Meinung gründlich, deutlich und bescheidentlich [vorsichtig und auf verständige Weise] erklärt und gelehrt werden.

Was [so]dann belangt die Reden Chrysostomi und Basilii: Trahit Deus, sed volentem trahit; tantum velis, et Deus praeoccurrit; item der Schullehrer Rede: Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid, das ist: „Gott zeucht [zieht], er zeucht aber den, der da will"; item: „Wolle allein, so wird dir Gott [zu-] vorkommen"; item: „Des Menschen Wille ist nicht müßig in der Bekehrung, sondern wirkt etwas", welche Reden zur Bestätigung des natürlichen freien Willens in der Bekehrung des Menschen wider die Lehre von der Gnade Gottes eingeführt [worden]: ist aus hiebevor gesetzter Erklärung offenbar, daß sie der Form gesunder Lehre nicht ähnlich, sondern derselben zuwider und demnach, wenn von der Bekehrung zu Gott geredet [wird], billig zu meiden [sind].

Denn die Bekehrung unsers verderbten Willens, welche anders nichts denn eine Erweckung desselben von dem geistlichen Tode [ist], ist einig

82] VIII. Repudiamus etiam sequentes loquendi formas, si quis iis citra declarationem utatur: quod hominis voluntas ante conversionem, in ipsa conversione et post conversionem Spiritui Sancto repugnet, et quod Spiritus Sanctus detur ipsi repugnantibus.

83] Ex ea enim, quam paulo ante recitavimus, explicatione manifestum est, ubi per Spiritum Sanctum in hominis intellectu, voluntate et corde prorsus nulla fit immutatio ad bonum, et homo promissioni divinae fidem prorsus non adhibet et a Deo ad gratiam non redditur idoneus, sed totus Verbo Dei repugnat, quod ibi nulla conversio vel fieri vel esse possit. Conversio enim hominis talis est immutatio per operationem Spiritus Sancti in hominis intellectu, voluntate et corde, qua homo (operatione videlicet Spiritus Sancti) potest oblatam gratiam apprehendere. Et quidem omnes illi, qui operationi et motibus Spiritus Sancti (quae per Verbum fiunt) contumaciter et perseveranter repugnant, non accipiunt, sed contristant et amittunt Spiritum Sanctum.

84] Manet quidem etiam in renatis rebellio quaedam, cuius Scriptura mentionem facit, quod nimirum *caro concupiscit adversus spiritum*, Gal. 5, 17, quod *carnales concupiscentiae adversus animam militant*, 1 Petr. 2, 11, et quod *lex illa in membris legi mentis repugnat*, Rom. 7, 23.

85] Homo autem non renatus Deo prorsus rebellis est et totus est servus peccati, Ioh. 8, 34; Rom. 6, 16. Renatus vero delectatur lege Dei secundum interiorem hominem. Videt autem nihilominus in membris suis legem peccati, quae legi mentis repugnat. Quare [R. 680 mente quidem servit legi Dei, carne vero legi peccati, Rom. 7, 25. Ad hunc modum vera de hoc negotio sententia solide, perspicue et dextre declaranda et docenda est.

86] Quod vero attinet ad phrases et dicta Chrysostomi et Basilii: *Trahit Deus, sed volentem trahit; tantum velis, et Deus praeoccurrit;* item Scholasticorum et Pontificiorum: *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid* etc., quia dicta illa pro confirmando naturali libero arbitrio in conversione hominis, contra doctrinam gratiae Dei introducta sunt: ex proposita declaratione manifeste apparet formae sanorum verborum ea non esse analoga, sed cum illa pugnare et idcirco, cum de conversione ad Deum agitur, merito vitanda esse. [Chrysostomus, Hom. 6. de laudibus Pauli Apostoli: „Deus nolentes non cogit, sed volentes trahit." Hom. 4: „Non enim Deus homines cogit vocando, sed post vocationem quoque permittit eos propriarum esse dominos voluntatum." Basilius Magnus, Sermo de libero arbitrio: „Tantum velis, et Deus praecurrit."]

87] Conversio enim voluntatis nostrae depravatae (quae revera nihil aliud est quam eiusdem resuscitatio a spirituali morte)

says in the succeeding words: "Putting away lying, speak the truth." Behold, that is to put off the old man and to put on the new.

8. Likewise, if the following expressions are used without being explained, namely, that the will of man before, in, and after conversion resists the Holy Ghost, and that the Holy Ghost is given to those who resist Him.

For from the preceding explanation it is manifest that where no change whatever in intellect, will, and heart occurs through the Holy Ghost to that which is good, and man does not at all believe the promise, and is not rendered fit by God for grace, but entirely resists the Word, there no conversion takes place or can be. For conversion is such a change through the operation of the Holy Ghost in the intellect, will, and heart of man that by this operation of the Holy Ghost man can accept the offered grace. And, indeed, all those who obstinately and persistently resist the operations and movements of the Holy Ghost, which take place through the Word, do not receive, but grieve and lose, the Holy Ghost.

Now, there remains, nevertheless, also in the regenerate, an obstinacy [a certain rebelliousness] of which the Scriptures speak, namely, that *the flesh lusteth against the spirit*, Gal. 5, 17, likewise, that *fleshly lusts war against the soul*, 1 Pet. 2, 11, and that *the law in the members wars against the law of the mind*, Rom. 7, 23.

Accordingly, the man who is not regenerate resists God altogether, and is entirely a servant of sin, John 8, 34; Rom. 6, 16. The regenerate person, however, delights in the Law of God after the inward man, but nevertheless sees in his members the law of sin, which wars against the law of the mind; on this account he serves the Law of God with his mind, but with the flesh the law of sin, Rom. 7, 25. In this way the correct opinion can and should be thoroughly, clearly, and discreetly explained and taught.

As to the expressions of Chrysostom and Basil: *Trahit Deus, sed volentem trahit; tantum velis, et Deus praeoccurrit*, likewise, the saying of the Scholastics [and Papists], *Hominis voluntas in conversione non est otiosa, sed agit aliquid*, that is, *God draws, but He draws the willing;* likewise: *Only be willing, and God will anticipate you;* likewise: *In conversion the will of man is not idle, but effects something* (expressions which have been introduced for confirming the natural free will in man's conversion, against the doctrine concerning God's grace), it is manifest from the explanation heretofore presented that they are not in harmony with the form of sound doctrine, but contrary to it, and therefore ought to be avoided when we speak of conversion to God.

For the conversion of our corrupt will, which is nothing else than a resuscitation of

und allein Gottes Werk (wie auch die Auferweckung in der leiblichen Auferstehung des Fleisches allein Gott zugeschrieben werden soll), inmaßen droben ausführlich angezeigt und mit offenbarlichen Zeugnissen der Heiligen Schrift erwiesen worden.

Wie aber Gott in der Bekehrung aus Widerspenstigen und Unwilligen durch das Ziehen des Heiligen Geistes Willige mache, und daß nach solcher Bekehrung des Menschen wiedergeborner Wille in täglicher Übung der Buße nicht müßig gehe, sondern in allen Werken des Heiligen Geistes, die er durch uns tut, auch mitwirke, ist droben gnugsam erklärt worden.

Also auch, wenn Lutherus spricht, daß sich der Mensch zu seiner Bekehrung pure passive [verhalte, das ist, ganz und gar nichts dazu tue, sondern nur leide, was Gott in ihm wirkt, ist seine Meinung nicht, daß die Bekehrung geschehe ohne die Predigt und Gehör des göttlichen Wortes, ist auch die Meinung nicht, daß in der Bekehrung vom Heiligen Geist gar keine neue Bewegung in uns erweckt und keine geistliche Wirkung angefangen werden; sondern er meint, daß der Mensch von sich selbst oder aus seinen natürlichen Kräften nichts vermöge oder helfen könne zu seiner Bekehrung, und daß die Bekehrung nicht allein zum Teil, sondern ganz und gar sei eine Wirkung, Gabe und Geschenk und Werk des Heiligen Geistes allein, der sie durch seine Kraft und Macht, durchs Wort, im Verstand, Willen und Herzen des Menschen, tamquam in subiecto patiente, das ist, da der Mensch nichts tut oder wirkt, sondern nur leidet, ausrichte und wirke; nicht als ein Bild in einen Stein gehauen oder ein Siegel ins Wachs, welches nichts drum weiß, solches auch nicht empfindet noch will, gedrückt wird, sondern also und auf die Weise, wie kurz zuvor erzählt und erklärt ist.

Weil auch in den Schulen die Jugend de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati, das ist, mit der Lehre von den drei wirklichen [bewirkenden] Ursachen der Bekehrung des unwiedergebornen Menschen zu Gott, heftig irregemacht worden, welchergestalt dieselben (nämlich das gepredigte und gehörte Wort Gottes, der Heilige Geist und des Menschen Wille) zusammenkommen, ist abermals aus hiervor gesetzter Erklärung offenbar, daß die Bekehrung zu Gott allein Gottes des Heiligen Geistes Werk sei, welcher der rechte Meister ist, der allein solches in uns wirkt, dazu er die Predigt und das Gehör seines heiligen Wortes als sein ordentlich Mittel und Werkzeug gebraucht. Des unwiedergebornen Menschen Verstand aber und Wille ist anders nichts denn allein subiectum convertendum, das ist, der bekehrt werden soll, als eines geistlich toten Menschen Verstand und Wille, in dem der Heilige Geist die Bekehrung und Erneurung wirkt, zu welchem Werk des Menschen Wille, so bekehrt soll werden, nichts tut, sondern läßt allein Gott in ihm wirken, bis er wiedergeboren und alsdann auch mit dem Heiligen Geist in andern nachfolgenden guten Werken wirkt, was Gott gefällig ist, auf Weise und Maß, wie droben ausführlich erklärt worden.

omnino solius Dei opus est, sicut etiam resuscitatio in corporali carnis resurrectione soli Deo est tribuenda, quemadmodum supra perspicue id explicatum et solidis Scripturae Sacrae testimoniis demonstratum est.

88] Quomodo vero Dominus in conversione ex rebellibus et nolentibus hominibus per Spiritus Sancti tractum volentes et promptos faciat, et quod post hominis conversionem voluntas iam renata in quotidianis poenitentiae exercitiis non sit otiosa, sed in omnibus operibus Spiritus Sancti (quae ille per nos efficit) cooperetur, supra satis perspicue est declaratum.

89] Et quando D. Lutherus affirmat, *hominem in conversione sua pure passive sese habere*, id est, plane nihil agere, sed tantummodo pati id, quod Deus in ipso agit, certe non sentit, quod conversio absque praedicatione et auditione Verbi Dei fiat, neque haec ita accipi voluit, quasi in conversione per Spiritum Sanctum prorsus nulli novi [R. 681 motus in nobis excitentur, neque ulla spiritualis operatio in nobis inchoetur. Sed hoc voluit D. Lutherus, hominem ex se ipso aut naturalibus suis viribus non posse aliquid conferre, vel adiumentum afferre ad suam conversionem, et hominis conversionem non tantum ex parte, sed totam prorsus esse operationem, donum et opus solius Spiritus Sancti, qui eam virtute et potentia sua, per Verbum (in intellectu, corde et voluntate hominis, tamquam in subiecto patiente, ubi homo nihil agit aut operatur, sed tantum patitur) efficiat atque operetur. Quod tamen non eo modo fit, quasi cum statua e lapide formatur, aut sigillum in ceram imprimitur, quae cera neque notitiam neque sensum neque voluntatem habet, sed eo modo hominis immutationem et renovationem fieri credimus, quem satis luculenter supra explicuimus.

90] Quandoquidem enim iuventus in scholis doctrina illa de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati, vehementer perturbata est, dum disputatum fuit, quomodo illae (Verbum videlicet praedicatum et auditum, Spiritus Sanctus et hominis voluntas) concurrant, denuo repetitum volumus ex supra posita explicatione, quod conversio ad Deum sit solius Spiritus Sancti opus, qui solus est egregius ille artifex haec in nobis efficiens; interim tamen praedicatione et auditu sancti Verbi sui (tamquam ordinario et legitimo medio seu instrumento suo) utitur. Hominis autem nondum renati intellectus et voluntas tantum sunt subiectum convertendum, sunt enim hominis spiritualiter mortui intellectus et voluntas, in quo homine Spiritus Sanctus conversionem et renovationem operatur, ad quod opus hominis [R. 682 convertendi voluntas nihil confert, sed patitur, ut Deus in ipsa operetur, donec regeneretur. Postea vero in aliis sequentibus bonis operibus Spiritui Sancto cooperatur, ea faciens, quae Deo grata sunt, eo modo, qui iam a nobis in hoc scripto abunde satis est declaratus.

it from spiritual death, is only and solely the work of God (just as also the resuscitation in the resurrection of the body must be ascribed to God alone), as has been fully set forth above and proved by manifest testimonies of Holy Scripture.

But how God in conversion changes stubborn and unwilling into willing men through the drawing of the Holy Ghost, and that after such conversion, in the daily exercise of repentance, the regenerate will of man is not idle, but also cooperates in all the works of the Holy Ghost which He does through us, has already been sufficiently explained above.

So also when Luther says that with respect to his conversion man is *pure passive* (purely passive), that is, does nothing whatever towards it, but only suffers what God works in him, his meaning is not that conversion takes place without the preaching and hearing of God's Word; nor is this his meaning, that in conversion no new emotion whatever is awakened in us by the Holy Ghost and no spiritual operation begun; but he means that man of himself, or from his natural powers, cannot do anything or help towards his conversion, and that conversion is not only in part, but altogether an operation, gift, and present, and work of the Holy Ghost alone, who accomplishes and effects it by His power and might, through the Word, in the intellect, will, and heart of man, *tamquam in subiecto patiente*, that is, while man does or works nothing, but only suffers; not as a figure is cut into stone or a seal impressed into wax, which knows nothing of it, neither perceives and wills this, but in the way which has been recounted and explained a short while ago.

Since also the youths in the schools have been greatly perplexed *de tribus causis efficientibus, concurrentibus in conversione hominis non renati*, that is, by the doctrine of the three efficient causes of the conversion of unregenerate man to God, as to the manner in which they, namely, the Word of God preached and heard, the Holy Ghost, and the will of man, concur, it is again manifest from the explanation above presented that conversion to God is a work of God the Holy Ghost alone, who is the true Master that alone works this in us, for which He uses the preaching and hearing of His Holy Word as His ordinary [and lawful] means and instrument. But the intellect and will of the unregenerate man are nothing else than *subiectum convertendum*, that is, that which is to be converted, it being the intellect and will of a spiritually dead man, in whom the Holy Ghost works conversion and renewal, towards which work man's will that is to be converted does nothing, but suffers God alone to work in him, until he is regenerate; and then he works also with the Holy Ghost [cooperates] that which is pleasing to God in other good works that follow, in the way and to the extent fully set forth above.

III.

Von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott.

Die dritte [der dritte] Zwiespalt, unter etlichen Theologen der Augsburgischen Konfession entstanden, ist von der Gerechtigkeit Christi oder des Glaubens, die von Gott durch den Glauben den armen Sündern aus Gnaden zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet wird.

Denn ein Teil hat gestritten, daß die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, welche der Apostel die Gerechtigkeit Gottes nennt, sei die wesentliche Gerechtigkeit Gottes, welche Christus als der wahrhaftige, natürliche, wesentliche Sohn Gottes selbst sei, der durch den Glauben in den Auserwählten wohne und sie treibe, recht zu tun, und also ihre Gerechtigkeit sei, gegen welcher [gegen welche] Gerechtigkeit aller Menschen Sünde sei wie ein Tropfen Wasser gegen dem großen [gegen das große] Meer.

Dagegen haben etliche gehalten und gelehrt, daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit sei allein nach seiner menschlichen Natur.

Wider welche beide Teile einhellig von den andern Lehrern der Augsburgischen Konfession gepredigt [worden], daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit nicht allein nach der göttlichen Natur, auch nicht allein nach der menschlichen Natur, sondern nach beiden Naturen sei, welcher, als Gott und Mensch, uns von unsern Sünden durch seinen vollkommenen Gehorsam erlöst, gerecht und selig gemacht hat, daß also die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens sei Vergebung der Sünden, Versöhnung mit Gott, und daß wir zu Kindern Gottes angenommen werden um des einigen Gehorsams Christi willen, welcher allein durch den Glauben, aus lauter Gnade, allen Rechtgläubigen [wahrhaft Gläubigen] zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet [wird], und sie um desselben willen von aller ihrer Ungerechtigkeit absolviert werden.

Über das sind aus dem Interim und sonst andere mehr Disputationes von dem Artikel der Rechtfertigung verursacht und erregt, die hernach in antithesi, das ist, in Erzählung derjenigen [Irrtümer], so der reinen Lehre in diesem Artikel zuwider, sollen erklärt werden.

Dieser Artikel von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens (wie die Apologia sagt) ist der vornehmste der ganzen christlichen Lehre, ohne welchen kein arm Gewissen einigen beständigen [zuverlässigen, gewissen] Trost haben oder den Reichtum der Gnade Christi recht erkennen mag [kann]; wie auch D. Luther geschrieben: „Wo dieser einige Artikel rein auf dem Plan bleibt, so bleibt die Christenheit auch rein und fein einträchtig und ohne alle Rotten; wo er aber nicht rein bleibt, da ist's nicht möglich, daß man einigem Irrtum oder Rottengeist wehren möge." (Tom. 5, Ienens., p. 159.) Und von diesem Artikel sagt Paulus insonderheit, daß „ein wenig Sauerteig den ganzen Teig versäure". Darum er die particulas exclusivas, das ist, die Worte, nämlich: „ohne Gesetz, ohne Werke, aus Gnaden", dadurch die Werke der Menschen ausgeschlossen [werden], in diesem Artikel mit so großem Eifer und Ernst treibt, damit anzuzeigen, wie hoch es vonnöten sei, daß in diesem Artikel neben reiner Lehre die antithesis,

III.

DE IUSTITIA FIDEI CORAM DEO.

1] Tertia controversia inter theologos quosdam Augustanae Confessionis orta est de iustitia Christi seu iustitia fidei, quae a Deo per fidem miseris peccatoribus ad iustitiam ex gratia imputatur.

2] Alii contenderunt, iustitiam fidei (quam apostolus iustitiam Dei appellat) esse iustitiam Dei essentialem, quae sit ipse Christus, ut verus naturalis et essentialis Dei Filius, qui per fidem in electis habitet eosque ad bene operandum impellat, et hac ipsa ratione eorum sit iustitia, cuius inhabitantis essentialis iustitiae respectu omnium hominum peccata sese habeant instar guttulae aquae ad magnum mare collatae.

3] Alii vero asseruerunt, Christum esse iustitiam nostram duntaxat iuxta humanam suam naturam.

4] Contra utrosque unanimi consensu reliqui Augustanae Confessionis theologi docuerunt, Christum esse nostram iustitiam non secundum divinam tantum naturam, neque etiam secundum humanam tantum, sed iuxta utramque naturam: quippe qui nos (ut Deus et homo) a peccatis nostris perfectissima sua obedientia liberaverit, iustificaverit atque salvos fecerit. Itaque asseruerunt, fidei iustitiam esse remissionem peccatorum, reconciliationem cum Deo et adoptionem in filios Dei propter solam Christi obedientiam, quae per solam fidem, ex mera gratia, omnibus [R. 683 vere credentibus ad iustitiam imputetur, ita ut ipsi propterea ab omni iniustitia absolvantur.

5] Praeter hanc controversiam etiam aliae quaedam disputationes de articulo iustificationis (occasione formulae Interim seu Interreligionis) et alias motae sunt, quae postea in antithesi, id est, in recitatione errorum, qui purae doctrinae in hoc articulo adversantur, explicabuntur.

6] Hic autem articulus de iustitia fidei praecipuus est (ut Apologia loquitur) in tota doctrina Christiana, sine quo conscientiae perturbatae nullam veram et firmam consolationem habere aut divitias gratiae Christi recte agnoscere possunt. Id D. Lutherus suo etiam testimonio confirmavit, cum inquit: *Si unicus hic articulus sincerus permanserit, etiam Christiana ecclesia sincera, concors et sine omnibus sectis permanet; sin vero corrumpitur, impossibile est, ut uni errori aut fanatico spiritui recte obviam iri possit.* (Tom. 5, Ienens., p. 159 [Lat. tom. 3, p. 397].) Et de hoc arti-
7] culo divus Paulus praecipue loquitur, cum inquit Gal. 5, 9 [1 Cor. 5, 6]: *Paululum fermenti totam conspersionem fermentat.* Atque ea ipsa de causa Paulus particulas exclusivas (videlicet *sine lege, sine operibus, ex gratia, gratis* [Rom. 3, 28; 4, 5; Eph. 2, 8. 9]), quibus humana opera excluduntur, in hoc articulo tanta diligentia tantoque zelo urget, ut osten-

III.

OF THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF FAITH BEFORE GOD.

The third controversy which has arisen among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession is concerning the righteousness of Christ or of faith, which God imputes by grace, through faith, to poor sinners for righteousness.

For one side has contended that the righteousness of faith, which the apostle calls the righteousness of God, is God's essential righteousness, which is Christ Himself as the true, natural, and essential Son of God, who dwells in the elect by faith and impels them to do right, and thus is their righteousness, compared with which righteousness the sins of all men are as a drop of water compared with the great ocean.

Over against this, others have held and taught that Christ is our righteousness according to His human nature alone.

In opposition to both these parties it has been unanimously taught by the other teachers of the Augsburg Confession that Christ is our righteousness not according to His divine nature alone, nor according to His human nature alone, but according to both natures; for He has redeemed, justified, and saved us from our sins as God and man, through His complete obedience; that therefore the righteousness of faith is the forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, and our adoption as God's children only on account of the obedience of Christ, which through faith alone, out of pure grace, is imputed for righteousness to all true believers, and on account of it they are absolved from all their unrighteousness.

Besides this [controversy] there have been still other disputes caused and excited on account of the Interim [on occasion of the formula of the Interim or of Interreligion], and otherwise, concerning the article of justification, which will hereafter be explained *in antithesi*, that is, in the enumeration of those errors which are contrary to the pure doctrine in this article.

This article concerning justification by faith (as the *Apology* says) is the chief article in the entire Christian doctrine, without which no poor conscience can have any firm consolation, or can truly know the riches of the grace of Christ, as Dr. Luther also has written: *If this only article remains pure on the battlefield, the Christian Church also remains pure, and in goodly harmony and without any sects; but if it does not remain pure, it is not possible that any error or fanatical spirit can be resisted.* (Tom. 5, Jena, p. 159.) And concerning this article especially Paul says that *a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.* Therefore, in this article he urges with so much zeal and earnestness the *particulas exclusivas*, that is, the words whereby the works of men are excluded (namely, *without Law, without works, by grace* [*freely*], Rom. 3, 28; 4, 5; Eph. 2, 8. 9), in order to indicate how highly necessary it is that in this article, aside

das ist, alle Gegenlehre, dadurch abgesondert, ausgesetzt [als falsch ausgeschieden] und verworfen werde.

Derwegen diesen Zwiespalt christlich vermöge Gottes Worts zu erklären und durch seine Gnade hinzulegen [beizulegen], ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, wie folgt:

Von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott glauben, lehren und bekennen wir einhellig vermöge hievorgesetzten summarischen Begriffs unsers christlichen Glaubens und Bekenntnisses, daß ein armer sündiger Mensch vor Gott gerechtfertigt, das ist, absolviert, los und ledig gesprochen werde von allen seinen Sünden und von dem Urteil der wohlverdienten Verdammnis, auch angenommen werde zur Kindschaft und Erbschaft des ewigen Lebens, ohne einig unser Verdienst oder Würdigkeit, auch ohne alle vor[her]gehenden, gegenwärtigen oder auch folgenden Werke, aus lauter Gnade, allein um des einigen Verdienstes, des ganzen Gehorsams, bitteren Leidens, Sterbens und Auferstehung unsers HErrn Christi willen, des Gehorsam uns zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet wird.

Welche Güter uns in der Verheißung des heiligen Evangelii durch den Heiligen Geist vorgetragen werden, und ist allein der Glaube das einige Mittel, dadurch wir sie ergreifen, annehmen und uns applizieren und zueignen; welcher ist eine Gabe Gottes, dadurch wir Christum, unsern Erlöser, im Wort des Evangelii recht erkennen und auf ihn vertrauen, daß wir allein um seines Gehorsams willen, aus Gnaden, Vergebung der Sünden haben, für fromm und gerecht von Gott dem Vater gehalten und ewig selig werden. Demnach für eins [demnach wird für ein und dasselbe] gehalten und genommen, wenn Paulus spricht, daß wir „durch den Glauben gerecht werden", Röm. 3, oder daß „der Glaube uns zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet werde", Röm. 4, und wenn er spricht, „daß wir durch des einigen Mittlers Christi Gehorsam gerecht werden", oder „daß durch eines Gerechtfertigkeit die Rechtfertigung des Glaubens [Lebens] über alle Menschen komme", Röm. 5. Denn der Glaube macht gerecht nicht darum und daher, daß er so ein gut Werk und schöne Tugend [ist], sondern weil er in der Verheißung des heiligen Evangelii den [das] Verdienst Christi ergreift und annimmt; denn derselbe [dasselbe] muß uns durch den Glauben appliziert und zugeeignet werden, wenn wir dadurch gerecht sollen werden; daß also die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott dem Glauben oder den Gläubigen aus lauter Gnade zugerechnet wird, ist der Gehorsam, Leiden und Auferstehung Christi, da er für uns dem Gesetz genuggetan und für unsere Sünde bezahlt hat. Denn weil Christus nicht allein Mensch, sondern Gott und Mensch in einer unzertrennten Person [ist], so ist er ebensowenig unter dem Gesetz gewesen (weil er ein HErr des Gesetzes), als daß er für seine Person [hat] leiden und sterben sollen. Darum uns denn sein Gehorsam nicht allein im Leiden und Sterben, sondern auch daß er freiwillig an unserer Statt [sich] unter das Gesetz getan und dasselbe mit solchem Gehorsam erfüllt [hat], uns zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet [wird], daß uns Gott um solches ganzen Gehorsam willen Gnade, Vergebung der Sünden, Gerechtigkeit und das ewige Leben schenkt, gibt und zurechnet.

Dieser Glaube hat nun solche Art und Eigenschaft, wie sie Gott der Heilige Geist in seinem Wort beschreibt, daß er nicht ein solch Ding sei, das in einem Menschen sein und bleiben kann, wenn gleich Gottes Wort gepredigt und gehört wird, und der Mensch sich äußerlich stellt, als wenn er Gottes Gebote halte, und gehe auch wohl zu Zeiten eine Bewegung des Glaubens vor, aber darauf folgt nicht Bekehrung, sondern der Glaube wird wieder ausgestoßen, wie Christus Luc. 8 [13] vom Samen, das auf den Felsen gefallen ist, sagt, daß es eine Zeitlang glaube, aber zur Zeit der Anfechtung fällt es ab. Sondern der Glaube, wie er in der Heiligen Schrift gegründet ist, ist nicht eine solche Kenntnis, die in gottlosen Leuten und Heuchlern sein kann, auch nicht ein solch Fürwahrhalten, das auf menschlichen Kräften und freiem Willen steht, sondern ist ein solch Werk, dadurch wir Christum ergreifen, daß er unser Mittler sei, unter welchem wir Gott gefallen, nicht um unserer Würdigkeit willen, sondern allein um des Gehorsams willen Christi, welcher ihm durch seine Menschheit, in seinem Leben, Leiden und Sterben, in Erfüllung des Gesetzes, für uns geleistet hat, und um welches willen uns Gott alle unsere Sünde vergibt, uns für fromm und gerecht hält und ewig selig macht.

Dieser Glaube ist nun ein Werk, das Gott in uns wirkt, welches uns wiedergebiert und neue Menschen macht, die Gott kindlich lieben und fürchten, sich seiner Gnade trösten, ihn anrufen, loben und preisen, ihm gehorsam sind, Kreuz und Trübsal leiden, und ihr Vertrauen nicht auf Menschen setzen, sondern allein auf Gott, und ihm in allen Dingen, was sie tun, ihr Vertrauen haben, daß sie um seines Sohnes willen gnädig sind, und ihn nicht allein in Gnaden haben, sondern auch, daß er ihnen durch seinen Heiligen Geist alles gibt, was sie bedürfen, wie sie denn solches alles in dem Gebet des Herrn finden.

Und ist also der Glaube nicht ein solch Ding, das Gott und Menschen nicht kennt, und was Gott und Menschen haben, nicht weiß, sondern ist eine Kenntnis, die Gott in uns wirkt, dadurch wir uns selbst erkennen, daß wir Sünder sind, und daß wir Gnade haben durch Christum, daß wir Gott recht erkennen, daß er unser Vater ist, daß er uns alles gibt, was wir bedürfen, und daß wir ihn anrufen, ihm danken

from [the presentation of] the pure doctrine, the antithesis, that is, all contrary dogmas, be stated separately, exposed, and rejected by this means.

Therefore, in order to explain this controversy in a Christian way by means of God's Word, and, by His grace, to settle it, our doctrine, faith, and confession are as follows:

Concerning the righteousness of faith before God we believe, teach, and confess unanimously, in accordance with the comprehensive summary of our faith and confession presented above, that poor sinful man is justified before God, that is, absolved and declared free and exempt from all his sins, and from the sentence of well-deserved condemnation, and adopted into sonship and heirship of eternal life, without any merit or worth of our own, also without any preceding, present, or any subsequent works, out of pure grace, because of the sole merit, complete obedience, bitter suffering, death, and resurrection of our Lord Christ alone, whose obedience is reckoned to us for righteousness.

These treasures are offered us by the Holy Ghost in the promise of the holy Gospel; and faith alone is the only means by which we lay hold upon, accept, and apply, and appropriate them to ourselves. This faith is a gift of God, by which we truly learn to know Christ, our Redeemer, in the Word of the Gospel, and trust in Him, that for the sake of His obedience alone we have the forgiveness of sins by grace, are regarded as godly and righteous by God the Father, and are eternally saved. Therefore it is considered and understood to be the same thing when Paul says that we are *justified by faith,* Rom. 3, 28, or that *faith is counted to us for righteousness,* Rom. 4, 5, and when he says that we are *made righteous by the obedience of One,* Rom. 5, 19, or that *by the righteousness of One justification of faith came to all men,* Rom. 5, 18. For faith justifies, not for this cause and reason that it is so good a work and so fair a virtue, but because it lays hold of and accepts the merit of Christ in the promise of the holy Gospel; for this must be applied and appropriated to us by faith, if we are to be justified thereby. Therefore the righteousness which is imputed to faith or to the believer out of pure grace is the obedience, suffering, and resurrection of Christ, since He has made satisfaction for us to the Law, and paid for [expiated] our sins. For since Christ is not man alone, but God and man in one undivided person, He was as little subject to the Law, because He is the Lord of the Law, as He had to suffer and die as far as His person is concerned. For this reason, then, His obedience, not only in suffering and dying, but also in this, that He in our stead was voluntarily made under the Law, and fulfilled it by this obedience, is imputed to us for righteousness, so that, on account of this complete obedience, which He

sams willen, so er im Tun und Leiden, im Leben und Sterben für uns seinem himmlischen Vater geleistet, die Sünde vergibt, uns für fromm und gerecht hält und ewig selig macht. Solche Gerechtigkeit wird durchs Evangelium und in den Sakramenten von dem Heiligen Geist uns vorgetragen und durch den Glauben appliziert, zugeeignet und angenommen, daher die Gläubigen haben Versöhnung mit Gott, Vergebung der Sünden, Gottes Gnade, die Kindschaft und Erbschaft des ewigen Lebens.

Demnach das Wort „rechtfertigen" hier heißt gerecht und ledig von Sünden sprechen und derselben ewigen Strafe ledig zählen um der Gerechtigkeit Christi willen, welche von Gott dem Glauben zugerechnet wird, Phil. 3. Wie denn solcher Gebrauch und Verstand dieses Worts in Heiliger Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments gemein ist. Prov. 17: „Wer den Gottlosen recht spricht und den Gerechten verdammet, die sind beide dem HErrn ein Greuel." Jes. 5: „Wehe denen, die den Gottlosen recht sprechen um Geschenke willen und das Recht der Gerechten von ihnen wenden." Röm. 8: „Wer will die Auserwählten Gottes beschuldigen? Gott ist hie, der rechtfertigt", das ist, von Sünden absolviert und ledig spricht.

Dieweil aber zuzeiten das Wort regeneratio, **Wiedergeburt,** für das Wort iustificatio, **Rechtfertigung,** gebraucht [wird], ist vonnöten, daß solch Wort eigentlich erklärt [werde], damit die Verneurung, so der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens nachfolgt, nicht mit der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens vermengt, sondern [beide] eigentlich voneinander unterschieden werden.

Denn das Wort regeneratio, das ist, **Wiedergeburt,** erstlich also gebraucht wird, daß es zugleich die Vergebung der Sünden allein um Christus' willen und die nachfolgende Verneurung begreift, welche der Heilige Geist wirkt in denen, so durch den Glauben gerechtfertigt sind. Danach wird es gebraucht allein pro remissione peccatorum et adoptione in filios Dei, das ist, daß es heißt allein Vergebung der Sünden, [und] daß wir zu Kindern Gottes angenommen werden. Und in diesem andern Verstand wird in der Apologia viel und oft dieses Wort gebraucht, da geschrieben: Iustificatio est regeneratio, das ist, **die Rechtfertigung vor Gott ist die Wiedergeburt;** wie auch St. Paulus solche Worte unterschiedlich gesetzt Tit. 3: „Er hat uns selig gemacht durch das Bad der Wiedergeburt und Erneurung des Heiligen Geistes." Wie denn auch das Wort vivificatio, das ist, **Lebendigmachung,** zuzeiten in gleichem Verstand gebraucht worden. Denn so der Mensch durch den Glauben (welchen allein der Heilige Geist wirkt) gerechtfertigt [wird], solches wahrhaftig eine Wiedergeburt ist, weil [er] aus einem Kind des Zorns ein Kind Gottes und also aus dem Tod in das Leben gesetzt wird, wie geschrieben steht: „Da wir tot waren in Sünden, hat er uns samt Christo lebendig gemacht", Eph. 2. Item: „Der Gerechte wird seines Glaubens leben", Röm. 1. In welchem Verstand dies Wort in der Apologia viel und oft gebraucht wird.

Danach aber wird es auch oft für die Heiligung und Erneurung genommen, welche der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens nachfolgt, wie es D. Luther im Buch von der Kirche und Konzilien und anderswo also gebraucht hat.

iustitia per evangelion et in sacramentis a Spiritu Sancto nobis offertur et per fidem applicatur atque apprehenditur; unde credentes habent reconciliationem cum Deo, remissionem peccatorum, Dei favorem, adoptionem filiorum et hereditatem vitae aeternae.

17] Vocabulum igitur *iustificationis* in hoc negotio significat iustum pronuntiare, a peccatis et aeternis peccatorum suppliciis absolvere, propter iustitiam Christi, quae *a Deo fidei imputatur*, Phil. 3, 9. Et sane hic vocabuli illius usus tam in Veteri quam in Novo Testamento admodum frequens est. Salomon inquit Prov. 17, 15: *Qui iustificat impium, et qui condemnat iustum, abominabilis est uterque apud Deum.* Iesaias, 5, 23, vae denuntiat illis, *qui iustificant impium propter munera et iustitiam iusti auferunt ab eo.* Paulus ait Rom. 8, 33: *Quis accusabit electos Dei? Deus est, qui iustificat*, hoc est, qui a peccatis absolvit.

18] Cum autem interdum vocabulum *regenerationis* pro vocabulo *iustificationis* usurpetur, necesse est, ut illud dextre et proprie explicetur, ne renovatio, quae iustificationem sequitur, cum iustificatione fidei confundatur, sed haec recte a se invicem discernantur.

19] Vocabulum enim *regenerationis* interdum in eo sensu accipitur, ut simul et [R. 686 remissionem peccatorum (quae duntaxat propter Christum contingit) et subsequentem renovationem complectatur, quam Spiritus Sanctus in illis, qui per fidem iustificati sunt, operatur. Quandoque etiam solam remissionem peccatorum et adoptionem in filios Dei significat. Et in hoc posteriore usu saepe multumque id vocabulum in Apologia Confessionis ponitur. Verbi gratia, cum dicitur: *Iustificatio est regeneratio.* Sed et Paulus haec vocabula cum discrimine ponit, cum dicit Tit. 3, 5: *Salvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti.*

20] Quin etiam *vivificationis* vocabulum interdum ita accipitur, ut remissionem peccatorum notet. Cum enim homo per fidem (quam quidem solus Spiritus Sanctus operatur) iustificatur, id ipsum revera est quaedam regeneratio, quia ex filio irae fit filius Dei et hoc modo e morte in vitam transfertur, sicut scriptum est Eph. 2, 5: *Cum essemus mortui in peccatis, convivificavit nos in Christo.* Et alibi, Rom. 1, 17; Hab. 2, 4: *Iustus fide sua vivet.* Et in hac posteriore significatione Apologia vocabulo regenerationis frequenter uti solet.

21] Deinde etiam *regeneratio* saepe pro *sanctificatione et renovatione* (quae fidei iustificationem sequitur) usurpatur. In qua significatione D. Lutherus hac voce, tum in libro *De Ecclesia et Conciliis* tum alibi etiam, multum usus est.

rendered His heavenly Father for us, by doing and suffering, in living and dying, God forgives our sins, regards us as godly and righteous, and eternally saves us. This righteousness is offered us by the Holy Ghost through the Gospel and in the Sacraments, and is applied, appropriated, and received through faith, whence believers have reconciliation with God, forgiveness of sins, the grace of God, sonship, and heirship of eternal life.

Accordingly, the word *justify* here means to declare righteous and free from sins, and to absolve one from eternal punishment for the sake of Christ's righteousness, which is imputed by God to faith, Phil. 3, 9. For this use and understanding of this word is common in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and the New Testament. Prov. 17, 15: *He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are abomination to the Lord.* Is. 5, 23: *Woe unto them which justify the wicked for reward, and take away the righteousness of the righteous from him!* Rom. 8, 33: *Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth,* that is, absolves from sins and acquits.

However, since the word *regeneratio,* regeneration, is sometimes employed for the word *iustificatio,* justification, it is necessary that this word be properly explained, in order that the renewal which follows justification of faith may not be confounded with the justification of faith, but that they may be properly distinguished from one another.

For, in the first place, the word *regeneratio,* that is, regeneration, is used so as to comprise at the same time the forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake alone, and the succeeding renewal which the Holy Ghost works in those who are justified by faith. Then, again, it is [sometimes] used *pro remissione peccatorum et adoptione in filios Dei,* that is, so as to mean only the remission of sins, and that we are adopted as sons of God. And in this latter sense the word is much and often used in the *Apology,* where it is written: *Iustificatio est regeneratio,* that is, Justification before God is regeneration. St. Paul, too, has employed these words as distinct from one another, Titus 3, 5: *He saved us by the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Ghost.* As also the word *vivificatio,* that is, *making alive,* has sometimes been used in a like sense. For when man is justified through faith (which the Holy Ghost alone works), this is truly a regeneration, because from a child of wrath he becomes a child of God, and thus is transferred from death to life, as it is written: *When we were dead in sins, He hath quickened us together with Christ,* Eph. 2, 5. Likewise: *The just shall live by faith,* Rom. 1, 17; Hab. 2, 4. In this sense the word is much and often used in the *Apology.*

But again, it is often taken also for sanctification and renewal, which succeeds the righteousness of faith, as Dr. Luther has thus used it in his book concerning the Church and the Councils, and elsewhere.

Wenn wir aber lehren, daß durch die Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes wir neugeboren und gerecht werden, hat es nicht die Meinung, daß den Gerechtfertigten und Wiedergebornen keine Ungerechtigkeit nach der Wiedergeburt im Wesen und Leben mehr sollte anhangen, sondern daß Christus mit seinem vollkommenen Gehorsam alle ihre Sünden zudeckt, die doch in der Natur in diesem Leben noch stecken. Aber solches unangesehen, werden sie durch den Glauben und um solches Gehorsams Christi willen (den Christus dem Vater von seiner Geburt an bis in den allerschmählichsten Tod des Kreuzes für uns geleistet hat) für fromm und gerecht gesprochen und gehalten, ob sie gleich ihrer verderbten Natur halben noch Sünder sind und bleiben bis in die Grube [bis ins Grab]. Wie es denn hinwiederum die Meinung nicht hat, als dürften oder sollten wir ohne Buße, Bekehrung und Besserung den Sünden folgen, darin bleiben und fortfahren.

Denn wahre Reue muß vorhergehen; und die also, wie gesagt, aus lauter Gnade, um des einigen Mittlers Christi willen, allein durch den Glauben, ohne alle Werke und Verdienst vor Gott gerecht, das ist, zu Gnaden angenommen werden, denen wird auch der Heilige Geist gegeben, der sie verneuert und heiligt, in ihnen wirkt Liebe gegen Gott und gegen den Nächsten. Sondern weil die angefangene Verneurung in diesem Leben unvollkommen, und die Sünde noch im Fleisch auch bei den Wiedergebornen wohnt, so [be]steht die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott in gnädiger Zurechnung der Gerechtigkeit Christi, ohne Zutun unserer Werke, daß uns unsere Sünden vergeben und zugedeckt sind und nicht zugerechnet werden, Röm. 4.

Aber hier muß mit [be]sonderem Fleiß darauf gar gute Acht gegeben werden, wenn der Artikel der Rechtfertigung rein bleiben soll: daß nicht dasjenige, was vor dem Glauben hergeht, und was demselben nachfolgt, zugleich mit in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung, als dazu nötig und gehörig, eingemengt oder eingeschoben werde, weil nicht eins oder gleich ist, von der Bekehrung und von der Rechtfertigung zu reden.

Denn nicht alles, was zur Bekehrung gehört, auch zugleich in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung gehört; in und zu welchem allein gehört und vonnöten ist Gottes Gnade, der [das] Verdienst Christi, der Glaube, so solches in der Verheißung des Evangelii annimmt, dadurch uns die Gerechtigkeit Christi zugerechnet wird, daher wir erlangen und haben Vergebung der Sünden, Versöhnung mit Gott, die Kindschaft und Erbschaft des ewigen Lebens.

Also ist ein wahrer, seligmachender Glaube nicht in denen, so ohne Reue und Leid sind und einen bösen Vorsatz haben, in Sünden zu bleiben und [zu] beharren, sondern wahre Reue geht vorher, und rechter Glaube ist in oder bei wahrer Buße.

Es ist auch die Liebe eine Frucht, so dem wahren Glauben gewißlich notwendig folgt. Denn wer nicht liebt, das ist eine gewisse Anzeigung, daß er nicht gerechtfertigt, sondern noch im Tode sei oder die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens wiederum verloren habe; wie Johannes sagt 1 Joh. 3. Aber wenn

22] Quando autem docemus, quod per operationem Spiritus Sancti regeneremur et iustificemur, non ita accipiendum est, quod iustificatis et renatis nulla prorsus iniustitia (post regenerationem) substantiae ipsorum et conversationi adhaereat, sed quod Christus perfectissima obedientia sua omnia ipsorum peccata tegat, quae quidem in ipsa natura (in hac vita) adhuc infixa haerent. Nihilominus tamen per fidem, propter obedientiam Christi (quam Christus inde a nativitate sua [R. 687 usque ad ignominiosissimam crucis mortem pro nobis Patri suo praestitit) boni et iusti pronuntiantur et reputantur, etiamsi ratione corruptae naturae suae adhuc sint maneantque peccatores, dum mortale hoc corpus circumferunt. Sed neque hoc sentimus, quod liceat nobis absque poenitentia et vitae emendatione peccatis frenos laxare, in iisque perseverare et subinde pergere.

23] Oportet enim praecedere veram et non simulatam contritionem. Et qui mera gratia (ut diximus) propter unicum Mediatorem Christum, tantum per fidem, sine omnibus operibus et meritis coram Deo iusti sunt, hoc est, in gratiam Dei recipiuntur, his etiam Spiritus Sanctus datur, qui eos renovat atque sanctificat, in ipsis dilectionem erga Deum et proximum operatur. Cum autem inchoata illa renovatio in hac vita sit imperfecta, et peccatum adhuc in carne, etiam in renatis, habitet, iustitia fidei coram Deo in gratuita et benignissima imputatione iustitiae Christi (absque ulla nostrorum operum additione) consistit, quod videlicet peccata nobis remissa et tecta sint, neque nobis imputentur, Rom. 4, 6 sqq.

24] Sed et hoc diligentissime observandum est, si modo articulum de iustificatione sincerum retinere velimus, ne ea, quae fidem praecedunt, et quae eam sequuntur, articulo huic tamquam ad iustificationem necessaria et ad eam pertinentia admisceantur aut inserantur. Non enim unum idemque est, de conversione hominis et de iustificatione eius agere.

25] Non omnia illa, quae ad veram conversionem requiruntur, etiam ad iustificationem pertinent. Ad iustificationem enim tantum haec requiruntur atque necessaria sunt: gratia Dei, meritum Christi et fides, quae haec ipsa Dei beneficia in promissione evangelii amplectitur, qua ratione nobis Christi [R. 688 iustitia imputatur, unde remissionem peccatorum, reconciliationem cum Deo, adoptionem in filios Dei et hereditatem vitae aeternae consequimur.

26] Quare vera et salvans fides in iis non est, qui contritione carent et propositum in peccatis pergendi et perseverandi habent. Vera enim contritio praecedit, et fides iustificans in iis est, qui vere, non ficte, poenitentiam agunt.

27] Et caritas fructus est, qui veram fidem certissime et necessario sequitur. Qui enim non diligit, de eo recte iudicari potest, quod non sit iustificatus, sed quod adhuc in morte detineatur aut rursus iustitiam fidei amiserit, ut Iohannes, 1 Ioh. 3, 14, testatur. Et quando

But when we teach that through the operation of the Holy Ghost we are born anew and justified, the sense is not that after regeneration no unrighteousness clings any more to the justified and regenerate in their being and life, but that Christ covers all their sins which nevertheless in this life still inhere in nature with His complete obedience. But irrespective of this they are declared and regarded godly and righteous by faith and for the sake of Christ's obedience (which Christ rendered the Father for us from His birth to His most ignominious death upon the cross), although, on account of their corrupt nature, they still are and remain sinners to the grave [while they bear about this mortal body]. Nor, on the other hand, is this the meaning, that without repentance, conversion, and renewal we might or should yield to sins, and remain and continue in them.

For true [and not feigned] contrition must precede; and to those who, in the manner stated, out of pure grace, for the sake of the only Mediator, Christ, without any works and merit, are righteous before God, that is, are received into grace, the Holy Ghost is also given, who renews and sanctifies them, and works in them love to God and to their neighbor. But since the incipient renewal is imperfect in this life, and sin still dwells in the flesh, even in the regenerate, the righteousness of faith before God consists in the gracious imputation of the righteousness of Christ, without the addition of our works, so that our sins are forgiven us and covered, and are not imputed, Rom. 4, 6 ff.

But here very good attention must be given with especial diligence, if the article of justification is to remain pure, lest that which precedes faith, and that which follows after it, be mingled together or inserted into the article of justification as necessary and belonging to it, because it is not one or the same thing to speak of conversion and of justification.

For not everything that belongs to conversion belongs likewise to the article of justification, in and to which belong and are necessary only the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and faith, which receives this in the promise of the Gospel, whereby the righteousness of Christ is imputed to us, whence we receive and have forgiveness of sins, reconciliation with God, sonship, and heirship of eternal life.

Therefore true, saving faith is not in those who are without contrition and sorrow, and have a wicked purpose to remain and persevere in sins; but true contrition precedes, and genuine faith is in or with true repentance [justifying faith is in those who repent truly, not feignedly].

Love is also a fruit which surely and necessarily follows true faith. For the fact that one does not love is a sure indication that he is not justified, but is still in death, or has lost the righteousness of faith again, as John says, 1 John 3, 14. But when Paul says, Rom.

Paulus spricht: „Wir werden durch den Glauben gerecht ohne Werke", [so] zeigt er damit an, daß weder vor[her]gehende Reue noch folgende Werke in den Artikel oder Handel der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens gehören. Denn gute Werke gehen nicht vor der Rechtfertigung her, sondern folgen derselben, und die Person muß erst gerecht sein, ehe sie gute Werke tun kann.

Gleichfalls auch, wiewohl die Verneurung und Heiligung auch eine Wohltat des Mittlers Christi und ein Werk des Heiligen Geistes ist, gehört sie doch nicht in den Artikel oder in den Handel der Rechtfertigung vor Gott, sondern folgt derselben, weil sie von wegen unsers verderbten Fleisches in diesem Leben nicht ganz rein und vollkommen ist; wie D. Luther hiervon wohl [trefflich] schreibt in seiner schönen und langen Auslegung der Epistel an die Galater, da er also sagt: „Wir geben's wohl zu, daß man von der Liebe und guten Werken auch lehren solle, doch also, daß es geschehe, wann und wo es vonnöten ist, als nämlich, wenn man außerhalb dieser Sache von der Rechtfertigung von Werken sonst zu tun hat. Hier aber ist dieses die Hauptsache, damit man zu tun hat, daß man frage, nicht, ob man auch gute Werke tun und lieben [Liebe üben] solle, sondern wodurch man doch gerecht vor Gott und selig werden möge. Und da antworten wir mit St. Paulo also, daß wir allein durch den Glauben an Christum gerecht werden und nicht durch des Gesetzes Werke oder durch die Liebe; nicht also, daß wir hiermit die Werke und Liebe gar verwerfen, wie die Widersacher uns mit Unwahrheit lästern und schuld geben, sondern auf daß wir uns allein von der Hauptsache, damit man hier zu tun hat, nicht auf einen andern, fremden Handel, der in diese Sache gar nichts [in keiner Weise] gehört, abführen lassen, wie es der Satan gerne haben wollte. Derhalben, alldieweil und solange wir in diesem Artikel von der Rechtfertigung zu tun haben, verwerfen und verdammen wir die Werke, sintemal es um diesen Artikel also getan ist, daß er keinerlei Disputation oder Handlung von den Werken nicht leiden kann; darum schneiden wir in dieser Sache alle Gesetze und Gesetzeswerke kurz ab." Bis daher Lutherus.

Derwegen und auf daß betrübte Herzen einen beständigen, gewissen Trost haben, auch dem Verdienst Christi und der Gnade Gottes seine gebührliche Ehre gegeben werde, so lehrt die Schrift, daß die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott bestehe allein in gnädiger Versöhnung oder Vergebung der Sünden, welche aus lauter Gnade um des einigen Verdienstes des Mittlers Christi willen uns geschenkt und allein durch den Glauben in der Verheißung des Evangelii empfangen wird. Also auch verläßt sich der Glaube in der Rechtfertigung vor Gott weder auf die Reue noch auf die Liebe oder andere Tugenden, sondern allein auf Christum und in demselben auf seinen vollkommenen Gehorsam, damit er für uns das Gesetz erfüllt [hat], welcher den Gläubigen zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet wird.

Es ist auch weder Reue oder Liebe oder andere Tugend, sondern allein der Glaube das einige Mittel und Werkzeug, damit und dadurch wir Gottes Gnade, das Verdienst Christi und Vergebung der Sünden, so uns in der Verheißung des Evangelii vorgetragen werden, empfangen und annehmen können.

divus Paulus affirmat [Rom. 3, 28], *fide nos iustificari sine operibus*, hoc ipso docet, neque praecedentem contritionem neque sequentia bona opera ad articulum aut negotium iustitiae fidei pertinere. Bona enim opera non praecedunt iustificationem, sed eam demum sequuntur. Et oportet personam primum esse iustam, antequam bona opera facere queat.

28] Similiter et renovatio seu sanctificatio, quamvis et ipsa sit beneficium Mediatoris Christi et opus Spiritus Sancti, non tamen ad articulum aut negotium iustificationis coram Deo pertinet, sed eam sequitur, quia propter carnis nostrae corruptionem in hac vita imperfecta est et nondum omnibus numeris absoluta. De hac re erudite et pie D. Lutherus in praeclaro illo suo et copioso super epistolam ad Galatas commentario ad hunc modum **29**] docet: *Concedimus, de caritate et bonis operibus etiam docendum esse, sed suo tempore et loco, quando scilicet quaestio est de bonis operibus extra hunc articulum de iustificatione. Hic autem status causae et caput est, de quo agitur, ut scilicet quaeratur, non, an bona opera sint facienda et caritas exercenda sit, sed qua re iustificemur et* [R. 689 *vitam aeternam consequamur. Hic respondemus cum Paulo: sola fide in Christum nos pronuntiari iustos, non operibus legis aut caritate. Non quod opera aut caritatem reiiciamus, ut adversarii nos falso accusant, sed quod a statu causae in alienum negotium, quod ad hanc quaestionem prorsus non pertinet, abstrahi nos et implicari nolumus; id quod tamen Satanas maximopere molitur et quaerit. Itaque cum iam versemur in loco communi et articulo de iustificatione, reiicimus et damnamus opera. Is enim locus nequaquam patitur aut admittit disputationem de bonis operibus. Abscindimus igitur hoc proposito simpliciter omnes leges et omnia opera legis.* Hactenus Lutherus.

30] Quare ut perturbatae mentes certam firmamque consolationem habeant, et merito Christi atque gratiae divinae debitus honor tribuatur, docet nos Scriptura, iustitiam fidei coram Deo tantummodo consistere in sola clementi et quidem gratuita reconciliatione seu remissione peccatorum, quae ex mera gratia propter solum Christi Mediatoris meritum nobis donatur et per solam fidem in promissione evangelii apprehenditur. Ad eundem modum etiam fides illa in iustificatione coram Deo neque contritione neque dilectione aliisve virtutibus, sed solo Christo confidit et in Christo, ipsius perfectissima obedientia (qua pro nobis legem implevit) nititur, quae obedientia credentibus ad iustitiam imputatur.

31] Et quidem neque contritio neque dilectio neque ulla alia virtus, sed sola fides est illud unicum medium et instrumentum, quo gratiam Dei, meritum Christi et remissionem peccatorum (quae bona nobis in promissione evangelii offeruntur) apprehendere et accipere possumus.

3, 28: *We are justified by faith without works,* he indicates thereby that neither the contrition that precedes, nor the works that follow, belong in the article or transaction of justification by faith. For good works do not precede justification, but follow it, and the person must first be justified before he can do good works.

In like manner also renewal and sanctification, although it is also a benefit of the Mediator, Christ, and a work of the Holy Ghost, does not belong in the article or affair of justification before God, but follows the same, since, on account of our corrupt flesh, it is not entirely perfect and complete in this life, as Dr. Luther writes well concerning this in his beautiful and large exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians, in which he says as follows: *We concede indeed that instruction should be given also concerning love and good works, yet in such a way that this be done when and where it is necessary, namely, when otherwise and outside of this matter of justification we have to do with works. But here the chief matter dealt with is the question, not whether we should also do good works and exercise love, but by what means we can be justified before God, and saved. And here we answer thus with St. Paul: that we are justified by faith in Christ alone, and not by the deeds of the Law or by love. Not that we hereby entirely reject works and love, as the adversaries falsely slander and accuse us, but that we do not allow ourselves to be led away, as Satan desires, from the chief matter with which we have to do here to another and foreign affair which does not at all belong to this matter. Therefore, whereas, and as long as we are occupied with this article of justification, we reject and condemn works, since this article is so constituted that it can admit of no disputation or treatment whatever regarding works; therefore in this matter we cut short all Law and works of the Law.* So far Luther.

In order, therefore, that troubled hearts may have a firm, sure consolation, also, that due honor be given to the merit of Christ and the grace of God, the Scriptures teach that the righteousness of faith before God consists alone in the gracious [gratuitous] reconciliation or the forgiveness of sins, which is presented to us out of pure grace, for the sake of the only merit of the Mediator, Christ, and is received through faith alone in the promise of the Gospel. In like manner, too, in justification before God faith relies neither upon contrition nor upon love or other virtues, but upon Christ alone, and in Him upon His complete obedience by which He has fulfilled the Law for us, which [obedience] is imputed to believers for righteousness.

Moreover, neither contrition nor love or any other virtue, but faith alone is the sole means and instrument by which and through which we can receive and accept the grace of God, the merit of Christ, and the forgiveness of sins, which are offered us in the promise of the Gospel.

Es wird auch recht gesagt, daß die Gläubigen, so durch den Glauben an Christum gerecht [ge=] worden sind, in diesem Leben erstlich die zugerechnete Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, danach auch die angefangene Gerechtigkeit des neuen Gehorsams oder der guten Werke haben. Aber diese beiden müssen nicht ineinandergemengt oder zugleich in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens vor Gott eingeschoben werden. Denn weil diese angefangene Gerechtigkeit oder Verneurung in uns von wegen des Fleisches in diesem Leben unvollkommen und unrein [ist], kann damit und dadurch die Person vor Gottes Gericht nicht bestehen, sondern allein die Gerechtigkeit des Gehorsams, Leidens und Sterbens Christi, so dem Glauben zugerechnet wird, kann vor Gottes Gericht bestehen; also daß allein um dieses Gehorsams willen die Person (auch nach ihrer Verneurung, wenn sie schon viel guter Werke hat und im besten Leben ist) Gott gefalle und angenehm werde und sei zur Kindschaft und Erbschaft des ewigen Lebens angenommen.

Hierher gehört auch, das St. Paulus schreibt Röm. 4, daß Abraham vor Gott gerecht sei [ge=] worden allein durch den Glauben um des Mittlers willen, ohne Zutun seiner Werke, nicht allein, da er erstlich von der Abgötterei bekehrt und keine guten Werke hatte, sondern auch, da er hernach durch den Heiligen Geist verneuert und mit vielen herrlichen guten Werken geziert war, Gen. 15; Hebr. 11. Und setzt Paulus diese Frage Röm. 4: worauf alsdann Abrahams Gerechtigkeit vor Gott, dadurch er einen gnädigen Gott gehabt, ihm gefällig und angenehm gewesen, zum ewigen Leben, gestanden sei.

Darauf er antwortet: „Dem, der nicht mit Werken umgehet, glaubet aber an den, der die Gottlosen gerecht macht, dem wird sein Glaube gerechnet zur Gerechtigkeit; wie auch David sagt, daß die Seligkeit sei allein des Menschen, welchem Gott zurechnet die Gerechtigkeit ohne Zutun der Werke." Also, wenngleich die Bekehrten und Gläubigen haben angefangene Verneurung, Heiligung, Liebe, Tugend und gute Werke, so können doch, sollen und müssen dieselben nicht eingezogen oder eingemengt werden in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung vor Gott, auf daß dem Erlöser Christo seine Ehre bleibe, und, weil unser neuer Gehorsam unvollkommen und unrein, die angefochtenen Gewissen einen beständigen Trost haben mögen.

Und das ist des Apostels Pauli Meinung, wenn er in diesem Artikel die particulas exclusivas, das ist, die Worte, dadurch die Werke in dem Artikel der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens ausgeschlossen werden, so fleißig und emsig treibt: absque operibus, sine lege, gratis, non ex operibus, das ist, „aus Gnaden, ohne Verdienst, ohne Gesetz, ohne Werke, nicht aus den Werken" usw.; welche exclusivae alle zusammengefaßt werden, wenn man sagt: „Allein durch den Glauben werden wir vor Gott gerecht und selig." Denn dadurch werden die Werke ausgeschlossen, nicht der Meinung, als könnte ein wahrer Glaube wohl sein ohne Reue, oder als sollten, müßten und dürften die guten Werke dem wahren Glauben als die gewissen, ungezweifelten Früchte nicht folgen, oder als ob die Gläubigen nicht dürften noch müßten etwas Gutes tun; sondern von dem Artikel der

32] Recte etiam dicitur, quod credentes, qui per fidem in Christum iustificati sunt, in hac vita primum quidem imputatam fidei [R. 690 iustitiam, deinde vero etiam inchoatam iustitiam novae obedientiae seu bonorum operum habeant. Sed haec duo non inter se permiscenda aut simul in articulum de iustificatione fidei coram Deo ingerenda sunt. Cum enim inchoata illa iustitia seu renovatio in nobis propter carnem in hac vita imperfecta sit et impura, eius iustitiae ratione persona coram Dei iudicio consistere non potest. Sola autem iustitia obedientiae, passionis et mortis Christi (quae fidei imputatur) coram iudicio Dei stare potest; ita quidem, ut tantum propter hanc obedientiam persona (etiam postquam renovata est et multa bona opera habet atque iam honeste et innocenter vivit) Deo placeat et accepta, in filium Dei adoptata atque heres vitae aeternae scripta sit.

33] Huc referendum est, quod Paulus Rom. 4, 3 scribit, Abrahamum coram Deo iustificatum esse sola fide propter Mediatorem, sine operibus, idque non tantum, cum primo ab idololatria conversus, nulla bona opera haberet, sed etiam cum postea per Spiritum Sanctum renovatus, multis praeclaris bonis operibus ornatus esset, Gen. 15, 6; Hebr. 11, 8. Et movet Paulus Rom. 4, 1 sqq. quaestionem hanc: in quanam re Abrahami iustitia coram Deo (propter quam Deum clementem habuerit ipsique placuerit et acceptus ac heres regni Dei fuerit) posita et constituta fuerit.

34] Respondet autem Rom. 4, 4 sq.: *Ei, qui non operatur, credenti autem in eum, qui iustificat impium, reputatur fides eius ad iustitiam.* Sicut et David [Ps. 32, 1] dicit, *beatitudinem hominis (esse), cui Deus acceptam fert iustitiam sine operibus.* Quare, **35]** etsi conversi et in Christum credentes habent inchoatam in se renovationem, sanctificationem, dilectionem, virtutes et bona opera, tamen haec omnia nequaquam possunt aut debent immisceri articulo iustificationis coram Deo, ut Redemptori Christo honor illibatus maneat, et, cum nostra nova obedientia imperfecta et impura sit, perturbatae [R. 691 conscientiae certa et firma consolatione sese sustentare valeant.

36] Et hoc ipsum vult divus Paulus, quando in hoc articulo particulas exclusivas, quibus ex articulo iustitiae fidei opera excluduntur, ut sunt hae: *absque operibus, sine lege, sine merito, nonnisi ex gratia, gratis, non ex operibus,* tanta diligentia tantoque zelo urget. Hae autem exclusivae omnes hisce verbis comprehenduntur, cum docemus: *Sola fide coram Deo iustificamur et salvamur.* Hoc enim modo opera nostra excluduntur, non quidem ea ratione, quasi vera fides possit existere sine contritione, aut quasi bona opera non necessario fidem veram (tamquam certissimi fructus) sequantur, aut quasi credentes in Christum non debeant bene operari. Sed ab articulo *iustificationis* coram Deo opera excluduntur, ne negotio iustificationis peccatoris coram Deo, quasi ad eam rem necessaria, per-

It is also correctly said that believers who in Christ through faith have been justified, have in this life first the imputed righteousness of faith, and then also the incipient righteousness of the new obedience or of good works. But these two must not be mingled with one another or be both injected at the same time into the article of justification by faith before God. For since this incipient righteousness or renewal in us is incomplete and impure in this life because of the flesh, the person cannot stand with and by it [on the ground of this righteousness] before God's tribunal, but before God's tribunal only the righteousness of the obedience, suffering, and death of Christ, which is imputed to faith, can stand, so that only for the sake of this obedience is the person (even after his renewal, when he has already many good works and lives the best [upright and blameless] life) pleasing and acceptable to God, and is received into adoption and heirship of eternal life.

Here belongs also what St. Paul writes Rom. 4, 3, that Abraham was justified before God by faith alone, for the sake of the Mediator, without the cooperation of his works, not only when he was first converted from idolatry and had no good works, but also afterwards, when he had been renewed by the Holy Ghost, and adorned with many excellent good works, Gen. 15, 6; Heb. 11, 8. And Paul puts the following question, Rom. 4, 1 ff.: On what did Abraham's righteousness before God for everlasting life, by which he had a gracious God, and was pleasing and acceptable to Him, rest at that time?

This he answers: *To him who worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness; as David also,* Ps. 32, 1, *speaks of the blessedness of the man to whom God imputes righteousness without works.* Hence, even though the converted and believing [in Christ] have incipient renewal, sanctification, love, virtue, and good works, yet these neither can nor should be drawn into, or mingled with, the article of justification before God, in order that the honor due Him may remain with Christ the Redeemer, and tempted consciences may have a sure consolation, since our new obedience is incomplete and impure.

And this is the meaning of the Apostle Paul when in this article he urges so diligently and zealously the *particulas exclusivas,* that is, the words by which works are excluded from the article of justification: *absque operibus, sine lege, gratis, non ex operibus,* that is, *by grace, without merit, without works, not of works.* These *exclusivae* are all comprised in the expression: *By faith alone in Christ we are justified before God and saved.* For thereby works are excluded, not in the sense that a true faith can exist without contrition, or that good works should, must, and dare not follow true faith as sure and indubitable fruits, or that believers dare not nor must do anything good; but good works are excluded from the article of justification before God,

Rechtfertigung vor Gott werden die guten Werke ausgeschlossen, daß sie in die Handlung der Rechtfertigung des armen Sünders vor Gott, als dazu nötig oder gehörig, nicht sollen mit eingezogen, eingeflochten oder eingemengt werden; und steht der rechte Verstand particularum exclusivarum in articulo iustificationis, das ist, oberzählter Wörter im Artikel der Rechtfertigung, darin, [nämlich in folgenden Punkten, und die] sollen auch mit allem Fleiß und Ernst bei diesem Artikel getrieben werden:

1. Daß dadurch alle eigenen Werke, Verdienst, Würdigkeit, Ruhm und Vertrauen aller unserer Werke in dem Artikel der Rechtfertigung ganz und gar ausgeschlossen werden, also daß unsere Werke weder [als] Ursache noch [als] Verdienst der Rechtfertigung, darauf Gott in diesem Artikel und Handlung sehen [sehe], oder wir uns darauf verlassen möchten oder sollten, noch [weder] zum ganzen noch zum halben noch zum wenigsten Teil gesetzt und gehalten sollen werden.

2. Daß das Amt und die Eigenschaft des Glaubens allein bleibe, daß er allein, und sonst nichts anderes, sei das Mittel oder Werkzeug, damit und dadurch Gottes Gnade und Verdienst Christi in der Verheißung des Evangelii empfangen, ergriffen, angenommen, uns appliziert und zugeeignet werde; und daß von demselben Amt und Eigenschaft solcher Applikation oder Zueignung die Liebe und alle andern Tugenden oder Werke ausgeschlossen werden.

3. Daß weder [Er]Neurung, Heiligung, Tugenden oder gute Werke tamquam forma aut pars aut causa iustificationis, das ist, unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott sei, noch für einen Teil oder Ursache unserer Gerechtigkeit gemacht und gesetzt oder sonst unter einigerlei Schein, Titel oder Namen in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung, als dazu nötig und gehörig, eingemengt werden sollen; sondern daß die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens allein [be]stehe in Vergebung der Sünden, lauter aus Gnaden, allein um des Verdienstes Christi willen, welche Güter in der Verheißung des Evangelii uns vorgetragen und allein durch den Glauben empfangen, angenommen, uns appliziert und zugeeignet werden.

Also muß auch bleiben und erhalten werden die Ordnung zwischen dem Glauben und guten Werken, item zwischen der Rechtfertigung und Erneurung oder Heiligung.

Denn gute Werke gehen nicht vor dem Glauben her, auch nicht die Heiligung vor der Rechtfertigung; sondern erstlich wird in der Bekehrung durch den Heiligen Geist der Glaube aus dem Gehör des Evangelii in uns angezündet; derselbe ergreift Gottes Gnade in Christo, dadurch die Person gerechtfertigt wird; danach, wenn die Person gerechtfertigt ist, so wird sie auch durch den Heiligen Geist verneuert und geheiligt; aus welcher Verneurung und Heiligung alsdann die Früchte der guten Werke folgen. Et haec non ita divelluntur, quasi vera fides aliquando et aliquamdiu stare possit cum malo proposito, sed ordine causarum et effectuum, antecedentium et consequentium, ita distribuuntur. Manet enim, quod Lutherus recte dicit: *Bene conveniunt et sunt connexa inseparabiliter fides et opera; sed sola fides est, quae apprehendit*

tinentia et requisita, inserantur et admisceantur. Et haec est vera particularum exclusivarum in articulo iustificationis sententia, quae diligenter et sedulo in hoc articulo retinenda atque urgenda est, propter rationes, quas statim subiiciemus:

37] I. Primum, ut per illas particulas omnia opera propria, merita, dignitas, gloria et fiducia omnium operum nostrorum in articulo iustificationis penitus excludantur, ita quidem, ut opera nostra neque causae neque meriti ullius in iustificatione, ad quae Deus in hoc negotio respiciat, aut quibus nos fidere possimus aut debeamus, vel ex toto vel dimidia aut minima ex parte rationem habeant.

38] II. Deinde, ut hoc officium et haec proprietas fidei solius sit maneatque, quod videlicet sola fides, et nulla prorsus alia res, sit illud medium et instrumentum, quo Dei [R. 692 gratia et meritum Christi in promissione evangelii apprehendatur, accipiatur nobisque applicetur, et ut ab hoc applicationis officio atque proprietate caritas omnesque aliae virtutes aut opera penitus excludantur.

39] III. Denique has formulas teneamus, ut neque renovatio neque sanctificatio, virtutes aut bona opera, tamquam forma aut pars aut causa iustificationis aut sub qualicunque praetextu, titulo aut nomine, articulo iustificationis, tamquam ad eam rem necessaria aut pertinentia, immisceantur; sed ut fidei iustitia tantummodo in remissione peccatorum (ex mera gratia, propter solum Christi meritum) consistat, quae bona in promissione evangelii nobis offerantur, et sola fide recipiantur, apprehendantur nobisque applicentur.

40] Eodem modo etiam conservandus est ordo inter fidem et bona opera, inter iustificationem et renovationem seu sanctificationem.

41] Bona enim opera non praecedunt fidem, et sanctificatio non praecedit iustificationem. Sed primum in conversione per Spiritum Sanctum fides ex auditu evangelii in nobis accenditur. Illa vero apprehendit gratiam Dei in Christo, qua persona iustificatur. Cum vero persona iam est iustificata, tum etiam per Spiritum Sanctum renovatur et sanctificatur; ex ea vero renovatione et sanctificatione deinceps fructus, hoc est, bona opera, sequuntur. Et haec non ita divelluntur, quasi vera fides aliquando et aliquamdiu stare possit cum malo proposito, sed ordine causarum et effectuum, antecedentium et consequentium, ita distribuuntur. Manet enim, quod Lutherus recte dicit: *Bene conveniunt et sunt connexa inseparabiliter fides et opera; sed sola fides est, quae apprehendit benedictionem sine operibus,*

so that they must not be drawn into, woven into, or mingled with the transaction of the justification of the poor sinner before God as necessary or belonging thereto. And the true sense of the *particulae exclusivae in articulo iustificationis,* that is, of the aforementioned terms, in the article of justification, consists in the following, and they should also be urged in this article with all diligence and earnestness [on account of these reasons]:

1. That thereby [through these particles] all our own works, merit, worthiness, glory, and confidence in all our works are entirely excluded in the article of justification so that our works shall not be constituted or regarded as either the cause or the merit of justification, neither entirely, nor half, nor in the least part, upon which God could or ought to look, or we to rely in this article and action.

2. That this remain the office and property of faith alone, that it alone, and nothing else whatever, is the means or instrument by and through which God's grace and the merit of Christ in the promise of the Gospel are received, apprehended, accepted, applied to us, and appropriated; and that from this office and property of such application or appropriation love and all other virtues or works are excluded.

3. That neither renewal, sanctification, virtues nor good works are *tamquam forma aut pars aut causa iustificationis,* that is, our righteousness before God, nor are they to be constituted and set up as a part or cause of our righteousness, or otherwise under any pretext, title, or name whatever to be mingled in the article of justification as necessary and belonging thereto; but that the righteousness of faith consists alone in the forgiveness of sins out of pure grace, for the sake of Christ's merit alone; which blessings are offered us in the promise of the Gospel, and are received, accepted, applied, and appropriated by faith alone.

In the same manner the order also between faith and good works must abide and be maintained, and likewise between justification and renewal, or sanctification.

For good works do not precede faith, neither does sanctification precede justification. But first faith is kindled in us in conversion by the Holy Ghost from the hearing of the Gospel. This lays hold of God's grace in Christ, by which the person is justified. Then, when the person is justified, he is also renewed and sanctified by the Holy Ghost, from which renewal and sanctification the fruits of good works then follow. *Et haec non ita divelluntur, quasi vera fides aliquando et aliquamdiu stare possit cum malo proposito, sed ordine causarum et effectuum, antecedentium et consequentium, ita distribuuntur. Manet enim, quod Lutherus recte dicit: Bene conveniunt et sunt connexa inseparabiliter fides et opera; sed sola fides est, quae apprehendit benedictionem sine operibus, et tamen nunquam est sola.* That is: This should not be understood as though justification and renewal were sundered from one another in such a manner that a genuine faith sometimes could exist and con-

benedictionem sine operibus, et tamen nunquam est sola. Das ist: Welches nicht also verstanden werden soll, als ob die Rechtfertigung und Erneurung voneinander geschieden [wären] dermaßen, daß ein wahrhaftiger Glaube unterweilen eine Zeitlang neben einem bösen Vorsatz sein und bestehen könnte, sondern es wird hiermit allein die Ordnung angezeigt, wie eines dem andern vorgehe oder nachfolge. Denn es bleibt doch wahr, das D. Luther recht gesagt hat: „Es reimen und schicken sich fein zusammen der Glaube und die guten Werke; aber der Glaube ist es allein, der den Segen ergreift, ohne die Werke, doch nimmer und zu keiner Zeit allein ist"; wie denn oben erklärt worden.

et tamen nunquam est sola. De qua re supra satis est dictum.

Es werden auch viele Disputationes durch diesen wahrhaftigen Unterschied nützlich und wohl erklärt, welchen die Apologia über den Spruch Jak. 2 handelt. Denn wenn man von dem Glauben redet, wie der gerecht mache, so ist St. Pauli Lehre, **daß der Glaube allein gerecht mache ohne Werke,** indem er uns das Verdienst Christi, wie gesagt, appliziert und zueignet. Wenn man aber fragt, woran und wobei ein Christ entweder bei sich selbst oder an andern erkennen und unterscheiden möge einen wahren, lebendigen Glauben von einem gefärbten, toten Glauben, weil viel faule, sichere Christen ihnen einen Wahn vom Glauben einbilden, da sie doch keinen wahren Glauben haben, darauf gibt die Apologia diese Antwort: Jakobus nennt toten Glauben, wo nicht allerlei gute Werke und Früchte des Geistes folgen. Und auf solche Meinung sagt die lateinische Apologia: Iacobus recte negat, nos tali fide iustificari, quae est sine operibus, hoc est, quae mortua est; das ist: St. Jakob lehrt recht, da er verneint, daß wir durch einen solchen Glauben gerechtfertigt werden, der ohne die Werke ist, welches ein toter Glaube ist.

42] Ac multae sane disputationes hac vera et solida distinctione utiliter et dextre [R. 693 explicari possunt, quam etiam Apologia, cum agit de dicto Iacobi, 2, 20, affert. Quando enim de fide agitur, quomodo videlicet ea iustificet, haec est ea de re divi Pauli doctrina, *quod sola fides sine operibus iustificet* [Rom. 3, 28], quatenus nobis Christi meritum, ut diximus, applicat et communicat. Quando vero quaeritur, qua in re et quonam indicio homo Christianus vel in se ipso vel in aliis hominibus veram et vivam fidem, item simulatam et mortuam fidem agnoscere et discernere possit (cum multi torpentes et securi Christiani sibi opinionem quandam loco fidei imaginentur, cum tamen veram fidem non habeant), de hac re Apologia sic respondet: Iacobus eam vocat mortuam fidem, quam non omnis generis bona opera et fructus Spiritus sequuntur. Et in hanc sententiam etiam Latina Apologia loquitur: *Iacobus recte negat, nos tali fide iustificari, quae est sine operibus, hoc est, quae mortua est.*

Es redet aber Jakobus, wie die Apologia sagt, von Werken derjenigen, welche schon durch Christum gerecht [ge]worden, mit Gott versöhnt [sind] und Vergebung der Sünden durch Christum erlangt haben. Wenn man aber fragt, woraus und woher der Glaube das habe, und was dazu gehöre, daß er gerecht und selig mache, ist's falsch und unrecht, wer da sagt: fidem non posse iustificare sine operibus; vel fidem, quatenus caritatem, qua formetur, coniunctam habet, iustificare; vel fidei, ut iustificet, necessariam esse praesentiam bonorum operum; aut ad iustificationem vel in articulo iustificationis esse necessariam praesentiam bonorum operum; vel bona opera esse causam sine qua non, quae per particulas exclusivas ex articulo iustificationis non excludantur. Das ist: daß der Glaube nicht könnte rechtfertigen ohne die Werke, oder daß der Glaube dergestalt rechtfertige oder gerecht mache, dieweil er die Liebe bei sich habe, um welcher Liebe willen solches dem Glauben zugeschrieben [werde]; oder daß die Gegenwärtigkeit der Werke bei dem Glauben notwendig sei, soll anders der Mensch dadurch vor Gott gerechtfertigt werden; oder daß die Gegenwärtigkeit der guten Werke im Artikel der Rechtfertigung oder zu der Rechtfertigung vonnöten sei, also daß die guten Werke eine Ursache sein sollen, ohne welche der Mensch nicht könnte gerechtfertigt werden, welche auch durch die particulas exclusivas: *absque operibus* etc., das ist, wenn St. Paulus spricht: „ohne Werke", aus dem Artikel der Rechtfertigung nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Denn der Glaube macht gerecht allein darum und daher, weil er Gottes Gnade und das Verdienst Christi in der Verheißung des Evangelii als ein Mittel und Werkzeug ergreift und annimmt.

43] Iacobus autem (ut Apologia docet) agit de eorum operibus, qui per Christum iam sunt iustificati, cum Deo reconciliati et per Christum remissionem peccatorum sunt consecuti. Cum vero quaeritur, unde fides hoc habeat, et quid requiratur, ut iustificet et salvet, tum falsum erit, si quis dicat, fidem non posse iustificare sine operibus, vel fidem, quatenus caritatem, qua formetur, coniunctam habet, iustificare; vel fidei, ut iustificet, necessarium esse praesentiam bonorum operum; aut ad iustificationem vel in articulo iustificationis esse necessariam praesentiam bonorum operum; vel bona opera esse causam sine qua non, quae per particulas exclusivas ex articulo iustificationis non excludantur. Fides [R. 694 enim tantum eam ob causam iustificat et inde vim illam habet, quod gratiam Dei et meritum Christi in promissione evangelii (tamquam medium et instrumentum) apprehendit et amplectitur.

Und das sei nach Gelegenheit dieser Schrift genug zu einer summarischen Erklärung der Lehre von der Rechtfertigung des Glaubens, welche in den obgemeldeten Schriften ausführlicher gehandelt wird. Daraus auch die antithesis, das ist,

44] Et haec quidem, pro ratione compendiariae explicationis articuli de iustificatione, sufficiant, qui articulus in scriptis supra nominatis copiosius tractatur. Ex his autem, quae iam dicta sunt, facile intelligi potest,

tinue for a time together with a wicked intention, but hereby only the order [of causes and effects, of antecedents and consequents] is indicated, how one precedes or succeeds the other. For what Luther has correctly said remains true nevertheless: *Faith and good works well agree and fit together* [*are inseparably connected*]; *but it is faith alone, without works, which lays hold of the blessing; and yet it is never and at no time alone.* This has been set forth above.

Many disputations also are usefully and well explained by means of this true distinction, of which the *Apology* treats in reference to the passage James 2, 20. For when we speak of faith, how it justifies, the doctrine of St. Paul is that faith alone, without works, justifies, Rom. 3, 28, inasmuch as it applies and appropriates to us the merit of Christ, as has been said. But if the question is, wherein and whereby a Christian can perceive and distinguish, either in himself or in others, a true living faith from a feigned and dead faith, (since many idle, secure Christians imagine for themselves a delusion in place of faith, while they nevertheless have no true faith,) the *Apology* gives this answer: *James calls that dead faith where good works and fruits of the Spirit of every kind do not follow.* And to this effect the Latin edition of the *Apology* says: *Iacobus recte negat, nos tali fide iustificari, quae est sine operibus, hoc est, quae mortua est.* That is: *St. James teaches correctly when he denies that we are justified by such a faith as is without works, which is dead faith.*

But James speaks, as the *Apology* says, concerning the works of those who have already been justified through Christ, reconciled with God, and obtained forgiveness of sins through Christ. But if the question is, whereby and whence faith has this, and what appertains to this that it justifies and saves, it is false and incorrect to say: *Fidem non posse iustificare sine operibus; vel fidem, quatenus caritatem, qua formatur, coniunctam habet, iustificare; vel fidei, ut iustificet, necessariam esse praesentiam bonorum operum; vel bona opera esse causam sine qua non, quae per particulas exclusivas ex articulo iustificationis non excludantur.* That is: That faith cannot justify without works; or that faith justifies or makes righteous, inasmuch as it has love with it, for the sake of which love this is ascribed to faith [it has love with it, by which it is formed]; or that the presence of works with faith is necessary if otherwise man is to be justified thereby before God; or that the presence of good works in the article of justification, or for justification, is needful, so that good works are a cause without which man cannot be justified, and that they are not excluded from the article of justification by the *particulae exclusivae: absque operibus* etc., that is, when St. Paul says: *without works.* For faith makes righteous only inasmuch as and because, as a means and instrument, it lays hold of, and accepts, the grace of God and the merit of Christ in the promise of the Gospel.

Let this suffice, according to the plan of this document, as a summary explanation of the doctrine of justification by faith, which is treated more at length in the above-mentioned writings. From these, the antithesis also, that is, the false contrary dogmas, are mani-

falſche Gegenlehre, klar [iſt], nämlich daß über die [außer den] erzählten auch dieſe und dergleichen Irrtümer, ſo wider die jetzt gemeldete Erklärung ſtreiten, geſtraft, ausgeſetzt und verworfen werden müſſen; als, da gelehrt wird:

1. Daß unſere Liebe oder guten Werke Verdienſt oder Urſache ſeien der Rechtfertigung vor Gott, entweder gänzlich oder ja zum Teil.

2. Oder daß durch gute Werke der Menſch ſich dazu würdig und geſchickt machen müſſe, daß ihm das Verdienſt Chriſti mitgeteilt möge werden.

3. Vel formalem nostram iustitiam coram Deo esse inhaerentem nostram novitatem seu caritatem; das iſt: daß unſere wahrhaftige Gerechtigkeit vor Gott ſei die Liebe oder die Erneurung, welche der Heilige Geiſt in uns wirkt und [welche] in uns iſt.

4. Oder daß zwei Stücke oder Teile zu der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott gehören, darin ſie beſtehe, nämlich die gnädige Vergebung der Sünden und dann zum andern auch die Verneurung oder Heiligung.

5. Item, fidem iustificare tantum initialiter, vel partialiter, vel principaliter; et novitatem vel caritatem nostram iustificare etiam coram Deo vel completive, vel minus principaliter.

6. Item, credentes coram Deo iustificari vel coram Deo iustos esse simul et imputatione et inchoatione, vel partim imputatione [iustitiae Christi], partim inchoatione novae obedientiae.

7. Item, applicationem promissionis gratiae fieri et fide cordis et confessione oris ac reliquis virtutibus. Das iſt: der Glaube mache allein darum gerecht, daß die Gerechtigkeit durch

non modo supra commemoratos errores, verum etiam ea falsa dogmata, quae iam recitabimus, redarguenda, repudianda et reiicienda esse:

45] I. Quod dilectio nostra seu bona opera sint meritum vel causa nostrae coram Deo iustificationis aut ex toto aut saltem ex aliqua parte.

46] II. Quod homo bonis operibus suis se praeparare debeat, ut dignus fiat applicatione et communicatione meritorum Christi.

47] III. Formalem nostram iustitiam coram Deo esse inhaerentem nostram novitatem seu caritatem.

48] IV. Quod iustitia fidei coram Deo duabus partibus constet, remissione peccatorum et renovatione seu sanctificatione.

49] V. Fidem iustificare tantum initialiter, vel partialiter, vel principaliter; et novitatem vel caritatem nostram iustificare etiam coram Deo vel completive, vel minus principaliter.

50] VI. Credentes coram Deo iustificari vel coram Deo iustos esse simul et imputatione et inchoatione, vel partim imputatione iustitiae Christi, partim inchoatione novae obedientiae.

51] VII. Applicationem promissionis gratiae fieri et fide cordis et confessione oris et reliquis virtutibus.

den Glauben in uns angefangen [ſei], oder alſo, daß der Glaube den Vorzug habe in der Rechtfertigung; gleichwohl gehöre auch die Erneurung und die Liebe zu unſerer Gerechtigkeit vor Gott, doch dergeſtalt, daß ſie nicht die vornehmſte Urſache unſerer Gerechtigkeit, ſondern daß unſere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott ohne ſolche Liebe und Erneurung nicht ganz oder vollkommen ſei. Item, daß die Gläubigen vor Gott gerechtfertigt werden und gerecht ſeien zugleich durch die zugerechnete Gerechtigkeit Chriſti und durch den angefangenen neuen Gehorſam oder zum Teil durch die Zurechnung der Gerechtigkeit Chriſti, zum Teil durch den angefangenen neuen Gehorſam. Item, daß uns die Verheißung der Gnade zugeeignet werde durch den Glauben im Herzen und durch das Bekenntnis, ſo mit dem Munde geſchieht, und durch andere Tugenden.

Es iſt auch das unrecht, wenn gelehrt wird, daß der Menſch anderergeſtalt oder durch etwas anderes **ſelig** müſſe werden, denn wie er vor Gott **gerechtfertigt** wird, alſo daß wir wohl allein durch den Glauben, ohne Werke gerecht werden, aber ohne Werke ſelig zu werden oder die Seligkeit ohne Werke zu erlangen, ſei unmöglich.

Dieſes iſt darum falſch, denn es iſt ſtracks wider den Spruch Pauli Röm. 4: „Die Seligkeit iſt des Menſchen, welchem Gott die Gerechtigkeit zurechnet ohne Werke.“ Und Pauli Grund iſt, daß wir auf e i n e Weiſe wie die Gerechtigkeit, alſo auch die Seligkeit erlangen, ja, daß wir eben damit, wenn wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden, auch zugleich empfangen die Kindſchaft und Erbſchaft des ewigen Lebens und Seligkeit; und derhalben Paulus die particulas exclusivas, das iſt, ſolche Worte, dadurch die Werke und eigenes Verdienſt gänzlich ausgeſchloſſen wird, nämlich: „aus Gnaden, ohne Werke“, ja ſo ſtark bei dem Artikel der **Seligkeit** als bei dem Artikel der **Gerechtigkeit** ſetzt und treibt.

Gleichfalls muß auch die Disputation von der Einwohnung der weſentlichen Gerechtigkeit Gottes

52] Sed et hic error reiiciendus est, cum docetur, hominem alio modo seu per aliquid aliud *salvari* quam per id, quo coram Deo *iustificatur*, ita ut sine operibus, per solam quidem fidem coram Deo iustificemur, [R. 695 sed tamen absque operibus salutem aeternam consequi impossibile sit.

53] Hoc ideo falsum est, quia e diametro pugnat cum dicto Pauli, Rom. 4, 6: *Beatitudo hominis est, cui Deus iustitiam imputat sine operibus.* Et hoc est fundamentum Paulinae disputationis, quod eodem prorsus modo et iustitiam et salutem consequamur. Imo, quod eo ipso, cum fide iustificamur, simul etiam adoptionem in filios Dei et hereditatem vitae aeternae atque salutem adipiscamur. Eamque ob causam Paulus particulas illas exclusivas, id est, eiusmodi voces, quibus opera et propria merita prorsus excluduntur, videlicet: *ex gratia, sine operibus* et similes, non minus constanter et graviter in articulo *salutis* quam in articulo *iustificationis* nostrae urget.

54] Praeterea etiam disputatio illa de inhabitatione essentialis iustitiae Dei in nobis

fest, namely, that in addition to the errors recounted above also the following and similar ones, which conflict with the explanation now published, must be censured, exposed, and rejected, as when it is taught:

1. That our love or good works are a merit or cause of justification before God, either entirely or at least in part.

2. Or that by good works man must render himself worthy and fit that the merit of Christ may be imparted to him.

3. *Vel formalem nostram iustitiam coram Deo esse inhaerentem nostram novitatem seu caritatem;* that is, that our real righteousness before God is the love or renewal which the Holy Ghost works in us, and which is in us.

4. Or that two things or parts belong to the righteousness of faith before God in which it consists, namely, the gracious forgiveness of sins, and then, secondly, also renewal or sanctification.

5. *Item, fidem iustificare tantum initialiter, vel partialiter, vel principaliter; et novitatem vel caritatem nostram iustificare etiam coram Deo vel completive, vel minus principaliter* (that is, that faith justifies only initially, either in part or primarily, and that our newness or love justifies even before God, either completively or secondarily).

6. *Item, credentes coram Deo iustificari vel coram Deo iustos esse simul et imputatione et inchoatione, vel partim imputatione, partim inchoatione novae obedientiae* (that is, also that believers are justified before God, or are righteous before God, both by imputation and by inchoation at the same time, or partly by the imputation of Christ's righteousness and partly by the beginning of new obedience).

7. *Item, applicationem promissionis gratiae fieri et fide cordis et confessione oris ac reliquis virtutibus* (that is, also that the application of the promise of grace occurs both by faith of the heart and confession of the mouth, and by other virtues). That is: Faith makes righteous for this reason alone, that righteousness is begun in us by faith, or in this way, that faith takes the precedence in justification; nevertheless, renewal and love also belong to our righteousness before God, however, in such a way that it is not the chief cause of our righteousness, but that our righteousness before God is not entire and complete without such love and renewal. Likewise, that believers are justified and righteous before God at the same time by the imputed righteousness of Christ and the incipient new obedience, or in part by the imputation of Christ's righteousness and in part by the incipient new obedience. Likewise, that the promise of grace is appropriated to us by faith in the heart, and confession which is made with the mouth, and by other virtues.

Also this is incorrect, when it is taught that man must be saved in some other way or through something else than as he is justified before God, so that we are indeed justified before God by faith alone, without works, but that it is impossible to be saved without works or obtain salvation without works.

This is false, for the reason that it is directly opposed to the declaration of Paul, Rom. 4, 6: *The blessedness is of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works.* And Paul's reason [the basis of Paul's argument] is that we obtain both, salvation as well as righteousness, in one and the same way; yea, that by this very means, when we are justified by faith, we receive at the same time adoption and heirship of eternal life and salvation; and on this account Paul employs and emphasizes the *particulas exclusivas,* that is, those words by which works and our own merits are entirely excluded, namely, *by grace, without works,* as forcibly in the article concerning salvation as in the article concerning righteousness.

Likewise also the disputation concerning the indwelling in us of the essential righteousness

in uns recht erklärt werden. Denn obwohl durch den Glauben in den Auserwählten, so durch Christum gerecht worden und mit Gott versöhnt sind, Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist, der die ewige und wesentliche Gerechtigkeit ist, wohnt (denn alle Christen sind Tempel Gottes des Vaters, Sohnes und Heiligen Geistes, welcher sie auch treibt, recht zu tun), so ist doch solche Einwohnung Gottes nicht die Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, davon St. Paulus handelt und sie [und die er] iustitiam Dei, das ist, die Gerechtigkeit Gottes, nennt, um welcher willen wir vor Gott gerecht gesprochen werden, sondern sie folgt auf die vor[her]gehende Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens, welche anders nichts ist denn die Vergebung der Sünden und gnädige Annehmung der armen Sünder allein um Christus' Gehorsams und Verdienstes willen.

Demnach, weil in unsern Kirchen zwischen den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession bekannt, daß alle unsere Gerechtigkeit außerhalb unser und aller Menschen Verdienst, Werk, Tugend und Würdigkeit zu suchen und allein auf dem HErrn Christo steht, so ist wohl zu betrachten, welchergestalt Christus in diesem Handel der Rechtfertigung unsere Gerechtigkeit genennet [genannt] wird, nämlich, daß unsere Gerechtigkeit nicht auf die eine oder die andere Natur, sondern auf die ganze Person Christi gesetzt, welcher **als Gott und Mensch in seinem einigen, ganzen, vollkommenen Gehorsam unsere Gerechtigkeit ist.**

Denn da [denn wenn] Christus gleich vom Heiligen Geist ohne Sünde empfangen und geboren und in menschlicher Natur allein alle Gerechtigkeit erfüllt hätte und aber nicht wahrer ewiger Gott gewesen, möchte [könnte] uns solcher der menschlichen Natur Gehorsam und Leiden auch nicht zur Gerechtigkeit gerechnet werden; wie denn auch, da der Sohn Gottes nicht Mensch [ge]worden, die bloße göttliche Natur unsere Gerechtigkeit nicht [hätte] sein können. Demnach so glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß **der ganzen Person Christi ganzer Gehorsam,** welchen er für uns dem Vater bis in den allerschmählichsten Tod des Kreuzes geleistet hat, uns zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet werde. Denn die menschliche Natur allein, ohne die göttliche, [hätte] dem ewigen, allmächtigen Gott weder mit Gehorsam noch Leiden für aller Welt Sünde genugtun, die Gottheit aber allein, ohne die Menschheit, zwischen Gott und uns nicht mitteln mögen [nicht vermitteln können].

Weil aber, wie oben vermeldet, der Gehorsam der ganzen Person ist, so ist er eine vollkommene Genugtuung und Versöhnung des menschlichen Geschlechts (dadurch der ewigen, unwandelbaren Gerechtigkeit Gottes, so im Gesetz geoffenbart, genug geschehen) und also unsere Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, so im Evangelio geoffenbart wird, darauf sich der Glaube vor Gott verläßt, welche Gott dem Glauben zurechnet, wie geschrieben steht Röm. 5: „Gleichwie durch e i n e s Menschen Ungehorsam viel Sünder worden sind, also auch durch e i n e s Gehorsam werden viele gerecht", und 1 Joh. 1: „Das Blut JEsu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes, reinigt uns von allen Sünden"; item: „Der Gerechte wird seines Glaubens leben", Hab. 2.

recte declaranda est. Etsi enim Deus Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus (qui est aeterna et essentialis iustitia) per fidem in electis, qui per Christum iustificati et cum Deo reconciliati sunt, habitat (omnes enim vere pii sunt templa Dei Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, a quo etiam ad recte agendum impelluntur), tamen haec inhabitatio Dei non est iustitia illa fidei, de qua Paulus agit eamque iustitiam Dei appellat, propter quam coram Deo iusti pronuntiamur. Sed inhabitatio Dei sequitur antecedentem fidei iustitiam, quae nihil aliud est quam remissio peccatorum, gratuita acceptatio peccatoris, propter solam obedientiam et meritum perfectissimum unius Christi.

55] Cum igitur in ecclesiis nostris apud theologos Augustanae Confessionis extra controversiam positum sit, totam iustitiam nostram extra nos et extra omnium hominum merita, opera, virtutes atque dignitatem quaerendam, eamque in solo Domino nostro [R. 696 Iesu Christo consistere, dextre considerandum est, qua ratione Christus in negotio iustificationis nostra iustitia dicatur. Nempe quod iustitia nostra neque in divina neque in humana natura, sed in tota ipsius persona consistat, quippe qui *ut Deus et homo in sola sua, tota et perfectissima obedientia est nostra iustitia.*

56] Etiamsi enim Christus de Spiritu Sancto quidem sine peccato conceptus et natus esset et in sola humanitate sua omnem iustitiam implevisset, nec tamen verus et aeternus Deus fuisset, talis tamen ipsius humanae naturae obedientia et passio nobis ad iustitiam imputari non posset. Et vicissim, si Filius Dei non homo factus esset, non posset sola divina natura nostra esse iustitia. Quare credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod *tota totius personae Christi obedientia,* quam ille Patri usque ad ignominiosissimam crucis mortem nostra causa praestitit, nobis ad iustitiam imputetur. Humana enim natura sola, sine divinitate, aeterno, omnipotenti Deo neque obedientia neque passione pro totius mundi peccatis satisfacere valuisset. Divinitas vero sola, sine humanitate, inter Deum et nos mediatoris partes implere non potuisset.

57] Cum autem, ut supra commemoratum est, obedientia illa Christi non sit unius duntaxat naturae, sed totius personae, ideo ea est perfectissima pro humano genere satisfactio et expiatio, qua aeternae et immutabili iustitiae divinae (quae in lege revelata est) satis est factum. Ea obedientia est illa nostra iustitia, quae coram Deo valet et in evangelio revelata seu monstrata nobis est, qua fides nostra coram Deo nititur, quam iustitiam Deus fidei imputat, ut scriptum est Rom. 5, 19: *Sicut per inobedientiam unius hominis peccatores constituti sunt multi, ita per unius obedientiam iusti constituentur multi.* [R. 697 Et Iohannes inquit 1 Ioh. 1, 7: *Sanguis Iesu Christi, Filii Dei, emundat nos ab omni peccato.* Item: *Iustus fide sua vivet,* Rom. 1, 17; Hab. 2, 4.

of God must be correctly explained. For although in the elect, who are justified by Christ and reconciled with God, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who is the eternal and essential righteousness, dwells by faith (for all Christians are temples of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who also impels them to do right), yet this indwelling of God is not the righteousness of faith of which St. Paul treats and which he calls *iustitiam Dei*, that is, the righteousness of God, for the sake of which we are declared righteous before God; but it follows the preceding righteousness of faith, which is nothing else than the forgiveness of sins and the gracious adoption of the poor sinner, for the sake of Christ's obedience and merit alone.

Accordingly, since in our churches it is acknowledged [established beyond controversy] among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession that all our righteousness is to be sought outside the merits, works, virtues, and worthiness of ourselves and of all men, and rests alone upon Christ the Lord, it must be carefully considered in what respect Christ is called our Righteousness in this affair of justification, namely, that our righteousness rests not upon one or the other nature, but upon the entire person of Christ, who as God and man is our Righteousness in His only, entire, and complete obedience.

For even though Christ had been conceived and born without sin by the Holy Ghost, and had fulfilled all righteousness in His human nature alone, and yet had not been true and eternal God, this obedience and suffering of His human nature could not be imputed to us for righteousness. As also, if the Son of God had not become man, the divine nature alone could not be our righteousness. Therefore we believe, teach, and confess that the entire obedience of the entire person of Christ, which He has rendered the Father for us even to His most ignominious death upon the cross, is imputed to us for righteousness. For the human nature alone, without the divine, could neither by obedience nor suffering render satisfaction to eternal almighty God for the sins of all the world; however, the divinity alone, without the humanity, could not mediate between God and us.

But, since it is the obedience as above mentioned [not only of one nature, but] of the entire person, it is a complete satisfaction and expiation for the human race, by which the eternal, immutable righteousness of God, revealed in the Law, has been satisfied, and is thus our righteousness, which avails before God and is revealed in the Gospel, and upon which faith relies before God, which God imputes to faith, as it is written, Rom. 5, 19: *For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of One shall many be made righteous;* and 1 John 1, 7: *The blood of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, cleanseth us from all sin.* Likewise: *The just shall live by his faith,* Hab. 2, 4; Rom. 1, 17.

Solchergestalt wird uns weder die göttliche noch die menschliche Natur Christi für sich selbst zur Gerechtigkeit zugerechnet, sondern allein der Gehorsam der Person, welche zumal [zugleich] Gott und Mensch [ist]. Und sieht also der Glaube auf die Person Christi, wie dieselbe für uns unter das Gesetz getan, unsere Sünde getragen und in seinem Gang zum Vater den ganzen vollkommenen Gehorsam, von seiner heiligen Geburt an bis in den Tod, seinem himmlischen Vater für uns arme Sünder geleistet und damit allen unsern Ungehorsam, der in unserer Natur, derselben Gedanken, Worten und Werken steckt, zugedeckt [hat], daß er uns zur Verdammnis nicht zugerechnet, sondern aus lauter Gnade, allein um Christus' willen, verziehen und vergeben wird.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir einhellig über die vorgesetzten [außer den bereits genannten] auch nachfolgende und alle dergleichen Irrtümer, als die Gottes Wort, der Lehre der Propheten und Apostel, und unserm christlichen Glauben zuwider sind:

1. Da gelehrt wird, daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit sei vor Gott allein nach seiner göttlichen Natur.

2. Daß Christus unsere Gerechtigkeit sei allein nach der menschlichen Natur.

3. Daß in den Sprüchen der Propheten und Apostel, wenn von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens geredet wird, die Worte „rechtfertigen" und „gerechtfertigt werden" nicht sollen heißen von Sünden ledig sprechen und Vergebung der Sünden erlangen, sondern von wegen der durch den Heiligen Geist eingegossenen Liebe, Tugenden und daraus folgenden Werke mit der Tat und Wahrheit gerecht gemacht werden.

4. Daß der Glaube nicht allein ansehe den Gehorsam Christi, sondern seine göttliche Natur, wie dieselbe in uns wohnt und wirkt, und durch solche Einwohnung unsere Sünden vor Gott zugedeckt werden.

5. Daß der Glaube ein solch Vertrauen sei auf den Gehorsam Christi, welcher in einem Menschen sein und bleiben könne, der gleich keine wahrhaftige Buße habe, da auch keine Liebe folge, sondern [der Mensch] wider sein Gewissen in Sünden verharre.

6. Daß nicht Gott, sondern allein die Gaben Gottes in den Gläubigen wohnen.

Diese Irrtümer und dergleichen allzumal verwerfen wir einhellig als dem klaren Wort Gottes zuwider und verharren durch Gottes Gnade standhaft und beständig auf der Lehre von der Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens vor Gott, wie dieselbe in der Augsburgischen Konfession und darauf erfolgter Apologia gesetzt, ausgeführt und mit Gottes Wort erwiesen ist.

Was dann ferner zur eigentlichen Erklärung dieses hohen und vornehmen [vornehmsten] Artikels der Rechtfertigung vor Gott vonnöten, daran unserer Seelen Seligkeit gelegen, wollen wir männiglich [jedermann] auf die schöne und herrliche Auslegung D. Luthers über die Epistel St. Pauli an die Galater gewiesen und um geliebter Kürze willen hiermit gezogen haben [uns bezogen haben].

58] Hac ratione nobis neque divina neque humana Christi natura (per se) ad iustitiam imputatur, sed sola obedientia illius personae, quae simul Deus est et homo. Et hoc modo fides nostra respicit in personam Christi, quatenus illa pro nobis legi sese subiecit, peccata nostra pertulit et, cum ad Patrem suum iret, solidam, absolutam et perfectissimam obedientiam (iam inde a nativitate sua sanctissima usque ad mortem) Patri suo coelesti pro nobis miserrimis peccatoribus praestitit. Qua sua obedientia omnem nostram inobedientiam (quae in nostra natura et huius cogitationibus, verbis et operibus haeret) texit, ut ea nobis ad damnationem non imputetur, sed ex mera gratia, propter solum Christum, condonetur atque remittatur.

59] Reiicimus igitur atque unanimi consensu damnamus, praeter supra commemoratos errores, etiam sequentes et omnes alios hisce similes, quippe qui Verbo Dei, propheticae et apostolicae doctrinae, et piae nostrae religioni repugnant:

60] I. Quod Christus sit iustitia nostra coram Deo tantum secundum divinam naturam.

61] II. Quod Christus nostra sit iustitia duntaxat secundum humanam naturam.

62] III. Quod in prophetarum et apostolorum dictis (ubi de iustitia fidei agitur) vocabula *iustificare et iustificari* non significent a peccatis absolvere et remissionem peccatorum consequi, sed propter infusam (per Spiritum Sanctum) caritatem, virtutes et opera, quae inde promanant, re ipsa et revera iustos effici.

63] IV. Quod fides non respiciat tantum obedientiam Christi, sed divinam ipsius naturam, quatenus videlicet ea in nobis [R. 698 habitet et operetur, et quod per hanc inhabitationem nostra coram Deo peccata tegantur.

64] V. Quod fides sit talis in obedientiam Christi fiducia, quae existere et manere possit in eiusmodi homine, qui non vere poenitentiam habeat, et qui caritate sit vacuus et in peccatis contra conscientiam perseveret.

65] VI. Quod non Deus ipse, sed dona Dei duntaxat in credentibus habitent.

66] Hos errores hisque similes omnes unanimiter reiicimus, quia Verbo Dei clarissimo repugnant. Et per Dei gratiam constantes perseveramus in doctrina sincera de iustificatione fidei coram Deo, ut ea in Augustana Confessione eiusque Apologia perspicue proposita, explicata et Verbo Dei munita est.

67] Quod praeterea ad copiosiorem huius ardui et praecipui articuli iustificationis coram Deo (in quo nostra salus vertitur) explicationem requiritur, de eo praeclarum D. Lutheri commentarium in Epistolam Pauli ad Galatas ab unoquoque consuli et diligenter legi monemus, ad quem, brevitatis studio, hoc loco nos referimus.

Thus neither the divine nor the human nature of Christ by itself is imputed to us for righteousness, but only the obedience of the person who is at the same time God and man. And faith thus regards the person of Christ as it was made under the Law for us, bore our sins, and in His going to the Father offered to His heavenly Father for us poor sinners His entire, complete obedience, from His holy birth even unto death, and has thereby covered all our disobedience which inheres in our nature, and its thoughts, words, and works, so that it is not imputed to us for condemnation, but is pardoned and forgiven out of pure grace, alone for Christ's sake.

Therefore we unanimously reject and condemn, besides the above-mentioned, also the following and all similar errors, as contrary to God's Word, the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, and our Christian faith:

1. When it is taught that Christ is our righteousness before God according to His divine nature alone.

2. That Christ is our righteousness according to His human nature alone.

3. That in the passages from the prophets and apostles, when the righteousness of faith is spoken of, the words *justify* and *to be justified* are not to signify to declare free from sins and to obtain the forgiveness of sins, but to be made actually and really righteous because of love infused by the Holy Ghost, virtues, and the works following from it.

4. That faith looks not only to the obedience of Christ, but to His divine nature as it dwells and works in us, and that by this indwelling our sins are covered before God.

5. That faith is such a trust in the obedience of Christ as can be and remain in a person notwithstanding he has no genuine repentance, in whom also no love follows, but who persists in sins against his conscience.

6. That not God dwells in the believers, but only the gifts of God.

These and like errors, one and all, we unanimously reject as contrary to the clear Word of God, and by God's grace abide firmly and constantly in the doctrine of the righteousness of faith before God, as it is embodied, expounded, and proved from God's Word in the *Augsburg Confession,* and the *Apology* issued after it.

Concerning what is needful furthermore for the proper explanation of this profound and chief article of justification before God, upon which depends the salvation of our souls, we direct, and for the sake of brevity herewith refer, every one to Dr. Luther's beautiful and glorious exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.

IV.

Von guten Werken.

Es hat sich auch ein Zwiespalt von den guten Werken unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession zugetragen, daß ein Teil sich nachfolgender Worte und Art zu reden gebraucht [bedient hat]: **Gute Werke sind nötig zur Seligkeit; es ist unmöglich, ohne gute Werke selig [zu] werden;** item: **Es ist niemand ohne gute Werke selig [ge]worden;** weil von den Rechtgläubigen [wahrhaft Gläubigen] gute Werke als Früchte des Glaubens erfordert [werden], und der Glaube ohne die Liebe tot [ist], obgleich solche Liebe keine Ursache der Seligkeit sei.

Das andere [der andere] Teil aber hat dagegen gestritten, daß gute Werke wohl nötig seien, aber nicht zur Seligkeit, sondern um anderer Ursachen willen, und daß derwegen vor[her]gehende propositiones oder gebrauchte Reden (als die dem Vorbild der gesunden Lehre und Worte ungemäß und von den Papisten allewege und noch der Lehre unsers christlichen Glaubens entgegengesetzt, da wir bekennen, **daß allein der Glaube gerecht und selig mache**) in der Kirche nicht zu dulden [seien], damit der [damit das] Verdienst Christi, unsers Seligmachers, nicht geschmälert werde, und die Verheißung der Seligkeit den Gläubigen fest und gewiß sein und bleiben möge.

In diesem Streit ist auch von etlichen wenigen diese streitige Proposition oder Rede geführt, **daß gute Werke zur Seligkeit schädlich seien.** Es ist auch von etlichen disputiert worden, daß gute Werke nicht **nötig,** sondern **freiwillig** seien, dieweil sie nicht durch Furcht und Strafe des Gesetzes erzwungen, sondern aus freiwilligem Geist und fröhlichem Herzen geschehen sollen. Dagegen hat der andere Teil gestritten [behauptet], **daß gute Werke nötig seien.**

Solcher Streit hat sich anfangs über den Worten necessitas und libertas, das ist, „notwendig" und „frei", zugetragen, weil besonders das Wort necessitas, „nötig", nicht allein die ewige, unwandelbare Ordnung, nach welcher alle Menschen Gott zu gehorsamen schuldig und pflichtig [verpflichtet] sind, sondern auch zuzeiten einen Zwang heißt, damit das Gesetz die Leute zu den guten Werken bringt.

Nachmals aber hat man nicht allein von den Worten disputiert, sondern auf das heftigste die Lehre an ihr selbst angefochten und gestritten, daß der neue Gehorsam in den Wiedergebornen von wegen obvermeldeter Gottes Ordnung nicht nötig sei.

Diese Uneinigkeit christlich und nach Anleitung Gottes Worts zu erklären und durch seine Gnade gänzlich hinzulegen [beizulegen], ist unsere Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, wie folgt:

Erstlich ist in diesem Artikel von folgenden Punkten unter den Unsern kein Streit: als, daß [es] Gottes Wille, Ordnung und Befehl sei, daß die Gläubigen in guten Werken wandeln sollen, und daß rechtschaffene gute Werke nicht seien, die ihm [die sich] ein jeder guter Meinung selbst erdenkt oder die nach Menschensatzungen geschehen, sondern die Gott selber in seinem Wort vorgeschrieben und befohlen hat; daß auch recht-

IV.

DE BONIS OPERIBUS.

1] Dissidium porro ortum est inter quosdam theologos Augustanae Confessionis de bonis operibus. Alii enim has propositiones usurparunt: *Bona opera sunt necessaria ad salutem; impossibile est, sine bonis operibus salvari; nemo unquam sine bonis operibus est salvatus;* quandoquidem a vere credentibus bona opera ut fructus fidei requirantur, et fides sine caritate mortua sit, etiamsi caritas non sit causa nostrae salutis.

2] Alii vero hoc dogma impugnarunt atque docuerunt, quod bona opera necessaria [R. 699 quidem sint, sed non ad salutem, verum propter alias causas. Et affirmarunt, paulo ante recitatas propositiones in ecclesia Dei non esse ferendas, propterea quod formae sanorum verborum et piae doctrinae non sint conformes, et quod papistae cum antea semper, tum vero imprimis nostro saeculo eas propositiones opposuerint piae nostrae doctrinae, qua asserimus, *sola fide nos iustificari et salvari.* Itaque eas reiiciendas iudicarunt, ne meritum Christi, Servatoris nostri, extenuetur, et ut promissio de salute nostra credentibus certa sit et firma maneat.

3] In hoc dissidio quidam pauci hanc propositionem (quae et ipsa controversiae occasionem dedit) attulerunt, *bona opera ad salutem esse perniciosa.* Sed et a quibusdam disputatum fuit, quod bona opera non *necessaria,* sed *libera* et *spontanea* sint, propterea quod non metu et comminationibus legis extorqueantur, sed spiritu spontaneo et alacri mente fieri debeant. Alii vero asseruerunt, *bona opera esse necessaria.*

4] Haec posterior controversia initio tantum ex aequivocatione vocabulorum *necessitatis* et *libertatis* occasionem sumpsit, quod vocabulum *necessitatis* non tantum immutabilem et aeternum ordinem divinum (quo omnes homines ad obediendum Deo debitores sunt et astricti), verum etiam interdum coactionem, qua lex homines ad bona opera severe urget, designet.

5] Progressu autem temporis non iam de verbis amplius disputatum, sed de rebus ipsis magna vehementia fuit disceptatum. Et a quibusdam acriter pugnatum est, novam obedientiam in renatis (quam supra commemoratus ordo divinus requirit) non esse necessariam.

6] Ut autem et hoc dissidium iuxta [R. 700 Verbi Dei analogiam pie declaretur et per Dei gratiam prorsus componatur, doctrinam, fidem et confessionem nostram de hoc negotio recitabimus:

7] Primo in hoc articulo nulla est inter nostros dissensio de his propositionibus: quod videlicet Dei voluntas et ordinatio sit atque mandatum, ut credentes in bonis operibus ambulent; quod ea non sint vere bona opera, quae quisque bona intentione ipsemet excogitat, aut quae secundum humanas traditiones fiunt, sed ea, quae Deus ipse in Verbo suo praescripsit atque praecepit; quod vere bona

IV.

OF GOOD WORKS.

A disagreement has also occurred among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession concerning good works, one part employing the following words and manner in speaking of them: *Good works are necessary for salvation; it is impossible to be saved without good works;* likewise, *no one has been saved without good works;* because, they say, good works are required of true believers as fruits of faith, and faith without love is dead, although such love is no cause of salvation.

The other part, however, contended, on the contrary, that good works are indeed necessary; however, not for salvation, but for other reasons; and that on this account the aforecited *propositiones*, or expressions, which have been used (as they are not in accord with the form of sound doctrine and with the Word, and have been always and are still set by the Papists in opposition to the doctrine of our Christian faith, in which we confess *that faith alone justifies and saves*) are not to be tolerated in the Church, in order that the merit of Christ, our Savior, be not diminished, and the promise of salvation may be and remain firm and certain to believers.

In this controversy also the following controverted proposition, or expression, was employed by some few, *that good works are injurious to salvation.* It has also been argued by some that good works are not *necessary*, but are *voluntary* [free and spontaneous], because they are not extorted by fear and the penalty of the Law, but are to be done from a voluntary spirit and a joyful heart. Over against this the other side contended *that good works are necessary.*

This [latter] controversy was originally occasioned by the words *necessitas* and *libertas*, that is, necessary and free, because especially the word *necessitas*, necessary, signifies not only the eternal, immutable order according to which all men are obliged and in duty bound to obey God, but sometimes also a coercion, by which the Law forces men to good works.

But afterwards there was a disputation not only concerning the words, but the doctrine itself was attacked in the most violent manner, and it was contended that the new obedience in the regenerate is not necessary because of the above-mentioned divine order.

In order to explain this disagreement in a Christian way and according to the guidance of God's Word, and by His grace to settle it completely, our doctrine, faith, and confession are as follows:

First, there is no controversy among our theologians concerning the following points in this article, namely: that it is God's will, order, and command that believers should walk in good works; and that truly good works are not those which every one contrives himself from a good intention, or which are done according to traditions of men, but those which God Himself has prescribed and com-

ſchaffene gute Werke nicht aus eigenen natürlichen Kräften, ſondern alſo geſchehen: wenn die Perſon durch den Glauben mit Gott verſöhnt und durch den Heiligen Geiſt verneuert, oder, wie Paulus redet, „in Chriſto JEſu neugeſchaffen wird zu guten Werken".

Es iſt auch ohne Streit, wie und warum der Gläubigen gute Werke, ob ſie gleich in dieſem Fleiſch unrein und unvollkommen, Gott gefällig und angenehm ſeien, nämlich um des HErrn Chriſti willen, durch den Glauben, weil die Perſon Gott angenehm iſt. Denn die Werke, ſo zur Erhaltung äußerlicher Zucht gehören, welche auch von den Ungläubigen und Unbekehrten geſchehen und erfordert werden, obwohl vor der Welt dieſelben löblich, dazu auch von Gott in dieſer Welt mit zeitlichen Gütern belohnt werden, jedoch, weil ſie nicht aus rechtem Glauben gehen, ſind ſie vor Gott Sünde, das iſt, mit Sünden befleckt, und werden vor Gott für Sünde und unrein um der verderbten Natur willen, und weil die Perſon mit Gott nicht verſöhnt iſt, gehalten. Denn „ein böſer Baum kann nicht gute Früchte bringen", wie auch geſchrieben ſteht Röm. 14: „Was nicht aus Glauben gehet, das iſt Sünde." Denn es muß zuvor die Perſon Gott gefällig ſein, und das allein um Chriſtus' willen, ſollen ihm anders auch derſelben Perſon Werke gefallen.

Derhalben der recht guten und Gott wohlgefälligen Werke, die Gott in dieſer und zukünftiger Welt belohnen will, Mutter und Urſprung muß der **Glaube** ſein, darum ſie denn rechte **Früchte des Glaubens** wie auch **des Geiſtes** von St. Paulo genannt werden. Denn wie D. Luther ſchreibt in der Vorrede über die Epiſtel St. Pauli an die Römer: „So iſt der Glaube ein göttlich Werk in uns, das uns verwandelt und neugebiert aus Gott und tötet den alten Adam, macht uns ganz andere Menſchen von Herzen, Mut, Sinn und allen Kräften und bringt den Heiligen Geiſt mit ſich. O! es iſt ein lebendig, geſchäftig, tätig, mächtig Ding um den Glauben, daß unmöglich, daß er nicht ohne Unterlaß ſollte Gutes wirken. Er fragt auch nicht, ob gute Werke zu tun ſind, ſondern ehe man fragt, hat er ſie getan und iſt immer im Tun. Wer aber nicht ſolche Werke tut, der iſt ein glaubloſer Menſch, tappt und ſieht um ſich nach dem Glauben und guten Werken und weiß weder was Glaube oder gute Werke ſeien, wäſcht und ſchwatzt doch viel Worte vom Glauben und guten Werken. Glaube iſt eine lebendige, erwegene [verwegene, kühne, entſchloſſene] Zuverſicht auf Gottes Gnade, ſo gewiß, daß er tauſendmal darüber ſtürbe. Und ſolche Zuverſicht und Erkenntnis göttlicher Gnade macht fröhlich, trotzig und luſtig gegen Gott und alle Kreaturen; welches der Heilige Geiſt tut im Glauben, daher der Menſch ohne Zwang willig und luſtig wird, jedermann Gutes zu tun, jedermann zu dienen, allerlei zu leiden, Gott zu Liebe und Lob, der ihm ſolche Gnade erzeigt hat, alſo daß unmöglich iſt, Werke vom Glauben ſcheiden, ja, ſo unmöglich, als brennen und leuchten vom Feuer mag geſchieden werden."

opera non propriis naturalibus viribus, sed tum demum fiant, cum persona per fidem cum Deo est reconciliata et per Spiritum Sanctum renovata et in *Christo Iesu*, ut Paulus Eph. 2, 10 loquitur, *denuo ad bona opera creata est.*

8] Sed et hoc extra controversiam est, quomodo et qua de causa bona credentium opera (licet in hac carne nostra impura et imperfecta) Deo placeant et accepta sint, videlicet propter Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, per fidem, propterea quod persona Deo accepta est. Etsi enim opera illa, quae ad conservandam externam disciplinam faciunt (qualia etiam ab infidelibus et non ad Deum conversis hominibus fiunt, et quidem requiruntur), suam coram mundo dignitatem et laudem habent et temporalibus quibusdam praemiis in hoc mundo a Deo ornantur, attamen, cum non ex vera fide proficiscantur, revera coram Deo sunt peccata, hoc est, peccatis contaminata, et a Deo pro peccatis et immunditia reputantur propter naturae humanae corruptionem, et quia persona cum Deo non est reconciliata. *Mala enim arbor non potest bonos fructus ferre* [Matth. 7, 18]. Et in ea, quae ad Romanos scripta est, legitur, Rom. 14, 23: *Quidquid non ex fide est, peccatum est.* Necesse est enim, ut persona Deo antea placeat, idque propter solum Christum, si modo personae illius opera Deo placere et accepta esse debent. [R. 701

9] Quare eorum operum, quae revera bona sunt et Deo placent, quae etiam Dominus tum in hoc tum in futuro saeculo vult remunerari, mater et fons est *ipsa fides*, unde et veri *fructus* fidei, sicut et *fructus Spiritus* a divo 10] Paulo [Gal. 5, 22] appellantur. *Fides* enim (quemadmodum D. Lutherus in praefatione epistolae Pauli ad Romanos scribit) *est divinum quoddam opus in nobis, quod nos immutat, ex Deo regenerat, veterem Adamum mortificat et ex nobis plane alios homines (in corde, animo et omnibus viribus nostris) facit et Spiritum Sanctum nobis confert. Et est fides illa quiddam vivum, efficax, potens, ita ut fieri non possit, quin semper bona operetur.* 11] *Neque fides quaerit demum, an bona opera sint facienda, sed priusquam de ea re inquiratur, iam multa bona opera effecit et semper in agendo est occupata. Qui vero non ad hunc modum bene operatur, is homo vera fide caret, et ubi sit fides, ubi bona opera, quasi caecus palpando quaeritat, neque tamen quid fides aut bona opera sint, novit, interim tamen multa inepte de fide et bonis operibus garrit* 12] *et nugatur. Fides iustificans est viva et solida fiducia in gratiam seu clementiam Dei, adeo certa, ut homo millies mortem oppetere, quam eam fiduciam sibi eripi pateretur. Et haec fiducia atque agnitio divinae gratiae et clementiae laetos, animosos, alacres efficit cum erga Deum tum erga omnes creaturas, quam laetitiam et alacritatem Spiritus Sanctus excitat per fidem. Inde homo sine ulla coactione promptus et alacris redditur, ut omnibus benefaciat, omnibus inserviat, omnia toleret, idque in honorem et laudem Dei pro ea gratia, qua Dominus eum est prosecutus. Itaque impossibile est, bona opera a fide vera separare, quemadmodum calor urens et lux ab igne separari non potest.*

manded in His Word; also, that truly good works are done, not from our own natural powers, but in this way: when the person by faith is reconciled with God and renewed by the Holy Ghost, or, as Paul says, is *created anew in Christ Jesus to good works*, Eph. 2, 10.

Nor is there a controversy as to how and why the good works of believers, although in this flesh they are impure and incomplete, are pleasing and acceptable to God, namely, for the sake of the Lord Christ, by faith, because the person is acceptable to God. For the works which pertain to the maintenance of external discipline, which are also done by, and required of, the unbelieving and unconverted, although commendable before the world, and besides rewarded by God in this world with temporal blessings, are nevertheless, because they do not proceed from true faith, in God's sight sins, that is, stained with sin, and are regarded by God as sins and impure on account of the corrupt nature and because the person is not reconciled with God. *For a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit*, Matt. 7, 18, as it is also written Rom. 14, 23: *Whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* For the person must first be accepted of God, and that for the sake of Christ alone, if also the works of that person are to please Him.

Therefore, of works that are truly good and well-pleasing to God, which God will reward in this world and in the world to come, *faith* must be the mother and source; and on this account they are called by St. Paul true *fruits of faith*, as also *of the Spirit.* For, as Dr. Luther writes in the Preface to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: *Thus faith is a divine work in us, that changes us and regenerates us of God, and puts to death the old Adam, makes us entirely different men in heart, spirit, mind, and all powers, and brings with it* [confers] *the Holy Ghost. Oh, it is a living, busy, active, powerful thing that we have in faith, so that it is impossible for it not to do good without ceasing. Nor does it ask whether good works are to be done; but before the question is asked, it has wrought them, and is always engaged in doing them. But he who does not do such works is void of faith, and gropes and looks about after faith and good works, and knows neither what faith nor what good works are, yet babbles and prates with many words concerning faith and good works.* [Justifying] *faith is a living, bold* [firm] *trust in God's grace, so certain that a man would die a thousand times for it* [rather than suffer this trust to be wrested from him]. *And this trust and knowledge of divine grace renders joyful, fearless, and cheerful towards God and all creatures, which* [joy and cheerfulness] *the Holy Ghost works through faith; and on account of this, man becomes ready and cheerful, without coercion, to do good to every one, to serve every one, and to suffer everything for love and praise to God, who has conferred this grace on him, so that it is impossible to separate works from faith, yea, just as impossible as it is for heat and light to be separated from fire.*

Aber weil von diesen Punkten unter den Unsern kein Streit, wollen wir dieselben hier nach der Länge nicht handeln, sondern allein von den streitigen Punkten uns einfältig und deutlich gegeneinander erklären.

Und erstlich, was belangt Notwendigkeit oder Freiwilligkeit der guten Werke, ist offenbar, daß in der Augsburgischen Konfession und derselben Apologia gebraucht und oft wiederholt werden diese Reden, daß gute Werke nötig seien; item, daß es nötig sei, gute Werke zu tun, welche auch notwendig dem Glauben und der Versöhnung folgen sollen; item, daß wir notwendig gute Werke, so Gott geboten, tun sollen und tun müssen. So wird auch in der Heiligen Schrift selber das Wort „not", „nötig" und „notwendig", item „sollen" und „müssen" also gebraucht: was wir von wegen Gottes Ordnung, Befehl und Willen zu tun schuldig sind, als Röm. 13; 1 Kor. 9; Act. 5; Joh. 15; 1 Joh. 4.

Werden derhalben [es werden deshalb] gemeldete Reden oder Propositiones in diesem christlichen und eigentlichen Verstand unbillig von etlichen gestraft und verworfen, welche billig, den sicheren, epikurischen Wahn zu strafen und zu verwerfen, sollen geführt und gebraucht werden, da viele ihnen [sich] einen toten Glauben oder Wahn, der da ohne Buße und ohne gute Werke ist, dichten, als könnte wohl zugleich in einem Herzen sein rechter Glaube und böser Vorsatz, in Sünden zu verharren und fortzufahren, welches unmöglich ist; oder als könnte wohl einer wahren Glauben, Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit haben und behalten, wenn er gleich ein fauler und unfruchtbarer Baum ist und bleibt, da gar keine guten Früchte folgen; ja, wenn er gleich in Sünden wider das Gewissen verharrt oder wiederum sich auf solche Sünden vorsätzlich begibt; welches unrecht und falsch ist.

Es muß aber auch die Erinnerung von diesem Unterschied hierbei gemerkt werden, daß nämlich verstanden werden solle necessitas ordinis, mandati et voluntatis Christi ac debiti nostri, non autem necessitas coactionis. Das ist: wenn dies Wort „nötig" gebraucht [wird], soll es nicht von einem Zwang, sondern allein von der Ordnung des unwandelbaren Willens Gottes, des Schuldner wir sind, verstanden werden, dahin auch sein Gebot weist, daß die Kreatur ihrem Schöpfer gehorsam sei: denn sonst (wie 2 Kor. 9 und in der Epistel St. Pauli an Philemon, item 1 Petr. 5) „aus Not" genannt wird, was einem wider seinen Willen, durch Zwang oder sonst abgenötigt wird, daß er [es] äußerlich zum Schein, aber doch ohne und wider seinen Willen tue. Denn solche Scheinwerke will Gott nicht haben, sondern das Volk des Neuen Testaments soll sein ein „williges Volk", Ps. 110, und „willig opfern", Ps. 54, „nicht mit Unwillen oder aus Zwang, sondern von Herzen gehorsam sein", 2 Kor. 9; Röm. 6. Denn „einen willigen Geber hat Gott lieb", 2 Kor. 9. In diesem Verstand und solcher Meinung ist's recht geredet und gelehrt, daß rechte gute Werke willig oder aus freiwilligem Geist von denen, die der Sohn Gottes gefreiet [befreit hat], geschehen sollen; wie denn auf diese Meinung vornehmlich die Disputation von Freiwilligkeit der guten Werke von etlichen geführt ist.

13] Quia vero de hac re inter nostros [R. 702 non est controversia, nolumus esse nunc prolixiores, sed tantum de iis rebus, quae in controversiam venerunt, quanta fieri potest, simplicitate et perspicuitate mentem nostram declarabimus.

14] Quod igitur ad necessitatem aut libertatem bonorum operum attinet, negari non potest, quod in Augustana Confessione eiusdemque Apologia haec verba saepe usurpentur atque repetantur: bona opera esse necessaria; et, quod necesse sit, bona opera facere, quia necessario fidem et reconciliationem cum Deo sequi debent; et, quod necessario ea opera, quae Deus praecepit, a nobis sint facienda. Sed et sacrae litterae vocabulis *necessitatis, necessarii, debiti, debemus, oportet* etc. utuntur, quoties de iis rebus agunt, quas ratione mandati, ordinationis et voluntatis divinae praestare tenemur, Rom. 13, 5; 1 Cor. 9, 16; Act. 5, 29; Ioh. 15, 12; 1 Ioh. 4, 21.

15] Quare propositiones hae (bona opera esse necessaria, et necesse esse bene agere) in commemorata pia et genuina sententia immerito a quibusdam reprehenduntur et reiiciuntur. Hae enim retinendae atque urgendae sunt ad redarguendam atque refutandam securitatis Epicureae opinionem, qua multi fidem mortuam aut persuasionem quandam vanam, quae sine poenitentia et bonis operibus est, pro vera fide falso habent; quasi scilicet in uno eodemque corde simul stare possint vera fides et malum propositum in peccatis perseverandi et progrediendi, quod tamen prorsus est impossibile; aut quasi aliquis veram fidem, iustitiam et salutem habere ac retinere valeat, etiamsi arbor putrida et infrugifera sit maneatque, neque ullos bonos fructus ferat, imo, quamvis in peccatis contra conscientiam perseveret, aut rursus destinata malitia in scelera priora relabatur. Haec falsa et impia sunt.

16] Interim tamen de hoc etiam discrimine commonefactio observanda est, quod per [R. 703 vocabulum *necessitatis* intelligenda sit necessitas ordinis, mandati et voluntatis Christi ac debiti nostri, non autem necessitas coactionis.

17] Vult enim mandatum Dei, ut creatura suo Creatori obediat. In aliis enim quibusdam Scripturae locis vocabula *ex necessitate* de iis rebus accipiuntur, quae homini praeter voluntatem eius coactione quadam aut alias extorquentur, ut externe et quidem in speciem, sed tamen contra suam voluntatem aliquid faciat, 2 Cor. 9, 7; Philemon 14; 1 Petr. 5, 2. Talia enim hypocritica opera Deus non probat, sed vult, ut populus novi testamenti sit *populus spontaneus*, et ut *spontanea sacrificia offerat atque obedientiam non invitus aut coactus, sed ex animo praestet*, Ps. 110, 3; 54, 8;

18] 2 Cor. 9, 7; Rom. 6, 17. *Hilarem enim datorem diligit Dominus*, 2 Cor. 9, 7. In hanc sententiam recte dicitur atque docetur, quod vere bona opera sponte, libero spiritu, ab iis, quos Filius Dei liberavit, fieri debeant; quemadmodum etiam disputatio illa de libertate bonorum operum praecipue ad hanc sententiam confirmandam a quibusdam agitata est.

But since there is no controversy on these points among our theologians, we will not treat them here at length, but only explain ourselves, part against part, in a simple and plain manner regarding the controverted points.

And first, as regards the necessity or voluntariness of good works, it is manifest that in the *Augsburg Confession* and its *Apology* these expressions are often used and repeated that good works are necessary. Likewise, that it is necessary to do good works, which also are necessarily to follow faith and reconciliation. Likewise, that we necessarily are to do and must do such good works as God has commanded. Thus also in the Holy Scriptures themselves the words *necessity, needful,* and *necessary,* likewise, *ought* and *must,* are used concerning what we are bound to do because of God's ordinance, command, and will, as Rom. 13, 5; 1 Cor. 9, 9; Acts 5, 29; John 15, 12; 1 John 4, 21.

Therefore the expressions or propositions mentioned [that good works are necessary, and that it is necessary to do good] are unjustly censured and rejected in this Christian and proper sense, as has been done by some; for they are employed and used with propriety to rebuke and reject the secure, Epicurean delusion, by which many fabricate for themselves a dead faith or delusion which is without repentance and without good works, as though there could be in a heart true faith and at the same time the wicked intention to persevere and continue in sins, which is impossible; or, as though one could, indeed, have and retain true faith, righteousness, and salvation even though he be and remain a corrupt and unfruitful tree, whence no good fruits whatever come, yea, even though he persist in sins against conscience, or purposely engages again in these sins, — all of which is incorrect and false.

But in this connection the following distinction must also be noted, namely, that the meaning must be: *necessitas ordinis, mandati et voluntatis Christi ac debiti nostri, non autem necessitas coactionis* (a necessity of Christ's ordinance, command, and will, and of our obligation, but not a necessity of coercion). That is: When this word *necessary* is employed, it should be understood not of coercion, but only of the ordinance of the immutable will of God, whose debtors we are; thither also His commandment points that the creature should be obedient to its Creator. For in other places, as 2 Cor. 9, 7, and in the Epistle of St. Paul to Philemon, v. 14, also 1 Pet. 5, 2, that is termed *of necessity* which is wrung from one against his will, by force or otherwise, so that he acts externally for appearance, but nevertheless without and against his will. For such specious [hypocritical] works God does not want [does not approve], but the people of the New Testament are to be a *willing people,* Ps. 110, 3, and *sacrifice freely,* Ps. 54, 6, *not grudgingly or of necessity, but are to be obedient from the heart,* 2 Cor. 9, 7; Rom. 6, 17. For *God loveth a cheerful giver,* 2 Cor. 9, 7. In this understanding and in such sense it is correctly said and taught that truly good works should be done willingly or from a voluntary spirit by those whom the Son of God has made free, even as it was especially for [confirming] this opinion that the disputation concerning the voluntariness of good works was engaged in by some.

Aber hier ist wiederum der Unterschied auch wohl zu merken, davon Paulus sagt Röm. 7: „Ich bin willig und habe Lust zu Gottes Gesetz nach dem inwendigen Menschen, aber in meinem Fleisch finde ich ein ander Gesetz, welches" nicht allein unwillig oder unlustig ist, sondern auch „dem Gesetz meines Gemüts widerstrebet." Und was das unwillige und widerspenstige Fleisch belangt, da sagt Paulus 1 Kor. 9: „Ich betäube und zähme meinen Leib", und Gal. 5; Röm. 8: „Welche Christo angehören, die kreuzigen, ja töten ihr Fleisch samt seinen Lüsten, Begierden und Geschäften." Das aber ist falsch und muß gestraft werden, wenn vorgegeben und gelehrt wird, als wären die guten Werke den Gläubigen also frei, daß es in ihrer freien Willkür stünde, daß sie solche tun oder lassen oder dawider handeln wollten oder möchten, und sie nichtsdestoweniger den Glauben, Gottes Huld und Gnade behalten könnten.

Zum andern, wenn gelehrt wird, daß gute Werke *vonnöten seien, muß auch erklärt werden, warum und aus was Ursachen sie vonnöten sind, wie die Ursachen in der Augsburgischen Konfession und Apologia erzählt werden.

Aber hier muß man sich gar wohl vorsehen, daß die Werke nicht in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung und Seligmachung gezogen und eingemengt werden. Derhalben werden billig die Propositiones verworfen, **daß den Gläubigen gute Werke zur Seligkeit vonnöten seien, also daß es unmöglich sei, ohne gute Werke selig [zu] werden.** Denn sie sind stracks wider die Lehre de particulis exclusivis in articulo iustificationis et salvationis, das ist, sie streiten wider die Worte, mit welchen St. Paulus unsere Werke und Verdienst aus dem Artikel der Rechtfertigung und Seligmachung gänzlich ausgeschlossen und alles allein der Gnade Gottes und dem Verdienst Christi zugeschrieben hat, wie in dem vor[her]gehenden Artikel erklärt [ist]. Item, sie nehmen den angefochtenen, betrübten Gewissen den Trost des Evangelii, geben Ursache zum Zweifel, sind in viel Wege gefährlich, stärken die Vermessenheit eigener Gerechtigkeit und das Vertrauen auf eigene Werke, werden dazu von den Papisten angenommen und zu ihrem Vorteil wider die reine Lehre von dem alleinseligmachenden Glauben geführt. So sind sie auch wider das Vorbild der gesunden Worte, da geschrieben steht: „die Seligkeit sei allein des Menschen, welchem Gott zurechnet die Gerechtigkeit, ohne Zutun der Werke", Röm. 4. Item, in der Augsburgischen Konfession, im sechsten Artikel, steht geschrieben, man werde selig ohne die Werke, allein durch den Glauben. So hat auch D. Luther diese Propositiones verworfen und verdammt:

1. An den falschen Propheten bei den Galatern.

2. An den Papisten in gar viel Orten.

3. An den Wiedertäufern, da sie also glossieren: man solle wohl den Glauben auf der Werke Verdienst nicht setzen, aber man müsse sie dennoch gleichwohl haben als nötige Dinge zur Seligkeit.

4. Auch an etlichen andern unter den Seinen, so diese propositionem also glossieren wollten: ob wir gleich die Werke erfordern als nötig zur Seligkeit, so lehren wir doch nicht, das Vertrauen auf die Werke setzen, in Gen., Kap. 22. [In dem Ex-

19] Hic autem etiam discrimen hoc observandum est, de quo Paulus loquitur Rom. 7, 22 sq.: *Delector lege Dei* (promptus sum ad bene agendum) *secundum interiorem hominem, sed in carne mea legem aliam reperio, quae* non modo invita et ad bene operandum difficilis est, verum etiam *legi mentis meae repugnat.* Et quod ad illam rebellem et difficilem carnem nostram attinet, ea de re Paulus sic ait 1 Cor. 9, 27; Gal. 5, 24; Rom. 8, 13: *Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo,* et: *Qui sunt Christi, carnem suam crucifixerunt,* imo mortificarunt, *cum vitiis et concupi-*
20] *scentiis.* Contra autem opinio falsa redarguenda et reiicienda est, cum docetur, bona opera ita esse libera homini Christiano, ut in eius libero arbitrio positum sit, ea vel facere vel omittere, aut licet contra legem Dei [R. 704 peccetur, nihilominus tamen fidem Dei, gratiam atque favorem retineri posse.

21] Deinde, cum docetur, bona opera necessaria esse, etiam hoc explicandum est, quare quibusque de causis ea sint necessaria, quae causae in Augustana Confessione eiusque Apologia recitantur.

22] Interim tamen diligenter in hoc negotio cavendum est, ne bona opera articulo iustificationis et salutis nostrae immisceantur. Propterea merito hae propositiones reiiciuntur: *bona opera fidelibus necessaria esse ad salutem, ita ut impossibile sit, sine bonis operibus salvari,* quia simpliciter pugnant cum doctrina de particulis exclusivis in articulo iustificationis et salvationis, quibus particulis divus Paulus opera et merita nostra ab articulo iustificationis et salutis nostrae penitus exclusit et omnia soli gratiae atque clementiae divinae et Christi merito ascripsit,
23] quemadmodum superius declaravimus. Et propositiones illae (de necessitate bonorum operum ad salutem) perturbatis et afflictis conscientiis veram evangelii consolationem eripiunt, occasionem praebent dubitationi de gratia Dei, multis modis sunt periculosae, praesumptionem et falsam opinionem de propria iustitia et fiduciam propriae dignitatis confirmant, a papistis acceptantur et ad ipsorum malam causam fulciendam (contra sinceram doctrinam de sola fide salvante) addu-
24] cuntur. Quin etiam formae sanorum verborum repugnant, cum scriptum sit Rom. 4, 6: *beatitudinem tantum esse hominis, cui Deus imputat iustitiam sine operibus.* Et in Confessione Augustana, articulo sexto, scriptum legimus, *salvari nos sine opere, sola fide.* Sed et D. Lutherus has propositiones reiecit atque damnavit:

25] I. Primo quidem in falsis apostolis, qui Galatas in errorem induxerant.

26] II. Deinde in papistis, multis admodum locis.

27] III. Postea etiam in Anabaptistis, qui hanc interpretationem afferunt, quod [R. 705 fides quidem non debeat niti meritis operum, sed tamen ea necessario ad salutem requiri.

28] IV. Postremo in quibusdam aliis, suis hominibus, qui hanc, ut loquuntur, glossam in medium adducebant: Si maxime, dicebant, bona opera tamquam ad salutem necessaria requiramus, tamen non docemus, quod bonis

But here, again, it is well to note also the distinction of which St. Paul says, Rom. 7, 22 f.: [*I am willing*] *and delight in the Law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, that is* not only unwilling or disinclined, but also *warring against the law of my mind.* And as regards the unwilling and rebellious flesh, Paul says, 1 Cor. 9, 27: *I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection,* and Gal. 5, 24; Rom. 8, 13: *They that are Christ's have crucified,* yea, slain, *the flesh with its affections and lusts.* But it is false, and must be censured, when it is asserted and taught as though good works were free to believers in the sense that it were optional with them to do or to omit them, or that they might or could act contrary thereto [to the Law of God], and none the less could retain faith and God's favor and grace.

Secondly, when it is taught that good works are necessary, it must also be explained why and for what reasons they are necessary, which reasons are enumerated in the *Augsburg Confession* and *Apology.*

But here we must be well on our guard lest works are drawn and mingled into the article of justification and salvation. Therefore the propositions are justly rejected, *that to believers good works are necessary for salvation, so that it is impossible to be saved without good works.* For they are directly contrary to the doctrine *de particulis exclusivis in articulo iustificationis et salvationis* (concerning the exclusive particles in the article of justification and salvation), that is, they conflict with the words by which St. Paul has entirely excluded our works and merits from the article of justification and salvation, and ascribed everything to the grace of God and the merit of Christ alone, as explained in the preceding article. Again, they [these propositions concerning the necessity of good works for salvation] take from afflicted, troubled consciences the comfort of the Gospel, give occasion for doubt, are in many ways dangerous, strengthen presumption in one's own righteousness and confidence in one's own works; besides, they are accepted by the Papists, and in their interest adduced against the pure doctrine of the alone-saving faith. Moreover, they are contrary to the form of sound words, as it is written that *blessedness is only of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works,* Rom. 4, 6. Likewise, in the Sixth Article of the Augsburg Confession it is written that *we are saved without works, by faith alone.* Thus Dr. Luther, too, has rejected and condemned these propositions:

1. In the false prophets among the Galatians [who led the Galatians into error].

2. In the Papists, in very many places.

3. In the Anabaptists, when they present this interpretation: We should not indeed rest faith upon the merit of works, but we must nevertheless have them as things necessary to salvation.

4. Also in some others among his own followers, who wished to interpret this propo-

kurs, auf den sich hier die Konkordienformel bezieht, sagt Luther u. a.: „Negativa haec est: Non sola fides iustificat, sed fides coniuncta operibus. Ac huic propositioni callidam declarationem sive limitationem addunt: Licet exigamus opera tamquam *necessaria ad salutem*, inquiunt, tamen non docemus, *confidendum* operibus. Est satis astutus diabolus, sed nihil agit, tametsi fucum imperitis et rationi faciat." E. opp. exeg. 5, 265.]

Demnach und aus jetzt erzählten Ursachen soll es billig in unsern Kirchen dabei bleiben, daß nämlich gemeldete Weisen zu reden nicht gelehrt, verteidigt oder beschönet, sondern aus unsern Kirchen als falsch und unrecht ausgesetzt und verworfen werden, als die zur Zeit der Verfolgung, da am meisten klares, richtiges Bekenntnis wider allerlei corruptelas und Verfälschungen des Artikels der Rechtfertigung vonnöten war, aus dem Interim wiederum verneuert, hergeflossen und in Disputation gezogen sind.

Zum dritten, weil auch disputiert wird, ob gute Werke die Seligkeit erhalten, oder ob sie nötig seien, den Glauben, Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit zu erhalten, und aber hieran hoch und viel gelegen (denn „wer verharret bis ans Ende, wird selig werden", Matth. 24; item Hebr. 3: „Wir sind Christus' teilhaftig worden, so wir anders das angefangene Wesen bis ans Ende festbehalten"), muß auch gar wohl und eigentlich erklärt werden, wie die Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit in uns erhalten, daß sie nicht wiederum verloren werden.

Und ist derhalben erstlich dieser falsche epikurische Wahn ernstlich zu strafen und zu verwerfen, daß etliche dichten [wähnen], es könne der Glaube und die empfangene Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit durch keine, auch mutwilligen und vorsätzlichen Sünden oder bösen Werke verloren werden, sondern wenn ein Christ gleich ohne Furcht und Scham den bösen Lüsten folge, dem Heiligen Geist widerstrebe und auf Sünden wider das Gewissen vorsätzlich sich begebe, daß er gleichwohl nichtsdestoweniger Glauben, Gottes Gnade, Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit behalte.

Wider diesen schädlichen Wahn sollen mit allem Fleiß und Ernst diese wahrhaftigen, unwandelbaren göttlichen Dräuungen und ernstlichen Strafen [und] Vermahnungen den Christen, so durch den Glauben gerecht [ge]worden sind, oft wiederholt und eingebildet [eingeprägt] werden: 1 Kor. 6: „Irret nicht; kein Hurer, kein Ehebrecher, kein Geiziger usw. wird das Reich Gottes ererben." Gal. 5; Eph. 5: „Die solches tun, werden das Reich Gottes nicht besitzen." Röm. 8: „So ihr nach dem Fleisch lebet, so werdet ihr sterben." Kol. 3: „Um solcher willen kommt der Zorn Gottes über die Ungehorsamen."

Wann aber und welchergestalt aus diesem Grunde die Vermahnung zu guten Werken, ohne Verdunkelung der Lehre vom Glauben und des Artikels der Rechtfertigung, könne geschärft werden, [davon] zeigt die Apologia ein fein Vorbild, da sie Articulo 20. über den Spruch 2 Petr. 1: „Fleißiget euch, euren Beruf festzumachen", also sagt: „Petrus lehrt, warum man gute Werke tun soll, nämlich daß wir unsern Beruf festmachen, das ist, daß wir nicht aus unserm Beruf fallen,

operibus sit confidendum. (In commentario suo super Genesin, cap. 22.)

29] Quare et ex iam commemoratis causis in ecclesiis nostris merito hoc ratum, certum et fixum esse debet, quod phrases seu propositiones illae, de bonis operibus ad salutem necessariis, non sint docendae, defendendae, pingendae, sed potius ex ecclesiis nostris ut falsae et non sincerae explodendae atque reiiciendae, quippe quae tempore persecutionis (ubi clara et perspicua confessione adversus omnis generis corruptelas et depravationes articuli iustificationis maxime opus erat) ex interreligionis formula renovatae promanarint atque denuo disputationibus novis occasionem praebuerint.

30] Postea, cum de eo etiam disputatur [disputetur]: an bona opera salutem conservent, aut num ad retinendam aut conservandam fidem, iustitiam et salutem sint necessaria, diligenter et accurate declarandum est, qua ratione iustitia et salus in nobis conserventur, ne rursus amittantur. Scriptum est enim [Matth. 10, 22; 24, 13]: *Qui perseveraverit usque ad finem, salvus erit.* Et apostolus ait Hebr. 3, 6. 14: *Participes Christi effecti sumus, si tamen initium substantiae usque ad finem firmum retinuerimus.*

31] Et quidem imprimis falsa et Epicurea illa opinio graviter redarguenda atque reiicienda est, quod quidam fingunt, fidem et acceptam iustitiam atque salutem non posse ullis peccatis aut sceleribus (tametsi omnino [R. 706 voluntarie et destinata malitia mala opera perpetrentur) amitti, sed etiamsi homo absque omni Dei timore et pudore pravis suis concupiscentiis indulgeat, Spiritui Sancto repugnet et atrocia flagitia contra conscientiam suam (et quidem malo proposito) designet, nihilominus tamen fidem, gratiam Dei, iustitiam atque salutem retineri posse.

32] Contra hanc pestilentissimam persuasionem singulari diligentia hae verissimae immotae divinae comminationes, poenae et admonitiones Christianis, per fidem iustificatis, saepe repetendae atque inculcandae sunt [1 Cor. 6, 9 sq.]: *Nolite errare; neque fornicarii neque adulteri neque avari* etc. *regnum Dei possidebunt.* Et alibi, Gal. 5, 21; Eph. 5, 5: *Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non consequentur.* Et ad Romanos 8, 13: *Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini.* Et Col. 3, 6: *Propter talia venit ira Dei super filios incredulitatis.*

33] Quando autem et qua ratione ex hoc fundamento exhortationes ad bona opera (absque obscuratione doctrinae de fide et articuli de iustificatione) acui possint, Apologia luculentum eius rei exemplar depingit, ubi capite XX. super verba Petri, 2 Petr. 1, 10 (*Satagite vocationem vestram firmam facere*), haec verba habet: *Petrus docet, quare sint bona opera facienda, scilicet ut sit firma vocatio, hoc est, ne vocatione sua excidant, si*

sition thus: Although we require works as necessary to salvation, yet we do not teach to place trust in works. On Gen. 22.

Accordingly, and for the reasons now enumerated, it is justly to remain settled in our churches, namely, that the aforesaid modes of speech should not be taught, defended, or excused, but be thrown out of our churches and repudiated as false and incorrect, and as expressions which were renewed in consequence of the Interim, originated from it, and were [again] drawn into discussion in times of persecution, when there was especial need of a clear, correct confession against all sorts of corruptions and adulterations of the article of justification.

Thirdly, since it is also disputed whether good works preserve salvation, or whether they are necessary for preserving faith, righteousness, and salvation, and this again is of high and great importance, — for *he that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved,* Matt. 24, 13; also Heb. 3, 6. 14: *We are made partakers of Christ, if we hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast unto the end,* — we must also explain well and precisely how righteousness and salvation are preserved in us, lest it be lost again.

Above all, therefore, the false Epicurean delusion is to be earnestly censured and rejected, namely, that some imagine that faith and the righteousness and salvation which they have received can be lost through no sins or wicked deeds, not even through wilful and intentional ones, but that a Christian although he indulges his wicked lusts without fear and shame, resists the Holy Ghost, and purposely engages in sins against conscience, yet none the less retains faith, God's grace, righteousness, and salvation.

Against this pernicious delusion the following true, immutable, divine threats and severe punishments and admonitions should be often repeated and impressed upon Christians who are justified by faith: 1 Cor. 6, 9: *Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers,* etc., *shall inherit the kingdom of God.* Gal. 5, 21; Eph. 5, 5: *They which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.* Rom. 8, 13: *If ye live after the flesh, ye shall die.* Col. 3, 6: *For which thing's sake the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.*

But when and in what way the exhortations to good works can be earnestly urged from this basis without darkening the doctrine of faith and of the article of justification, the *Apology* shows by an excellent model, when in Article XX, on the passage 2 Pet. 1, 10: *Give diligence to make your calling and election sure,* it says as follows: *Peter teaches why good works should be done, namely, that we may make our calling sure, that is, that*

wenn wir wiederum sündigen. Tut gute Werke, spricht er, daß ihr bei eurem himmlischen Beruf bleibt, daß ihr nicht wieder abfallt und verliert Geist und Gaben, die euch nicht um der folgenden Werke willen, sondern aus Gnaden durch Christum widerfahren sind und nun erhalten werden durch den Glauben. Der Glaube aber bleibt nicht in denen, die sündlich Leben führen, den Heiligen Geist verlieren, die Buße von sich stoßen." Bis daher die Worte aus der Apologia.

Dagegen aber hat es die Meinung nicht, daß der Glaube allein im Anfang die Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit ergreife und danach sein Amt den Werken übergebe, daß dieselben hinfürder den Glauben, die empfangene Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit erhalten müßten, sondern, auf daß die Verheißung der Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit nicht allein zu empfangen, sondern auch zu behalten, uns fest und gewiß sein mögen [möge], gibt Paulus Röm. 5 dem Glauben nicht allein den Eingang zur Gnade, sondern auch daß wir in der Gnade stehen und uns rühmen der zukünftigen Herrlichkeit, das ist: Anfang, Mittel und Ende gibt er alles **dem Glauben allein.** Item Röm. 11: „Sie sind abgebrochen um ihres Unglaubens willen, du aber stehest durch den Glauben." Kol. 1: „Er wird euch darstellen heilig und unsträflich vor ihm selbst, so ihr anders bleibet im Glauben." 1 Petr. 1: „Wir werden aus Gottes Macht durch den Glauben bewahret zur Seligkeit." Item: „Ihr werdet das Ende eures Glaubens davonbringen, nämlich der Seelen Seligkeit."

Weil denn aus Gottes Wort offenbar, daß der Glaube das eigentliche einige Mittel ist, dadurch Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit nicht allein empfangen, sondern auch von Gott erhalten wird, soll billig verworfen werden, das im Trientischen Concilio geschlossen [beschlossen ist], und was sonst mehr auf dieselbe Meinung ist gerichtet worden, daß unsere guten Werke die Seligkeit erhalten, oder daß die empfangene Gerechtigkeit des Glaubens oder auch der Glaube selbst durch unsere Werke entweder gänzlich oder ja zum Teil erhalten und bewahrt werden.

Denn obwohl vor diesem Streit etliche viel reine Lehrer solche und dergleichen Reden in Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift gebraucht, hiermit aber keineswegs gesinnt [gewesen], obvermeldete Irrtümer der Papisten zu bestätigen: jedoch, weil nachmals über solcher Weise zu reden Streit entstanden, daraus allerlei ärgerliche Weiterung erfolget [erfolgte], ist es am allersichersten, nach der Vermahnung St. Pauli, über „dem Vorbilde der gesunden Worte" sowohl als über der reinen Lehre selbst zu halten, dadurch viel unnötiges Gezänk abgeschnitten und die Kirche vor vielem Ärgernis behütet werden mag.

Zum vierten, was die Proposition belangt, daß gute Werke zur Seligkeit schädlich sein sollten, erklären wir uns deutlich also: Wenn jemand die guten Werke in den Artikel der Rechtfertigung ziehen, seine Gerechtigkeit oder das Vertrauen der Seligkeit darauf setzen, damit die Gnade Gottes verdienen und dadurch selig werden wolle, hierauf sagen nicht wir, sondern sagt Paulus selbst, und

iterum peccent. Facite (inquit) bona opera, ut perseveretis in vestra coelitus vobis iniuncta vocatione, ne rursum deficiatis et amittatis Spiritum ac dona, quae prius contigerunt, non propter sequentia opera, sed ex gratia, per Christum, et iam retinentur fide. At fides non manet in his, qui pravam vitam agunt et amittunt Spiritum Sanctum et abiiciunt poenitentiam. Hactenus Apologia.

34] E contrario autem non est sentiendum, quod fides initio tantum iustitiam et salutem apprehendat, postea vero officium suum operibus resignet, ut ea deinceps fidem, [R. 707 apprehensam iustitiam et salutem conservare debeant. Ut enim nobis promissio de iustitia et salute nostra non modo consequenda, verum etiam retinenda, certa et firma esse possit, Paulus Rom. 5, 2 non tantum aditum ad gratiam, verum etiam, quod in gratia perseveramus et de futura gloria gloriamur (hoc est, initium, medium et finem), *soli fidei* ascribit. Et alibi, Rom. 11, 20, ait: *Propter incredulitatem suam defracti sunt, tu autem fide stas.* Et ad Colossenses 1, 22 sq. inquit: *Exhibebit vos sanctos et immaculatos et irreprehensibiles coram se ipso, si tamen permanetis in fide fundati et stabiles* etc. Et Petrus ait, 1 Petr. 1, 5. 9: *In virtute Dei custodimini per fidem in salutem.* Et: *Reportabitis finem fidei vestrae, salutem animarum.*

35] Cum igitur ex sacrarum litterarum testimoniis manifestum sit, quod fides proprium et unicum illud medium sit, quo iustitia et salus non modo apprehenduntur, verum etiam a Deo conservantur, merito reiiciendum est Tridentinae Synodi decretum (et si quid alibi in eam sententiam fuit propositum), quod videlicet bona nostra opera salutem conservent, aut quod apprehensa fidei iustitia aut fides ipsa per nostra opera vel ex toto vel saltem ex parte retineantur ac conserventur. [Synodus Tridentina, sess. 6, can. 24: „Si quis dixerit, iustitiam acceptam non conservari atque etiam non augeri coram Deo per bona opera, sed opera ipsa fructus solummodo et signa esse iustificationis adeptae, non etiam ipsius augendae causam, anathema sit."]

36] Etsi enim ante motam hanc controversiam multi sinceri doctores eiusmodi phrasibus in explicatione Sacrae Scripturae usi sunt, non autem eo animo, quod commemoratos papistarum errores confirmare vellent: tamen cum interea de eiusmodi phrasibus disceptationes, scandala et distractiones variae exortae sint, longe tutissimum est, iuxta Pauli admonitionem [2 Tim. 1, 13] *formam sanorum verborum* non minori diligentia quam ipsam sinceram doctrinam firmiter retinere, qua ratione multis non necessariis concertationibus ansa praeciditur, et multa in ecclesia Dei offendicula praecaventur.

37] Praeterea, quod ad propositionem [R. 708 illam attinet: bona opera ad salutem esse perniciosa, sententiam nostram perspicue exponemus. Si quis bona opera articulo iustificationis immiscere, iustitiam suam aut fiduciam salutis suae in ea reponere, gratiam Dei iis promereri et per ea salutem consequi velit, respondemus non quidem nos, sed divus Paulus

we may not fall from our calling if we again sin. "Do good works," he says, "that you may persevere in your heavenly calling, that you may not fall away again, and lose the Spirit and the gifts, which come to you, not on account of works that follow, but of grace, through Christ, and are now retained by faith. But faith does not remain in those who lead a sinful life, lose the Holy Ghost, and reject repentance." Thus far the *Apology.*

But, on the other hand, the sense is not that faith only in the beginning lays hold of righteousness and salvation, and then resigns its office to the works as though thereafter they had to sustain faith, the righteousness received, and salvation; but in order that the promise, not only of receiving, but also of retaining righteousness and salvation, may be firm and sure to us, St. Paul, Rom. 5, 2, ascribes to faith not only the entrance to grace, but also that we stand in grace and boast of the future glory, that is, the beginning, middle, and end he ascribes all *to faith alone.* Likewise, Rom. 11, 20: *Because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith.* Col. 1, 22: *He will present you holy and unblamable and unreprovable in His sight, if ye continue in the faith.* 1 Pet. 1, 5. 9: *By the power of God we are kept through faith unto salvation.* Likewise: *Receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls.*

Since, then, it is manifest from God's Word that faith is the proper and only means by which righteousness and salvation are not only received, but also preserved by God, the decree of the Council of Trent, and whatever elsewhere is set forth in the same sense, is justly to be rejected, namely, that our good works preserve salvation, or that the righteousness of faith which has been received, or even faith itself, is either entirely or in part kept and preserved by our works.

For although before this controversy quite a few pure teachers employed such and similar expressions in the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, in no way, however, intending thereby to confirm the above-mentioned errors of the Papists, still, since afterwards a controversy arose concerning such expressions, from which all sorts of offensive distractions [debates, offenses, and dissensions] followed, it is safest of all, according to the admonition of St. Paul, 2 Tim. 1, 13, to hold fast as well to *the form of sound words* as to the pure doctrine itself, whereby much unnecessary wrangling may be cut off and the Church preserved from many scandals.

Fourthly, as regards the proposition that good works are said to be injurious to salvation, we explain ourselves clearly as follows: If any one should wish to drag good works into the article of justification, or rest his righteousness or trust for salvation upon them, to merit God's grace and be saved by them, to this not we say, but St. Paul himself

wiederholt's zum drittenmal Phil. 3, daß einem solchen Menschen seine Werke nicht allein unnütz- lich und hinderlich, sondern auch **schädlich** seien. Es ist aber die Schuld nicht der guten Werke an ihnen selbst, sondern des falschen Vertrauens, so wider das ausgedrückte [ausdrückliche] Wort Got- tes auf die Werke gesetzt wird.

Aber hieraus folgt keineswegs, daß man sim- pliciter und also bloß dahinsagen solle: Gute Werke sind den Gläubigen zu oder an ihrer Selig- keit schädlich; denn in den Gläubigen sind gute Werke, wenn sie propter veras causas et ad veros fines, das ist, der Meinung geschehen, wie sie Gott von den Wiedergebornen erfordert, [eine] Anzeigung der Seligkeit, Phil. 1. Wie denn Gottes Wille und ausdrücklicher Befehl ist, daß die Gläubigen gute Werke tun sollen, welche der Heilige Geist wirkt in den Gläubigen, die ihm [die sich] auch Gott um Christi willen gefallen läßt, ihnen herrliche Belohnung in diesem und künfti- gem Leben verheißt.

Derwegen auch diese Proposition in unsern Kir- chen gestraft und verworfen wird, dieweil sie, also bloß gesetzt, falsch und ärgerlich ist, dadurch Zucht und Ehrbarkeit geschwächt, das rohe, wilde, sichere, epikurische Leben eingeführt und gestärkt werden möchte. Denn was einem zu seiner Seligkeit schädlich ist, davor soll er sich ja mit höchstem Fleiß hüten.

Weil aber die Christen von den guten Werken nicht abgehalten, sondern zum fleißigsten dazu ver- mahnt und angehalten werden sollen, so kann und soll diese bloße Proposition in der Kirche nicht ge- duldet, geführt noch verteidigt werden.

ipse, idque tertio repetit Phil. 3, 7 sqq., quod tali homini opera sua non tantum sint in- utilia atque ad salutem impedimento, verum etiam *perniciosa* sint. Culpa tamen non est bonorum operum per se, sed vanae fiduciae, quae contra expressum Dei Verbum in opera collocatur.

38] Inde tamen haudquaquam consequitur, quod simpliciter et nude asserere liceat, bona opera credentibus ad salutem esse perniciosa. Bona enim opera in credentibus (cum propter veras causas fiunt et ad veros fines, sicuti ea Deus a renatis exigit, referuntur) indicia sunt aeternae salutis, Phil. 1, 11. Siquidem haec est voluntas et hoc expressum Dei mandatum, ut credentes bona opera faciant, quae Spiritus Sanctus in credentibus operatur, eaque Deus Pater propter Christum accepta et grata habet et praeclara illis praemia, huius et futurae vitae, promittit.

39] Eam ob causam etiam paulo ante com- memorata propositio in ecclesiis nostris repre- henditur et reiicitur, propterea quod ita nude usurpata falsa est et offendiculi plena, qua disciplina et morum honestas labefactantur, dissolutae vero et Epicureae ferae vitae ianua aperitur et confirmatur. Ab ea enim re, quae alicui ad animae suae salutem perniciosa cre- ditur, abstinendum et cavendum esse omnes iudicant.

40] Cum vero Christiani a bonis operibus non deterrendi, sed potius quam diligentissime ad ea adhortandi sint, profecto nuda ista pro- positio in ecclesia Christi tolerari non potest nec defendenda est.

V.

Vom Gesetz und Evangelio.

Nachdem **der Unterschied des Gesetzes und Evangelii** ein besonder herrlich Licht ist, welches dazu dient, daß Gottes Wort recht geteilt und der heiligen Propheten und Apostel Schriften eigent- lich erklärt und verstanden [werden], ist mit be- sonderem Fleiß über demselben zu halten, damit diese zwei Lehren nicht miteinander vermischt oder aus dem Evangelio ein Gesetz gemacht, dadurch der [das] Verdienst Christi verdunkelt und die be- trübten Gewissen ihres Trostes beraubt [werden], den sie sonst in dem heiligen Evangelio haben, wenn dasselbe lauter und rein gepredigt, und [mit dem sie] sich in ihren höchsten Anfechtungen wider das Schrecken des Gesetzes aufhalten [aufrecht- erhalten] können.

Nun ist hier gleichergestalt zwischen etlichen Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession Zwiespalt eingefallen, da der eine Teil vor[ge]geben, das Evangelium sei eigentlich nicht allein eine Gnaden- predigt, sondern auch zugleich eine Predigt der Buße, welche die größte Sünde, nämlich den Un- glauben, straft. Der andere Teil aber hat gehal- ten und gestritten, daß das Evangelium nicht eigentlich sei eine Buß- oder Strafpredigt, welches eigentlich dem Gesetz Gottes zugehöre, das alle Sünde und also auch den Unglauben strafe; son- dern das Evangelium sei eigentlich eine Predigt von der Gnade und Huld Gottes um Christus'

V. [R. 709

DE LEGE ET EVANGELIO.

1] Cum *discrimen legis et evangelii* magnam et clarissimam lucem sacris litteris afferat, cuius adminiculo Verbum Dei recte secari et prophetica atque apostolica scripta dextre ex- plicari atque intelligi possunt, accurata dili- gentia illud est in ecclesia conservandum atque retinendum, ne haec duo doctrinarum genera inter se commisceantur aut evangelion in legem transformetur. Ea enim ratione meri- tum Christi obscuraretur, et conscientiis per- turbatis dulcissima consolatio (quam in evan- gelio Christi, sincere praedicato, habent, qua etiam sese in gravissimis tentationibus ad- versus legis terrores sustentant) prorsus eripe- retur.

2] Orta est autem etiam de hoc ipso negotio quaedam inter aliquos Augustanae Confessio- nis theologos controversia. Una enim pars asseruit, evangelion proprie non esse tantum doctrinam de gratia Dei, verum etiam esse simul concionem poenitentiae, quae summum peccatum, videlicet incredulitatem, redarguit. Altera vero pars contrariam sententiam pro- pugnavit, quod nimirum evangelion proprie non sit concio poenitentiae, arguens peccatum (hoc enim legis Dei proprium esse officium, arguere omnia peccata, atque ita etiam in- credulitatem), sed evangelion proprie esse

says, and repeats it three times, Phil. 3, 7 ff., that to such a man his works are not only useless and a hindrance, but also *injurious*. But this is not the fault of the good works themselves, but of the false confidence placed in the works, contrary to the express Word of God.

However, it by no means follows thence that we are to say *simpliciter* and flatly: *Good works are injurious to believers for or as regards their salvation;* for in believers good works are indications of salvation when they are done *propter veras causas et ad veros fines* (from true causes and for true ends), that is, in the sense in which God requires them of the regenerate, Phil. 1, 20; for it is God's will and express command that believers should do good works, which the Holy Ghost works in believers, and with which God is pleased for Christ's sake, and to which He promises a glorious reward in this life and the life to come.

For this reason, too, this proposition is censured and rejected in our churches, because as a flat statement it is false and offensive, by which discipline and decency might be impaired, and a barbarous, dissolute, secure, Epicurean life be introduced and strengthened. For what is injurious to his salvation a person should avoid with the greatest diligence.

However, since Christians should not be deterred from good works, but should be admonished and urged thereto most diligently, this bare proposition cannot and must not be tolerated, employed, nor defended in the Church [of Christ].

V.

OF THE LAW AND THE GOSPEL.

As the distinction between the Law and the Gospel is a special brilliant light, which serves to the end that God's Word may be rightly divided, and the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles may be properly explained and understood, we must guard it with especial care, in order that these two doctrines may not be mingled with one another, or a law be made out of the Gospel, whereby the merit of Christ is obscured and troubled consciences are robbed of their comfort, which they otherwise have in the holy Gospel when it is preached genuinely and in its purity, and by which they can support themselves in their most grievous trials against the terrors of the Law.

Now, here likewise there has occurred a dissent among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession; for the one side asserted that the Gospel is properly not only a preaching of grace, but at the same time also a preaching of repentance, which rebukes the greatest sin, namely, unbelief. But the other side held and contended that the Gospel is not properly a preaching of repentance or of reproof [preaching of repentance, convicting sin], as that properly belongs to God's Law, which reproves all sins, and therefore unbelief also;

willen, durch welchen den Bekehrten zu Christo der Unglaube, in dem sie zuvor gesteckt, den auch das Gesetz Gottes gestraft hat, verziehen und vergeben worden [vergeben werde].

Da wir nun diesen Zwiespalt recht bedenken, ist solcher vornehmlich daher verursacht worden, daß das Wörtlein „Evangelium" nicht in einerlei und gleichem Verstande allwege, sondern auf zweierlei Weise in heiliger göttlicher Schrift wie auch von den alten und neuen Kirchenlehrern gebraucht und verstanden worden. Denn einmal wird es gebraucht, daß dadurch verstanden [wird] die ganze Lehre Christi, unsers HErrn, die er auf Erden in seinem Predigtamt geführt und im neuen Testament zu führen befohlen und also damit die Erklärung des Gesetzes und Verkündigung der Huld und Gnade Gottes, seines himmlischen Vaters, begriffen hat, wie Mark. 1 geschrieben steht: „Das ist der Anfang des Evangelii von JEsu Christo, dem Sohne Gottes." Und bald darauf werden die summarischen Hauptstücke gesetzt, **Buße und Vergebung der Sünden.** Also, da Christus nach seiner Auferstehung den Aposteln befohlen, „das Evangelium in aller Welt zu predigen", Mark. 16, faßt er die Summa solcher seiner Lehre mit wenig Worten zusammen, da er Luk. 24 sagt: „Also ist's geschrieben, und also mußte Christus leiden und auferstehen von den Toten am dritten Tage und predigen lassen in seinem Namen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden unter allen Heiden." Gleichfalls auch nennt Paulus seine ganze Lehre das Evangelium, Act. 20. Er faßt aber die Summa solcher seiner Lehre in diese Hauptstücke: **Buße zu Gott und den Glauben an Christum.** Und in dem Verstande ist die generalis definitio, das ist, die Beschreibung des Wortes „Evangelii", wenn es in weitläuftigem Verstand und außerhalb dem eigentlichen Unterschied [außerhalb des eigentlichen Unterschiedes] des Gesetzes und Evangelii gebraucht wird, recht, wenn gesagt wird, das Evangelium sei eine Predigt von der Buße und Vergebung der Sünden. Denn es haben Johannes, Christus und die Apostel ihre Predigt von der Buße angefangen und also nicht allein die gnadenreiche Verheißung von Vergebung der Sünden, sondern auch das Gesetz Gottes ausgelegt und getrieben. Danach wird das Wort „Evangelium" in einem andern, nämlich in seinem eigentlichen Verstand gebraucht, da es nicht die Predigt von der Buße, sondern allein die Predigt von der Gnade Gottes begreift, wie gleich hernach folgt Mark. 1, da Christus sagt: „Tut Buße und glaubet dem Evangelio!"

Wie denn auch das Wörtlein „Buße" nicht in einerlei Verstand in Heiliger Schrift gebraucht wird. Denn an etlichen Orten der Heiligen Schrift wird es gebraucht und genommen für die ganze Bekehrung des Menschen, als Luk. 13: „Werdet ihr nicht Buße tun, so werdet ihr alle auch also umkommen." Und im 15. Kapitel: „Also wird Freude sein über einen Sünder, der Buße tut." Aber in diesem Ort, Mark. 1, wie auch anderswo, da unterschiedlich gesetzt wird die Buße und der Glaube an Christum, Act. 20, oder Buße und Vergebung der Sünden, Luk. 24, heißt Buße tun anders nichts, denn die Sünde wahrhaftig erkennen, herzlich bereuen und davon abstehen; welche Erkenntnis aus dem Gesetz kommt, aber zu heilsamer Bekehrung zu Gott nicht genug ist, wenn nicht der praedicationem de gratia et clementia Dei propter Christum, per quem conversis ad Christum incredulitas (in qua antea haeserant, quam etiam lex Dei redarguerat) condonetur atque remittatur.

3] Cum autem de hoc dissidio diligenter cogitamus, deprehenditur, inde adeo illud exortum esse, quod vocabulum *evangelii* [R. 710 non semper in una eademque significatione accipiatur, sed duobus modis tum in sacris litteris tum in veterum ac neotericorum scri-
4] ptis usurpetur et accipiatur. Uno enim modo totam Christi doctrinam significat, quam ministerio suo in his terris proposuit et in novo testamento proponendam praecepit, et hac ratione Christus legis explicationem et annuntiationem clementiae et gratiae Dei Patris sui coelestis est complexus, sicut Marci primo, v. 1, scriptum est: *Initium evangelii Iesu Christi, Filii Dei* etc. Et paulo post capita totius doctrinae coelestis praecipua recitantur, videlicet *poenitentia et remissio peccatorum.* Ad eundem modum, cum Christus post resurrectionem suam apostolis praeciperet Marc. 16, 15, *ut praedicarent evangelion in universo terrarum orbe*, totius doctrinae suae summam brevissimis comprehendit, inquiens Luc. 24, 46 sq.: *Sic scriptum est, et sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere a mortuis tertia die et praedicari in nomine eius poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes.* Et sic etiam Paulus Act. 20, 21 totam suam doctrinam vocat evangelion, summam autem suae doctrinae distribuit in haec duo praecipua capita: in *poenitentiam erga Deum et*
5] *fidem in Christum.* Et in hoc sensu generalis illa definitio *evangelii* (cum late accipitur et extra discrimen legis et evangelii usurpatur) vera est, cum dicitur: Evangelion est concio de poenitentia et [de] remissione peccatorum. Etenim Iohannes Baptista, Christus et apostoli praedicationem suam a poenitentia sunt exorsi et ita non tantum promissionem illam dulcissimam de immensa Dei gratia atque peccatorum remissione proposuerunt, verum etiam legem Dei explicuerunt atque
6] urserunt. Deinde vocabulum *evangelii* in alia, et quidem propriissima sua significatione usurpatur et tum non concionem de poenitentia, sed tantum praedicationem de [R. 711 clementia Dei complectitur, ut statim Marc. 1, 15 sequitur, cum Christus inquit: *Poenitentiam agite et credite evangelio.*

7] Sed et *poenitentiae* vocabulum in sacris litteris non semper unam eandemque significationem habet. Quibusdam enim Sacrae Scripturae locis pro tota hominis conversione ad Deum sumitur. Verbi gratia, cum Christus inquit Luc. 13, 5: *Nisi poenitentiam egeritis, omnes similiter peribitis.* Et alibi, Luc. 15, 7: *Gaudium erit super uno peccatore poenitenti-*
8] *am agente* etc. At in Marco, 1, 15 (quod testimonium paulo ante attulimus), et alibi, Act. 20, 21; Luc. 24, 46. 47, ubi distincte pronuntur poenitentia et fides in Christum aut poenitentia et remissio peccatorum, poenitentiam agere nihil aliud significat, quam peccata vere agnoscere, serio dolere et peccatis
9] in posterum abstinere. Ea vero peccato-

but that the Gospel is properly a preaching of the grace and favor of God for Christ's sake, through which the unbelief of the converted, which previously inhered in them, and which the Law of God reproved, is pardoned and forgiven.

Now, when we consider this dissent aright, it has been caused chiefly by this, that the term *Gospel* is not always employed and understood in one and the same sense, but in two ways, in the Holy Scriptures, as also by ancient and modern church-teachers. For sometimes it is employed so that there is understood by it the entire doctrine of Christ, our Lord, which He proclaimed in His ministry upon earth, and commanded to be proclaimed in the New Testament, and hence comprised in it the explanation of the Law and the proclamation of the favor and grace of God, His heavenly Father, as it is written, Mark 1, 1: *The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.* And shortly afterwards the chief heads are stated: *Repentance and forgiveness of sins.* Thus, when Christ after His resurrection commanded the apostles *to preach the Gospel in all the world,* Mark 16, 15, He compressed the sum of this doctrine into a few words, when He said, Luke 24, 46. 47: *Thus it is written, and thus it behooved Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations.* So Paul, too, calls his entire doctrine the Gospel, Acts 20, 21; but he embraces the sum of this doctrine under the two heads: *Repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ.* And in *this* sense the *generalis definitio,* that is, the description of the word *Gospel,* when employed in a wide sense and without the proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel, is correct, when it is said that the Gospel is a preaching of repentance and the remission of sins. For John, Christ, and the apostles began their preaching with repentance, and explained and urged not only the gracious promise of the forgiveness of sins, but also the Law of God. Furthermore the term *Gospel* is employed in another, namely, in its proper sense, by which it comprises not the preaching of repentance, but only the preaching of the grace of God, as follows directly afterwards, Mark 1, 15, where Christ says: *Repent, and believe the Gospel.*

Likewise the term repentance also is not employed in the Holy Scriptures in one and the same sense. For in some passages of Holy Scripture it is employed and taken for the entire conversion of man, as Luke 13, 5: *Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.* And in chap. 15, 7: *Likewise joy shall be in heaven over one sinner that repenteth.* But in this passage, Mark 1, 15, as also elsewhere, where repentance and faith in Christ, Acts 20, 21, or repentance and remission of sins, Luke 24, 46. 47, are mentioned as distinct, to repent means nothing else than truly to acknowledge sins, to be heartily sorry for them, and to desist from them. This knowl-

Glaube an Christum dazukommt, dessen Verdienst die tröstliche Predigt des heiligen Evangelii allen bußfertigen Sündern anbeut [anbietet], so durch die Predigt des Gesetzes erschreckt sind. Denn das Evangelium predigt Vergebung der Sünden nicht den rohen, sicheren Herzen, sondern den Zerschlagenen oder Bußfertigen, Luk. 4. Und daß aus der Reue oder Schrecken des Gesetzes nicht möge eine Verzweiflung werden, muß die Predigt des Evangelii dazukommen, daß es möge sein eine Reue zur Seligkeit, 2 Kor. 7.

Denn weil die bloße Predigt des Gesetzes ohne Christum [ohne daß Christus das Gesetz in seine Hand nimmt] entweder vermessene Leute macht, die sich dafürhalten, daß sie das Gesetz mit äußerlichen Werken erfüllen können, oder [Leute, die] ganz und gar in Verzweiflung geraten, so nimmt Christus das Gesetz in seine Hände und legt dasselbe geistlich aus, Matth. 5; Röm. 7 und 1, und offenbart also seinen Zorn vom Himmel herab über alle Sünder, wie groß derselbe sei, dadurch sie in das Gesetz gewiesen werden und aus demselben erst recht lernen ihre Sünde erkennen, welche Erkenntnis Moses nimmermehr aus ihnen hätte erzwingen können. Denn wie der Apostel zeugt, 2 Kor. 3, da gleich Moses gelesen wird, so bleibt doch immer die „Decke", so er vor sein Angesicht hing, unaufgedeckt, daß sie das Gesetz geistlich, und wie große Dinge es von uns erfordert, und weil wir solches nicht halten noch erfüllen können, wie tief es uns verfluche und verdamme, nicht erkennen. „Wenn sie sich aber zum HErrn bekehrt haben, alsdann wird solche Decke abgetan", 2 Kor. 3.

Darum muß der Geist Christi nicht allein trösten, sondern auch durch das Amt des Gesetzes „strafen die Welt um die Sünde" und also im neuen Testament tun, wie der Prophet sagt, opus alienum, ut faciat opus proprium, das ist, er muß „ein fremd Amt" verrichten (welches ist strafen), bis er komme zu seinem eignen Werk, das ist, trösten und von der Gnade predigen, darum er denn uns durch Christum erworben und gesandt und der Ursache auch der Tröster genennet [genannt] wird; inmaßen [wie dies] D. Luther in der Auslegung des Evangelii Dom. 5. nach Trinitatis mit nachfolgenden Worten erklärt hat:

„Es ist alles des Gesetzes Predigt, was da von unsern Sünden und Gottes Zorn predigt, es geschehe, wie oder wann es wolle. Wiederum ist das Evangelium eine solche Predigt, die nichts anderes denn Gnade und Vergebung in Christo zeigt und gibt; wiewohl es wahr und recht ist, daß die Apostel und Prediger des Evangelii (wie auch Christus selbst getan hat) die Predigt des Gesetzes bestätigen und anfangen bei denen, die noch nicht ihre Sünde erkennen noch vor Gottes Zorn erschrocken sind, wie er Joh. 16 sagt: ‚Der Heilige Geist wird die Welt strafen um die Sünde, darum daß sie nicht an mich glauben.' Ja, was ist für eine ernstlichere, schrecklichere Anzeigung und Predigt Gottes Zorns über die Sünde denn eben das Leiden und Sterben Christi, seines Sohnes? Aber solange dieses alles Gottes Zorn predigt und den Menschen schreckt, so ist es noch nicht des Evangelii noch Christi eigene Predigt, sondern Moses und

rum agnitio ex lege est et ad salutarem conversionem ad Deum non sufficit, si non fides in Christum accedat, cuius meritum dulcissima et consolationis plena evangelii doctrina omnibus resipiscentibus peccatoribus offert, qui per concionem legis perterriti et prostrati erant. Evangelion enim remissionem peccatorum non securis mentibus, sed perturbatis et vere poenitentibus annuntiat, Luc. 4, 18. Et ne contritio et terrores legis in desperationem vertantur, opus est praedicatione evangelii, ut sit poenitentia ad salutem, 2 Cor. 7, 10.

10] Cum enim nuda illa legis praedicatio (sine mentione Christi) aut inflatos hypocritas efficiat, qui sibi imaginantur, quod legem externis operibus suis implere valeant, aut homines ad desperationem adigat, Christus legem in manus suas sumit, eamque spiritualiter explicat, Matth. 5, 21 sqq.; Rom. 7, 14; 1, 18, et sic iram suam de coelo revelat super omnem impietatem hominum et ostendit, quanta sit ira divina. Ea ratione ad legem illi ablegantur, ut ex ea demum recte peccata sua agnoscere discant; quam agnitionem peccatorum Moses nunquam ab illis extorquere potuisset. Quia (ut apostolus [R. 712 2 Cor. 3, 14 sq. testatur), etsi Moses praelegitur, manet tamen nihilominus *velamen super faciem eius, non retectum*, ut non agnoscere possint homines, legem esse spiritualem et exigere a nobis res longe maximas, quas cum praestare et implere nequeant, legem nos horribili et extrema maledictione atque damnatione obruere. *Quando autem ad Christum convertuntur, tum velamen illud tollitur*, ut idem apostolus docet 2 Cor. 3, 16.

11] Haec cum ita se habeant, manifestum est, Spiritus Sancti officium esse non tantum consolari, verum etiam (ministerio legis) *arguere mundum de peccato* [Ioh. 16, 8] et ita (etiam in novo testamento) *facere opus alienum*, ut propheta [Ies. 28, 21] loquitur, quod est arguere, ut postea faciat opus proprium, quod est consolari et gratiam Dei praedicare. Hanc enim ob causam nobis Christus precibus suis et sanctissimo merito eundem nobis a Patre impetravit et misit, unde et Paracletus seu Consolator dicitur, quemadmodum Dr. Lutherus in explicatione evangelii Dominicae 5. post Trinitatis sequentibus verbis hanc rem perspicue exposuit:

12] *Concio legis est, quidquid de peccatis nostris et de ira Dei docet, quomodocunque aut quandocunque id fiat. Evangelion vero talis est concio, quae nihil nisi gratiam et clementiam Dei atque remissionem peccatorum in Christo monstrat et exhibet. Interim tamen verum est et recte fit, quod apostoli et evangelii ministri (quod et ipse Christus fecit) concionem legis confirmant eamque inchoant apud eos, qui peccata sua nondum agnoscunt et sensu irae Dei nondum sunt perturbati, ut ipse inquit* Ioh. 16, 8: *Spiritus Sanctus arguet mundum de peccato, quia in me non credunt. Imo, quae magis severa et horrenda significatio atque concio irae divinae adversus peccata est quam illa ipsa passio et mors Iesu Christi, Filii Dei? Verumtamen quoad* [R. 713 *haec omnia iram Dei ostendunt et hominem terrent, nondum sunt proprie evangelii aut*

edge comes from the Law, but is not sufficient for saving conversion to God, if faith in Christ be not added, whose merits the comforting preaching of the holy Gospel offers to all penitent sinners who are terrified by the preaching of the Law. For the Gospel proclaims the forgiveness of sins, not to coarse and secure hearts, but to the bruised or penitent, Luke 4, 18. And lest repentance or the terrors of the Law turn into despair, the preaching of the Gospel must be added, that it may be a repentance unto salvation, 2 Cor. 7, 10.

For since the mere preaching of the Law, without Christ, either makes presumptuous men, who imagine that they can fulfil the Law by outward works, or forces them utterly to despair, Christ takes the Law into His hands, and explains it spiritually, Matt. 5, 21 ff.; Rom. 7, 14 and 1, 18, and thus reveals His wrath from heaven upon all sinners, and shows how great it is; whereby they are directed to the Law, and from it first learn to know their sins aright — a knowledge which Moses never could extort from them. For as the apostle testifies, 2 Cor. 3, 14 f., even though Moses is read, yet the veil which he put over his face is never lifted, so that they cannot understand the Law spiritually, and how great things it requires of us, and how severely it curses and condemns us because we cannot observe or fulfil it. *Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away,* 2 Cor. 3, 16.

Therefore the Spirit of Christ must not only comfort, but also through the office of the Law *reprove the world of sin,* John 16, 8, and thus must do in the New Testament, as the prophet says, Is. 28, 21, *opus alienum, ut faciat opus proprium,* that is, He must do *the work of another* (reprove), in order that He may [afterwards] do His own work, which is to comfort and preach of grace. For to this end He was earned [from the Father] and sent to us by Christ, and for this reason, too, He is called the Comforter, as Dr. Luther has explained in his exposition of the Gospel for the Fifth Sunday after Trinity, in the following words:

Anything that preaches concerning our sins and God's wrath, let it be done how or when it will, that is all a preaching of the Law. Again, the Gospel is such a preaching as shows and gives nothing else than grace and forgiveness in Christ, although it is true and right that the apostles and preachers of the Gospel (as Christ Himself also did) confirm the preaching of the Law, and begin it with those who do not yet acknowledge their sins nor are terrified at [by the sense of] *God's wrath; as He says, John 16, 8: "The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin because they believe not on Me." Yea, what more forcible, more terrible declaration and preaching of God's wrath against sin is there than just the suffering and death of Christ, His Son? But as long as all this preaches God's wrath and terrifies men, it is not yet the preaching of the Gospel nor Christ's own preaching, but that of Moses*

das Gesetz über die Unbußfertigen. Denn das Evangelium und Christus ist je nicht geordnet und gegeben zu schrecken noch zu verdammen, sondern die, so erschreckt und blöde sind, zu trösten und aufzurichten." Und abermals: „Christus spricht Joh. 16: ‚Der Heilige Geist wird die Welt strafen um die Sünde'; welches mag nicht geschehen ohne durch's Gesetzes Erklärung." (Tom. 2, Ienens., fol. 455.)

Also sagen auch die Schmalkaldischen Artikel: „Das neue Testament behält und treibt das Amt des Gesetzes, das die Sünde und Gottes Zorn offenbart; aber zu solchem Amt tut es flugs die Verheißung der Gnade durchs Evangelium."

Und die Apologia spricht: Zu einer rechten, heilsamen Buße ist nicht genug, allein das Gesetz predigen, sondern „es muß dazu auch kommen das Evangelium". Also sind beide Lehren beieinander und müssen auch nebeneinander getrieben werden, aber in gewisser Ordnung und mit gebührlichem Unterschied, und werden die Antinomi oder Gesetzesstürmer billig verdammt, welche die Predigt des Gesetzes aus der Kirche werfen und wollen, daß man Sünde strafen, Reue und Leid nicht aus dem Gesetze, sondern allein aus dem Evangelio lehren solle.

Auf daß aber männiglich [jedermann] sehen möge, daß wir in angeregtem Zwiespalt nichts verschlagen [verbergen], sondern dem christlichen Leser den Handel fein lauter unter Augen stellen:

Demnach glauben, lehren und bekennen wir einhellig, daß das Gesetz eigentlich sei eine göttliche Lehre, darin der gerechte, unwandelbare Wille Gottes geoffenbart [wird], wie der Mensch in seiner Natur, Gedanken, Worten und Werken geschaffen [beschaffen] sein sollte, daß er Gott gefällig und angenehm sei, und dräut den Übertretern desselben Gottes Zorn, zeitliche und ewige Strafen. Denn, wie Lutherus wider die Gesetzesstürmer redet: „Alles, was die Sünde straft, ist und gehört zum Gesetz, dessen eigen Amt ist, Sünde strafen und zur Erkenntnis der Sünden führen", Röm. 3 und 7; und nachdem [und weil] der Unglaube eine Wurzel und Brunnquell aller sträflichen Sünden ist, so straft das Gesetz auch den Unglauben.

Es ist aber gleichwohl dies auch wahr, daß das Gesetz mit seiner Lehre durchs Evangelium illustriert und erklärt wird, und bleibt dennoch des Gesetzes eigentlich Amt, die Sünde strafen und von guten Werken lehren.

Also straft das Gesetz den Unglauben, wenn man Gottes Wort nicht glaubt. Weil nun das Evangelium, welches allein eigentlich lehrt und befiehlt, an Christum glauben, Gottes Wort ist, so straft der Heilige Geist durch das Amt des Gesetzes auch den Unglauben, daß sie nicht an Christum glauben, welches Evangelium doch allein eigentlich lehrt von dem seligmachenden Glauben an Christum.

Das Evangelium aber ist eigentlich eine Lehre (nachdem der Mensch das Gesetz Gottes nicht gehalten, sondern dasselbe übertreten, dawider seine verderbte Natur, Gedanken, Worte und Werke

Christi concio, sed potius Moses et lex contra impoenitentes. Evangelion enim et Christus nobis non eam ob causam donantur, ut nos perterrefaciant atque condemnent, sed ut ii, qui perturbati et pusillanimes sunt, consola-
13] *tionem capiant atque erigantur.* Et alibi inquit Dr. Lutherus: *Christus ait: Spiritus Sanctus arguet mundum de peccato. Hoc autem fieri non potest nisi per explicationem legis.* (Tom. 2, Ienens., fol. 455.)

14] In hanc sententiam etiam Smalcaldici Articuli loquuntur [Par. 3, Art. 3]: *Novum testamentum retinet atque urget ministerium legis, quae et peccata arguit et iram Dei revelat; sed ad illud legis officium adiungit mox promissionem gratiae divinae per evangelii praedicationem.*

15] Et Apologia inquit [Art. 12]: Ad salutarem et veram poenitentiam non sufficit legis praedicatio, sed *accedere oportet evangelion.* Hoc modo duo haec doctrinarum genera coniuncta sunt, et ambo urgenda sunt, certo tamen ordine et convenienti discrimine observato. Et iuste damnantur Antinomi, adversarii legis, qui praedicationem legis ex ecclesia explodunt et affirmant, non ex lege, sed ex solo evangelio peccata arguenda et contritionem docendam esse.

16] Ut autem omnes intelligant, quod in hac controversia nihil dissimulare, sed pio lectori totum negotium, quanta fieri potest simplicitate et perspicuitate, ante oculos proponamus [proponere cupiamus], sententiam nostram exponemus:

17] Credimus, docemus et confitemur unanimi consensu, quod lex proprie sit doctrina divina, in qua iustissima et immutabilis Dei voluntas revelatur, qualem oporteat esse hominem, in sua natura, cogitationibus, verbis, factis, ut Deo probari et acceptus esse possit. Simul autem transgressoribus Dei iram et temporalia atque aeterna supplicia lex [R. 714 denuntiat. Nam (ut D. Lutherus contra Antinomos scribit) *quidquid peccatum arguit, id legis habet rationem et ad legem pertinet, cuius proprium officium est, peccata arguere et ad agnitionem peccatorum adducere*, Rom. 3, 20; 7, 7. Et quia incredulitas radix et fons est omnium peccatorum, quae arguenda et reprehendenda sunt, lex Dei etiam incredulitatem arguit.

18] Est autem etiam hoc verum, legis doctrinam per evangelion illustrari et declarari. Nihilominus vero proprium legis officium est manetque, peccata arguere et de bonis operibus docere.

19] Hac ratione lex incredulitatem arguit, quando videlicet Verbo Dei fides non adhibetur. Cum autem evangelion (quod solum et proprie docet ac iubet in Christum credere) sit Verbum Dei, Spiritus Sanctus per ministerium legis etiam incredulitatem arguit, quod peccatores non in Christum credant; quod evangelium tamen solum proprie docet de salvifica fide in Christum.

20] Evangelion autem proprie doctrina est, quae docet (quandoquidem homo legi Dei non satisfecit, sed eam transgressus est, et legi Dei tota ipsius natura, cogitationes, sermones,

and the Law against the impenitent. For the Gospel and Christ were never ordained and given for the purpose of terrifying and condemning, but of comforting and cheering those who are terrified and timid. And again: *Christ says, John 16, 8: "The Holy Ghost will reprove the world of sin"; which cannot be done except through the explanation of the Law.* Jena, Tom. 2, fol. 455.

So, too, the *Smalcald Articles* say: *The New Testament retains and urges the office of the Law, which reveals sins and God's wrath; but to this office it immediately adds the promise of grace through the Gospel.*

And the *Apology* says: *To a true and salutary repentance the preaching of the Law alone is not sufficient,* BUT THE GOSPEL SHOULD BE ADDED THERETO. *Therefore the two doctrines belong together, and should also be urged by the side of each other, but in a definite order and with a proper distinction; and the Antinomians or assailants of the Law are justly condemned, who abolish the preaching of the Law from the Church, and wish sins to be reproved, and repentance and sorrow to be taught, not from the Law, but from the Gospel.*

But in order that every one may see that in the dissent of which we are treating we conceal nothing, but present the matter to the eyes of the Christian reader plainly and clearly:

Therefore [we shall set forth our meaning:] we unanimously believe, teach, and confess that the Law is properly a divine doctrine, in which the righteous, immutable will of God is revealed, what is to be the quality of man in his nature, thoughts, words, and works, in order that he may be pleasing and acceptable to God; and it threatens its transgressors with God's wrath and temporal and eternal punishments. For as Luther writes against the law-stormers [Antinomians]: *Everything that reproves sin is and belongs to the Law, whose peculiar office it is to reprove sin and to lead to the knowledge of sins,* Rom. 3, 20; 7, 7; and as unbelief is the root and well-spring of all reprehensible sins [all sins that must be censured and reproved], the Law reproves unbelief also.

However, this is true likewise that the Law with its doctrine is illustrated and explained by the Gospel; and nevertheless it remains the peculiar office of the Law to reprove sins and teach concerning good works.

Thus, the Law reproves unbelief, [namely,] when men do not believe the Word of God. Now, since the Gospel, which alone properly teaches and commands to believe in Christ, is God's Word, the Holy Ghost, through the office of the Law, also reproves unbelief, that men do not believe in Christ, although it is properly the Gospel alone which teaches concerning saving faith in Christ.

However, now that man has not kept the Law of God, but transgressed it, his corrupt nature, thoughts, words, and works fighting against it, for which reason he is under

streiten, und [er] der Ursachen dem Zorn Gottes, dem Tod, allen zeitlichen Plagen und der Strafe des höllischen Feuers unterworfen [ist]), die da lehrt, was der Mensch **glauben** solle, daß er bei Gott die Vergebung der Sünden erlange, nämlich, daß der Sohn Gottes, unser HErr Christus, den Fluch des Gesetzes auf sich genommen und getragen, alle unsere Sünden gebüßt und bezahlt [hat], durch welchen allein wir bei Gott wieder zu Gnaden kommen, Vergebung der Sünden durch den Glauben erlangen, aus dem Tod und allen Strafen der Sünden erledigt und ewig selig werden.

Denn alles, was tröstet, die Huld und Gnade Gottes den Übertretern des Gesetzes anbeut [anbietet], ist und heißt eigentlich das Evangelium, eine gute und fröhliche Botschaft, daß Gott die Sünde nicht strafen, sondern um Christus' willen vergeben wolle.

Demnach ein jeder bußfertiger Sünder glauben, das ist, sein Vertrauen allein auf den HErrn Christum setzen soll, **daß er um unserer Sünden willen sei dahingegeben und um unserer Rechtfertigung willen wieder auferstanden,** Röm. 4; **welcher um unsertwillen zur Sünde [ge]worden, der von keiner Sünde wußte, auf daß wir in ihm würden die Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt,** 2 Kor. 5; **der uns zur Gerechtigkeit gemacht [ist],** 1 Kor. 1, des Gehorsam uns zur Gerechtigkeit vor Gott an seinem strengen Gericht zugerechnet wird; daß also das **Gesetz,** inmaßen hier oben erklärt, **ein Amt ist, das durch den Buchstaben tötet und die Verdammnis predigt,** 2 Kor. 3; **das Evangelium aber ist eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen alle die, so daran glauben,** Röm. 1; 1 Kor. 1; **das die Gerechtigkeit predigt und den Geist gibt,** Gal. 3. Wie denn D. Luther den Unterschied mit besonderem Fleiß schier in allen seinen Schriften getrieben und eigentlich angezeigt, daß viel eine andere Erkenntnis Gottes sei, die aus dem Evangelio kommt, denn die aus dem Gesetz gelehrt und gelernt wird; weil auch die Heiden aus dem natürlichen Gesetz etlichermaßen eine Erkenntnis Gottes gehabt, gleichwohl ihn aber weder recht erkannt noch recht geehrt haben, Röm. 1.

Diese zwei Predigten sind von Anfang der Welt her in der Kirche Gottes nebeneinander je und allwege mit gebührendem Unterschied getrieben worden. Denn die Nachkommen der lieben Altväter, wie denn auch die Altväter selbst, sich nicht allein stetig erinnert, wie der Mensch anfangs von Gott gerecht und heilig erschaffen und durch Betrug der Schlange Gottes Gebot übertreten, zum Sünder [ge]worden und sich selbst samt allen ihren [allen seinen] Nachkommen verderbt, in den Tod und ewige Verdammnis gestürzt haben [gestürzt hat], sondern auch sich wiederum aufgerichtet und getröstet durch die Predigt von „des Weibes Samen, welcher der Schlange den Kopf zertreten solle", Gen. 3; item von „Abrahams Samen, in welchem alle Völker gesegnet werden sollen", Gen. 22 und 27; item von „Davids Sohn, der das Reich Israel wiederum aufrichten und ein Licht der Heiden sein soll", Ps. 110; Jes. 49; Luk. 1; „welcher um unserer Sünde willen geschlagen und um unserer Missetat willen verwundet, durch des Wunden wir heil [ge]worden sind", Jes. 53.

facta, repugnant, unde et irae Dei, morti omnibusque temporalibus aerumnis et aeterno gehennae incendio obnoxius est), quid miserrimus ille peccator *credere* debeat, ut remissionem peccatorum apud Deum obtineat, videlicet Filium Dei, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, in sese suscepisse maledictionem legis ferendam, omnia nostra peccata plenissima satisfactione expiasse, ita quidem, ut per ipsum solum cum Deo reconciliemur, remissionem peccatorum per fidem consequamur, a morte omnibusque aliis peccati suppliciis liberemur et in aeternum salvemur.

21] Quidquid enim pavidas mentes [R. 715 consolatur, quidquid favorem et gratiam Dei transgressoribus legis offert, hoc proprie est et recte dicitur evangelion, hoc est, laetissimum nuntium, quod Dominus Deus peccata nostra nolit punire, sed propter Christum condonare.

22] Quare peccatores poenitentes credere debent, hoc est, totam suam fiduciam in solum Christum collocent, quod videlicet *propter peccata nostra traditus sit et propter iustitiam nostram resurrexerit,* Rom. 4, 25; *qui peccatum quidem non noverat et tamen pro nobis peccatum factus est, ut nos efficeremur iustitia Dei in ipso,* 2 Cor. 5, 21; *qui nobis factus est iustitia,* 1 Cor. 1, 30, et cuius obedientia nobis coram severo Dei iudicio ad iustitiam imputatur, ut ita *lex,* ut supra ostensum est, *ministerium sit, quod per litteram occidit et damnationem denuntiat,* 2 Cor. 3, 7, *evangelion autem sit potentia Dei ad salutem omni credenti,* Rom. 1, 16 [1 Cor. 1, 18. 21], *praedicans iustitiam et dans Spiritum* [2 Cor. 3, 8. 9; Gal. 3, 2]; quemadmodum D. Lutherus hoc discrimen propemodum in omnibus suis scriptis diligenter inculcavit atque accurate monuit, longe aliam Dei agnitionem ex evangelio quam ex lege hauriri, quia etiam Gentes ex lege naturae aliquam Dei cognitionem habuere, nec tamen eum recte vel agnoverunt vel coluerunt, Rom. 1, 20 sq.

23] Haec autem duo doctrinarum genera iam inde a condito mundo in ecclesia Dei, convenienti tamen discrimine, proposita fuere. Patriarcharum enim posteri (quemadmodum etiam ipsi patriarchae) non modo assidue in memoriam revocarunt, quod homo initio a Deo iustus et sanctus creatus, fraude autem serpentis mandatum Dei transgressus, peccator sit factus eaque re non modo se, verum etiam totam suam posteritatem perdiderit atque in mortem et aeternam damnationem praecipitaverit; sed rursus se erexerunt et consolati sunt dulcissima illa concione de *Semine* [R. 716 *Mulieris, contrituro caput serpentis,* Gen. 3, 15; item de *Abrahami Semine, in quo benedicendae erant omnes gentes,* Gen. 22, 18; et de *Filio Davidis, qui regnum Israelis restaurare debebat et lumen gentium futurus erat,* Ps. 110, 1; Ies. 49, 6; Luc. 1, 79 [2, 32]; *qui vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras et attritus est propter scelera nostra, cuius livore sanati sumus,* Ies. 53, 5.

God's wrath, death, all temporal calamities, and the punishment of hell-fire, the Gospel is properly a doctrine which teaches what man should *believe*, that he may obtain forgiveness of sins with God, namely, that the Son of God, our Lord Christ, has taken upon Himself and borne the curse of the Law, has expiated and paid for all our sins, through whom alone we again enter into favor with God, obtain forgiveness of sins by faith, are delivered from death and all the punishments of sins, and eternally saved.

For everything that comforts, that offers the favor and grace of God to transgressors of the Law, is, and is properly called, the Gospel, a good and joyful message that God will not punish sins, but forgive them for Christ's sake.

Therefore every penitent sinner ought to believe, that is, place his confidence in the Lord Christ alone, that *He was delivered for our offenses, and was raised again for our justification*, Rom. 4, 25, that He was *made sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him*, 2 Cor. 5, 21, *who of God is made unto us Wisdom, and Righteousness, and Sanctification, and Redemption*, 1 Cor. 1, 30, whose obedience is counted to us for righteousness before God's strict tribunal, so that the *Law*, as above set forth, *is a ministration that kills through the letter and preaches condemnation*, 2 Cor. 3, 7, but the Gospel *is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth*, Rom. 1, 16, *that preaches righteousness and gives the Spirit*, 1 Cor. 1, 18; Gal. 3, 2. As Dr. Luther has urged this distinction with especial diligence in nearly all his writings, and has properly shown that the knowledge of God derived from the Gospel is far different from that which is taught and learned from the Law, because even the heathen to a certain extent had a knowledge of God from the natural law, although they neither knew Him aright nor glorified Him aright, Rom. 1, 20 f.

From the beginning of the world these two proclamations [kinds of doctrines] have been ever and ever inculcated alongside of each other in the Church of God, with a proper distinction. For the descendants of the venerated patriarchs, as also the patriarchs themselves, not only called to mind constantly how in the beginning man had been created righteous and holy by God, and through the fraud of the Serpent had transgressed God's command, had become a sinner, and had corrupted and precipitated himself with all his posterity into death and eternal condemnation, but also encouraged and comforted themselves again by the preaching concerning the *Seed of the Woman, who would bruise the Serpent's head*, Gen. 3, 15; likewise, concerning the *Seed of Abraham, in whom all the nations of the earth shall be blessed*, Gen. 22, 18; likewise, concerning *David's Son, who should restore again the kingdom of Israel and be a light to the heathen*, Ps. 110, 1; Is. 49, 6; Luke 2, 32, who *was wounded for our transgressions, and bruised for our iniquities, by whose stripes we are healed*, Is. 53, 5.

Solche beide Lehren glauben und bekennen wir, daß sie für und für bis an das Ende der Welt fleißig, doch mit gehörtem guten Unterschied in der Kirche Gottes zu treiben seien, damit durch die Predigt des **Gesetzes** und desselben Dräuung im Amt des neuen Testaments die Herzen der unbußfertigen Menschen geschreckt und zur Erkenntnis ihrer Sünden und zur Buße gebracht [werden]; aber nicht also, daß sie darin verzagen und verzweifeln, sondern (weil das Gesetz ein Zuchtmeister auf Christum, daß wir durch den Glauben gerecht werden, Gal. 3, und also nicht von Christo, sondern auf Christum, der „des Gesetzes Ende" ist, weiset und führt, Röm. 10), daß sie durch die Predigt des **heiligen Evangelii** von unserm HErrn Christo wiederum also getröstet und gestärkt [werden], daß nämlich ihnen, so sie dem Evangelio glauben, Gott alle ihre Sünden durch Christum vergeben, sie um seinetwillen an Kindes Statt annehmen und aus lauter Gnade, ohne all ihren [all ihr] Verdienst gerecht und selig machen [wolle]; aber doch nicht also, daß sie sich der Gnade Gottes mißbrauchen und auf dieselbe sündigen; wie Paulus 2 Kor. 3 den Unterschied zwischen dem Gesetz und Evangelio gründlich und gewaltig erweist.

Demnach, und auf daß beide Lehren, des Gesetzes und Evangelii, nicht ineinandergemengt und vermischt [werden], und der einen zugeschrieben werde, was der andern zugehört, dadurch dann leichtlich der [das] Verdienst und die Guttaten Christi verdunkelt und das Evangelium wiederum zu einer Gesetzeslehre gemacht, wie im Papsttum geschehen, und also die Christen des rechten Trosts beraubt, den sie im Evangelio wider das Schrecken des Gesetzes haben, und dem Papsttum wiederum die Tür in der Kirche Gottes aufgetan werde: so muß mit allem Fleiß der wahre, eigentliche Unterschied zwischen dem Gesetz und Evangelio getrieben und erhalten, und was zur Konfusion inter legem et evangelium (das ist, dadurch die beiden Lehren, Gesetz und Evangelium, verwirrt und in eine Lehre gemengt) Ursache geben möchte, fleißig verhütet werden. Ist derhalben gefährlich und unrecht, daß man aus dem Evangelio, wenn es eigentlich also genennet, wie es vom Gesetz unterschieden wird, eine Buß- oder Strafpredigt machen wolle. Denn sonst, wenn es ingemein verstanden wird von der ganzen Lehre, so sagt auch die Apologia etliche Male, das Evangelium sei eine Predigt von der Buße und Vergebung der Sünden. Es zeigt aber daneben die Apologia auch das an, daß Evangelium eigentlich sei die Verheißung der Vergebung der Sünden und der Rechtfertigung durch Christum, das Gesetz aber sei ein Wort, das die Sünde straft und verdammt. [Über den Gebrauch der Worte „Gesetz" und „Evangelium" in der Apologie vergleiche 138, 62; 142, 79; 166, 38; 192, 136; 194, 139; 112, 34; 126, 20; 212; 196, 144 f.; 158, 11 ff.; 276, 88; 258, 29. 34; 260, 35 f.; 264, 51; 274, 78.]

24] Haec duo doctrinae Christianae capita credimus atque profitemur usque ad novissimum diem sedulo, convenienti tamen discrimine, in ecclesia Dei proponenda atque urgenda esse. Concione enim *legis* eiusque gravissimis comminationibus in ministerio novi testamenti mentes impoenitentium hominum perterrefaciendae atque ad veram peccatorum suorum agnitionem et ad agendam poenitentiam sunt adducendae. Id tamen non eo modo, ut propter peccata desperent, sed ut ad Christum confugiant. *Lex enim paedagogus est in Christum, ut per fidem iustificemur*, Gal. 3, 24, et cum *Christus sit finis legis*, Rom. 10, 4, non a Christo, sed ad Christum **25**] nos ducat. Quare post agnita peccata ex lege mentes perturbatae erigendae sunt, ut ex *evangelii* de Christo praedicatione solidam consolationem capiant atque confirmato animo sint, scientes, quod Dominus (si quidem evangelio crediderint) omnia peccata per Christum ipsis condonet, eos propter Mediatorem filios adoptet et ex mera gratia, sine ullo ipsorum merito, iustificet et salvare velit. Non tamen divina illa gratia abutantur aut eius **26**] fiducia scientes volentes peccent. Et hoc discrimen legis et evangelii Paulus in Epistola ad Corinthios posteriore luculenter admodum declaravit, 2 Cor. 3, 7 sqq.

27] Quare ne doctrina legis et evangelii denuo commisceantur et uni, quod alterius est, tribuatur, summo studio vera et propria differentia legis et evangelii retinenda atque urgenda est, eaque omnia, quae novae [R. 717 confusioni inter legem et evangelium occasionem praebere possent, studiose cavenda atque vitanda sunt. Talis enim confusio facile meritum et beneficia Christi obscurare et evangelion in legem transformare posset, quod sub papatu accidisse videmus. Et hac ratione piis mentibus vera consolatio, quam ex evangelio contra terrores legis hauriri debent, eriperetur, et pontificiis erroribus fenestra in ecclesiam Dei irrependi et invadendi aperiretur. Quapropter magno cum periculo coniunctum est, neque approbari potest, quod asseritur, evangelium (proprie sic dictum et quum a lege discernitur) esse concionem poenitentiae arguentem peccata. Alias vero, quando generaliter de tota doctrina Christiana accipitur, etiam Apologia aliquoties docet, quod evangelium sit concio de poenitentia et remissione peccatorum. Interim tamen Apologia etiam ostendit, evangelion proprie dici promissionem de remissione peccatorum et iustificatione nostra per Christum; legem vero esse doctrinam, quae et peccata arguat et damnationem denuntiet.

These two doctrines, we believe and confess, should ever and ever be diligently inculcated in the Church of God even to the end of the world, although with the proper distinction of which we have heard, in order that, through the preaching of the *Law* and its threats in the ministry of the New Testament the hearts of impenitent men may be terrified, and brought to a knowledge of their sins and to repentance; but not in such a way that they lose heart and despair in this process, but that (since the Law is a schoolmaster unto Christ that we might be justified by faith, Gal. 3, 24, and thus points and leads us not from Christ, but to Christ, who *is the end of the Law*, Rom. 10, 4) they be comforted and strengthened again by the preaching of the *holy Gospel* concerning Christ, our Lord, namely, that to those who believe the Gospel, God forgives all their sins through Christ, adopts them as children for His sake, and out of pure grace, without any merit on their part, justifies and saves them, however, not in such a way that they may abuse the grace of God, and sin hoping for grace, as Paul, 2 Cor. 3, 7 ff., thoroughly and forcibly shows the distinction between the Law and the Gospel.

Now, in order that both doctrines, that of the Law and that of the Gospel, be not mingled and confounded with one another, and what belongs to the one may not be ascribed to the other, whereby the merit and benefits of Christ are easily obscured and the Gospel is again turned into a doctrine of the Law, as has occurred in the Papacy, and thus Christians are deprived of the true comfort which they have in the Gospel against the terrors of the Law, and the door is again opened in the Church of God to the Papacy, therefore the true and proper distinction between the Law and the Gospel must with all diligence be inculcated and preserved, and whatever gives occasion for confusion *inter legem et evangelium* (between the Law and the Gospel), that is, whereby the two doctrines, Law and Gospel, may be confounded and mingled into one doctrine, should be diligently prevented. It is, therefore, dangerous and wrong to convert the Gospel, properly so called, as distinguished from the Law, into a preaching of repentance or reproof [a preaching of repentance, reproving sin]. For otherwise, if understood in a general sense of the entire doctrine, also the *Apology* says several times that the Gospel is a preaching of repentance and the forgiveness of sins. Meanwhile, however, the *Apology* also shows that the Gospel is properly the promise of the forgiveness of sins and of justification through Christ, but that the Law is a doctrine which reproves sins and condemns.

VI.

Vom dritten Brauch des Gesetzes Gottes.

1. Nachdem das Gesetz Gottes nicht allein dazu nützt, daß dadurch äußerliche Zucht und Ehrbarkeit wider die wilden, ungehorsamen Leute erhalten, 2. desgleichen, daß durch solches die Menschen zur Erkenntnis ihrer Sünden gebracht, 3. sondern auch, wenn sie durch den Geist Gottes neugeboren, zu dem HErrn bekehrt und also ihnen die Decke Mosis aufgedeckt, [daß sie] in dem Gesetz leben und wandeln: hat sich über diesen dritten und letzten [Ge]Brauch des Gesetzes ein Zwiespalt etlicher wenig Theologen zugetragen, da der eine Teil gelehrt und gehalten, daß die Wiedergebornen den neuen Gehorsam, oder in welchen guten Werken sie wandeln sollen, nicht aus dem Gesetz lernen, noch daraus dieselbe Lehre zu treiben sei, weil sie durch den Sohn Gottes freigemacht, seines Geistes Tempel [ge]worden und also frei, gleichwie die Sonne ohne einigen Trieb für sich selbst [von selbst] ihren ordentlichen Lauf vollbringt, also auch sie für sich selbst, aus Eingeben und Trieb des Heiligen Geistes, tun, was Gott von ihnen erfordert. Dagegen hat der andere Teil gelehrt: obwohl die Rechtgläubigen wahrhaftig durch den Geist Gottes getrieben werden und also nach dem inwendigen Menschen aus einem freien Geist den Willen Gottes tun, so gebrauche doch eben der Heilige Geist das geschriebene Gesetz bei ihnen zur Lehre, dadurch auch die Rechtgläubigen lernen, Gott nicht nach ihren eigenen Gedanken, sondern nach seinem geschriebenen Gesetz und Wort zu dienen, welches eine gewisse Regel und Richtschnur sei eines gottseligen Lebens und Wandels, nach dem ewigen und unwandelbaren Willen Gottes anzurichten.

Zur Erklärung und endlichen Hinlegung [endgültigen Beilegung] dieses Zwiespalts glauben, lehren und bekennen wir einhellig, daß, obwohl die rechtgläubigen und wahrhaftig zu Gott bekehrten und gerechtfertigten Christen vom **Fluch des Gesetzes** erledigt und freigemacht sind, daß sie sich doch im Gesetz des HErrn täglich üben sollen; wie geschrieben steht Ps. 1 und 119: „Wohl dem, der Lust zum Gesetz des HErrn hat und redet von seinem Gesetz Tag und Nacht." Denn das Gesetz ist ein Spiegel, in welchem der Wille Gottes, und was ihm gefällig, eigentlich abgemalt ist, das man den Gläubigen stets vorhalten und bei ihnen ohne Unterlaß fleißig treiben soll.

Denn obwohl **dem Gerechten kein Gesetz gegeben ist,** wie der Apostel zeugt, sondern den Ungerechten, so ist doch solches nicht also bloß zu verstehen, daß die Gerechten ohne Gesetz leben sollen. Denn das Gesetz Gottes [ist] ihnen in das Herz geschrieben, und dem ersten Menschen [wurde] gleich nach seiner Erschaffung auch ein Gesetz gegeben, danach er sich verhalten sollte. Sondern die Meinung St. Pauli ist, daß das Gesetz diejenigen, so durch Christum mit Gott versöhnt, mit seinem Fluch nicht beschweren kann, auch die Wiedergebornen mit seinem Zwang nicht quälen dürfe [zu quälen brauche, zu quälen Ursache habe], weil sie nach dem inwendigen Menschen Lust haben an Gottes Gesetz.

Und zwar, wenn die gläubigen und auserwählten Kinder Gottes durch den einwohnenden Geist in diesem Leben vollkömmlich verneuert würden, also daß sie in ihrer Natur und allen derselben

VI.

DE TERTIO USU LEGIS DIVINAE.

1] Cum constet, triplicem esse legis divinae usum (I. Lege enim disciplina externa et honestas contra feros et indomitos homines utcunque conservatur; II. lege peccatores ad agnitionem peccati adducuntur; III. denique qui per Spiritum Dei renati et ad Dominum conversi sunt, et quibus iam velamen Mosis sublatum est, lege docentur, ut in vera pietate vivant et ambulent), orta est de tertio illo usu legis controversia inter paucos quosdam 2] theologos. Horum alii docuerunt atque senserunt, non opus esse, ut renati novam obedientiam seu bona opera (in quibus [R. 718 ambulare oporteat) ex lege discant, aut ut doctrina de bonis operibus ex lege depromatur vel urgeatur, quandoquidem per Filium Dei libertati restituti et iam facti sint templa Spiritus Sancti, et propterea liberi, perinde ac sol absque alieno impulsu sponte cursum suum naturalem conficit: ita enim et renatos sua sponte, instinctu et impulsu Spiritus Sancti ea agere, quae Deus ab ipsis requirat. 3] Alii vero docuere: etiamsi vere credentes Spiritu Dei revera agantur, et hac ratione secundum interiorem hominem libero et spontaneo spiritu voluntatem Dei faciant, tamen Spiritum Sanctum scripta lege ad doctrinam ipsorum uti solere, qua etiam recte credentes informentur et discant, Deo non esse serviendum iuxta ipsorum cogitationes aut opiniones, sed iuxta scriptam legem et verbum eius revelatum. Illud enim certissimam esse regulam et normam, ad quam vita secundum immutabilem voluntatem Dei sit pie instituenda.

4] Ad declarandam igitur et componendam hanc dissensionem credimus, docemus et confitemur unanimiter, quod, etsi credentes et ad Deum vere conversi atque iustificati liberati sunt a *maledictione legis,* ita quidem, ut ea ratione iam liberi dicantur, tamen in lege divina quotidie exercere se debeant, ut scriptum Ps. 1, 2; 119, 1: *Beatus, qui lege Domini delectatur et in lege eius meditatur die ac nocte.* Est enim lex Dei instar speculi limpidissimi, in quo voluntas Dei et quae ipsi placent, perspicue oculis nostris proponuntur; igitur ea credentibus semper inculcanda et apud eos diligenter et assidue est urgenda.

5] Etsi enim *iusto lex non est posita,* ut apostolus testatur [1 Tim. 1, 9], sed iniustis, hoc tamen non ita nude accipiendum est, quasi iustis sine lege vivere liceat. Lex enim divina cordibus ipsorum inscripta est. Et quidem primo homini statim post ipsius creationem etiam lex data fuit, secundum quam [R. 719 vivere debebat. Haec igitur est verborum Pauli vera et genuina sententia, quod lex eos, qui per Christum cum Deo reconciliati sunt, maledictione sua obruere nequeat, et quod renatis coactione sua molesta esse non possit, quandoquidem illi secundum interiorem hominem lege Dei delectentur.

6] Et sane, si credentes et electi filii Dei per inhabitantem Spiritum in hac vita perfecte renovarentur, ita quidem, ut in tota ipsorum natura et in omnibus viribus peccatum

VI.

OF THE THIRD USE OF GOD'S LAW.

Since the Law of God is useful, 1. not only to the end that external discipline and decency are maintained by it against wild, disobedient men; 2. likewise, that through it men are brought to a knowledge of their sins; 3. but also that, when they have been born anew by the Spirit of God, converted to the Lord, and thus the veil of Moses has been lifted from them, they live and walk in the Law, a dissension has occurred between some few theologians concerning this third and last use of the Law. For the one side taught and maintained that the regenerate do not learn the new obedience, or in what good works they ought to walk, from the Law, and that this teaching [concerning good works] is not to be urged thence [from the Law], because they have been made free by the Son of God, have become the temples of His Spirit, and therefore do freely of themselves what God requires of them, by the prompting and impulse of the Holy Ghost, just as the sun of itself, without any [foreign] impulse, completes its ordinary course. Over against this the other side taught: Although the truly believing are verily moved by God's Spirit, and thus, according to the inner man, do God's will from a free spirit, yet it is just the Holy Ghost who uses the written law for instruction with them, by which the truly believing also learn to serve God, not according to their own thoughts, but according to His written Law and Word, which is a sure rule and standard of a godly life and walk, how to order it in accordance with the eternal and immutable will of God.

For the explanation and final settlement of this dissent we unanimously believe, teach, and confess that although the truly believing and truly converted to God and justified Christians are liberated and made free from the *curse of the Law*, yet they should daily exercise themselves in the Law of the Lord, as it is written, Ps. 1, 2; 119, 1: *Blessed is the man whose delight is in the Law of the Lord, and in His Law doth he meditate day and night.* For the Law is a mirror in which the will of God, and what pleases Him, are exactly portrayed, and which should [therefore] be constantly held up to the believers and be diligently urged upon them without ceasing.

For although *the Law is not made for a righteous man*, as the apostle testifies 1 Tim. 1, 9, but for the unrighteous, yet this is not to be understood in the bare meaning, that the justified are to live without law. For the Law of God has been written in their heart, and also to the first man immediately after his creation a law was given according to which he was to conduct himself. But the meaning of St. Paul is that the Law cannot burden with its curse those who have been reconciled to God through Christ; nor must it vex the regenerate with its coercion, because they have pleasure in God's Law after the inner man.

And, indeed, if the believing and elect children of God were completely renewed in this

Kräften ganz und gar der Sünden ledig wären, bedürften sie keines Gesetzes und also auch keines Treibers, sondern sie täten für sich selbst [von selbst] und ganz freiwillig ohne alle Lehre, Vermahnung, Anhalten oder Treiben des Gesetzes, was sie nach Gottes Willen zu tun schuldig sind, gleichwie die Sonne, der Mond und das ganze himmlische Gestirn seinen ordentlichen Lauf ohne Vermahnung, ohne Anhalten, Treiben, Zwang oder Nötigung für sich selbst unverhindert hat, nach der Ordnung Gottes, die ihnen Gott einmal gegeben hat, ja, wie die lieben Engel einen ganz freiwilligen Gehorsam leisten.

Nachdem aber die Gläubigen in diesem Leben nicht vollkömmlich, ganz und gar, completive vel consummative, verneuert werden; denn obwohl ihre Sünde durch den vollkommenen Gehorsam Christi bedeckt [ist], daß sie den Gläubigen zur Verdammnis nicht zugerechnet wird, auch durch den Heiligen Geist die Abtötung des alten Adams und die Verneurung im Geist ihres Gemüts angefangen [ist]: so hängt ihnen doch noch immer der alte Adam in ihrer Natur und allen desselben innerlichen und äußerlichen Kräften an; davon der Apostel geschrieben Röm. 7: „Ich weiß, daß in mir, das ist, in meinem Fleisch, wohnet nichts Gutes." Und abermals: „Ich weiß nicht, was ich tue; denn ich tue nicht, was ich will, sondern das ich hasse, das tue ich." Item: „Ich sehe ein ander Gesetz in meinen Gliedern, das da widerstrebet dem Gesetz in meinem Gemüte und nimmt mich gefangen in der Sünde Gesetz." Item: „Das Fleisch gelüstet wider den Geist und den Geist wider das Fleisch; dieselbigen sind widereinander, daß ihr nicht tut, was ihr wollet."

Darum so bedürfen in diesem Leben die rechtgläubigen, auserwählten und wiedergebornen Kinder Gottes von wegen solcher Gelüste des Fleisches nicht allein des Gesetzes täglicher Lehre und Vermahnung, Warnung und Dräuung, sondern auch oftermals der Strafen, damit sie aufgemuntert [werden] und dem Geist Gottes folgen, wie geschrieben steht Ps. 119: „Es ist mir gut, HErr, daß du mich demütigest, auf daß ich deine Rechte lerne." Und abermals, 1 Kor. 9: „Ich betäube meinen Leib und zähme ihn, daß ich nicht den andern predige und selbst verwerflich werde." Und abermals, Hebr. 12: „Seid ihr ohne Züchtigung, welcher sie alle sind teilhaftig worden, so seid ihr Bastarde und nicht Kinder." Wie D. Luther solches mit mehr Worten in der Kirchenpostille, im Sommerteil, über die Epistel am 19. Sonntag nach Trinitatis ausführlich erklärt hat.

Es muß aber auch unterschiedlich erklärt werden, was das Evangelium zu dem neuen Gehorsam der Gläubigen tue, schaffe und wirke, und was hierin, soviel die guten Werke der Gläubigen anlangt, des Gesetzes Amt sei.

Denn das Gesetz sagt wohl, es sei Gottes Wille und Befehl, daß wir im neuen Leben wandeln sollen, es gibt aber die Kraft und Vermögen nicht, daß wir's anfangen und tun können, sondern der Heilige Geist, welcher nicht durch das Gesetz, sondern durch die Predigt des Evangelii gegeben und empfangen wird, Gal. 3, erneuert das Herz. Danach braucht der Heilige Geist das Gesetz dazu, daß er aus demselben die Wiedergebornen lehrt und in den zehn Geboten ihnen zeigt und weist, welches da sei „der wohlgefällige Wille Gottes",

non amplius haereret, non indigerent illi lege neque ullo exactore, qui eos ad bene operandum urgeret, quia sponte et liberrimo spiritu, sine omni doctrina, admonitione, cohortatione aut impulsu legis, ea ipsa facerent, quae iuxta voluntatem Dei agere debent. Sicut etiam sol, luna et reliqua astra naturalem suum cursum sine admonitione, cohortatione, impulsu et coactione per se sine impedimento absolvunt ad eum modum, quem Dominus semel in prima creatione instituit; imo sicut sancti angeli promptam et per omnia spontaneam obedientiam praestant.

7] At vero credentes in hac vita non perfecte, completive vel consummative (ut veteres locuti sunt) renovantur. Et quamvis ipsorum peccata Christi obedientia absolutissima contecta sint, ut credentibus non ad damnationem imputentur, et per Spiritum Sanctum veteris Adami mortificatio et renovatio in spiritu mentis eorum inchoata sit, tamen vetus Adam in ipsa natura omnibusque illius interioribus et exterioribus viribus adhuc semper inhaeret. 8] De hac re apostolus ait Rom. 7, 18 sqq.: *Scio, quod in me, hoc est, in carne mea, non habitet bonum.* Et rursus: *Non quod volo bonum, hoc facio, sed quod nolo malum, hoc ago. Et* [Rom. 7, 23]: *Video aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis* [R. 720 *meae et captivantem me in lege peccati.* Item Gal. 5, 17: *Caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus autem adversus carnem. Haec autem sibi invicem adversantur, ut non, quaecunque vultis, illa faciatis.*

9] Eam ob causam credentes, electi et renati filii Dei (propter illas concupiscentias carnis) non modo assidua legis admonitione, doctrina et comminationibus indigent, verum etiam saepe castigationibus, ut veternus illis excutiatur et Spiritui Sancto obtemperent, sicut scriptum est Ps. 119, 71: *Bonum est mihi, Domine, quod humiliasti me, ut discerem iustificationes tuas.* Et 1 Cor. 9, 27: *Castigo corpus meum et in servitutem redigo, ne forte, cum aliis praedicaverim, ipse reprobus efficiar.* Et Hebr. 12, 8: *Quodsi extra disciplinam estis, cuius participes facti sunt omnes, ergo spurii et non filii estis.* Ea de re D. Lutherus in explicatione evangelii Dominicae 19. post Trinitatis luculenter admodum docuit.

10] Distincte autem etiam explicandum est, quid evangelium ad novam obedientiam credentium faciat et praestet, et quodnam (quoad bona opera credentium) sit legis officium.

11] Lex enim inculcat quidem, esse voluntatem et mandatum Dei, ut in nova vita ambulemus, at vires et facultatem non donat, quibus novam obedientiam inchoare et praestare possimus. Spiritus autem Sanctus, qui non per legis, sed per evangelii praedicationem datur et accipitur, Gal. 3, 14, cor hominis 12] renovat. Deinde idem Spiritus ministerio legis utitur, ut per eam renatos doceat, atque in Decalogo ipsis monstret, *quae sit voluntas Dei bona et ipsi placens,* Rom. 12, 2, ut nove-

life by the indwelling Spirit, so that in their nature and all its powers they were entirely free from sin, they would need no law, and hence no one to drive them either, but they would do of themselves, and altogether voluntarily, without any instruction, admonition, urging or driving of the Law, what they are in duty bound to do according to God's will; just as the sun, the moon, and all the constellations of heaven have their regular course of themselves, unobstructed, without admonition, urging, driving, force, or compulsion, according to the order of God which God once appointed for them, yea, just as the holy angels render an entirely voluntary obedience.

However, believers are not renewed in this life perfectly or completely, *completive vel consummative* [as the ancients say]; for although their sin is covered by the perfect obedience of Christ, so that it is not imputed to believers for condemnation, and also the mortification of the old Adam and the renewal in the spirit of their mind is begun through the Holy Ghost, nevertheless the old Adam clings to them still in their nature and all its internal and external powers. Of this the apostle has written Rom. 7, 18 ff.: *I know that in me* [*that is, in my flesh*] *dwelleth no good thing.* And again: *For that which I do I allow not; for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.* Likewise: *I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin.* Likewise, Gal. 5, 17: *The flesh lusteth against the spirit and the spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.*

Therefore, because of these lusts of the flesh the truly believing, elect, and regenerate children of God need in this life not only the daily instruction and admonition, warning, and threatening of the Law, but also frequently punishments, that they may be roused [the old man is driven out of them] and follow the Spirit of God, as it is written Ps. 119, 71: *It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn Thy statutes.* And again, 1 Cor. 9, 27: *I keep under my body and bring it into subjection, lest that, by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway.* And again, Heb. 12, 8: *But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons;* as Dr. Luther has fully explained this at greater length in the Summer Part of the Church Postil, on the Epistle for the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity.

But we must also explain distinctively what the Gospel does, produces, and works towards the new obedience of believers, and what is the office of the Law in this matter, as regards the good works of believers.

For the Law says indeed that it is God's will and command that we should walk in a new life, but it does not give the power and ability to begin and do it; but the Holy Ghost, who is given and received, not through the Law, but through the preaching of the Gospel, Gal. 3, 14, renews the heart. Thereafter the Holy Ghost employs the Law so as

Röm. 12; „in welchen guten Werken sie wandeln sollen, die Gott zuvor bereitet hat", Eph. 2; vermahnt sie dazu, und da sie in dem [und wenn sie darin] von wegen des Fleisches faul, nachlässig und widerspenstig sind, straft er sie darum durchs Gesetz, also daß er beide Ämter zusammen führt: er tötet und macht lebendig, er führt in die Hölle und führt wieder heraus; welches Amt ist nicht allein **trösten,** sondern auch **strafen,** wie geschrieben steht: „Wenn der Heilige Geist kommt, der wird die Welt" (darunter auch der alte Adam ist) „strafen um die Sünde und um die Gerechtigkeit und um das Gericht." Sünde aber ist alles, das wider das Gesetz Gottes ist. Und St. Paulus sagt: „Alle Schrift, von Gott gegeben, ist nütze zur Lehre, zur Strafe" usw., und strafen ist das eigentliche Amt des Gesetzes. Darum, sooft die Gläubigen straucheln, werden sie gestraft durch den Heiligen Geist aus dem Gesetz und durch denselben Geist wieder aufgerichtet und getröstet mit der Predigt des heiligen Evangelii.

Damit aber, soviel möglich, aller Mißverstand verhütet, und der Unterschied zwischen den Werken des Gesetzes und des Geistes eigentlich [genau, deutlich] gelehrt und erhalten werde, ist mit [besonderem Fleiß zu merken: wenn von guten Werken geredet wird, die dem Gesetz Gottes gemäß sind (denn sonst sind es nicht gute Werke), daß hier das Wort „Gesetz" einerlei heißet [ein und dasselbe bezeichnet], nämlich den unwandelbaren Willen Gottes, nach welchem sich die Menschen in ihrem Leben verhalten sollen.

Der Unterschied aber ist in den Werken von wegen des Unterschieds der **Menschen,** die nach solchem Gesetz und Willen Gottes sich befleißigen zu halten. Denn solange der Mensch nicht wiedergeboren ist und sich nach dem Gesetz hält und tut die Werke darum, daß sie also geboten sind, aus Furcht [vor] der Strafe oder Gesuch des Lohns, der ist noch [so ist er noch] unter dem Gesetz, und seine Werke werden von St. Paulo eigentlich Werke des Gesetzes genennet [genannt], denn sie werden von dem Gesetz erzwungen wie die [wie die der] Knechte; und das sind kainische Heilige.

Wenn aber der Mensch durch den Geist Gottes neugeboren und vom Gesetz freigemacht, das ist, von diesem Treiber ledig [ge]worden und von dem Geist Christi getrieben wird, so lebt er nach dem unwandelbaren Willen Gottes, im Gesetz begriffen, und tut alles, soviel er neugeboren ist, aus freiem, lustigem Geist, 1 Tim. 1; Röm. 6. 8; und solches heißen nicht eigentlich Werke des Gesetzes, sondern Werke und Früchte des Geistes oder, wie es St. Paulus nennt, „das Gesetz des Gemüts und Gesetz Christi". Denn solche Leute sind nicht mehr unter dem Gesetz, sondern unter der Gnade, wie St. Paulus sagt Röm. 8.

. Nachdem aber [da aber] die Gläubigen in dieser Welt nicht vollkommen erneuert [werden], sondern der alte Adam hängt ihnen an bis in die Grube, so bleibt auch in ihnen der Kampf zwischen dem Geist und Fleisch. Darum haben sie wohl Lust an Gottes Gesetz nach dem innerlichen Menschen, aber das Gesetz in ihren Gliedern widerstrebt dem Gesetz in ihrem Gemüte; dergestalt [daher, auf welche Art und Weise] sie denn nimmer ohne

rint, quibus bonis operibus opera danda sit, *quae Deus praeparavit, ut in illis ambulemus,* Eph. 2, 10. Et exhortatur Spiritus Sanctus ad bona opera; ac si quando propter [R. 721 carnem remissiores sunt et negligentiores aut etiam rebelles, per legem eos arguit. Et hoc modo idem Spiritus duo officia diversa in iisdem hominibus facit, mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit. Eius enim officium non tantum est *consolari,* verum etiam *arguere,* ut scriptum est [Ioh. 16, 8]: *Cum venerit Paracletus, arguet mundum* (sub quo et vetus Adam comprehenditur) *de peccato et de iustitia et de iudicio.* Peccatum autem est, quidquid legi divinae adversatur. Et Paulus ait 2 Tim. 3, 16: *Omnis Scriptura, divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum* etc. Arguere autem peccata est proprium officium legis. Quare quoties credentes delinquunt, corripiuntur et arguuntur a Spiritu Sancto per legem et ab eodem Spiritu rursus eriguntur et consolationem accipiunt per evangelii praedicationem.

15] Ut autem omnis ambiguitas et erroris occasio, quoad eius fieri potest, caveatur, et discrimen inter opera legis et opera Spiritus proprie et dextre tradatur atque conservetur, singulari diligentia observandum est, quando de bonis operibus agitur, quae legi Dei sunt conformia (alias enim bona opera nequaquam censerentur), quod hoc loco vocabulum *legis* unam tantum rem significet: immutabilem videlicet voluntatem Dei, secundum quam homines omnes vitae suae rationes instituere debeant.

16] Est autem discrimen in operibus propter differentiam *hominum,* qui secundum legem illam et voluntatem Dei vivere student. Homo enim nondum renatus, qui utcumque secundum legem Dei vivit et opera legis ideo facit, quia ad eum modum sunt mandata, eamque obedientiam formidine poenae aut spe praemii alicuius praestat: is adhuc sub lege est tamquam servus, et opera eius proprie a divo Paulo legis opera vocantur, quia talia opera a lege extorta sunt; et hi sunt Cainici sanctuli (hoc est, hypocritae).

17] Cum autem homo per Spiritum [R. 722 Sanctum renatus atque a lege, hoc est, a coactione legis, liberatus est, iamque Spiritu Dei agitur, tum secundum immutabilem Dei voluntatem in lege revelatam vivit et omnia, quatenus renatus est, libero et prompto spiritu agit, 1 Tim. 1, 9; Rom. 6; 8, 14. Et talia opera proprie non sunt appellanda opera legis, sed opera et fructus Spiritus, aut ut divus Paulus ea vocat, dicuntur *lex mentis et lex Christi.* Hi enim homines non amplius sub lege sunt, sed sub gratia, ut idem apostolus testatur [Rom. 7, 23; 8, 2; 1 Cor. 9, 21].

18] Cum autem credentes in hac vita non plene renoventur, sed vetus Adam ipsis usque ad extremum spiritum adhaereat, manet etiam in illis lucta inter spiritum et carnem. Quare delectantur quidem lege Dei secundum interiorem hominem, interim tamen lex illa, quae est in membris eorum, legi mentis repugnat. Unde fit, ut nunquam quidem sine lege et tamen non sub lege, sed in lege sint, secundum

to teach the regenerate from it, and to point out and show them in the Ten Commandments what is the [*good and*] *acceptable will of God,* Rom. 12, 2, in what *good works God hath before ordained that they should walk,* Eph. 2, 10. He exhorts them thereto, and when they are idle, negligent, and rebellious in this matter because of the flesh, He reproves them on that account through the Law, so that He carries on both offices together: He slays and makes alive; He leads into hell and brings up again. For His office is not only to *comfort,* but also to *reprove,* as it is written: *When the Holy Ghost is come, He will reprove the world* (which includes also the old Adam) *of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment.* But sin is everything that is contrary to God's Law. And St. Paul says: *All Scripture given by inspiration of God is profitable for doctrine, for reproof,* etc., and to reprove is the peculiar office of the Law. Therefore, as often as believers stumble, they are reproved by the Holy Spirit from the Law, and by the same Spirit are raised up and comforted again with the preaching of the Holy Gospel.

But in order that, as far as possible, all misunderstanding may be prevented, and the distinction between the works of the Law and those of the Spirit be properly taught and preserved, it is to be noted with especial diligence that when we speak of good works which are in accordance with God's Law (for otherwise they are not good works), then the word *Law* has only one sense, namely, the immutable will of God, according to which men are to conduct themselves in their lives.

The difference, however, is in the works, because of the difference in the men who strive to live according to this Law and will of God. For as long as man is not regenerate, and [therefore] conducts himself according to the Law and does the works because they are commanded thus, from fear of punishment or desire for reward, he is still under the Law, and his works are called by St. Paul properly works of the Law, for they are extorted by the Law, as those of slaves; and these are saints after the order of Cain [that is, hypocrites].

But when man is born anew by the Spirit of God, and liberated from the Law, that is, freed from this driver, and is led by the Spirit of Christ, he lives according to the immutable will of God comprised in the Law, and so far as he is born anew, does everything from a free, cheerful spirit; and these are called not properly works of the Law, but works and fruits of the Spirit, or as St. Paul names it, *the law of the mind* and *the Law of Christ.* For such men are no more under the Law, but under grace, as St. Paul says, Rom. 8, 2 [Rom. 7, 23; 1 Cor. 9, 21].

But since believers are not completely renewed in this world, but the old Adam clings to them even to the grave, there also remains in them the struggle between the spirit and the flesh. Therefore they delight indeed in God's Law according to the inner man, but the law in their members struggles against the law in their mind; hence they are never

Gesetz und gleichwohl nicht unter, sondern im Gesetz sind, im Gesetz des HErrn leben und wandeln und doch **aus Trieb** des Gesetzes nichts tun.

Soviel aber den alten Adam belangt, der ihnen noch anhängt, muß derselbe nicht allein mit [dem] Gesetz, sondern auch mit Plagen getrieben werden, der doch alles wider seinen Willen und gezwungen tut, nicht weniger als die Gottlosen durch Dräuungen des Gesetzes getrieben und im Gehorsam gehalten werden, 1 Kor. 9; Röm. 7.

So ist auch solche Lehre des Gesetzes den Gläubigen darum nötig, auf daß sie nicht auf eigene Heiligkeit und Andacht fallen und unter dem Schein des Geistes Gottes eigenerwählten Gottesdienst, ohne Gottes Wort und Befehl, anrichten, wie geschrieben steht Deut. 12: „Ihr sollt deren keins tun, ein jeder, was ihn recht dünket, sondern höret die Gebote und Rechte, die ich euch gebiete, und sollet auch nichts dazutun noch davontun."

So ist auch die Lehre des Gesetzes in und bei den guten Werken der Gläubigen darum vonnöten: denn sonst kann ihm [kann sich] der Mensch gar leicht einbilden, daß sein Werk und Leben ganz rein und vollkommen sei. Aber das Gesetz Gottes schreibt den Gläubigen die guten Werke also vor, daß es zugleich wie in einem Spiegel zeigt und weist, daß sie in uns in diesem Leben noch unvollkommen und unrein seien, daß wir mit dem lieben Paulo sagen müssen: „Wenn ich mir gleich nichts bewußt bin, so bin ich darum nicht gerechtfertiget." Also, da Paulus die Neugebornen zu guten Werken vermahnt, hält er ihnen ausdrücklich vor die zehn Gebote, Röm. 13; und daß seine guten Werke unvollkommen und unrein seien, erkennt er aus dem Gesetz, Röm. 7; und David spricht Ps. 119: *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri*, „ich wandle auf dem Wege deiner Gebote"; aber „gehe mit deinem Knecht nicht ins Gericht, denn sonst wird kein Lebendiger vor dir gerecht sein", Ps. 143.

Wie aber und warum die guten Werke der Gläubigen, ob sie gleich in diesem Leben von wegen der Sünde im Fleisch unvollkommen und unrein sind, dennoch Gott angenehm und wohlgefällig sind, solches lehrt nicht das Gesetz, welches einen ganz [* ganzen] vollkommenen, reinen Gehorsam, wo er Gott gefallen soll, erfordert. Sondern das Evangelium lehrt, daß unsere geistlichen Opfer Gott angenehm seien durch den Glauben um Christus' willen, 1 Petr. 2; Hebr. 11. Solchergestalt sind die Christen nicht unter dem Gesetz, sondern unter der Gnade, weil die Person von dem Fluch und Verdammnis des Gesetzes durch den Glauben an Christum gefreiet [befreit ist], und weil ihre guten Werke, ob sie gleich noch unvollkommen und unrein, durch Christum Gott angenehm sind, weil sie auch nicht aus Zwang des Gesetzes, sondern aus Verneurung des Heiligen Geistes, von Herzen, willig und ungezwungen tun, was Gott gefällig ist, soviel sie nach dem innerlichen Menschen neugeboren sind; gleichwohl aber führen sie einen stetigen Kampf wider den alten Adam.

Denn der alte Adam, als der unstallige, streitige Esel, ist auch noch ein Stück an ihnen, das nicht allein mit des Gesetzes Lehre, Vermahnung, Treiben und Dräuen, sondern auch öftermals mit dem Knüttel der Strafen und Plagen in den Gehorsam Christi zu zwingen, bis das Fleisch der Sünde

legem Domini vivant et ambulent et tamen bona opera non *ex coactione* legis faciant.

19] Quod vero ad veterem Adamum attinet, qui in ipsis adhuc haeret, ille non modo lege, verum etiam poenis urgendus et coercendus est et tamen omnia invitus et coactus facit, non minus quam impii, qui comminationibus legis urgentur et in officio et obedientia inviti utcumque retinentur, 1 Cor. 9, 27; Rom. 7, 18. 19.

20] Quin etiam legis doctrina hoc nomine credentibus necessaria est, ne propria quadam sanctimonia religiosum vitae genus de suo ingenio excogitent et sub praetextu Spiritus Dei electicios cultus sine verbo et mandato Dei instituant. De qua re sic scriptum est Deut. 12, 8. 28. 32: *Non facietis singuli, quod sibi rectum videtur* etc. *Quod praecipio tibi, hoc tantum facito Domino, neque addas quidquam, nec minuas.*

21] Sed et aliam ob causam doctrina [R. 723 legis in exercitio bonorum operum credentibus necessaria est. Facile enim homo imaginari et persuadere sibi potest, vitam et opera sua omnino pura et perfecta esse. At lex Dei credentibus bona opera ad eum modum praescribit, ut simul tamquam in speculo nobis commonstret, ea omnia in nobis in hac vita adhuc imperfecta et impura esse, ita quidem ut cum apostolo fatendum nobis sit 1 Cor. 4, 4: *Etsi mihi nihil conscius sum, tamen in eo non sum iustificatus.* Quare cum divus Paulus renatos hortatur, ut bona opera faciant, expresse Decalogum eis proponit, Rom. 13, 9, et opera sua imperfecta et impura esse ipse ex lege agnoscit, Rom. 7, 7 sqq. Et David inquit Ps. 119, 32: *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri.* Interim tamen orat Ps. 143, 2: *Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens.*

22] Quomodo autem et qua de causa bona opera credentium (licet in hac vita propter peccatum in carne haerens imperfecta et impura) grata Deo acceptaque sint, hoc non docet lex, quae integram, perfectam et puram omnibusque numeris absolutissimam obedientiam requirit, si modo ea Deo probari debeat. Evangelion vero docet, spiritualia sacrificia nostra Deo accepta esse per fidem propter Christum, 1 Petr. 2, 5; Hebr. 11, 4 sqq. Et **23**] hac ratione pii non sunt sub lege, sed sub gratia, propterea quod ipsa persona piorum a maledictione et damnatione legis per fidem in Christum sit liberata, et quod bona opera ipsorum, etsi imperfecta et impura, Deo propter Christum sint accepta et grata, et quod non ex coactione legis, sed ex renovatione Spiritus Sancti ex animo prompte et sponte ea faciant, quae Deo placent, quatenus secundum interiorem hominem sunt renati. Interim tamen assidue cum veteri suo Adamo luctantur.

24] Vetus enim ille Adam (quasi asinus indomitus et contumax) est adhuc etiam pars aliqua ipsorum, quae non modo legis [R. 724 doctrina, exhortationibus, impulsu et comminationibus, verum etiam (quasi fuste) plagis et poenis coercenda et in obedientiam Christi

without the Law, and nevertheless are not under, but in the Law, and live and walk in the Law of the Lord, and yet do nothing *from constraint* of the Law.

But as far as the old Adam is concerned, which still clings to them, he must be driven not only with the Law, but also with punishments; nevertheless he does everything against his will and under coercion, no less than the godless are driven and held in obedience by the threats of the Law, 1 Cor. 9, 27; Rom. 7, 18. 19.

So, too, this doctrine of the Law is needful for believers, in order that they may not hit upon a holiness and devotion of their own, and under the pretext of the Spirit of God set up a self-chosen worship, without God's Word and command, as it is written Deut. 12, 8. 28. 32: *Ye shall not do . . . every man whatsoever is right in his own eyes,* etc., but *observe and hear all these words which I command thee. Thou shalt not add thereto, nor diminish therefrom.*

So, too, the doctrine of the Law, in and with [the exercise of] the good works of believers, is necessary for the reason that otherwise man can easily imagine that his work and life are entirely pure and perfect. But the Law of God prescribes to believers good works in this way, that it shows and indicates at the same time, as in a mirror, that in this life they are still imperfect and impure in us, so that we must say with the beloved Paul, 1 Cor. 4, 4: *I know nothing by myself; yet am I not hereby justified.* Thus Paul, when exhorting the regenerate to good works, presents to them expressly the Ten Commandments, Rom. 13, 9; and that his good works are imperfect and impure he recognizes from the Law, Rom. 7, 7 ff.; and David declares Ps. 119, 32: *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri, I will run the way of Thy commandments;* but *enter not into judgment with Thy servant, for in Thy sight shall no man living be justified,* Ps. 143, 2.

But how and why the good works of believers, although in this life they are imperfect and impure because of sin in the flesh, are nevertheless acceptable and well-pleasing to God, is not taught by the Law, which requires an altogether perfect, pure obedience if it is to please God. But the Gospel teaches that our spiritual offerings are acceptable to God through faith for Christ's sake, 1 Pet. 2, 5; Heb. 11, 4 ff. In this way Christians are not under the Law, but under grace, because by faith in Christ the persons are freed from the curse and condemnation of the Law; and because their good works, although they are still imperfect and impure, are acceptable to God through Christ; moreover, because so far as they have been born anew according to the inner man, they do what is pleasing to God, not by coercion of the Law, but by the renewing of the Holy Ghost, voluntarily and spontaneously from their hearts; however, they maintain nevertheless a constant struggle against the old Adam.

For the old Adam, as an intractable, refractory ass, is still a part of them, which must be coerced to the obedience of Christ, not only by the teaching, admonition, force, and threatening of the Law, but also oftentimes by the club of punishments and troubles,

ganz und gar ausgezogen und der Mensch vollkömmlich in der Auferstehung erneuert [ist], da er weder der Predigt des Gesetzes noch seiner Dräuung und Strafen wie auch des Evangelii nicht mehr bedürfen wird, die in dies unvollkommene Leben gehören. Sondern wie sie Gott von Angesicht zu Angesicht anschauen, also werden sie durch Kraft des einwohnenden Geistes Gottes freiwillig, ungezwungen, ungehindert, ganz rein und völlig mit eitel Freuden den Willen Gottes zu tun und sich an demselben ewig zu erfreuen [den Willen Gottes tun und sich an demselben ewig erfreuen].

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir als einen schädlichen und christlicher Zucht, auch wahrer Gottseligkeit nachteiligen Irrtum, wenn gelehrt wird, daß das Gesetz obgemeldeter Weise und Maß nicht bei den Christen und Rechtgläubigen, sondern allein bei den Ungläubigen, Unchristen und Unbußfertigen getrieben werden soll.

cogenda est, donec carnem peccati prorsus exuamus et homo perfecte in beata illa resurrectione renovetur. Tum vero nec doctrina nec comminationibus et reprehensionibus legis, denique ne evangelii quidem praedicatione indigebit; haec enim ad hanc mortalem dun-
25] taxat et imperfectam vitam spectant. Sed quemadmodum Dominum facie ad faciem intuebuntur, ita virtute inhabitantis Spiritus Dei sponte sine ulla coactione, absque omni impedimento, puri prorsus et perfecti maximo cum gaudio voluntatem Patris coelestis facient et in Deo in omnem aeternitatem laetabuntur.

26] Quare reiicimus et damnamus ut errorem perniciosum, qui Christianam disciplinam solvit et verae pietati adversatur, cum docetur, quod lex (eo modo, qui supra explicatus est) non apud pios et credentes, sed tantum apud infideles, impios et impoenitentes urgenda sit.

VII.

Vom heiligen Abendmahl.

Wiewohl die Erklärung dieses Artikels vielleicht Etlicher Bedünken nach [nach der Meinung Etlicher] nicht in diese Schrift sollte gesetzt werden, darin wir die Artikel, so unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession (von welcher sich die Sakramentierer bald anfänglich, als die Konfession zu Augsburg Anno 1530 erstlich gestellt und dem Kaiser übergeben, gänzlich geäußert und abgesondert und ihre eigene Konfession übergeben haben) in Zwiespalt gezogen, zu erklären Vorhabens sind, so haben wir doch (nachdem leider etliche Theologen und andere, so sich der Augsburgischen Konfession rühmen, die nächsten Jahre [in den letztverflossenen Jahren] den Sakramentierern in diesem Artikel nicht mehr heimlich, sondern zum Teil öffentlich Beifall getan und wider ihr eigen Gewissen die Augsburgische Konfession, als die mit der Sakramentierer Lehre in diesem Artikel ganz übereinstimme, mit Gewalt anziehen und verkehren wollen) nicht unterlassen können noch sollen, auch in dieser Schrift mit unserm Bekenntnis der göttlichen Wahrheit Zeugnis zu geben und die rechte Meinung und eigentlichen Verstand der Worte Christi und der Augsburgischen Konfession von diesem Artikel wiederum zu erholen [zu wiederholen] und, soviel an uns ist, durch Gottes Hilfe auch auf die Nachkommen zu erhalten und unsere Zuhörer samt andern frommen Christen vor diesem schädlichen und dem heiligen göttlichen Wort und der Augsburgischen Konfession ganz widerwärtigen und vielmals verdammten Irrtum treulich zu verwarnen.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

Der Hauptstreit zwischen unserer und der Sakramentierer Lehre in diesem Artikel.

Obwohl etliche Sakramentierer sich befleißen, mit Worten auf das allernächste der Augsburgischen Konfession und dieser Kirchen Form oder Weise zu reden zu gebrauchen [Worte zu gebrau-

VII.

DE COENA DOMINI.

1] Quamvis fortasse quibusdam videri possit, declarationem articuli de Sacra Coena huic scripto inserendam non fuisse, in quo eos duntaxat articulos, qui inter theologos Augustanae Confessionis in controversiam venerunt, declarandos suscipimus, et vero manifestum sit, Sacramentarios iam olim (cum Confessio Augustana anno Domini MDXXX primum conscriberetur et Imperatori exhiberetur) penitus ab ea alienos fuisse atque talem eo tempore secessionem fecisse, ut peculiarem ea de re confessionem offerrent; quia tamen (quod sane dolendum est) theologi quidam et alii [R. 725 praeterea nonnulli, qui Confessionis Augustanae religionem iactitant, proximis hisce annis in hoc articulo non clam tantum et occulte, sed partim etiam aperte ad Sacramentarios defecerunt et contra conscientiae suae testimonium Augustanam Confessionem (quasi ea cum Sacramentariorum doctrina in hoc articulo per omnia faceret) violenter in alienam sententiam pertrahere eamque hoc modo depravare nituntur: facere non potuimus, quin etiam in hoc scripto veritati coelesti pia et sincera nostra confessione testimonium perhiberemus et veram ac genuinam tam verborum Christi quam Augustanae Confessionis sententiam de hoc negotio repeteremus. Agnoscimus enim, nostri officii esse, ut (quantum quidem in nobis est) piam et sinceram doctrinam hanc per gratiam Dei etiam ad posteritatem transmittamus et auditores nostros aliosque pios homines fideliter admoneamus, ut a pestilenti errore illo (qui et Verbo Dei et Augustanae Confessioni repugnat ac dudum aliquoties damnatus est) quam diligentissime sibi caveant.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE,

quae est inter nos et Sacramentarios in negotio Coenae Dominicae.

2] Etsi Sacramentarii quidam in eo elaborant, ut quam proxime verbis ad Augustanam Confessionem accedant et nostrarum ecclesiarum formas loquendi usurpent, ac fatentur,

until the body of sin is entirely put off, and man is perfectly renewed in the resurrection, when he will need neither the preaching of the Law nor its threatenings and punishments, as also the Gospel any longer; for these belong to this [mortal and] imperfect life. But as they will behold God face to face, so they will, through the power of the indwelling Spirit of God, do the will of God [the heavenly Father] with unmingled joy, voluntarily, unconstrained, without any hindrance, with entire purity and perfection, and will rejoice in it eternally.

Accordingly, we reject and condemn as an error pernicious and detrimental to Christian discipline, as also to true godliness, the teaching that the Law, in the above-mentioned way and degree, should not be urged upon Christians and the true believers, but only upon the unbelieving, unchristians, and impenitent.

VII.

OF THE HOLY SUPPER.

Although, in the opinion of some, the exposition of this article perhaps should not be inserted into this document, in which we intend to explain the articles which have been drawn into controversy among the theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* (from which the Sacramentarians soon in the beginning, when the Confession was first composed and presented to the Emperor at Augsburg in 1530, entirely withdrew and separated, and presented their own Confession), still, since some theologians, and others who boast [their adherence to] the *Augsburg Confession*, have, alas! during the last years, given their assent in this article to the Sacramentarians no longer secretly, but partly publicly and against their own conscience have endeavored to wrest forcibly and to pervert the *Augsburg Confession* as being in this article in entire harmony with the doctrine of the Sacramentarians, we neither can nor should omit our testimony by our confession of the divine truth also in this document, and must repeat the true sense and proper understanding of the words of Christ and of the *Augsburg Confession* with reference to this article, and [for we recognize it to be our duty], so far as in us lies, by God's help, preserve it [this pure doctrine] also for posterity, and faithfully warn our hearers, together with other godly Christians, against this pernicious error, which is entirely contrary to the divine Word and the *Augsburg Confession*, and has been frequently condemned.

STATUS CONTROVERSIAE.

The Chief Controversy between Our Doctrine and that of the Sacramentarians in This Article.

Although some Sacramentarians strive to employ words that come as close as possible to the *Augsburg Confession* and the form and mode of speech in its [our] churches, and con-

chen, die der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion und der Form und Redeweiſe der lutheriſchen Kirche möglichſt gleichförmig ſind], und bekennen, daß im heiligen Abendmahl der Leib Chriſti wahrhaftig von den Gläubigen empfangen werde; dennoch, wenn man ſie ihre Meinung eigentlich, aufrichtig und deutlich anzuzeigen dringt, ſo erklären ſie ſich alle einträchtig alſo: daß der wahre, weſentliche Leib und Blut Chriſti vom geſegneten Brot und Wein im Abendmahl ja ſo weit als der höchſte Himmel von der Erde abweſend ſei. Denn alſo lauten ihre eigenen Worte: Abesse Christi corpus et sanguinem a signis tanto intervallo dicimus, quanto abest terra ab altissimis coelis. Das iſt: „Wir ſagen, daß der Leib und Blut Chriſti ſo weit von den Zeichen ſei, ſo weit und fern die Erde von dem allerhöchſten Himmel iſt.“ Verſtehen derhalben ſolche Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes Chriſti nicht allhier auf Erden [nicht als Gegenwart hier auf Erden], ſondern allein respectu fidei, das iſt, daß unſer Glaube, durch die ſichtbarlichen Zeichen, gleichwie durchs gepredigte Wort, erinnert und erweckt, ſich erhebe und über alle Himmel hinaufſteige und den allda im Himmel gegenwärtigen Leib Chriſti, ja Chriſtum ſelbſt ſamt allen ſeinen Guttaten wahrhaftig und weſentlich, aber doch **nur geiſtlich** empfange und genieße; denn wie das Brot und Wein allhier auf Erden und nicht im Himmel, alſo ſei der Leib Chriſti jetzund im Himmel und nicht auf Erden; [es] werde derhalben mit dem Munde nichts anderes im Abendmahl als Brot und Wein empfangen.

Nun haben ſie erſtlich [zuerſt, anfangs] vor[ge=]geben, des HErrn Abendmahl ſei nur ein äußerlich Zeichen, dabei man die Chriſten kenne, und werde darin nichts anderes als ſchlecht [als bloßes] Brot und Wein (die des abweſenden Leibes Chriſti bloße Zeichen ſeien) gereicht. Als dieſes den Stich nicht halten wollen, haben ſie bekannt, der HErr Chriſtus ſei wahrhaftig in ſeinem Abendmahl gegenwärtig, nämlich per communicationem idiomatum, das iſt, allein nach ſeiner göttlichen Natur, aber nicht mit ſeinem Leib und Blut.

Danach, als man ſie mit Chriſti Worten gedrungen zu bekennen, daß der Leib Chriſti im Abendmahl zugegen ſei, haben ſie es doch nicht anders verſtanden und erklärt als geiſtlich, das iſt, [Chriſti Leib ſei gegenwärtig] mit ſeiner Kraft, Wirkung und Guttat, durch den Glauben zu genießen, weil durch den Geiſt Chriſti, der allenthalben iſt, unſere Leiber, darin der Geiſt Chriſti allhier auf Erden wohnt, mit dem Leibe Chriſti, der im Himmel iſt, vereinigt werden.

Daher denn durch dieſe herrlichen, ſcheinlichen [gleißenden, ſcheinbar richtigen] Worte viel hoher Leute betrogen worden, wenn ſie vorge[ge]ben und gerühmt, ſie ſeien keiner andern Meinung, denn daß der HErr Chriſtus wahrhaftig, weſentlich, lebendig in ſeinem Abendmahl gegenwärtig ſei, verſtehen aber ſolches allein nach ſeiner göttlichen Natur und nicht von ſeinem Leib und Blut, der nun im Himmel und nirgend anders ſei; und gibt uns [und Chriſtus gebe uns] mit Brot und Wein ſeinen wahren Leib und Blut zu eſſen geiſtlich,

quod in Coena Domini corpus Christi vere a fidelibus accipiatur: attamen, quando serio urgentur, ut sententiam suam ingenue, aperte et perspicue profiteantur, tum uno ore omnes animum suum declarant, quod credant, [R. 726 verum et substantiale Christi corpus eiusque sanguinem a benedicto pane et vino in Coena Sacra tanto locorum intervallo abesse, quanto summum coelum ab infima terra distet. Haec enim sunt ipsorum verba: *Abesse Christi corpus et sanguinem a signis tanto intervallo dicimus, quanto abest terra ab altissimis* 3] *coelis.* Quare cum de praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena loquuntur, non volunt ea in terris adesse nisi respectu fidei nostrae, hoc est, fidem nostram dicunt per visibilia symbola, perinde ut per verbum praedicatum, commonefieri et excitari, ut sese attollat atque omnes coelos transcendat et hoc modo praesens in coelo corpus Christi eiusque sanguinem (imo ipsum Christum cum omnibus beneficiis suis) vere et substantialiter, sed tamen *spiritualiter tantum* sumat eoque fruatur. Sentiunt enim, ut panis et vinum hic sunt in terris et non in coelo, ita corpus Christi iam in coelis esse et non in terra, quare in Coena Domini nihil aliud ore sumi quam panem et vinum.

4] Ac initio quidem, cum haec controversia orta fuisset, fingebant, Coenam Domini esse tantum externum signum professionis, quo Christiani ab aliis hominibus discernerentur, et in eo sacramento nihil nisi panem et vinum (absentis videlicet corporis Christi nuda symbola) exhiberi. At cum intelligerent, hoc figmentum nihil prorsus coloris habere neque consistere posse, coeperunt fateri, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum in Sacra Coena sua vere praesentem esse per communicationem idiomatum, hoc est, tantummodo secundum divinam suam naturam, sed non suo corpore et sanguine.

5] Postea etiamsi verbis Christi graviter urgebantur, ut praesentiam corporis Christi in Sacra Coena fateri cogerentur, id tamen aliter non intellexerunt et declararunt, quam quod spiritualem tantum praesentiam crederent, hoc est, quod Christus tantum virtutis, operationis et beneficiorum suorum per [R. 727 fidem nos participes faceret, quia (inquiunt) Spiritus Christi (qui ubique praesens est) corpora nostra (in quibus Spiritus ille hic in terris habitat) cum corpore Christi, quod in coelis est, coniungit.

6] Quare splendidis et magnificis verbis illis multis magnis et praeclaris viris imposuerunt, quando nimirum affirmarunt atque iactitarunt, se plane nihil aliud sentire, quam quod Dominus Iesus Christus vere, substantialiter, vivus in sacra sua Coena praesens sit. Hoc autem intelligunt ipsi tantum de divina Christi natura, non autem de ipsius carne et sanguine. De his enim sentiunt, ea tantum in coelis et praeterea nullibi esse, ideoque Christum nobis cum pane et vino verum cor-

fess that in the Holy Supper the body of Christ is truly received by believers, still, when we insist that they state their meaning properly, sincerely, and clearly, they all declare themselves unanimously thus: that the true essential body and blood of Christ is absent from the consecrated bread and wine in the Holy Supper as far as the highest heaven is from the earth. For thus their own words run: *Abesse Christi corpus et sanguinem a signis tanto intervallo dicimus, quanto abest terra ab altissimis coelis.* That is: "We say that the body and blood of Christ are as far from the signs as the earth is distant from the highest heaven." Therefore they understand this presence of the body of Christ not as a presence here upon earth, but only *respectu fidei* (with respect to faith) [when they speak of the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, they do not mean that they are present upon earth, except with respect to faith], that is, that our faith, reminded and excited by the visible signs, just as by the Word preached, elevates itself and ascends above all heavens, and receives and enjoys the body of Christ, which is there in heaven present, yea, Christ Himself, together with all His benefits, in a manner true and essential, but nevertheless *spiritual only.* For [they hold that] as the bread and wine are here upon earth and not in heaven, so the body of Christ is now in heaven and not upon earth, and consequently nothing else is received by the mouth in the Holy Supper than bread and wine.

Now, originally, they alleged that the Lord's Supper is only an external sign, by which Christians are known, and that nothing else is offered in it than mere bread and wine (which are bare signs [symbols] of the absent body of Christ). When this [figment] would not stand the test, they confessed that the Lord Christ is truly present in His Supper, namely *per communicationem idiomatum* (by the communication of attributes), that is, according to His divine nature alone, but not with His body and blood.

Afterwards, when they were forced by Christ's words to confess that the body of Christ is present in the Supper, they still understood and declared it in no other way than spiritually [only of a spiritual presence], that is, of partaking through faith of His power, efficacy, and benefits, because [they say] through the Spirit of Christ, who is everywhere, our bodies, in which the Spirit of Christ dwells here upon earth, are united with the body of Christ, which is in heaven.

The consequence was that many great men were deceived by these fine, plausible words, when they alleged and boasted that they were of no other opinion than that the Lord Christ is present in His [Holy] Supper truly, essentially, and as one alive; but they understand this according to His divine nature alone, and not of His body and blood, which, they say, are now in heaven, and nowhere else, and that He gives us with the bread and wine His true

durch den Glauben, aber nicht leiblich, mit dem Munde, zu genießen.

Denn sie die Worte des Abendmahls: „Esset, das ist mein Leib", nicht eigentlich, wie sie lauten, nach dem Buchstaben, sondern als verblümte Reden (figurate) verstehen, also daß **essen** den Leib Christi nichts anderes heiße als **glauben** und **Leib** so viel als **Symbolum,** das ist, ein Zeichen oder Figur des Leibes Christi, welcher nicht im Abendmahl auf Erden, sondern allein im Himmel sei; das Wort **ist** sacramentaliter seu modo significativo deuten, ne quis rem cum signis ita putet copulari, ut Christi quoque caro nunc in terris adsit modo quodam invisibili et incomprehensibili; das ist, der Leib Christi sei mit dem Brot sakramentlich oder bedeutlich vereinigt, also daß die gläubigen, frommen Christen, so gewiß als sie das Brot mit dem Munde essen, so gewiß auch den Leib Christi, so droben im Himmel ist, mit dem Glauben geistlich genießen. Aber daß der Leib Christi im Abendmahl allhier auf Erden wesentlich, wiewohl unsichtbarlich und unbegreiflich, gegenwärtig und mit dem gesegneten Brot mündlich, auch von Heuchlern oder Scheinchristen, empfangen werde, das pflegen sie als eine grausame Gotteslästerung zu verfluchen und verdammen.

Dagegen wird vom Abendmahl des HErrn in der Augsburgischen Konfession aus Gottes Wort also gelehrt, **daß der wahre Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftig unter der Gestalt des Brotes und Weines im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen werde, und wird die Gegenlehre** (nämlich der **Sakramentierer,** so eben zur selben Zeit zu Augsburg ihr eigen Bekenntnis, daß der Leib Christi, dieweil er gen Himmel gefahren, nicht wahrhaftig und wesentlich allhier auf Erden im Sakrament gegenwärtig sei, übergeben haben) **verworfen;** wie denn diese Meinung im Kleinen Katechismo D. Luthers deutlich mit nachfolgenden Worten gesetzt ist: „Das Sakrament des Altars ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers HErrn JEsu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken, von Christo selbst eingesetzt"; und noch deutlicher in der Apologia nicht allein erkläret, sondern auch mit dem Spruch Pauli 1 Kor. 10 und Cyrilli bestätigt wird mit diesen Worten: „Der zehnte Artikel ist angenommen, darin wir bekennen, daß im Abendmahl des HErrn der Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftig und wesentlich gegenwärtig sind und mit den sichtbaren Elementen, Brot und Wein, wahrhaftig gereicht werden denen, die das Sakrament empfangen. Denn dieweil Paulus sagt, das Brot, das wir brechen, sei die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi usw., würde folgen, daß das Brot nicht des Leibes, sondern des Geistes Christi Gemeinschaft wäre, wenn der Leib Christi nicht, sondern allein der Heilige Geist wahrhaftig gegenwärtig wäre. So wissen wir, daß nicht allein die römische, sondern auch die griechische Kirche die leibliche Gegenwart Christi im heiligen Abendmahl gelehrt" [hat]. Und wird aus Cyrillo angezogen, daß Christus auch leiblich im Abendmahl durch Mitteilung seines Fleisches in uns wohnt.

pus et verum sanguinem manducandum et bibendum dare, spiritualiter per fidem, sed non corporaliter ore sumendum.

7] Verba enim institutionis Coenae Dominicae: *Edite, hoc est corpus meum,* non proprie, ut sonant, secundum litteram, sed quasi figuratum sermonem, figurate accipiunt, ita ut *edere corpus* Christi nihil aliud ipsis significet, quam *credere* in Christum, et vocabulum *corporis* illis nil nisi *symbolum,* hoc est, signum seu figuram corporis Christi, denotet, quod tamen non in terris et in Sacra Coena praesens, sed tantum in coelis sit. Verbum *est* sacramentaliter seu modo significativo interpretantur, ne quis rem cum signis ita putet copulari, ut Christi quoque caro nunc in terris adsit, modo quodam invisibili et in**8**] comprehensibili. Hoc nimirum volunt, corpus Christi cum pane sacramentaliter seu significative unitum esse, ita, ut credentes ac pii homines tam certo corpus Christi (quod sursum in coelis sit) fide spiritualiter accipiant, quam certo panem ore manducant. Quod vero corpus Christi in Sacra Coena in his terris substantialiter (licet invisibili et incomprehensibili modo) praesens sit et [R. 728 una cum pane benedicto ore, etiam ab hypocritis et nomine duntaxat Christianis, sumatur, id solent quasi horrendam blasphemiam damnare et exsecrari.

9] Contra vero de Coena Domini in Confessione Augustana ex Verbo Dei sic docetur: *verum corpus et sanguinem Christi vere, sub specie panis et vini, in Sacra Domini Coena praesentia esse, distribui et sumi; secus autem docentes improbari.* His postremis verbis Sacramentariorum error perspicue reiicitur, qui eo ipso tempore Augustae peculiarem confessionem obtulerunt, quae veram et substantialem corporis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam in sacramento Coenae, in terris administratae, idcirco negabat, quia Christus **10**] ascendisset in coelos. Pia etiam nostra de hac re sententia in minore D. Lutheri Catechismo perspicue sequentibus verbis expressa est: *Sacramentum altaris est verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, sub pane et vino nobis Christianis ad manducandum et bibendum a Christo ipso institu-* **11**] *tum.* Luculentius etiamnum haec ipsa sententia nostra in Apologia non modo declaratur, verum etiam illustri dicto Pauli 1 Cor. 10, 16 et testimonio Cyrilli confirmatur hisce verbis: *Decimus articulus approbatus est, in quo confitemur, nos sentire, quod in Coena Domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi et vere exhibeantur cum illis rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino, his, qui sacramentum accipiunt. Cum enim Paulus dicat, panem, quem frangimus, communicationem corporis Christi esse* etc., *sequeretur, panem non corporis, sed Spiritus Christi participationem esse, si non ipsum Christi corpus, sed duntaxat Spiritus Sanctus vere praesens esset. Et comperimus, non tantum Romanam ecclesiam affirmare corporalem Christi* [R. 729 *praesentiam, sed idem et nunc sentire et olim etiam sensisse Graecam ecclesiam.* Sed et ibidem ex Cyrillo testimonium adducitur, Christum etiam corporaliter in Sacra Coena communicatione suae carnis in nobis habitare.

body and blood to eat, to partake of them spiritually through faith, but not bodily with the mouth.

For they understand the words of the Supper: *Eat, this is My body,* not properly, as they read, according to the letter, but *figurate,* as figurative expressions, so that *eating* the body of Christ means nothing else than *believing,* and *body* is equivalent to *symbol,* that is, a sign or figure of the body of Christ, which is not in the Supper on earth, but only in heaven. The word *is* they interpret *sacramentaliter seu modo significativo* (sacramentally, or in a significative manner), *nequis rem cum signis ita putet copulari, ut Christi quoque caro nunc in terris adsit modo quodam invisibili et incomprehensibili* (in order that no one may regard the thing so joined with the signs that the flesh also of Christ is now present on earth in an invisible and incomprehensible manner); that is, that the body of Christ is united with the bread sacramentally, or significatively, so that believing, godly Christians as surely partake spiritually of the body of Christ, which is above, in heaven, as they eat the bread with the mouth. But that the body of Christ is present here upon earth in the Supper essentially, although invisibly and incomprehensibly, and is received orally, with the consecrated bread, even by hypocrites or those who are Christians only in appearance [by name], this they are accustomed to execrate and condemn as a horrible blasphemy.

Over against this it is taught in the *Augsburg Confession* from God's Word concerning the Lord's Supper: *That the true body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Holy Supper under the form of bread and wine, and are there dispensed and received; and the contrary doctrine is rejected (namely, that of the Sacramentarians, who presented their own Confession at the same time at Augsburg, that the body of Christ, because He has ascended to heaven, is not truly and essentially present here upon earth in the Sacrament* [which denied the true and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Supper administered on earth, namely, for the reason that Christ had ascended into heaven]); even as this opinion is clearly expressed in Luther's *Small Catechism* in the following words: *The Sacrament of the Altar is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ Himself;* and in the *Apology* this is not only explained still more clearly, but also established by the passage from Paul, 1 Cor. 10, 16, and by the testimony of Cyril, in the following words: *The Tenth Article has been approved, in which we confess that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, and are truly tendered with the visible elements, bread and wine, to those who receive the Sacrament. For since Paul says: "The bread which we break is the communion of the body of Christ," etc., it would follow, if the body of Christ were not, but only the Holy Ghost were truly present, that the bread is not a communion of the body, but of the Spirit of Christ. Besides, we know that not only the Romish, but also the Greek Church has taught the bodily presence of Christ in the Holy Supper.* And testimony is produced from Cyril that Christ dwells also bodily in us in the Holy Supper by the communication of His flesh.

Danach, als diejenigen, so zu Augsburg ihr eigen Bekenntnis von diesem Artikel übergeben, sich unserer Kirchen Konfession verwandt gemacht, ist zu Wittenberg Anno 1536 nachfolgende Formula Concordiae, das ist, Artikel einer christlichen Vergleichung, zwischen den sächsischen und oberländischen Theologen gestellt und von D. Martino Luthero und andern beiderseits Theologen unterschrieben worden:

„Wir haben gehört, wie Herr Martinus Bucer seine und der andern Prädikanten Meinung, so mit ihm aus den Städten [ge]kommen sind, von dem heiligen Sakrament des Leibes und Blutes Christi erklärt haben, nämlich also:

„Sie bekennen, laut der Worte Irenäi, daß in diesem Sakrament zwei Dinge sind, ein himmlisches und ein irdisches. Demnach halten [erachten, glauben] und lehren sie, daß mit dem Brot und Wein wahrhaftig und wesentlich zugegen sei, gereicht und empfangen werde der Leib und das Blut Christi. Und wiewohl sie keine Transsubstantiation, das ist, eine wesentliche Verwandlung [des] Brotes und Weines in den Leib und Blut Christi, glauben, auch nicht halten, daß der Leib und Blut Christi localiter, das ist, räumlich, ins Brot eingeschlossen oder sonst beharrlich damit vereinigt werde außer der Nießung des Sakraments, doch so lassen sie zu [geben sie zu], daß durch sakramentliche Einigkeit das Brot sei der Leib Christi usw. Denn außer der Nießung, so man das Brot beiseitelegt und behält's im Sakramenthäuslein oder in der Prozession umträgt und zeigt, wie im Papsttum geschieht, halten sie nicht, daß Christus' Leib zugegen sei.

„Zum andern halten sie, daß die Einsetzung dieses Sakraments, durch Christum geschehen, kräftig sei in der Christenheit, und daß es nicht liege an [daß das Sakrament nicht abhänge von] der Würdigkeit oder Unwürdigkeit des Dieners, so das Sakrament reicht, oder des, der es empfängt, darum, wie St. Paulus sagt, daß auch die Unwürdigen das Sakrament [ge]nießen: also halten sie, daß auch den Unwürdigen wahrhaftig dargereicht werde der Leib und das Blut Christi, und die Unwürdigen wahrhaftig dasselbe empfangen, so man des HErrn Christi Einsetzung und Befehl hält. Aber solche empfangen's zum Gericht, wie St. Paulus sagt; denn sie mißbrauchen des heiligen Sakraments, weil sie es ohne wahre Buße und ohne Glauben empfangen. Denn es ist darum eingesetzt, daß es zeuge, daß denen die Gnade und Wohltaten Christi allda zugeeignet werden, und daß die Christo eingeleibt und durch Christi Blut gewaschen werden, so da wahre Buße tun und sich durch den Glauben an Christum trösten."

12] Postea cum illi, qui Augustae peculiarem suam confessionem de hoc articulo obtulerant, nostrarum ecclesiarum confessionem approbare velle viderentur, Vitembergae anno Domini MDXXXVI formula quaedam concordiae (quam nunc recitabimus) inter Saxonicos et superioris Germaniae quosdam theologos conscripta, et D. Martini Lutheri aliorumque (utriusque partis) theologorum subscriptione approbata est. Ea sic habet:

13] *Audivimus Bucerum explicantem suam et aliorum concionatorum, qui una affuerunt, sententiam de sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi, hoc modo:*

14] *Confitentur, iuxta verba Irenaei, eucharistiam constare duabus rebus, terrena et coelesti. Proinde sentiunt et docent, cum pane et vino vere et substantialiter adesse, exhiberi et sumi corpus et sanguinem Christi. Et quamquam negant fieri transsubstantiationem, nec sentiunt fieri localem inclusionem in pane aut durabilem aliquam coniunctionem extra usum sacramenti, tamen concedunt, sacramentali unione panem esse corpus Christi, hoc est, porrecto pane sentiunt simul adesse et vere* **15]** *exhiberi corpus Christi. Nam extra usum, cum reponitur aut asservatur in pixide aut ostenditur in processionibus, ut fit apud papistas, sentiunt non adesse corpus Christi.*

16] *Deinde hanc institutionem sacramenti a Christo factam sentiunt valere in ecclesia, nec pendere ex dignitate vel indignitate ministri et sumentis. Quare sicut Paulus ait* [1 Cor. 11, 27], *etiam indignos manducare sacramentum, ita sentiunt, corpus Christi et sanguinem vere porrigi etiam indignis, et indignos vere illa sumere, ubi servantur verba et institutio Christi. Sed tales sumunt ad iudicium, ut Paulus ait, quia abutuntur sacramento, cum sine vera poenitentia et fide* [R. 730 *eo utuntur. Ideo enim institutum est, ut testetur illis applicari gratiam et beneficia Christi, illos inseri Christo et sanguine eius ablui, qui agunt poenitentiam et erigunt se fide in Christum.* [Die Wittenberger Konkordie schliesst mit folgenden Saetzen: „Cum autem pauci convenerimus, et opus sit utrimque hanc rem ad alios concionatores et superiores referre, nondum licet nobis de concordia pacisci, priusquam ad alios retulerimus. Cum autem omnes profiteanter, se iuxta Confessionem et Apologiam Principum Evangelium profitentium in omnibus articulis sentire et docere velle, maxime cupimus sanciri et constitui concordiam. Et spes est nobis, si reliqui utrimque ita consenserint, solidam futuram esse concordiam." Unterschrieben wurde die Wittenberger Formula Concordiae von Capito, Bucerus, Frechtus, Ottherus, Lycosthenes, Musculus, Gervasius, Bernhardi, Germani, Aulbertus, Schradinus, Lutherus, Ionas, Cruciger, Bugenhagius, Melanchthon, Menius, Myconius, Regius, Spalatinus, Melander und vielen andern. Corpus Reformatorum, Melanthonis Opera, 3, 75 f.]

In folgendem Jahr, als die vornehmsten der Augsburgischen Konfession zugetanen Theologi aus ganzem deutschen Lande zu Schmalkalden versammelt [waren], und, was im Concilio dieser Kirchenlehre halben vorzulegen [sei], beratschlagt

17] In sequenti anno praecipui Augustanae Confessionis theologi e tota Germania Smalcaldiam convocati sunt, ut in medium consulerent, quae doctrinae capita, in nostris ecclesiis hactenus proposita, concilio (quod

Afterwards, when those who at Augsburg delivered their own Confession concerning this article had allied themselves with the Confession of our churches [seemed to be willing to approve the Confession of our churches], the following *Formula Concordiae*, that is, articles of Christian agreement, between the Saxon theologians and those of Upper Germany was composed and signed at Wittenberg, in the year 1536, by Dr. Martin Luther and other theologians on both sides:

We have heard how Mr. Martin Bucer explained his own opinion, and that of the other preachers who came with him from the cities, concerning the holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, namely, as follows:

They confess, according to the words of Irenaeus, that in this Sacrament there are two things, a heavenly and an earthly. Accordingly, they hold and teach that with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly and essentially present, offered, and received. And although they believe in no transubstantiation, that is, an essential transformation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, nor hold that the body and blood of Christ are included in the bread LOCALITER, *that is, locally, or are otherwise permanently united therewith apart from the use of the Sacrament, yet they concede that through the sacramental union the bread is the body of Christ,* etc. [that when the bread is offered, the body of Christ is at the same time present, and is truly tendered]. *For apart from the use, when the bread is laid aside and preserved in the sacramental vessel* [the pyx], *or is carried about in the procession and exhibited, as is done in popery, they do not hold that the body of Christ is present.*

Secondly, they hold that the institution of this Sacrament made by Christ is efficacious in Christendom [the Church], *and that it does not depend upon the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister who offers the Sacrament, or of the one who receives it. Therefore, as St. Paul says, that even the unworthy partake of the Sacrament, they hold that also to the unworthy the body and blood of Christ are truly offered, and the unworthy truly receive them, if* [where] *the institution and command of the Lord Christ are observed. But such persons receive them to condemnation, as St. Paul says; for they misuse the holy Sacrament, because they receive it without true repentance and without faith. For it was instituted for this purpose, that it might testify that to those who truly repent and comfort themselves by faith in Christ the grace and benefits of Christ are here applied, and that they are incorporated into Christ and are washed by His blood.*

In the following year, when the chief theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* assembled from all Germany at Smalcald, and deliberated as to what to present in the Council con-

[haben], sind mit gemeinem Rat von D. Luthero die Schmalkaldischen Artikel gestellt und von allen Theologen sämtlich und sonderlich unterschrieben, in welchen die eigentliche, rechte Meinung mit kurzen, runden Worten, so am genauesten mit Christi Wort [über]einstimmen, deutlich gefaßt [ist], und den Sakramentierern (so des vergangenen Jahres aufgerichtete Formulam Concordiae, das ist, die vorermeldeten Artikel der Einigkeit, zu ihrem Vorteil also gedeutet haben, daß mit dem Brot nicht anderer Weise als mit dem Wort des Evangelii der Leib Christi samt allen seinen Gutaten dargereicht [werde], und durch die sakramentliche Einigkeit nichts anderes als die geistliche Gegenwärtigkeit des HErrn Christi durch den Glauben soll gemeint sein) alle Ausflucht und Schlupflöcher verstopft worden, nämlich, **daß Brot und Wein im Abendmahl sei der wahrhaftige Leib und Blut JEsu Christi, welcher gereicht und empfangen werde nicht allein von frommen, sondern auch von bösen Christen.**

pontificii celebraturi dicebantur) exhibenda et defendenda essent. Ibi D. Lutherus articulos illos, quos Smalcaldicos vocant, composuit, qui communi et unanimi consensu ab omnibus illis theologis, qui convenerant, subscriptione confirmati sunt. In illis articulis D. Lutherus veram et genuinam supra commemoratae formulae, Vitembergae conscriptae, sententiam brevibus quidem, sed significantibus et perspicuis verbis, quae proxime ad verba Christi **18**] accederent, explicuit. Sacramentarii enim iam dictae formulae verba ad malam suam causam fulciendam plane in alienam sententiam detorserant, quod videlicet corpus Christi non alia ratione in Coena distribueretur, quam sicut idem corpus una cum omnibus beneficiis suis verbo evangelii exhibetur. Et sacramentalem unionem nihil aliud esse quam praesentiam Christi spiritualem, quae fit fide, interpretati fuerant. Has rimas, per quas illi effugium quaerebant, Smalcaldici Articuli ob**19**] struxerunt. Asserunt enim, *panem et vinum in Sacra Coena esse verum corpus et verum sanguinem Iesu Christi, quae et exhibeantur et sumantur non modo a piis, verum etiam ab iis, qui praeter nomen nihil habent Christianum.*

Es erklärt und bestätigt auch solche Meinung Doktor Luther weitläufiger aus Gottes Wort im Großen Katechismo, da also geschrieben steht: „Was ist nun das Sakrament des Altars? Antwort: Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut Christi, in und unter dem Brot und Wein, durch Christus' Wort uns Christen befohlen zu essen und zu trinken." Und bald danach: „Das Wort, sage ich, ist das, das dies Sakrament macht und unterscheidet, daß es nicht lauter Brot und Wein, sondern Christi Leib und Blut ist und heißt." Und bald danach: „Aus dem Wort kannst du dein Gewissen stärken und sprechen: Wenn hunderttausend Teufel samt allen Schwärmern herfahren: Wie kann Brot und Wein Christi Leib und Blut sein? so weiß ich, daß alle Geister und Gelehrten auf einen Haufen nicht so klug sind als die göttliche Majestät im kleinen Fingerlein. Nun steht hie Christi Wort: Nehmet, esset, das ist mein Leib; trinket alle daraus, das ist das neue Testament in meinem Blut usw. Da bleiben wir bei und wollen sie ansehen, die ihn meistern und [es] anders machen werden, denn er geredet hat. Das ist wohl wahr: wenn du das Wort davontust oder ohne Wort ansiehest, so hast du nichts denn lauter Brot und Wein; wenn sie aber dabei bleiben, wie sie sollen und müssen, so ist's laut derselben wahrhaftig Christus' Leib und Blut. Denn wie Christus' Mund redet und spricht, also ist es, als der nicht lügen oder trügen kann.

20] Hanc piam sententiam D. Lutherus copiosius e Verbo Dei in maiore suo Catechismo declarat et sic ait: *Quid igitur est* [R. 731 *sacramentum, quod ad altare distribuitur?* Respondetur: *Est verum corpus et verus sanguis Christi in et sub pane et vino, quae edere* **21**] *et bibere Christi verbo iubemur.* Et post aliqua: *Verbum Dei, inquam, illud est, quod hoc sacramentum constituit et discrimen facit, ut non sit merus panis et merum vinum, sed ut haec Christi corpus et sanguis sint et* **22**] *dicantur.* Et post pauca: *Hoc Christi verbo conscientiam tuam confirmare et intrepido animo dicere potes: Etiamsi decem diabolorum myriades una cum omnibus fanaticis doctoribus irruentes mihi obiiciant, dicentes: Quomodo panis et vinum possunt esse corpus et sanguis Christi? tamen certo scio, quod omnes fanatici spiritus et doctissimi quique homines, omnes simul, non tantum sapientiae habeant, quantum divina maiestas vel in minimo digitulo habet. Hic vero in medio est Christi verbum expressum: Accipite, edite, hoc est corpus meum; bibite ex hoc omnes, hoc est novum testamentum in meo sanguine. Huic verbo firmiter insistimus, hic tuto manebimus et exspectabimus eventum, an ipsum vincere et institutionem eius mutare valeant.* **23**] *Hoc quidem verum est: Quando Verbum Dei ab hoc sacramento removeris, aut absque Verbo divino sacramentum considerare volueris, quod tum praeter panem et vinum nihil habeas. At si Verbum cum sacramento retineatur, ut fieri omnino convenit, tum sacramentum illud* (*ut ipsa verba testantur*) *revera est corpus et sanguis Iesu Christi. Ut enim Christus ore suo de hoc sacramento loquitur, ita res verissime habet; ipse enim mentiri et fallere nescit.* Tit. 1, 2.

„Daher ist nun leicht zu antworten auf allerlei Fragen, damit man sich jetzt bekümmert, als diese ist: ob auch ein böser Priester könne das Sakrament handeln und geben, und was mehr dergleichen ist. Denn da schließen wir und sagen: Obgleich ein Bube das Sakrament nimmt oder gibt, so nimmt er das rechte Sakrament, das ist, Christus' Leib und Blut, ebensowohl, als der es aufs allerwürdigste handelt; denn es ist nicht gegründet auf Menschenheiligkeit, sondern auf Gottes

24] *His fundamentis iactis, facile est respondere ad quaestiones multas, quae hoc saeculo plurimum agitantur: an videlicet minister ecclesiae, qui vitae est dissolutioris, possit Coenam Domini recte administrare et exhibere, et si quae sunt alia his non* [R. 732 *dissimilia, de quibus disputatur. Ita enim sentimus et statuimus: si maxime homo improbus et sceleratus sacramentum Coenae Dominicae sumat aut distribuat, tamen sumere*

cerning this doctrine of the Church, by common consent the *Smalcald Articles* were composed by Dr. Luther and signed by all the theologians, jointly and severally, in which the proper and true meaning is clearly expressed in short, plain words, which agree most accurately with the words of Christ, and every subterfuge and loophole is barred to the Sacramentarians (who had interpreted [perverted] the Formula of Concord, that is, the above-mentioned articles of union, framed the preceding year, to their advantage, as saying that the body of Christ is offered with the bread in no other way than as it is offered, together with all His benefits, by the Word of the Gospel, and that by the sacramental union nothing else than the spiritual presence of the Lord Christ by faith is meant); for they [the *Smalcald Articles*] declare: *The bread and wine in the Holy Supper are the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, which are offered and received, not only by the godly, but also by godless Christians* [those who have nothing Christian except the name].

Dr. Luther has also more amply expounded and confirmed this opinion from God's Word in the *Large Catechism*, where it is written: *What, then, is the Sacrament of the Altar? Answer: It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in and under the bread and wine, which we Christians are commanded by the Word of Christ to eat and to drink.* And shortly after: *It is the Word, I say, which makes and distinguishes this Sacrament, so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called, the body and blood of Christ.* Again: *With this Word you can strengthen your conscience and say: If a hundred thousand devils, together with all fanatics, should rush forward, crying, How can bread and wine be the body and blood of Christ? I know that all spirits and scholars together are not as wise as is the Divine Majesty in His little finger. Now, here stands the Word of Christ: "Take, eat; this is My body. Drink ye all of this; this is the new testament in My blood,"* etc. *Here we abide, and would like to see those who will constitute themselves His masters, and make it different from what He has spoken. It is true, indeed, that if you take away the Word, or regard it without the Word, you have nothing but mere bread and wine. But if the words remain with them, as they shall and must, then, in virtue of the same, it is truly the body and blood of Christ. For as the lips of Christ say and speak, so it is, as He can never lie or deceive.*

Hence it is easy to reply to all manner of questions about which at the present time men are disturbed, as, for instance, whether a wicked priest can administer and distribute the Sacrament, and such like other points. For here conclude and reply: Even though a knave take or distribute the Sacrament, he receives the true Sacrament, that is, the true

Wort. Und wie kein Heiliger auf Erden, ja kein Engel im Himmel das Brot und Wein zu Christi Leib und Blut machen kann, also kann's auch niemand ändern noch wandeln [zurückverwandeln in bloßes Brot], ob es gleich mißbraucht wird.

illum verum sacramentum, hoc est, Christi corpus et sanguinem, non minus quam eum, qui dignissime illud sumat aut distribuat. Hoc enim sacramentum non habet fundamentum hominum sanctitatem, sed ipsum Verbum Dei. Et quemadmodum nec ullus sanctus in terris neque angelus in coelis efficere potest, ut panis et vinum sint corpus et sanguis Christi, ita nemo id sacramentum mutare potest, ut non sit Christi corpus et sanguis, etiamsi quidam eo abutantur.

„Denn um der Person oder Unglaubens willen wird das Wort nicht falsch, dadurch es ein Sakrament und eingesetzt worden ist. Denn er spricht nicht: Wenn ihr glaubt oder würdig seid, so habt ihr meinen Leib und Blut, sondern: ‚Nehmet, esset und trinket, das ist mein Leib und Blut'; item: ‚Solches tut' (nämlich das ich jetzt tue, einsetze, euch gebe und nehmen heiße). Das ist so viel gesagt: Du seiest würdig oder unwürdig, so hast du hier seinen Leib und Blut aus Kraft dieser Worte, so zum Brot und Wein kommen. Solches merke und behalte nur wohl; denn auf den Worten steht all unser Grund, Schutz und Wehr wider alle Irrtümer und Verführung, so je kommen sind und noch kommen mögen."

25] *Non enim propter alicuius aut personam aut incredulitatem Verbum Dei (quo Coena Domini instituta est et propter quod rationem sacramenti habet) irritum et vanum fieri potest. Quia Christus non dixit: Si credideritis aut digni fueritis, tum in Coena Sacra corpus et sanguinem meum praesentia habebitis; sed potius ait: Accipite, edite et bibite, hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis* 26] *meus. Et praeterea inquit: Hoc facite. Quidnam? Hoc ipsum certe, quod ego nunc facio, quod instituo, quod vobis trado et vos accipere iubeo. Verba Christi hoc volunt: Sive dignus sive indignus sis, habes hic in Coena Christi corpus et sanguinem, idque virtute verborum, quae ad panem et vinum accesserunt. Haec memori mente repone, quia in his verbis (institutionis Coenae) fundamentum nostrum, defensio et arma nostra sunt adversus omnes errores et fallacias, quae aut allatae sunt hactenus, aut unquam afferri in hoc negotio poterunt.*

Bisher [bis hieher] der Große Katechismus, in welchem die wahre Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im heiligen Nachtmahl aus Gottes Wort befestigt, und dasselbige nicht allein auf die [und dieselbe nicht allein von den] Gläubigen und Würdigen, sondern auch auf die Ungläubigen und Unwürdigen verstanden wird.

27] Haec Catechismi Maioris recitata verba veram praesentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena Domini Verbo Dei egregie confirmant, et iis solide demonstratur, praesentiam illam non tantum de manducatione credentium et dignorum, verum etiam de infidelibus et indignis communicantibus [R. 733 intelligendam esse.

Dieweil aber dieser hocherleuchtete Mann im Geist gesehen, daß etliche ihn nach seinem Tode werden wollen verdächtig machen, als ob er von jetztgedachter Lehre und andern christlichen Artikeln abgewichen [sei], hat er seinem großen Bekenntnis nachfolgende Protestation angehängt:

28] Et quia singularibus et excellentissimis Spiritus Sancti donis illuminatus heros, D. Lutherus, in spiritu praevidit, quod post mortem ipsius quidam ipsum suspectum facturi essent, quasi vel a doctrina iam commemorata vel ab aliis etiam partibus purioris doctrinae recesserit, eam ob causam maiori suae de Coena Domini confessioni hanc protestationem sub finem inseruit:

„Weil ich sehe, daß des Rottens und Irrens je länger, je mehr wird, und kein Aufhören ist des Tobens und Wütens des Satans, damit nicht hinfort bei meinem Leben oder nach meinem Tode deren etliche zukünftig sich mit mir behelfen [mich vorschützen] und meine Schriften, ihre Irrtümer zu stärken, fälschlich führen möchten, wie die Sakraments- und Taufschwärmer anfangen zu tun, so will ich mit dieser Schrift vor Gott und aller Welt meinen Glauben von Stück zu Stück bekennen, darauf ich gedenke zu bleiben bis in den Tod, darinnen (das mir Gott helfe) von dieser Welt zu scheiden und vor unsers HErrn JEsu Christi Richterstuhl zu kommen; und so jemand nach meinem Tode würde sagen: Wo D. Luther jetzt lebte, würde er diesen oder diese Artikel anders lehren und halten, denn er hat ihn nicht genugsam bedacht: dawider sage ich jetzt als dann und dann als jetzt, daß ich von Gottes Gnaden alle diese Artikel habe aufs fleißigste bedacht, durch die Schrift und wieder herdurch oftmals gezogen und so gewiß dieselben wollte verfechten, als ich jetzt hab' das Sakrament des Altars verfochten. Ich bin nicht trunken noch unbedacht; ich weiß,

29] *Quia video, nullum esse sectarum et errorum finem, sed haec mala in dies incrementa sumere, Satanamque magis ac magis furere, ne quis igitur sectariorum, me vivo aut mortuo, aliquando nomen meum suo figmento praetexere possit erroremque suum (non candide in medium allatis meis scriptis) stabilire ausit, quod Sacramentarii et Anabaptistae iam facere coeperunt: fidem meam in hoc scripto, coram Deo et toto mundo, de omnibus religionis nostrae articulis profitebor. Et in ea fide (Domino me bene iuvante) ad extremum usque vitae spiritum perseverare atque ex hac vita emigrare et coram tribunali Domini nostri Iesu Christi intrepide compa-* 30] *rere paratus sum. Ac si quis forte post meum obitum dicturus esset: Si D. Lutherus nunc viveret, profecto de hoc vel illo articulo longe aliter sentiret atque doceret (non enim satis diligenter eam rem hactenus expendit): contra hoc figmentum id iam dico, quod tunc essem affirmaturus, et quod tunc dicturus essem, idem iam nunc profiteor, me videlicet per gratiam Dei omnes hosce articulos quam*

body and blood of Christ, just as truly as he who receives or administers it in the most worthy manner. For it is not founded upon the holiness of men, but upon the Word of God. And as no saint upon earth, yea, no angel in heaven, can change bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, so also can no one change or alter it, even though it be abused.

For the Word, by which it became a sacrament and was instituted, does not become false because of the person or his unbelief. For He does not say: If you believe or are worthy, you will receive My body and blood, but: "Take, eat and drink; this is My body and blood"; likewise: "Do this" (namely, what I now do, institute, give, and bid you take). That is as much as to say, No matter whether you be worthy or unworthy, you have here His body and blood, by virtue of these words which are added to the bread and wine. This mark and observe well; for upon these words rest all our foundation, protection, and defense against all error and temptation that have ever come or may yet come.

Thus far the *Large Catechism*, in which the true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper is established from God's Word; and this [presence] is understood not only of the believing and worthy, but also of the unbelieving and unworthy.

But inasmuch as this highly illumined man [Dr. Luther, the hero illumined with unparalleled and most excellent gifts of the Holy Ghost] foresaw in the Spirit that after his death some would endeavor to make him suspected of having receded from the abovementioned doctrine and other Christian articles, he has appended the following protestation to his Large Confession:

Since I see that as time wears on, sects and errors increase, and that there is no end to the rage and fury of Satan, in order that henceforth during my life or after my death some of them may not, in future, support themselves by me, and falsely quote my writings to strengthen their error as the Sacramentarians and Anabaptists begin to do, I mean by this writing to confess my faith, point by point [concerning all the articles of our religion], *before God and all the world, in which I intend to abide until my death, and therein (so help me God!) to depart from this world and to appear before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ. And if after my death any one should say: If Dr. Luther were living now, he would teach and hold this or that article differently, for he did not sufficiently consider it, against this I say now as then, and then as now, that, by God's grace, I have most diligently compared all these articles with the Scriptures time and again* [have examined them, not once, but very often, according to

was ich rede, fühle auch wohl, was mir's gilt auf des HErrn Christi Zukunft am Jüngsten Gericht. Darum soll mir niemand Scherz oder lose Teiding [loses Gerede, Geschwätz] daraus machen. Es ist mir Ernst; denn ich kenne den Satan von Gottes Gnaden ein großes Teil; kann er Gottes Wort verkehren und verwirren, was sollte er nicht tun mit meinen oder eines andern Worten?" Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., fol. 243.

diligentissime expendisse et non semel, sed saepissime ad normam Sacrae Scripturae exegisse et tamquam ad lydium lapidem examinasse, nec minore animi constantia [R. 734 *atque πληροφορίᾳ singulos articulos defensurum, quam qua nunc doctrinam de sacramento* **31**] *altaris propugnavi. Non temulentus sum, aut parum considerate loquor; scio, quid affirmem, et intelligo, quanta res mea agatur in illo die Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cum venerit vivos et mortuos iudicaturus. Quare nemo me in re tam magna et seria nugari existimet, haec enim res vel maxime cordi mihi est. Novi (Dei beneficio) Satanam magna ex parte, qui cum possit Verbum Dei et sacras litteras pervertere et depravare, quid ille meis aut cuiuspiam alterius scriptis non faceret?* Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., fol. 243.

Auf solche Protestation setzt Lutherus seliger unter andern Artikeln auch diesen: „Ebenso rede ich (spricht er) auch und bekenne das Sakrament des Altars, daß daselbst wahrhaftig der Leib und Blut im Brot und Wein werde mündlich [gegessen und getrunken, obgleich die Priester, so es reichen, oder die, so es empfangen, nicht glaubten oder sonst mißbrauchten. Denn es steht nicht auf Menschen Glauben oder Unglauben, sondern auf Gottes Wort und Ordnung; es wäre denn, daß sie zuvor Gottes Wort und Ordnung ändern und anders deuten, wie die jetzigen Sakramentsfeinde tun, welche freilich eitel Brot und Wein haben; denn sie haben auch die Worte und eingesetzte Ordnung Gottes nicht, sondern dieselbigen nach ihrem eigenen Dünkel [nach ihrer subjektiven Meinung] verkehrt und verändert." Fol. 245.

32] Post hanc protestationem D. Lutherus sanctae memoriae inter alios articulos etiam hunc ponit: *Eodem modo* (inquit) *loquor et confiteor etiam de sacramento altaris, quod nimirum ibi revera corpus et sanguis Christi in pane et vino ore edatur et bibatur, etiamsi ministri, qui Coenam Domini distribuunt, aut qui eam sumunt, non credant aut alias Sacra Coena abutantur. Coena enim Domini non nititur hominum fide aut incredulitate, sed Verbo Dei et ipsius institutione. Nisi forte Verbum Dei prius immutent et prorsus aliter, quam oportet, interpretentur, ut hodie sacramenti hostes faciunt. Hi dubio procul nil nisi panem et vinum in Coena habent, quia neque verba neque institutionem Domini habent, sed ea ad suam falsam opinionem inflexerunt, mutarunt et depravarunt.* Fol. 245.

Es hat auch D. Luther, welcher ja die rechte eigentliche Meinung der Augsburgischen Konfession vor andern verstanden und beständiglich bis an sein Ende dabei geblieben und [sie] verteidigt, unlängst vor seinem Tode in seinem letzten Bekenntnis seinen Glauben von diesem Artikel mit großem Eifer in nachfolgenden Worten wiederholt, da er also schreibt: „Ich rechne sie alle in einen Kuchen, das ist, für Sakramentierer und Schwärmer, wie sie auch sind, die nicht glauben wollen, daß des HErrn Brot im Abendmahl sei sein rechter, natürlicher Leib, welchen der Gottlose oder Judas ebensowohl mündlich empfängt als St. Petrus und alle Heiligen; wer das, sage ich, nicht glauben will, der lasse mich nur zufrieden und hoffe bei mir nur keiner Gemeinschaft; da wird nichts anders aus!" Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., fol. 252.

33] Et sane D. Lutherus (qui certe veram et genuinam Augustanae Confessionis sententiam prae aliis intellexit et eam constanter usque ad finem vitae retinuit et defendit) paulo ante suum ex hac vita discessum in postrema illa sua de Coena Domini confessione fidem suam de hoc articulo magno zelo sequentibus verbis professus est atque repetivit, ubi sic ait: *Ego omnes eos eodem numero habeo, hoc est, pro Sacramentariis et fanaticis agnosco* (*sunt enim tales*), *qui credere nolunt, quod panis Domini in Sacra Coena sit verum ipsius naturale corpus, quod impius quispiam vel Iudas ipse non minus ore accipiat* [R. 735 *quam divus Petrus et omnes alii sancti. Qui, inquam, hoc credere recusat, is me missum faciat, neque ullam amicitiam aut familiaritatem a me exspectet; sic enim stat sententia, quam non sum mutaturus.* Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., fol. 252.

Aus diesen Erklärungen kann ein jeder Verständiger, so die Wahrheit und Frieden liebhat, besonders aber aus D. Luthers, als des vornehmsten Lehrers der Augsburgischen Konfession, Erklärung, was der Augsburgischen Konfession eigentliche Meinung und Verstand in diesem Artikel allezeit gewesen sei, ungezweifelt vernehmen.

34] Ex hisce (praesertim vero D. Lutheri ut primarii doctoris Augustanae Confessionis) declarationibus, quas prolixe recitavimus, cuilibet homini cordato (si modo is veritatis et pacis sit studiosus) manifestum, certum et indubitatum esse potest, quae fuerit, hodieque sit genuina et vera Confessionis Augustanae sententia.

Denn daß neben den Reden Christi und St. Pauli: Das Brot im Abendmahl **ist der Leib Christi** oder **die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi,** auch die Formen „unter dem Brot", „mit dem Brot", „im Brot" gebraucht [werden], ist die Ursache, daß hierdurch die papistische Transsubstantiation verworfen und des unverwandelten Wesens des Brotes und des Leibes Christi sakramentliche Vereinigung angezeigt würde; gleichwie

35] Quod autem praeter illas phrases, quibus Christus et Paulus utuntur (cum dicunt, panem in Coena esse *corpus Christi* aut *communicationem corporis Christi*), etiam alias loquendi formas usurpamus, verbi gratia, cum dicimus, *sub pane, cum pane, in pane adesse et exhiberi corpus Christi,* id non sine gravibus causis facimus. Primum enim his phrasibus ad reiiciendam papisticam transsubstan-

the standard of Holy Scripture], *and often have gone over them, and would defend them as confidently as I have now defended the Sacrament of the Altar. I am not drunk nor thoughtless; I know what I say; I also am sensible of what it means for me at the coming of the Lord Christ at the final judgment. Therefore I want no one to regard this as a jest or mere idle talk; it is a serious matter to me; for by God's grace I know Satan a good deal; if he can pervert or confuse God's Word, what will he not do with my words or those of another?* Tom. 2, Wittenb., German, fol. 243.

After this protestation, Doctor Luther, of blessed memory, presents, among other articles, this also: *In the same manner I also speak and confess* (he says) *concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, that there the body and blood of Christ are in truth orally eaten and drunk in the bread and wine, even though the priests* [ministers] *who administer it* [the Lord's Supper], *or those who receive it, should not believe or otherwise misuse it. For it does not depend upon the faith or unbelief of men, but upon God's Word and ordinance, unless they first change God's Word and ordinance and interpret it otherwise, as the enemies of the Sacrament do at the present day, who, of course, have nothing but bread and wine; for they also do not have the words and appointed ordinance of God, but have perverted and changed them according to their own* [false] *notion.* Fol. 245.

Dr. Luther, who, above others, certainly understood the true and proper meaning of the *Augsburg Confession*, and who constantly remained steadfast thereto till his end, and defended it, shortly before his death repeated his faith concerning this article with great zeal in his last Confession, where he writes thus: *I rate as one concoction, namely, as Sacramentarians and fanatics, which they also are, all who will not believe that the Lord's bread in the Supper is His true natural body, which the godless or Judas received with the mouth, as well as did St. Peter and all* [other] *saints; he who will not believe this* (*I say*) *should let me alone, and hope for no fellowship with me; this is not going to be altered* [thus my opinion stands, which I am not going to change]. Tom. 2, Wittenb., German, fol. 252.

From these explanations, and especially from that of Dr. Luther as the leading teacher of the *Augsburg Confession*, every intelligent man who loves truth and peace, can undoubtedly perceive what has always been the proper meaning and understanding of the *Augsburg Confession* in regard to this article.

For the reason why, in addition to the expressions of Christ and St. Paul (the bread in the Supper *is the body of Christ* or *the communion of the body of Christ*), also the forms: *under the bread, with the bread, in the bread* [*the body of Christ is present and offered*], are employed, is that by means of them the papistical transubstantiation may be rejected and the sacramental union of the unchanged es-

dieſe Rede: Verbum caro factum est, „Das Wort iſt Fleiſch worden", durch gleichſtimmende [gleichbedeutende] Reden: „Das Wort wohnet in uns"; item: „In Chriſto wohnet die ganze Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig"; item: „Gott war mit ihm"; item: „Gott war in Chriſto", und dergleichen, wiederholt und erklärt wird, nämlich daß nicht das göttliche Weſen in die menſchliche Natur verwandelt, ſondern die beiden unverwandelten Naturen perſönlich vereinigt ſeien. Wie denn eben dieſes Gleichnis viel vornehme alte Lehrer: Juſtinus, Cyprianus, Auguſtinus, Leo, Gelaſius, Chryſoſtomus und andere, von den Worten des Teſtaments Chriſti: „Das iſt mein Leib", brauchen: daß, gleichwie in Chriſto zwei unterſchiedliche, unverwandelte Naturen unzertrennlich vereinigt ſeien, alſo im heiligen Abendmahl die zwei Weſen, das natürliche Brot und der wahre natürliche Leib Chriſti, in der geordneten Handlung des Sakraments allhier auf Erden zuſammen gegenwärtig ſeien. Wiewohl ſolche Vereinigung des Leibes und Blutes Chriſti mit Brot und Wein nicht eine perſönliche Vereinigung, wie beider Naturen in Chriſto, ſondern [eine ſakramentliche Vereinigung iſt,] wie ſie D. Luther und die Unſern in den vielgedachten Artikeln der Vergleichung Anno 1536 und ſonſt sacramentalem unionem, das iſt, eine ſakramentliche Vereinigung, nennen; damit ſie anzeigen wollen, daß [ſie], ob ſie ſchon die formas: in pane, sub pane, cum pane, das iſt, dieſe unterſchiedene Weiſe zu reden: „im Brot", „unter dem Brot", „mit dem Brot", auch brauchen, dennoch die Worte Chriſti eigentlich, und wie ſie lauten, angenommen [aufgefaßt haben] und in der Propoſition, das iſt, in den Worten des Teſtaments Chriſti: Hoc est corpus meum, „das iſt mein Leib", nicht eine figuratam praedicationem, ſondern inusitatam [anerkannt haben], das iſt, [die Worte Chriſti] nicht für eine figürliche, verblümte Rede oder Deutelei verſtanden haben; wie Juſtinus ſpricht: „Dieſes empfahen wir nicht als ein gemein Brot und gemeinen Trank, ſondern gleichwie JEſus Chriſtus, unſer Heiland, durchs Wort Gottes Fleiſch [ge]worden, auch Fleiſch und Blut um unſerer Seligkeit willen gehabt, alſo glauben wir, daß die durchs Wort und Gebet von ihm geſegnete Speiſe des HErrn JEſu Chriſti Fleiſch und Blut ſei." Wie denn D. Luther auch in ſeinem großen und ſonderlich im letzten Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl eben die Form zu reden, welche Chriſtus im erſten Abendmahl gebraucht, mit großem Ernſt und Eifer verteidigt.

Dieweil denn D. Luther [als] der vornehmſte Lehrer der Kirchen, ſo ſich zur Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion bekennen, zu halten [iſt], als deſſen ganze Lehre, Summa und Inhalt [als deſſen ganzer Lehre Summa und Inhalt] in den Artikeln vielermeldeter Augsburgiſcher Konfeſſion verfaßt und dem Kaiſer Karolo V. übergeben [iſt]: ſo kann und ſoll mehrgedachter Augsburgiſcher Konfeſſion eigentlicher Verſtand und Meinung aus keines andern denn aus D. Luthers Lehre und Streitſchriften [Lehr- und Streitſchriften] eigentlicher und beſſer genommen werden.

Wie denn eben dieſe jetzterzählte Meinung auf den einigen, feſten, unbeweglichen und unzweifelhaftigen Fels der Wahrheit, aus den Worten der Einſetzung im heiligen göttlichen Wort, gegründet

tiationem utimur. Deinde etiam sacramentalem unionem substantiae panis non mutatae et corporis Christi hac ratione docere volumus.

36] Ad eundem enim modum hoc dictum [Ioh. 1, 14]: *Verbum caro factum est*, repetitur et declaratur aliis aequipollentibus propositionibus, exempli gratia: *Verbum habitavit in nobis;* [Col. 2, 9] *in Christo inhabitat tota plenitudo Divinitatis corporaliter;* [Act. 10, 38] *Deus erat cum eo;* [2 Cor. 5, 19] *Deus erat in Christo* etc. et alia plura huius generis. Hae phrases supra commemoratum dictum Iohannis repetunt et declarant, videlicet quod per incarnationem divina essentia non sit in humanam naturam conversa, sed quod duae naturae sine confusione personaliter sint

37] unitae. Et quidem multi excellentes doctores ex erudita antiquitate: Iustinus, Cyprianus, Augustinus, Leo, Gelasius, Chrysostomus et alii, hac ipsa similitudine [R. 736 (de persona Christi) mysterium sacramenti Coenae Dominicae explicant. Docent enim, quemadmodum in Christo duae distinctae et non mutatae naturae inseparabiliter sunt unitae, ita in Sacra Coena duas diversas substantias, panem videlicet naturalem et verum naturale corpus Christi, in instituta sacramenti administratione hic in terris simul esse prae-

38] sentia. Quod tamen non ita est accipiendum, quasi unio haec corporis et sanguinis Christi cum pane et vino sit personalis unio, qualis est utriusque naturae in Christo, sed est unio sacramentalis, ut eam D. Lutherus et alii (in illa concordiae formula anno XXXVI. conscripta et alias) appellant. Quo significare volunt, etiamsi formis loquendi, *in pane, sub pane, cum pane*, quandoque utantur, tamen se propositionem: *Hoc est corpus meum* simpliciter, et ut verba sonant, accipere et amplecti, eamque nequaquam pro figurata, sed pro inusi-

39] tata praedicatione agnoscere. Sic etiam Iustinus de hoc negotio loquitur, inquiens: *Non ut panem vulgarem et potum accipimus, sed quemadmodum Christus, Servator noster, per Verbum Dei caro est factus, carnem quoque et sanguinem propter nostram salutem habuit: ita etiam credimus, per verbum et preces ab ipso sanctificatum cibum Domini nostri Iesu Christi corpus et sanguinem esse.*

40] Et sane D. Lutherus (in maiori, praesertim vero ultima sua confessione de Coena) eam de hac re formam loquendi, qua Christus in prima Coena celebranda usus est, graviter et magno zelo defendit.

41] Cum autem D. Lutherus haud dubie praecipuus earum ecclesiarum, quae Augustanam Confessionem amplexae sunt, doctor fuerit (cuius tota doctrina tamquam compendio summatim in Augustana Confessione comprehensa et Imperatori Carolo V. exhibita est): profecto commemoratae illius Augustanae Confessionis propria, vera et [R. 737 genuina sententia ex nullius hominis libellis rectius et certius quam ex D. Lutheri didacticis et polemicis scriptis hauriri potest.

42] Et quidem haec ipsa iam commemorata D. Lutheri sententia in unica solidissima, immota et extra omne dubium posita petra veritatis (institutione nimirum Coenae, quae in

sence of the bread and of the body of Christ indicated; just as the expression, *Verbum caro factum est, The Word was made flesh* [John 1, 14], is repeated and explained by the equivalent expressions: *The Word dwelt among us;* likewise [Col. 2, 9]: *In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily;* likewise [Acts 10, 38]: *God was with Him;* likewise [2 Cor. 5, 19]: *God was in Christ,* and the like; namely, that the divine essence is not changed into the human nature, but the two natures, unchanged, are personally united. [These phrases repeat and declare the expression of John, above mentioned, namely, that by the incarnation the divine essence is not changed into the human nature, but that the two natures without confusion are personally united.] Even as many eminent ancient teachers, Justin, Cyprian, Augustine, Leo, Gelasius, Chrysostom and others, use this simile concerning the words of Christ's testament: *This is My body,* that just as in Christ two distinct, unchanged natures are inseparably united, so in the Holy Supper the two substances, the natural bread and the true natural body of Christ, are present together here upon earth in the appointed administration of the Sacrament. Although this union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine is not a personal union, as that of the two natures in Christ, but as Dr. Luther and our theologians, in the frequently mentioned Articles of Agreement [Formula of Concord] in the year 1536 and in other places call it *sacramentalem unionem,* that is, a sacramental union, by which they wish to indicate that, although they also employ the *formas: in pane, sub pane, cum pane,* that is, these distinctive modes of speech: *in the bread, under the bread, with the bread,* yet they have received the words of Christ properly and as they read, and have understood the proposition, that is, the words of Christ's testament: *Hoc est corpus meum, This is My body,* not as a *figuratam propositionem,* but *inusitatam* (that is, not as a figurative, allegorical expression or comment, but as an unusual expression). For thus Justin says: *This we receive not as common bread and common drink; but as Jesus Christ, our Savior, through the Word of God became flesh, and on account of our salvation also had flesh and blood, so we believe that the food blessed by Him through the Word and prayer is the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Likewise Dr. Luther also in his Large and especially in his last Confession concerning the Lord's Supper with great earnestness and zeal defends the very form of expression which Christ used at the first Supper.

Now, since Dr. Luther is to be regarded as the most distinguished teacher of the churches which confess the *Augsburg Confession,* whose entire doctrine as to sum and substance is comprised in the articles of the frequently mentioned *Augsburg Confession,* and was presented to the Emperor Charles V, the proper meaning and sense of the oft-mentioned *Augsburg Confession* can and should be derived from no other source more properly and correctly than from the doctrinal and polemical writings of Dr. Luther.

And, indeed, this very opinion, just cited, is founded upon the only firm, immovable, and indubitable rock of truth, from the words of

det [ist] und von den heiligen Evangelisten und Aposteln und ihren Diszipeln und Zuhörern also verstanden, gelehrt und fortgepflanzt worden.

Denn dieweil unser HErr und Heiland JEsus Christus, von welchem, als unserm einigen Lehrmeister, dieser ernste Befehl vom Himmel herab allen Menschen gegeben wird, Luk. 9: Hunc audite, „Den sollt ihr hören", welcher nicht ein schlechter [ein bloßer] Mensch oder Engel, auch nicht allein wahrhaftig, weise und mächtig, sondern die ewige Wahrheit und Weisheit selbst und allmächtiger Gott ist, der gar wohl weiß, was und wie er reden soll, und kann auch alles dasjenige, was er redet und verheißt, kräftiglich ausrichten und ins Werk setzen, wie er spricht Luk. 21: „Himmel und Erde müssen vergehen, aber meine Worte müssen nicht vergehen"; item Matth. 28: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden";

Dieweil nun dieser wahrhaftige, allmächtige HErr, unser Schöpfer und Erlöser JEsus Christus, nach dem letzten Abendmahl, da er jetzt sein bitter Leiden und Sterben für unsere Sünden anfängt, zu der traurigen letzten Zeit, mit großem Bedacht und Ernst in Einsetzung dieses hochwürdigen Sakraments, welches bis ans Ende der Welt mit großer Reverenz und Gehorsam gebraucht werden und ein stetes Gedächtnis seines bitteren Leidens und Sterbens und aller seiner Guttaten, eine Versiegelung des neuen Testaments, ein Trost aller betrübten Herzen und stetes Band und Vereinigung der Christen mit ihrem Haupt Christo und unter sich selbst sein sollte, diese Worte in Stiftung und Einsetzung des heiligen Abendmahls von dem gesegneten und dargereichten Brot gesprochen hat: „Nehmet hin und esset; das ist mein Leib, der für euch gegeben wird", und von dem Kelch oder Wein: „Das ist mein Blut des neuen Testaments, welches für euch vergossen wird zur Vergebung der Sünden":

So sind wir ja schuldig, diese des ewigen, wahrhaftigen und allmächtigen Sohnes Gottes, unsers HErrn, Schöpfers und Erlösers JEsu Christi, Worte nicht als verblümte, figürliche, fremde Reden anders zu deuten und auszulegen, wie es unserer Vernunft gemäß scheint, sondern die Worte, wie sie lauten, in ihrem eigentlichen, klaren Verstand mit einfältigem Glauben und schuldigem Gehorsam anzunehmen und uns durch keine Einrede oder menschlich Widersprechen, aus menschlicher Vernunft gesponnen, wie lieblich sie auch der Vernunft scheinen, davon abwenden [zu] lassen.

Wie Abraham, da er Gottes Wort von Aufopferung seines Sohnes hörte, ob er wohl Ursache genug gehabt zu disputieren, ob die Worte (dieweil sie nicht allein wider alle Vernunft und wider das göttliche und natürliche Gesetz, sondern auch wider den hohen Artikel des Glaubens vom verheißenen Samen Christo, der von Isaak sollte geboren werden, öffentlich streiten) nach dem Buchstaben oder mit einer leiblichen oder sanften Glossa sollten zu verstehen sein; dennoch, wie er zuvor,

Verbo Dei recitatur) fundata est, et hanc sententiam sancti evangelistae, apostoli et ipsorum discipuli ad eum modum acceperunt et amplexi sunt eamque alios docuerunt atque ad posteritatem propagarunt.

43] Cum enim Dominus et Salvator noster Iesus Christus, de quo (ut de unico nostro Praeceptore) severissimum mandatum de coelis omnibus hominibus datum est Matth. 17, 5 [Luc. 9, 35]: *Hunc audite*, non sit vulgaris aliquis homo aut angelus, nec sit tantummodo verax, sapiens, potens, sed et ipsa aeterna veritas et sapientia et verus omnipotens Deus, qui rectissime novit, quid et quomodo loqui debeat, et omnia, quae loquitur ac promittit, potentissime efficere et praestare valet, sicut ipse inquit Luc. 21, 33: *Coelum et terra transibunt, verba autem mea non transibunt;* et alibi, Matth. 28, 18: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra* etc.;

44] Cum, inquam, hic verax, omnipotens Dominus, Creator et Redemptor noster Iesus Christus post ultimam illam Coenam, cum iamiam acerbissimam suam passionem et mortem pro peccatis nostris accederet, tristissimo nimirum illo et postremo tempore, re gravissime deliberata, et magno zelo augustissimum hoc sacramentum ecclesiae ordinaverit (quod usque ad finem mundi magna cum reverentia, obedientia et humilitate sumendum et perpetuum acerbissimae passionis et mortis et omnium beneficiorum eius monumentum futurum erat, simulque obsignatio et confirmatio novi testamenti, solatium omnium perturbatarum conscientiarum, firmum vinculum societatis Christianae et cum capite suo [R. 738 Christo et inter se invicem coniunctio arctissima), certe res gravissimas et longe maximas animo agitavit, cum haec verba institutionis Coenae (de pane illo, cui benedicebat et quem discipulis porrigebat) pronuntiaret: *Accipite, comedite, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis traditur,* et de calice seu vino: *Hic est sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro vobis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.*

45] Haec cum ita se habeant, profecto aeterni, veracissimi atque omnipotentis Filii Dei, Domini, Creatoris et Redemptoris nostri Iesu Christi verba non ut figurate, metaphorice, tropice dicta aut prolata in aliam sententiam detorquenda sunt, ut nostrae humanae rationi verisimilia fiant. Quin potius haec Christi verba, ut sonant, in propria sua ac perspicua sententia simplici fide et debita obedientia atque reverentia accipere tenemur. Neque committendum est, ut ullae obiectiones aut hominum contradictiones, quae ab humanae rationis acumine promanant, utcunque humanae rationi blandiantur, nos ab expresso illo Christi testamento abducant.

46] Sanctissimus patriarcha Abrahamus, cum verbum Dei de offerendo filio suo audisset, poterat certe occasionem disputandi arripere, an verba secundum litteram accipere, an vero commoda et tolerabiliore aliqua interpretatione lenire deberet, quandoquidem non modo cum omni ratione et cum lege Dei et naturae, verum etiam cum praecipuo illo fidei articulo, de promisso semine Christo, qui ex Isaaci stirpe nasciturus erat, aperte pugnare

institution, in the holy, divine Word, and was thus understood, taught, and propagated by the holy evangelists and apostles, and their disciples and hearers.

For since our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, concerning whom, as our only Teacher, this solemn command has been given from heaven to all men: *Hunc audite, Hear ye Him,* who is not a mere man or angel, neither true, wise, and mighty only, but the eternal Truth and Wisdom itself and Almighty God, who knows very well what and how He is to speak, and who also can powerfully effect and execute everything that He speaks and promises, as He says Luke 21, 33: *Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away;* also Matt. 28, 18: *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth,* —

Since, now, this true, almighty Lord, our Creator and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, after the Last Supper, when He is just beginning His bitter suffering and death for our sins, in those sad last moments, with great consideration and solemnity, in the institution of this most venerable Sacrament, which was to be used until the end of the world with great reverence and obedience [and humility], and was to be an abiding memorial of His bitter suffering and death and all His benefits, a sealing [and confirmation] of the New Testament, a consolation of all distressed hearts, and a firm bond of union of Christians with Christ, their Head, and with one another, in the ordaining and institution of the Holy Supper spake these words concerning the bread which He blessed and gave [to His disciples]: *Take, eat; this is My body, which is given for you,* and concerning the cup, or wine: *This is My blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins;* —

[Now, since this is so,] We are certainly in duty bound not to interpret and explain these words of the eternal, true, and almighty Son of God, our Lord, Creator, and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, differently, as allegorical, figurative, tropical expressions, according as it seems agreeable to our reason, but with simple faith and due obedience to receive the words as they read, in their proper and plain sense, and allow ourselves to be diverted therefrom [from this express testament of Christ] by no objections or human contradictions spun from human reason, however charming they may appear to reason.

Even as Abraham, when he hears God's Word concerning offering his son, although, indeed, he had cause enough for disputing as to whether the words should be understood according to the letter or with a tolerable or mild interpretation, since they conflicted openly not only with all reason and with the divine and natural law, but also with the chief article of faith concerning the promised Seed, Christ, who was to be born of Isaac, nevertheless, just as previously, when the

als ihm die Verheißung von dem gebenedeiten Samen aus Isaak gegeben wird (wiewohl es seiner Vernunft unmöglich scheint), Gott die Ehre der Wahrheit gibt und auf das allergewisseste bei sich geschlossen und geglaubt hat, daß Gott, was er verheißt, solches auch tun kann: also versteht und glaubt er auch allhier Gottes Wort und Befehl einfältig und schlecht, wie sie nach dem Buchstaben lauten, und läßt es Gottes Allmächtigkeit und Weisheit befohlen sein, welche er weiß, daß sie viel mehr Weisen und Wege hat, die Verheißung des Samens aus Isaak zu erfüllen, als er mit seiner blinden Vernunft begreifen kann:

Also sollen wir auch mit aller Demut und Gehorsam unsers Schöpfers und Erlösers deutlichen, festen, klaren und ernsten Worten und Befehl ohne allen Zweifel und Disputation, wie es sich mit unserer Vernunft reime oder möglich sei, einfältig **glauben.** Denn **dieser HErr** solche Worte geredet hat, welcher die unendliche Weisheit und Wahrheit selbst ist und alles, was er verheißt, gewißlich auch ins Werk setzen und vollbringen kann.

Nun zeugen alle Umstände der Einsetzung des heiligen Abendmahls, daß diese Worte unsers HErrn und Heilandes JEsu Christi, **so an sich** selbst einfältig, deutlich, klar, fest und unzweifelhaftig sind, anders nicht denn in ihrer gewöhnlichen, eigentlichen und gemeinen Deutung können und sollen verstanden werden. Denn dieweil Christus diesen Befehl über Tisch und ob dem Nachtmahl tut, ist ja kein Zweifel, daß er von rechtem, natürlichem Brot und von natürlichem Wein, auch von mündlichem Essen und Trinken redet, daß keine Metaphora, das ist, eine Veränderung des Verstandes, im Wort „Brot" sein kann, als, daß der Leib Christi ein geistlich Brot oder eine geistliche Speise der Seele sei. So verwahrt es auch Christus selbst, daß keine Metonymia, das ist, gleichergestalt auch keine Veränderung des Verstandes im Wort „Leib" sei, und daß er nicht von einem Zeichen seines Leibes oder von einem Bedeuten oder figürlichem Leib [oder von einem bedeuteten oder figürlichen Leib] oder von der Kraft seines Leibes und Wohltaten, die er mit Aufopferung seines Leibes erworben hat, redet, sondern von seinem wahren, wesentlichen Leib, den er für uns in den Tod gegeben, und von seinem wahren, wesentlichen Blut, das er für uns am Stamm des Kreuzes zur Vergebung der Sünden vergossen hat.

Nun ist ja kein so treuer und gewisser Ausleger der Worte JEsu Christi denn eben der HErr Christus selbst, der seine Worte und sein Herz und Meinung am besten versteht und dieselben zu erklären am weisesten und verständigsten ist, welcher allhier, als in Stiftung seines letzten Willens und Testaments und stets währenden Bündnisses und Vereinigung (wie sonsten in allen Artikeln des Glaubens und aller andern Bundes- und Gnadenzeichen oder Sakramente Einsetzung, als der Beschneidung, der mancherlei Opfer im alten Testament, der heiligen Taufe), nicht verblümte, sondern ganz eigentliche, einfältige, unzweifelhaftige und klare Worte gebraucht und [diese], damit ja kein Mißverstand einfallen könne, mit den Worten: „Für euch gegeben, für euch vergossen" deutlicher erklärt; läßet [er läßt] auch seine Jünger in dem einfältigen, eigentlichen Verstand bleiben

viderentur. Verumtamen, sicut antea promissionem de benedicto semine (ex Isaaci progenie nascendo) fide acceperat atque amplexus fuerat, etsi id ipsum rationi eius impossibile videretur et sic Deo laudem veritatis tribuerat, certissime sciens atque credens, quod Deus, quae promisisset, etiam praestare [R. 739 posset: ita quoque nunc simpliciter accipit verbum et mandatum Dei secundum litteram, remque totam divinae omnipotentiae et sapientiae permittens, quam scit multo plures habere modos, per quos promissionem illam de semine, ab Isaaco propagando, implere posset, quam ipse caeca sua ratione comprehendere valeret.

47] Et ad hunc modum etiam nos vera humilitate et obedientia Creatoris et Redemptoris nostri perspicuo, firmo, claro et maxime serio verbo et mandato (absque omni haesitatione et disputatione), quomodo id ad nostram rationem quadret aut possibile sit, simpliciter *credere* debemus. Haec enim verba locutus est *Dominus ille*, qui immensa est Dei Patris sapientia et veritas ipsa, qui omnia, quae promittit, certissime re ipsa perficere et praestare potest.

48] Et sane omnes circumstantiae institutionis Coenae Dominicae luculenter testantur, verba illa Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi (quae per se perspicua, firma, clara et indubitata sunt) non aliter quam in usitata, propria et communi significatione accipi posse et debere. Cum enim Christus mandatum illud (de edendo corpore suo etc.) in mensa et in coena dederit, dubium esse non potest, quin de vero naturali pane et de vero naturali vino atque de manducatione, quae ore fit, loquatur, ita ut nulla in vocabulo *panis* metaphora esse possit, quasi Christi corpus spiritualem panem aut spiritualem cibum animae dicere voluerit.

49] Et Christus ipse praecavere studuit, ne metonymia in vocabulo *corporis* intelligeretur, et ne existimaretur de signo corporis sui, aut tantum de symbolo vel de figurato corpore aut de virtute corporis sui seu de beneficiis, quae oblatione corporis sui nobis promeruit, agere. Diserte enim loquitur de vero, essentiali et substantiali suo corpore, quod in mortem pro nobis tradidit, et de vero, substantiali sanguine suo, quem pro nobis in ara crucis [R. 740 in remissionem peccatorum effudit.

50] Atqui nullus potest esse tam fidelis aut idoneus atque doctus interpres verborum Iesu Christi quam ille ipse Christus Dominus, qui sua verba illa certissima, suam mentem atque sententiam omnium optime intelligit atque ad eam dextre declarandam intelligentia et sapientia instructissimus est. Hic in declaratione imprimis ultimae suae voluntatis, testamenti et perpetui foederis atque coniunctionis non figuratis, non ambiguis, sed propriis, simplicissimis et disertis verbis uti voluit, quemadmodum etiam in aliis fidei articulis ponendis et confirmandis atque in signis gratiae et pacti seu sacramentis instituendis (verbi gratia in circumcisione, in constituendis olim sacrificiis veteris testamenti, postea vero in Baptismi institutione) non verbis obscuris, figuratis aut ambiguis uti solitus est. Et ut

promise of the blessed Seed from Isaac was given him, he gave God the honor of truth, and most confidently concluded and believed that what God promised He could also do, although it appeared impossible to his reason; so also here he understands and believes God's Word and command plainly and simply, as they read according to the letter, and commits the matter to God's omnipotence and wisdom, which, he knows, has many more modes and ways to fulfil the promise of the Seed from Isaac than he can comprehend with his blind reason; —

Thus we, too, are simply to *believe* with all humility and obedience the plain, firm, clear, and solemn words and command of our Creator and Redeemer, without any doubt and disputation as to how it agrees with our reason or is possible. For these words were spoken by *that Lord* who is infinite Wisdom and Truth itself, and also can execute and accomplish everything which He promises.

Now, all the circumstances of the institution of the Holy Supper testify that these words of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, which in themselves are simple, plain, clear, firm, and indubitable, cannot and must not be understood otherwise than in their usual, proper, and common signification. For since Christ gives this command [concerning eating His body, etc.] at the table and at supper, there is indeed no doubt that He speaks of real, natural bread and of natural wine, also of oral eating and drinking, so that there can be no metaphor, that is, a change of meaning, in the word *bread*, as though the body of Christ were a spiritual bread or a spiritual food of souls. Likewise, also Christ Himself takes care that there be no metonymy either, that is, that in the same manner there be no change of meaning in the word *body*, and that He does not speak concerning a sign of His body, or concerning an emblem [a symbol] or figurative body, or concerning the virtue of His body and the benefits which He has earned by the sacrifice of His body [for us], but of His true, essential body, which He delivered into death for us, and of His true, essential blood, which He shed for us on the tree [altar] of the cross for the remission of sins.

Now, surely there is no interpreter of the words of Jesus Christ as faithful and sure as the Lord Christ Himself, who understands best His words and His heart and opinion, and who is the wisest and most knowing for expounding them; and here, as in the making of His last will and testament and of His everabiding covenant and union, as elsewhere in [presenting and confirming] all articles of faith, and in the institution of all other signs of the covenant and of grace or sacraments, as [for example] circumcision, the various offerings in the Old Testament and Holy Baptism, He uses not allegorical, but entirely proper, simple, indubitable, and clear words; and in

und befiehlt's ihnen, daß sie alle Völker also lehren sollen, alles das zu halten, was er ihnen, den Aposteln, befohlen hat.

omnem ambiguitatem caveret, satis mentem suam declaravit, cum de corpore suo in Sacra Coena exhibendo dixit: *quod pro vobis datur*, et de sanguine: *qui pro vobis effunditur.* Et

51] cum apostoli haec ipsius verba simplicissime acciperent, relinquit eos in hac propria et simplici sententia ac mandat illis, ut omnes gentes ad eum modum doceant iubeantque eas observare, quae ipsis, apostolis, a Christo praecepta erant.

Derhalben auch alle drei Evangelisten, Matth. 26, Mark. 14, Luk. 22, und St. Paulus, der nach der Himmelfahrt Christi dasselbe empfangen, 1 Kor. 11, einhelliglich und mit einerlei Worten und Silben diese hellen, klaren, festen und wahrhaftigen Worte Christi: „Das ist mein Leib" ganz auf einerlei Weise von dem gesegneten und dargereichten Brot ohne alle Deutung und Änderung wiederholen. Ist darum kein Zweifel, daß auch vom andern Teil des Sakraments diese Worte Lucä und Pauli: „Dieser Kelch ist das neue Testament in meinem Blut", keine andere Meinung können haben, denn die St. Matthäus und Markus geben: „Das" (nämlich, das ihr aus dem Kelch mündlich trinkt) „ist mein Blut des neuen Testaments", dadurch ich dies mein Testament und neuen Bund, nämlich die Vergebung der Sünden, mit euch Menschen aufrichte, versiegele und bekräftige.

So ist auch diese Wiederholung, Bestätigung und Erklärung der Worte Christi, die St. Paulus 1 Kor. 10 tut, als ein sonderliches helles Zeugnis der wahren, wesentlichen Gegenwärtigkeit und Austeilung des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl mit allem Fleiß und Ernst zu betrachten, da er also schreibt: „Der gesegnete Kelch, welchen wir segnen, ist der nicht die Gemeinschaft des Blutes Christi? Das Brot, das wir brechen, ist das nicht die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi?" Daraus wir klärlich lernen, daß nicht allein der Kelch, den Christus im ersten Abendmahl gesegnet, und nicht allein das Brot, welches Christus gebrochen und ausgeteilt hat, sondern auch, das wir brechen und segnen, sei die Gemeinschaft des Leibes und Blutes Christi, also daß alle die, so dies Brot essen und aus dem Kelch trinken, wahrhaftig empfangen und teilhaftig werden des wahren Leibes und Blutes Christi. Denn wo der Leib Christi nicht wahrhaftig und wesentlich, sondern allein nach seiner Kraft und Wirkung gegenwärtig [wäre] und genossen würde, so würde [so hätte] das Brot nicht eine Gemeinschaft des Leibes, sondern des Geistes, Kraft und Guttaten Christi müssen genennet werden, wie die Apologia [Artikel X, 54] argumentiert und schleußt [schließt]. Und so Paulus allein von der geistlichen Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi durch den Glauben redete, wie die Sakramentierer diesen Spruch verkehren, so würde er nicht sagen, das Brot, sondern der Geist oder Glaube wäre die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi. Nun sagt er, das Brot sei die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi, daß alle, die des gesegneten Brotes genießen, auch des Leibes Christi teilhaftig werden: so muß er ja nicht von geistlicher, sondern von sakramentlicher oder mündlicher Nießung des Leibes Christi, die den frommen und gottlosen [den wahren und falschen] Christen gemein ist, reden.

52] Qua de causa etiam tres evangelistae, Matthaeus, Matth. 26, 26; Marcus, Marc. 14, 22; Lucas, Luc. 22, 19, et divus Paulus, 1 Cor. 11, 24, qui institutionem Coenae Dominicae ab ipso Christo post ascensionem ipsius acceperat, unanimi consensu iisdem verbis et syllabis haec clara, firma, perspicua et vera verba Christi: *Hoc est corpus meum*, prorsus eodem modo de benedicto et distributo pane sine omni tropo, figura aut variatione recitant. Itaque dubium esse non potest, quin et

53] de altera parte sacramenti haec verba: *Hic calix est novum testamentum in meo sanguine*, in evangelista Luca et Paulo [R. 741 nullam aliam sententiam habeant quam verba Matthaei et Marci, qui dicunt: *Hoc*, quod ore ex calice bibitis, *est sanguis meus novi testamenti*, quo videlicet hoc testamentum meum et novum foedus, videlicet remissionem peccatorum, vobis hominibus sancio, ferio, obsigno et confirmo.

54] Sed et haec repetitio, confirmatio et declaratio verborum Christi, quam divus Paulus ponit (ut clarissimum verae substantialis praesentiae et distributionis corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena testimonium), singulari diligentia et accurate est expendenda. Sic enim ait 1 Cor. 10, 16: *Calix benedictionis, cui benedicimus, nonne communicatio sanguinis Christi est? Et panis, quem frangimus, nonne participatio corporis Domini est?* His enim apostoli verbis docemur, quod non modo calix ille, cui Christus in prima Coena benedixit, et non modo panis, quem Christus fregit et distribuit, sed etiam panis, quem *nos* frangimus, et calix, cui *nos* benedicimus, sint corporis et sanguinis Christi communicatio, ita quidem, ut omnes, qui hunc panem edunt atque e calice bibunt, vere accipiant atque participent verum corpus et verum sanguinem

55] Christi. Etenim nisi corpus Christi vere et substantialiter, sed duntaxat virtute et efficacia sua praesens esset et sumeretur, panis non corporis, sed Spiritus, virtutis et beneficiorum Christi communicatio dici debuisset, quemadmodum etiam Apologia prorsus eadem

56] ratione in hoc ipso negotio argumentatur et statuit. Et sane si divus Paulus duntaxat de spirituali communicatione corporis Christi, quae per fidem fit, ageret (ut Sacramentarii hoc Paulinum dictum suo more depravare solent), non dixisset, *panis*, sed Spiritus aut fides est communicatio corporis Christi. At apostolus affirmat, *panem* esse communicationem corporis Christi, quod videlicet [R. 742 omnes, qui participant benedictum panem, etiam corporis Christi participes fiant. Ex eo ergo hoc conficitur, Paulum haudquaquam de spirituali, sed de sacramentali seu ea, quae ore fit, participatione corporis Christi loqui, quae piis et impiis, titulo duntaxat Christianis, communis est.

order that no misunderstanding can occur, He explains them more clearly with the words: *Given for you, shed for you.* He also allows His disciples to rest in the simple, proper sense, and commands them that they should thus teach all nations to observe what He had commanded them, the apostles.

For this reason, too, all three evangelists, Matt. 26, 26; Mark 14, 22; Luke 22, 19, and St. Paul, who received the same [the institution of the Lord's Supper] after the ascension of Christ [from Christ Himself], 1 Cor. 11, 24, unanimously and with the same words and syllables repeat concerning the consecrated and distributed bread these distinct, clear, firm, and true words of Christ: *This is My body,* altogether in one way, without any interpretation [trope, figure] and change. Therefore there is no doubt that also concerning the other part of the Sacrament these words of Luke and Paul: *This cup is the new testament in My blood,* can have no other meaning than that which St. Matthew and St. Mark give: *This* (namely, that which you orally drink out of the cup) *is My blood of the new testament,* whereby I establish, seal, and confirm with you men this My testament and new covenant, namely, the forgiveness of sins.

So also that repetition, confirmation, and explanation of the words of Christ which St. Paul makes 1 Cor. 10, 16, where he writes as follows: *The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* is to be considered with all diligence and seriousness [accurately], as an especially clear testimony of the true, essential presence and distribution of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. From this we clearly learn that not only the cup which Christ blessed at the first Supper, and not only the bread which Christ broke and distributed, but also that which *we* break and bless, is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, so that all who eat this bread and drink of this cup truly receive, and are partakers of, the true body and blood of Christ. For if the body of Christ were present and partaken of, not truly and essentially, but only according to its power and efficacy, the bread would have to be called, not a communion of the body, but of the Spirit, power, and benefits of Christ, as the *Apology* argues and concludes. And if Paul were speaking only of the spiritual communion of the body of Christ through faith, as the Sacramentarians pervert this passage, he would not say that the bread, but that the spirit or faith, was the communion of the body of Christ. But as he says that the bread is the communion of the body of Christ, that all who partake of the consecrated bread also become partakers of the body of Christ, he must indeed be speaking, not of a spiritual, but of a sacramental or oral participation of the body of Christ, which is common to godly and godless Christians [Christians only in name].

Wie auch die Ursache und Umstände derselben ganzen Predigt St. Pauli ausweisen, daß er die, so vom Götzenopfer aßen und mit heidnischem Teufelsdienst Gemeinschaft hatten und gleichwohl auch zum Tisch des HErrn gingen und des Leibes und Blutes Christi teilhaftig wurden, abschreckt und warnt, daß sie nicht ihnen selbst [sich selbst] zum Gericht und Verdammnis den Leib und Blut Christi empfangen. Denn weil alle, die des gesegneten und gebrochenen Brotes im Abendmahl teilhaftig werden, auch mit dem Leib Christi Gemeinschaft haben, so muß [so kann] ja St. Paulus nicht von der geistlichen Gemeinschaft mit Christo reden, die niemand mißbrauchen kann, und davor man auch niemand warnen soll.

Derhalben auch unsere lieben Väter und Vorfahren, als Lutherus und andere reine Lehrer Augsburgischer Konfession, diesen Spruch Pauli mit solchen Worten erklären, daß er zum allerbesten mit den Worten Christi übereinstimmt, da sie also schreiben: Das Brot, das wir brechen, ist der ausgeteilte Leib **Christi** oder der gemeine Leib **Christi,** unter die geteilet [ausgeteilt], so das gebrochene Brot empfangen.

Bei dieser einfältigen, gegründeten Erklärung dieses herrlichen Gezeugnis [Zeugnisses], 1 Kor. 10, bleiben wir einträchtiglich und verwundern uns billig, daß etliche so kühn sind, daß sie diesen Spruch, den sie selbst vorhin den Sakramentierern entgegengesetzt [haben], jetzund für einen Grund ihres Irrtums, daß im Abendmahl der Leib Christi allein geistlich genossen werde, anziehen dürfen: Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, hoc est, id, quo fit societas cum corpore Christi (quod est ecclesia), seu est medium, per quod fideles unimur Christo, sicut verbum evangelii fide apprehensum est medium, per quod Christo spiritualiter unimur et corpori Christi, quod est ecclesia, inserimur. Welches zu deutsch also lautet: Das Brot ist die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi, das ist, es ist das, dadurch wir Gemeinschaft haben mit dem Leib Christi, welcher ist die Kirche; oder es ist das Mittel, dadurch wir Gläubigen vereinigt werden mit Christo, gleichwie das Wort des Evangelii, wenn es mit [dem] Glauben ergriffen wird, ist ein Mittel, dadurch wir mit Christo geistlich vereinigt und dem Leib Christi, welcher ist die Kirche, einverleibt werden.

Denn daß nicht allein die gottseligen, frommen und gläubigen Christen, sondern auch die unwürdigen, gottlosen Heuchler, als Judas und seine Gesellen, so keine geistliche Gemeinschaft mit Christo haben und ohne wahre Buße und Bekehrung zu Gott zum Tisch des HErrn gehen, auch den wahren Leib und Blut Christi mündlich im Sakrament empfangen und sich mit ihrem unwürdigen Essen und Trinken am Leib und Blut Christi schwerlich [schwer] versündigen, lehrt St. Paulus ausdrücklich 1 Kor. 11: „Wer unwürdig von diesem Brot isset und von dem Kelch des HErrn trinket, der" versündigt sich nicht allein am Brot und Wein, nicht allein an Zeichen oder symbolis und Figur des Leibes und Blutes, sondern „wird schuldig am Leib und Blut des HErrn JEsu Christi", welchen er allda gegenwärtig verunehrt, mißbraucht und schändet, gleichwie die Juden, welche sich mit der Tat wirklich an dem Leibe Christi vergriffen und ihn erwürgt haben, inmaßen die alten christlichen

57] Hanc piam nostram sententiam etiam ratio et circumstantiae concionis illius Paulinae confirmant. Eos enim, qui de idolothytis edebant et ethnicis cultibus diabolicis communicabant, nihilominus autem etiam ad mensam Domini accedebant et corporis ac sanguinis Christi participes fiebant, Paulus a tanto facinore deterret et admonet, ne sibi ipsis ad iudicium et damnationem corpus et sanguinem Christi sumant. Cum enim omnes illi, qui benedicti et distributi panis in Sacra Coena participes fiunt, etiam cum corpore Christi communicationem habeant, profecto divi Pauli verba non possunt accipi de spirituali communicatione cum Christo, qua nemo abuti unquam potest, et a qua homines non sunt deterrendi.

58] Quare patres et pii maiores nostri, D. Lutherus et alii sinceri doctores Augustanae Confessionis, hoc divi Pauli dictum eiusmodi verbis declarant, ut cum verbis Christi optime consentiat; ut cum ad hunc modum id explicant: Panis, quem frangimus, est corpus *Christi* distributum, seu communicatum corpus *Christi*, quod inter eos distribuitur, qui fractum panem accipiunt.

59] In hac simplici et solide fundata explicatione luculenti illius testimonii Paulini magno consensu acquiescimus. Et non iniuria miramur, quod audaces homines reperiantur, qui, cum ipsi ante haec tempora Sacramentariis hoc Pauli dictum, 1 Cor. 10, 16, opposuerint, nunc illud ipsum pro fundamento erroris sui (quod videlicet corpus Christi in Coena spiritualiter tantummodo sumatur) ponere non erubescant. Sic enim loquuntur: Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, hoc est, id, quo fit societas cum corpore [R. 743 Christi, quod est ecclesia, seu est medium, per quod fideles unimur Christo, sicut verbum evangelii fide apprehensum est medium, per quod Christo spiritualiter unimur et corpori Christi, quod est ecclesia, inserimur.

60] Quod autem non tantum pii et credentes in Christum, verum etiam indigni, impii hypocritae (verbi gratia Iudas et huius farinae homines, qui nullam prorsus spiritualem cum Christo communicationem habent et sine vera poenitentia atque conversione ad Deum ad Coenam Domini accedunt), etiam verum corpus et verum sanguinem Christi ore in sacramento sumant et grande scelus, indigne edendo et bibendo, in corpus et sanguinem Christi admittant, id divus Paulus, 1 Cor. 11, 27, expresse docet, cum affirmat, quod ii, qui *indigne* de illo pane edunt et de calice Domini bibunt, rei fiant non tantum panis et vini, non tantum signorum et symbolorum aut figurae corporis et sanguinis, sed quod *rei sint corporis et sanguinis Iesu Christi*, quem in Sacra Coena praesentem contumelia atque ignominia afficiunt, sicut Iudaei, qui ipso facto et opere (indignis modis Salvatorem tractantes) in corpus Christi

This is shown also by the causes and circumstances of this entire exposition of St. Paul, in which he deters and warns those who ate of offerings to idols and had fellowship with heathen devil-worship, and nevertheless went also to the table of the Lord and became partakers of the body and blood of Christ, lest they receive the body and blood of Christ for judgment and condemnation to themselves. For since all those who become partakers of the consecrated and broken bread in the Supper have communion also with the body of Christ, St. Paul indeed cannot be speaking of spiritual communion with Christ, which no man can abuse, and against which also no one is to be warned.

Therefore also our dear fathers and predecessors, as Luther and other pure teachers of the *Augsburg Confession*, explain this statement of Paul with such words that it accords most fully with the words of Christ when they write thus: The bread which we break is the distributed body of *Christ*, or the common [communicated] body of *Christ*, distributed to those who receive the broken bread.

By this simple, well-founded exposition of this glorious testimony, 1 Cor. 10, we unanimously abide, and we are justly astonished that some are so bold as to venture now to cite this passage, which they themselves previously opposed to the Sacramentarians, as a foundation for their error, that in the Supper the body of Christ is partaken of spiritually only. [For thus they speak]: *Panis est communicatio corporis Christi, hoc est, id, quo fit societas cum corpore Christi (quod est ecclesia), seu est medium, per quod fideles unimur Christo, sicut verbum evangelii fide apprehensum est medium, per quod Christo spiritualiter unimur et corpori Christi, quod est ecclesia, inserimur.* Translated, this reads as follows: "The bread is the communion of the body of Christ, that is, it is that by which we have fellowship with the body of Christ, which is the Church, or it is the means by which we believers are united with Christ, just as the Word of the Gospel, apprehended by faith, is a means through which we are spiritually united to Christ and incorporated into the body of Christ, which is the Church."

For that not only the godly, pious, and believing Christians, but also unworthy, godless hypocrites, as Judas and his ilk, who have no spiritual communion with Christ, and go to the Table of the Lord without true repentance and conversion to God, also receive orally in the Sacrament the true body and [true] blood of Christ, and by their unworthy eating and drinking grievously sin against the body and blood of Christ, St. Paul teaches expressly. For he says, 1 Cor. 11, 27: *Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily,* sins not merely against the bread and wine, not merely against the signs or symbols and emblems of the body and blood, but *shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ,* which, as there [in the Holy Supper] present, he dishonors, abuses, and disgraces, as the Jews, who in very deed

Väter und Kirchenlehrer diesen Spruch einhellig also verstanden und erklärt haben.

So ist nun zweierlei Essen des Fleisches Christi, eines **geistlich,** davon Christus Joh. 6 vornehmlich handelt, welches nicht anders als mit dem Geist und Glauben in der Predigt und Betrachtung des Evangelii ebensowohl als im Abendmahl geschieht und für sich selbst nütz und heilsam und allen Christen zu allen Zeiten zur Seligkeit nötig ist, ohne welche geistliche Nießung auch das sakramentliche oder mündliche Essen im Abendmahl nicht allein unheilsam, sondern auch schädlich und verdammlich ist.

Solch geistlich Essen aber ist nichts anderes als der **Glaube,** nämlich, Gottes Wort (darin uns Christus, wahrer Gott und Mensch, samt allen Guttaten, die er uns mit seinem Fleisch, für uns in [den] Tod gegeben, und mit seinem Blut, für uns vergossen, erworben hat, nämlich Gottes Gnade, Vergebung der Sünden, Gerechtigkeit und ewiges Leben, vorgetragen wird) hören, mit Glauben annehmen und uns selbst zueignen und auf diesen Trost, daß wir einen gnädigen Gott und ewige Seligkeit um des HErrn JEsu Christi willen haben, uns mit gewisser Zuversicht und Vertrauen festiglich verlassen und in aller Not und Anfechtung [an ihn uns] halten.

Das andere Essen des Leibes Christi ist **mündlich** oder **sakramentlich,** da im heiligen Abendmahl der wahre, wesentliche Leib und Blut Christi von allen, die das gesegnete Brot und Wein im Abendmahl essen und trinken (von den Gläubigen zu einem gewissen Pfand und Versicherung, daß ihnen gewißlich ihre Sünden vergeben sind und Christus in ihnen wohne und kräftig sei, von den Ungläubigen aber zu ihrem Gericht und Verdammnis), auch mündlich empfangen und genossen wird, wie die Worte der Einsetzung Christi ausdrücklich lauten, da er über Tisch und ob dem Nachtmahl seinen Jüngern natürlich Brot und natürlichen Wein reicht, welche er seinen wahren Leib und sein wahres Blut nennt und dabei sagt: „Esset und trinket"; so kann ja solcher Befehl vermöge der Umstände nicht anders als von dem mündlichen Essen und Trinken, aber nicht auf grobe, fleischliche, kapernaitische, sondern auf übernatürliche, unbegreifliche Weise, verstanden werden, dazu nachmals der andere Befehl noch ein anderes und geistliches Essen setzt, da der HErr Christus weiter spricht: „Solches tut zu meinem Gedächtnis", da er den **Glauben** erfordert.

Derhalben alle alten christlichen Lehrer nach diesen Worten der Einsetzung Christi und St. Pauli Erklärung ausdrücklich und mit der ganzen heiligen christlichen Kirche einträchtig lehren, daß der Leib Christi nicht allein geistlich mit dem Glauben,

horribiliter peccarunt et Christum occiderunt. Sic enim antiquissimi, pii et eruditi doctores ecclesiae hoc Pauli dictum intellexerunt et magno consensu in hanc sententiam sunt interpretati.

61] Duplex igitur est manducatio carnis Christi. Una *spiritualis*, de qua praecipue Christus in evangelista Iohanne, capite sexto, v. 54, agit, quae non alio modo quam spiritu et fide in praedicatione et meditatione evangelii fit, non minus quam cum Coena Domini digne et in fide sumitur. Haec spiritualis manducatio per se utilis et salutaris [R. 744 est, omnibusque Christianis et quidem omnibus temporibus ad salutem necessaria est, sine qua spirituali participatione sacramentalis illa, aut quae ore duntaxat fit, manducatio in Coena non modo accipientibus non salutaris, sed noxia etiam et damnationis causa esse solet.

62] Spiritualiter igitur manducare nihil aliud est, quam *credere* praedicato Verbo Dei, in quo nobis Christus, verus Deus et homo, cum omnibus beneficiis, quae carne sua, pro nobis in mortem tradita, et sanguine suo, pro nobis effuso, promeruit, offertur, videlicet gratia et clementia Dei, remissio peccatorum, iustitia et vita aeterna. Haec qui ex Verbo Dei commemorari audit, fide accipit sibique applicat et hac consolatione totus nititur (quod Deum placatum et vitam aeternam propter mediatorem Iesum Christum habeamus), qui, inquam, vera fiducia in verbo evangelii firmiter in omnibus tribulationibus et tentationibus acquiescit, hic spiritualiter corpus Christi edit et sanguinem eius bibit.

63] Altera vero manducatio corporis Christi est *sacramentalis* et ore fit, quando in Sacra Coena verum et substantiale corpus et sanguis Christi ore accipiuntur atque participantur ab omnibus, qui panem illum benedictum et vinum in Coena Dominica edunt et bibunt. Ac pii quidem corpus et sanguinem Christi in certum pignus et confirmationem accipiunt, quod peccata ipsis certo sint remissa, et quod Christus in ipsis habitet atque efficax esse velit. Impii vero idem corpus et eundem sanguinem Christi etiam ore suo, sed ad iudicium et damnationem sumunt. Hoc Christi **64**] verba, quibus Coenam instituit, expresse docent. In prima enim Coena mensae assidens discipulis suis naturalem panem et naturale vinum porrigit et de iis pronuntiat, verum esse corpus et sanguinem suum, et [R. 745 iubet eos edere et bibere. Ergo illud Christi mandatum, consideratis diligenter omnibus circumstantiis, non potest nisi de orali, non autem de crassa, carnali, Capernaitica, sed de supernaturali et incomprehensibili manduca-**65**] tione corporis Christi intelligi. Ad hanc manducationem, quae ore fit, Christus mandato suo etiam alteram requirit, cum inquit: *Hoc facite in mei commemorationem;* hic enim *fidem* (quae est spiritualis corporis Christi participatio) postulat.

66] Quare tota erudita et pia antiquitas (secundum haec verba institutionis Christi et explicationem Pauli) expresse et cum tota catholica ecclesia magno consensu docuit, quod corpus Christi non tantum spiritualiter fide

violated the body of Christ and killed Him; just as the ancient Christian Fathers and church-teachers unanimously have understood and explained this passage.

There is, therefore, a twofold eating of the flesh of Christ, one *spiritual*, of which Christ treats especially John 6, 54, which occurs in no other way than with the Spirit and faith, in the preaching and meditation of the Gospel, as well as in the Lord's Supper, and by itself is useful and salutary, and necessary at all times for salvation to all Christians; without which spiritual participation also the sacramental or oral eating in the Supper is not only not salutary, but even injurious and damning [a cause of condemnation].

But this spiritual eating is nothing else than *faith*, namely, to hear God's Word (wherein Christ, true God and man, is presented to us, together with all benefits which He has purchased for us by His flesh given into death for us, and by His blood shed for us, namely, God's grace, the forgiveness of sins, righteousness, and eternal life), to receive it with faith and appropriate it to ourselves, and in all troubles and temptations firmly to rely, with sure confidence and trust, and to abide in the consolation that we have a gracious God, and eternal salvation on account of the Lord Jesus Christ. [He who hears these things related from the Word of God, and in faith receives and applies them to himself, and relies entirely upon this consolation (that we have God reconciled and life eternal on account of the Mediator, Jesus Christ), — he, I say, who with true confidence rests in the Word of the Gospel in all troubles and temptations, spiritually eats the body of Christ and drinks His blood.]

The other eating of the body of Christ is *oral* or *sacramental*, when the true, essential body and blood of Christ are also orally received and partaken of in the Holy Supper, by all who eat and drink the consecrated bread and wine in the Supper — by the believing as a certain pledge and assurance that their sins are surely forgiven them, and Christ dwells and is efficacious in them, but by the unbelieving for their judgment and condemnation, as the words of the institution by Christ expressly declare, when at the table and during the Supper He offers His disciples natural bread and natural wine, which He calls His true body and true blood, at the same time saying: *Eat and drink.* For in view of the circumstances this command evidently cannot be understood otherwise than of oral eating and drinking, however, not in a gross, carnal, Capernaitic, but in a supernatural, incomprehensible way; to which afterwards the other command adds still another and spiritual eating, when the Lord Christ says further: *This do in remembrance of Me*, where He requires *faith* [which is the spiritual partaking of Christ's body].

Therefore all the ancient Christian teachers expressly, and in full accord with the entire holy Christian Church, teach, according to these words of the institution of Christ and the explanation of St. Paul, that the body of

welches auch außerhalb des Sakraments geschieht, sondern auch mündlich, nicht allein von gläubigen, frommen, sondern auch von unwürdigen, ungläubigen, falschen und bösen Christen, empfangen werde; welche hier zu erzählen zu lang, und [zu lang wäre, und wir] deswegen den christlichen Leser in der Unsern ausführliche Schriften um geliebter Kürze willen gewiesen haben wollen.

Daraus erscheint, wie unbillig und giftig die Sakramentschwärmer (Theodorus Beza) des HErrn Christi, St. Pauli und der ganzen Kirche spotten, die diese mündliche und der Unwürdigen Nießung duos pilos caudae equinae et commentum, cuius vel ipsum Satanam pudeat, wie auch die Lehre von der Majestät Christi excrementum Satanae, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat, genennet [genannt] haben, das ist, so erschrecklich davon reden, daß sich auch ein frommer Christ schämen solle, dasselbe zu verdolmetschen.

Es muß aber mit Fleiß erklärt werden, welche da seien die unwürdigen Gäste dieses Abendmahls, nämlich die ohne wahre Reue und Leid über ihre Sünden und ohne wahren Glauben und guten Vorsatz, ihr Leben zu bessern, zu diesem Sakrament gehen und ihnen selbst [sich selbst] das Gericht, das ist, zeitliche und ewige Strafen, mit ihrem unwürdigen mündlichen Essen des Leibes Christi auf den Hals laden und am Leib und Blut Christi schuldig werden.

Denn die schwachgläubigen, blöden, betrübten Christen, die von wegen der Größe und Menge ihrer Sünden von Herzen erschrocken sind und gedenken, daß sie in dieser ihrer großen Unreinigkeit dieses edlen Schatzes und Guttaten Christi nicht wert seien und ihre Schwachheit des Glaubens empfinden und beklagen und von Herzen begehren, daß sie mit stärkerem, freudigerem Glauben und reinem Gehorsam Gott dienen möchten, die sind die rechten, würdigen Gäste, für welche dies hochwürdige Sakrament vornehmlich eingesetzt und verordnet ist; wie Christus spricht Matth. 11: „Kommet her zu mir alle, die ihr mühselig und beladen seid; ich will euch erquicken"; item Matth. 9: „Die Gesunden bedürfen keines Arztes, sondern nur die Kranken"; item 2 Kor. 11: „Gottes Kraft ist in den Schwachen mächtig"; item Röm. 14: „Nehmet den Schwachen im Glauben auf; denn Gott hat ihn aufgenommen." Denn „wer an den Sohn Gottes glaubet", es sei mit einem starken oder schwachen Glauben, „der hat das ewige Leben", Joh. 3.

Und stehet [besteht] die Würdigkeit nicht in großer oder kleiner Schwachheit oder Stärke des Glaubens, sondern im Verdienst Christi, welches der kleingläubige betrübte Vater, Mark. 9, ebensowohl genießt [genießt] als Abraham, Paulus und andere, so einen freudigen, starken Glauben haben.

Das sei von der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit und zweierlei Nießung des Leibes und Blutes Christi, so entweder mit dem Glauben geistlich oder auch mündlich beide von Würdigen und Unwürdigen geschieht, bis hieher geredet.

(quod etiam extra usum sacramenti fieri potest), verum etiam ore non modo a credentibus, sed et ab indignis, infidelibus, hypocritis, nomine duntaxat Christianis, accipiatur. Quae antiquitatis testimonia recitare hoc loco nimis esset prolixum, quare lectorem ad nostrorum scripta, in quibus haec copiose tractata sunt, remittimus.

67] Ex his manifestum est, quam inique virulentis sarcasmis Sacramentarii Domino nostro Iesu Christo et divo Paulo totique ecclesiae insultent, qui oralem et indignorum manducationem vocant duos pilos caudae equinae et commentum, cuius vel ipsum Satanam pudeat, doctrinam vero de maiestate Christi excrementum Satanae, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat, appellare ausi fuerunt. Haec adeo horrenda sunt, ut homo Christianus ea sine horrore non recitare possit.

68] Accurate autem hoc etiam declarandum est, quinam sint indigni convivae in hac Sacra Coena, hi nimirum, qui sine vera poenitentia et contritione et sine vera fide et absque bono proposito vitam emendandi ad Coenam Domini accedunt. Hi sibi ipsis iudicium, hoc [R. 746 est, temporales et aeternas poenas, indigna sua orali manducatione corporis Christi accersunt et corporis atque sanguinis Christi rei fiunt.

69] Digni vero convivae in Coena Domini sunt infirmi in fide, pusillanimes, perturbati Christiani, qui dum magnitudinem et multitudinem peccatorum suorum secum reputant, cohorrescunt, qui magnam suam immunditiem considerantes, hoc pretiosissimo thesauro et beneficiis Christi indignos sese iudicant, qui fidei suae infirmitatem sentiunt atque deplorant et nihil magis in votis habent, quam ut Domino Deo firmiore et alacriore fide et puriore obedientia servire possint. Hi (ut diximus) sunt vere digni illi convivae, in quorum gratiam et quibus recreandis imprimis hoc augustissimum sacramentum et sacrum 70] convivium est institutum. Christus enim eiusmodi homines benignissime invitat, dicens Matth. 11, 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.* Et alibi ait, Matth. 9, 12: *Non est opus valentibus medicus, sed male habentibus.* Et apostolus inquit 2 Cor. 12, 9: *Virtus mea* (dicit Dominus) *in infirmitate perficitur.* Et ad Romanos, 14, 1, scribit: *Infirmum in fide assumite.* Et paulo post: *Deus eum assumpsit. Quisquis enim in Filium Dei crediderit,* sive is firma sive infirma fide praeditus fuerit, *habet vitam aeternam,* Ioh. 3, 15. 36.

71] Dignitas igitur neque in magna neque in exigua infirmitate aut firmitate fidei, sed in merito Christi consistit. Huius fructum infirmus ille in fide angustique animi parens, qui opem Christi in curando filio miserrimo implorabat, Marc. 9, 24, non minus quam patriarcha Abraham, apostolus Paulus et alii, qui robustam fidem habuere, participat.

72] Et haec de vera praesentia et duplici manducatione corporis et sanguinis Christi, quae aut fide spiritualiter aut ore fit [R. 747 (quae posterior dignis et indignis communis est), dicta sunt [sunto].

Christ is not only received spiritually by faith, which occurs also outside of [the use of] the Sacrament, but also orally, not only by believing and godly, but also by unworthy, unbelieving, false, and wicked Christians. As this is too long to be narrated here, we would, for the sake of brevity, have the Christian reader referred to the exhaustive writings of our theologians.

Hence it is manifest how unjustly and maliciously the Sacramentarian fanatics (Theodore Beza) deride the Lord Christ, St. Paul, and the entire Church in calling this oral partaking, and that of the unworthy, *duos pilos caudae equinae et commentum, cuius vel ipsum Satanam pudeat,* as also the doctrine concerning the majesty of Christ, *excrementum Satanae, quo diabolus sibi ipsi et hominibus illudat,* that is, they speak so horribly of it that a godly Christian man should be ashamed to translate it.

But it must [also] be carefully explained who are the unworthy guests of this Supper, namely, those who go to this Sacrament without true repentance and sorrow for their sins, and without true faith and the good intention of amending their lives, and by their unworthy oral eating of the body of Christ load themselves with damnation, that is, with temporal and eternal punishments, and become guilty of the body and blood of Christ.

For Christians who are of weak faith, diffident, troubled, and heartily terrified because of the greatness and number of their sins, and think that in this their great impurity they are not worthy of this precious treasure and the benefits of Christ, and who feel and lament their weakness of faith, and from their hearts desire that they may serve God with stronger, more joyful faith and pure obedience, they are the truly worthy guests for whom this highly venerable Sacrament [and sacred feast] has been especially instituted and appointed; as Christ says, Matt. 11, 28: *Come unto Me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.* Also Matt. 9, 12: *They that be whole need not a physician, but they that be sick.* Also [2 Cor. 12, 9]: *God's strength is made perfect in weakness.* Also [Rom. 14, 1]: *Him that is weak in the faith receive ye* [v. 3], *for God hath received him. For whosoever believeth in the Son of God,* be it with a strong or with a weak faith, *has eternal life* [John 3, 15 f.].

And worthiness does not depend upon great or small weakness or strength of faith, but upon the merit of Christ, which the distressed father of little faith [Mark 9, 24] enjoyed as well as Abraham, Paul, and others who have a joyful and strong faith.

Let the foregoing be said of the true presence and twofold participation of the body and blood of Christ, which occurs either by faith, spiritually, or also orally, both by worthy and unworthy [which latter is common to worthy and unworthy].

Dieweil auch von der Konsekration und von der gemeinen Regel, **daß nichts Sakrament sei außer dem eingesetzten Gebrauch,** Mißverstand und Spaltung zwischen etlichen der Augsburgischen Konfession Lehrern eingefallen sind, haben wir auch von dieser Sache uns brüderlich und einträchtig miteinander auf nachfolgende Meinung erklärt, nämlich: daß die wahre Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl nicht schaffe einiges Menschen Wort oder Werk, es sei das Verdienst oder Sprechen des Dieners oder das Essen und Trinken oder Glaube der **Kommunikanten,** sondern solches alles solle allein des allmächtigen Gottes Kraft und unsers HErrn JEsu Christi Wort, Einsetzung und Ordnung zugeschrieben werden.

Denn die wahrhaftigen und allmächtigen Worte JEsu Christi, welche er in der ersten Einsetzung gesprochen, sind nicht allein im ersten Abendmahl kräftig gewesen, sondern währen, gelten, wirken und sind noch kräftig, daß in allen Orten, da das Abendmahl nach Christi Einsetzung gehalten und seine Worte gebraucht werden, aus Kraft und Vermögen derselben Worte, die Christus im ersten Abendmahl gesprochen, der Leib und Blut Christi, wahrhaftig gegenwärtig, ausgeteilt und empfangen wird. Denn Christus selbst, wo man seine Einsetzung hält und seine Worte über dem Brot und Kelch [über das Brot und den Kelch] spricht und das gesegnete Brot und Kelch austeilt, durch die gesprochenen Worte, **aus Kraft der ersten Einsetzung,** noch [heute noch] durch sein Wort, welches er da will wiederholt haben, kräftig ist; wie Chrysostomus spricht (in Serm. de Pass.) in der Predigt von der Passion: „Christus richtet diesen Tisch selbst zu und segnet ihn; denn kein Mensch das vorgesetzte Brot und Wein zum Leib und Blut Christi macht, sondern Christus selbst, der für uns gekreuzigt ist. Die Worte werden durch des Priesters Mund gesprochen, aber durch Gottes Kraft und Gnade, durch das Wort, da er spricht: ‚Das ist mein Leib', werden die vorgestalten [vorgestellten] Elemente im Abendmahl gesegnet. Und wie diese Rede: ‚Wachset und vermehret euch und erfüllet die Erde', nur einmal geredet, aber allezeit kräftig ist in der Natur, daß sie wächst und sich vermehrt, also ist auch diese Rede einmal gesprochen, aber bis auf diesen Tag und bis an seine Zukunft ist sie kräftig und wirkt, daß im Abendmahl der Kirche sein wahrer Leib und Blut gegenwärtig ist."

Und Lutherus, tom. 6. Ien., fol. 99: „Solch sein Befehl und Einsetzung vermag und schafft, daß wir nicht schlecht Brot und Wein, sondern seinen Leib und Blut darreichen und empfangen, wie seine Worte lauten: ‚Das ist mein Leib' usw. ‚Das ist mein Blut' usw.; daß nicht unser Werk oder Sprechen, sondern der Befehl und Ordnung Christi das Brot zum Leib und den Wein zum Blut macht vom Anfang des ersten Abendmahls bis an der Welt Ende und durch unsern Dienst und Amt täglich gereicht wird."

73] Cum vero etiam de consecratione et de usitata illa regula: *Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum seu actionem divinitus institutam,* dissensiones quaedam inter aliquos Augustanae Confessionis theologos inciderint, de his etiam duobus capitibus unanimem et pium nostrum consensum declarare 74] visum est. Ac de priore illa quaestione, quae est de consecratione, sentimus, quod veram praesentiam corporis et sanguinis Christi in Coena non efficiat ullius hominis vel verbum vel opus, dignitas seu meritum, sive pronuntiatio ministri, seu manducatio, seu fides communicantium; horum nullum nobis corpus et sanguinem Christi praesentia facit. Sed hoc totum, quod in Coena Christi corpus praesens habemus, simpliciter et in solidum omnipotentis Dei virtuti et verbo, institutioni atque ordinationi Domini nostri Iesu Christi est ascribendum.

75] Verissima enim illa et omnipotentia verba Iesu Christi, quae in prima institutione pronuntiavit, non mode in prima illa Coena efficacia fuere, sed eorum vis, virtus et efficacia adhuc hodie durant et valent; ita quidem certe, ut eorum virtute in omnibus locis, ubi Coena Domini iuxta Christi institutionem celebratur et verba ipsius usurpantur, virtute et potentia eorum verborum, quae Christus in prima Coena locutus est, corpus et sanguis Christi vere praesentia distribuantur et sumantur. Christus ipse enim (ubi ipsius institutio observatur et verba eius super pane et vino recitantur et benedictus panis et vinum benedictum distribuuntur) per verba illa recitata, *virtute primae institutionis,* hodie etiam verbo suo, quod repeti vult, efficax est. Hanc 76] piam nostram sententiam Chrysostomus his verbis confirmat. *Et nunc* (inquit) [R. 748 *ille praesto est Christus, qui illam ornavit mensam, ipse istam quoque consecrat. Non enim homo est, qui proposita, panem et vinum, corpus Christi facit et sanguinem, sed ille, qui crucifixus pro nobis est, Christus. Sacerdotis ore verba proferuntur, et Dei virtute consecrantur et gratia. Hoc est, ait: „Corpus meum"; hoc verbo proposita elementa in Coena consecrantur. Et sicut illa vox, quae dicit* [Gen. 1, 28]: *„Crescite et multiplicamini et replete terram", semel quidem dicta est, sed omni tempore sentit effectum, ad generationem operante natura, ita et vox illa: „Hoc est corpus meum, hic est sanguis meus", semel quidem dicta est, sed per omnes mensas ecclesiae usque ad hodiernum diem et usque ad eius adventum praestat sacrificio firmitatem.* De Proditione Iudae, hom. 7, sive de passione.

77] D. Lutherus de hac ipsa re ad eundem modum scribit. *Haec illius iussio et institutio possunt hoc praestare et efficiunt, ut non nudum tantum panem et vinum, verum etiam corpus et sanguinem ipsius distribuamus et accipiamus. Sic enim verba ipsius habent: „Hoc est corpus meum; hic est sanguis meus." Itaque non opus nostrum, non pronuntiatio nostra, sed mandatum et ordinatio Christi efficiunt, ut panis sit corpus et vinum sit sanguis Christi; idque iam inde a prima institutione Coenae usque ad finem mundi fieri solet, nostro autem ministerio haec quotidie distribuuntur.* Tom. 6. Ien., fol. 99.

Since a misunderstanding and dissension among some teachers of the *Augsburg Confession* also has occurred concerning consecration and the common rule, that *nothing is a sacrament without the appointed use* [or divinely instituted act], we have made a fraternal and unanimous declaration to one another also concerning this matter to the following purport, namely, that not the word or work of any man produces the true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, whether it be the merit or recitation of the minister, or the eating and drinking or faith of the communicants; but all this should be ascribed alone to the power of Almighty God and the word, institution, and ordination of our Lord Jesus Christ.

For the true and almighty words of Jesus Christ which He spake at the first institution were efficacious not only at the first Supper, but they endure, are valid, operate, and are still efficacious [their force, power, and efficacy endure and avail even to the present], so that in all places where the Supper is celebrated according to the institution of Christ, and His words are used, the body and blood of Christ are truly present, distributed, and received, because of the power and efficacy of the words which Christ spake at the first Supper. For where His institution is observed and His words are spoken over the bread and cup [wine], and the consecrated bread and cup [wine] are distributed, Christ Himself, through the spoken words, is still efficacious *by virtue of the first institution*, through His word, which He wishes to be there repeated. As Chrysostom says (in *Serm. de Pass.*) in his *Sermon concerning the Passion: Christ Himself prepares this table and blesses it; for no man makes the bread and wine set before us the body and blood of Christ, but Christ Himself who was crucified for us. The words are spoken by the mouth of the priest, but by God's power and grace, by the word, where He speaks: "This is My body," the elements presented are consecrated in the Supper. And just as the declaration, Gen. 1, 28: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," was spoken only once, but is ever efficacious in nature, so that it is fruitful and multiplies, so also this declaration* ["*This is My body; this is My blood*"] *was spoken once, but even to this day and to His advent it is efficacious, and works so that in the Supper of the Church His true body and blood are present.*

Luther also [writes concerning this very subject in the same manner], Tom. VI, Jena, Fol. 99: *This His command and institution have this power and effect that we administer and receive not mere bread and wine, but His body and blood, as His words declare: "This is My body,"* etc.; *"This is My blood,"* etc., *so that it is not our work or speaking, but the command and ordination of Christ that makes the bread the body, and the wine the blood, from the beginning of the first Supper even to the end of the world, and that through our service and office they are daily distributed.*

Item, tom. 3. Ien., fol. 446: „Also hie auch, wenn ich gleich über alle Brote spreche: ‚Das ist Christi Leib', würde freilich nichts daraus folgen [erfolgen, entstehen]; aber wenn wir seiner Einsetzung und Heißung [seinem Befehl] nach im Abendmahl sagen: ‚Das ist mein Leib', so ist's sein Leib, nicht unsers Sprechens oder Thetelworts [ausgesprochenen Wortes] halben, sondern seines Heißens halben, daß er uns also zu sprechen und zu tun geheißen hat und sein Heißen und Tun an unser Sprechen gebunden hat."

Nun sollen die Worte der Einsetzung in der Handlung des heiligen Abendmahls öffentlich vor der Versammlung deutlich und klar gesprochen oder gesungen und keineswegs unterlassen werden, damit dem Befehl Christi: „Das tut!" Gehorsam geleistet und der Zuhörer Glaube vom Wesen und Frucht dieses Sakraments (von der Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi, von Vergebung der Sünden und allen Guttaten, so uns durch Christi Tod und Blutvergießen erworben und im Testament Christi geschenkt sind) durch Christi Worte erweckt, gestärkt und vergewissert [werde], und die Elemente des Brotes und Weines in [zu] diesem heiligen [Ge]Brauch (daß uns damit Christi Leib und Blut zu essen und zu trinken gereicht werde), geheiligt oder gesegnet werden; wie Paulus spricht: „Der gesegnete Kelch, den wir segnen"; welches ja nicht anders denn durch Wiederholung und Erzählung der Worte der Einsetzung geschieht.

Aber dieser Segen oder die Erzählung der Worte der Einsetzung Christi (wo nicht die ganze Aktion des Abendmahls, wie die [wie sie] von Christo geordnet, gehalten wird, als, wenn man das gesegnete Brot nicht austeilt, empfängt und geneußt [genießt], sondern einschleußt [einschließt], aufopfert oder umträgt) macht allein kein Sakrament, sondern es muß der Befehl Christi: „Das tut!" (welches die ganze Aktion oder Verrichtung dieses Sakraments, daß man in einer christlichen Zusammenkunft Brot und Wein nehme, segne, austeile, empfange, esse, trinke und des HErrn Tod dabei verkündige, zusammenfaßt) unzertrennt und unverrückt gehalten werden, wie uns auch St. Paulus die ganze Aktion des Brotbrechens oder Austeilens und Empfangens vor Augen stellt 1 Kor. 10.

Diese wahrhaftige christliche Lehre vom heiligen Abendmahl zu erhalten und vielerlei abgöttische Mißbräuche und Verkehrung dieses Testaments zu meiden und auszutilgen, ist diese nützliche Regel und Richtschnur aus den Worten der Einsetzung genommen: Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum oder extra actionem divinitus institutam (das ist: Wenn man die Stiftung Christi nicht hält, wie er's geordnet hat, ist es kein Sakrament), welche [Regel] mitnichten zu verwerfen, sondern nützlich in der Kirche Gottes kann und soll getrieben und erhalten werden. Und heißet [bezeichnet] allhier usus oder

78] Item alibi: *Sic et hic fit, etiamsi de omnibus panibus haec verba pronuntiarem: „Hoc est corpus Christi", nihil tamen ea re efficeretur. At quando ad ipsius mandatum et institutionem in administratione Coenae Dominicae dicimus: „Hoc est corpus meum", tum revera est ipsius corpus. Non propter nostram pronuntiationem, aut quod haec verba pronuntiata hanc habeant efficaciam, sed quia Christus nobis praecipit, ut haec verba pronuntiemus et hoc agamus, quod ipse in prima Coena fecit et hoc modo suum mandatum et factum cum recitatione nostra coniunxit.* Tom. 3. Ien., fol. 446.

79] Et quidem verba institutionis Christi in administratione Coenae Dominicae [R. 749 palam coram ecclesia diserte et clare recitentur aut decantentur, neque ulla ratione intermittantur; idque plurimis et gravissimis de 80] causis: primum quidem, ut satisfiat et pareatur Christi mandato, qui inquit: *Hoc facite;* non igitur omittendum est, quod Chri- 81] stus ipse in Sacra Coena fecit; deinde, ut auditorum fides de substantia et fructu huius sacramenti (de praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi et de remissione peccatorum omnibusque beneficiis, quae nobis Christi morte et sanguinis profusione partae sunt et nobis in testamento Christi donantur) per verba testamenti Christi excitetur, confirmetur et 82] quam certissima reddatur; praeterea, ut elementa panis et vini ad hunc sacrum usum (quo videlicet nobis una cum illis Christi corpus manducandum et sanguis eius bibendus exhibeatur) sanctificentur seu benedicantur, ut divus Paulus inquit [1 Cor. 10, 16]: *Calix benedictionis, cui benedicimus* etc., haec autem benedictio non alia ratione fit quam verborum institutionis repetitione et recitatione.

83] Haec tamen benedictio seu recitatio verborum institutionis Christi sola non efficit sacramentum, si non tota actio Coenae, quemadmodum ea a Christo ordinata est, observetur; verbi gratia, cum benedictus panis non distribuitur, sumitur aut participatur, sed vel includitur vel sacrificatur vel circumgestatur. Mandatum enim Christi: *Hoc facite,* quod totam actionem complectitur, totum et invio- 84] latum observandum est. Ad huius autem sacramenti administrationem requiritur, ut in conventu aliquo piorum hominum panis et vinum benedictione consecrentur, dispensentur, sumantur, hoc est, edantur et bibantur, et mors Domini annuntietur. Ad hunc enim modum divus Paulus totam actionem, in qua panis frangitur seu distribuitur et sumitur, ob oculos nobis proponit 1 Cor. 10, 16.

85] Accedamus iam etiam ad alterum caput, de quo paulo ante mentio est facta. Ut [R. 750 vera et pia doctrina de Coena Domini sincera conservaretur, et multiplices idololatrici abusus atque corruptelae huius sacrosancti testamenti Christi vitarentur et abolerentur, utilis haec regula et norma ex verbis institutionis Coenae desumpta est: *Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum seu extra actionem divinitus institutam.* Haec regula nequaquam reiicienda est, magno enim cum fructu in ecclesia Christi retineri potest 86] et debet. Vocabula autem *usus* seu *actio*

Also, Tom. III, Jena, Fol. 446: *Thus here also, even though I should pronounce over all bread the words: This is Christ's body, nothing, of course, would result therefrom; but when in the Supper we say, according to His institution and command: "This is My body," it is His body, not on account of our speaking or word uttered* [because these words, when uttered, have this efficacy], *but because of His command — that He has commanded us thus to speak and to do, and has united His command and act with our speaking.*

Now, in the administration of the Holy Supper the words of institution are to be publicly spoken or sung before the congregation distinctly and clearly, and should in no way be omitted [and this for very many and the most important reasons. First,] in order that obedience may be rendered to the command of Christ: *This do* [that therefore should not be omitted which Christ Himself did in the Holy Supper], and [secondly] that the faith of the hearers concerning the nature and fruit of this Sacrament (concerning the presence of the body and blood of Christ, concerning the forgiveness of sins, and all benefits which have been purchased by the death and shedding of the blood of Christ, and are bestowed upon us in Christ's testament) may be excited, strengthened, and confirmed by Christ's Word, and [besides] that the elements of bread and wine may be consecrated or blessed for this holy use, in order that the body and blood of Christ may therewith be administered to us to be eaten and to be drunk, as Paul declares [1 Cor. 10, 16]: *The cup of blessing which we bless*, which indeed occurs in no other way than through the repetition and recitation of the words of institution.

However, this blessing, or the recitation of the words of institution of Christ alone does not make a sacrament if the entire action of the Supper, as it was instituted by Christ, is not observed (as when the consecrated bread is not distributed, received, and partaken of, but is enclosed, sacrificed, or carried about), but the command of Christ, *This do* (which embraces the entire action or administration in this Sacrament, that in an assembly of Christians bread and wine are taken, consecrated, distributed, received, eaten, drunk, and the Lord's death is shown forth at the same time) must be observed unseparated and inviolate, as also St. Paul places before our eyes the entire action of the breaking of bread or of distribution and reception, 1 Cor. 10, 16.

[Let us now come also to the second point, of which mention was made a little before.] To preserve this true Christian doctrine concerning the Holy Supper, and to avoid and abolish manifold idolatrous abuses and perversions of this testament, the following useful rule and standard has been derived from the words of institution: *Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum* ("Nothing has the nature of a sacrament apart from the use instituted by Christ") or *extra actionem divinitus institutam* ("apart from the action divinely instituted"). That is: If the institution of Christ

actio, das ist, Gebrauch oder Handlung, vornehmlich nicht den Glauben, auch nicht allein die mündliche Nießung, sondern die ganze äußerliche, sichtbare, von Christo geordnete Handlung des Abendmahls: die **Konsekration** oder Worte der Einsetzung, die **Austeilung** und **Empfangung** oder mündliche Nießung des gesegneten Brotes und Weines, Leibes und Blutes Christi; außer welchem Gebrauch, wenn das Brot in der papistischen Messe nicht ausgeteilt, sondern aufgeopfert oder eingeschlossen, umgetragen und anzubeten vorgestellt [wird], ist es für kein Sakrament zu halten; gleich als das Taufwasser, wenn es die Glocken zu weihen oder den Aussatz zu heilen gebraucht oder sonst anzubeten vorgestellt würde, kein Sakrament oder Taufe ist; denn solchen papistischen Mißbräuchen diese Regel anfänglich entgegengesetzt und von D. Luthero selbst, tom. 4, Ien., erklärt ist.

Daneben aber müssen wir auch dieses erinnern, daß die Sakramentierer diese nütze [nützliche] und nötige Regel hinterlistig und böslich zur Verleugnung der wahren, wesentlichen Gegenwärtigkeit und mündlichen Nießung des Leibes Christi, so allhier auf Erden beide von Würdigen und Unwürdigen zugleich geschieht, verkehren und auf den usum fidei, das ist, auf den geistlichen und innerlichen Gebrauch des **Glaubens,** deuten, als wäre es den Unwürdigen kein Sakrament, und geschähe die Nießung des Leibes Christi allein geistlich durch den Glauben, oder als machte der Glaube den Leib Christi im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig, und derhalben die unwürdigen, ungläubigen Heuchler den Leib Christi nicht gegenwärtig empfingen.

Nun macht unser Glaube das Sakrament nicht, sondern allein unsers allmächtigen Gottes und Heilandes JEsu Christi wahrhaftiges Wort und Einsetzung, welches stets kräftig ist und bleibt in der Christenheit, und durch die Würdigkeit oder Unwürdigkeit des Dieners oder [deß], der es empfängt, Unglauben [oder durch den Unglauben dessen, der es empfängt] nicht aufgehoben oder unkräftig gemacht wird; gleichwie das Evangelium, ob es schon die gottlosen Zuhörer nicht glauben, dennoch nichtsdestoweniger das wahre Evangelium ist und bleibt, allein daß es in den Ungläubigen zur Seligkeit nicht wirkt. Also die, so das Sakrament empfangen, sie glauben oder glauben nicht, so bleibt Christus nichtsdestoweniger in seinen Worten wahrhaftig, da er sagt: „Nehmet, esset, das ist mein Leib", und wirkt solches nicht durch unsern Glauben, sondern durch seine Allmächtigkeit.

Derhalben es ein schädlicher unverschämter Irrtum ist, daß etliche aus listiger Verkehrung dieser gewöhnlichen Regel unserm Glauben, als der allein den Leib Christi gegenwärtig mache und genieße, mehr als der Allmächtigkeit unsers HErrn und Heilands JEsu Christi zuschreiben.

Was [so]dann der Sakramentierer allerlei vermeinte Gründe und nichtige Gegenargumente von den wesentlichen und natürlichen Eigenschaften eines menschlichen Leibes, von der Himmelfahrt Christi, von seinem Abschied aus dieser Welt und dergleichen anlangt, weil solche allzumal gründlich und ausführlich mit Gottes Wort durch D. Luther in seinen Streitschriften: „Wider die himmlischen

in hoc negotio proprie non significant fidem nec solam manducationem, quae ore fit, sed totam externam visibilem actionem Coenae Dominicae a Christo institutam. Ad eam vero requiritur *consecratio* seu verba institutionis, *distributio* et *sumptio* seu externa, quae dicitur, oralis manducatio benedicti panis et vini, item corporis et sanguinis Christi perceptio.

87] Et cum extra hunc usum panis in missa pontificia non distribuitur, sed vel offertur vel includitur vel circumgestatur aut adorandus proponitur, non est ille pro sacramento agnoscendus. Quemadmodum etiam aqua baptismi, si ad campanas baptizandas aut ad curandam lepram adhiberetur aut adoranda proponeretur, nullam haberet sacramenti (baptismatis) rationem. Huiusmodi pontificiis abusibus haec regula initio renascentis evangelii opposita et ab ipso D. Luthero pie declarata est. Tom. 4, Ien.

88] Interim tamen dissimulare non debemus, quod Sacramentarii hanc utilem et necessariam regulam vafre, subdole et malitiose ad negandam veram et substantialem praesentiam et oralem manducationem corporis Christi (quae hic in terris fit et dignis atque indignis communis est) falsa interpretatione depravent. Interpretantur enim eam de [R. 751 spirituali usu *fidei* interno ac sentiunt, sumptionem Coenae Dominicae indignis non esse sacramentum, et fieri communicationem corporis Christi tantummodo spiritualiter per fidem, aut fidem hoc praestare, ut corpus Christi in Coena praesens sit. Inde porro colligunt, indignos, infideles, hypocritas corpus Christi nec praesens habere nec accipere.

89] Atqui fides nostra sacramentum non efficit, sed tantum omnipotentis Dei atque Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi certissimum verbum et institutio hoc praestant. Verbum enim Domini in ecclesia efficax est manetque, neque vel dignitate vel indignitate ministri, neque sumentis incredulitate quidquam ei derogatur aut virtus eius enervatur. Sanctum Christi evangelion est permanetque evangelion, etiamsi impii quidam auditores nullam illi fidem adhibeant, in quibus etiam illud non est efficax ad salutem. Idem etiam fit in sumptione sacramenti, ut Christus in verbis suis: *Accipite, edite; hoc est corpus meum,* verax maneat, sive communicantes in ipsum credant, sive non credant; praesentiam enim corporis et sanguinis sui non per nostram fidem, sed per omnipotentiam suam efficit.

90] Quare perniciosus error est, quem adversarii impudenter defendunt, et subdola depravatione usitatae huius regulae plus fidei nostrae (quippe quae, ipsorum opinione, corpus Christi praesens nobis sistat atque participet) quam omnipotentiae Domini atque Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi ascribunt.

91] Iam quod ad Sacramentariorum varia et imaginaria fundamenta atque futiles obiectiones attinet, quas illi de essentialibus et naturalibus humani corporis proprietatibus, de ascensu Christi ad coelos et de ipsius ex hoc mundo discessu, et si quae sunt his similia, afferunt: hae nugae, inquam, omnes et singulae, argumentis e Verbo Dei desum-

be not observed as He appointed it, there is no sacrament. This is by no means to be rejected, but can and should be urged and maintained with profit in the Church of God. And the use or action here does not mean chiefly faith, neither the oral participation only, but the entire external, visible action of the Lord's Supper instituted by Christ, [to this indeed is required] the *consecration*, or words of institution, the *distribution* and *reception*, or oral partaking [manducation] of the consecrated bread and wine, [likewise the partaking] of the body and blood of Christ. And apart from this use, when in the papistic mass the bread is not distributed, but offered up or enclosed, borne about, and exhibited for adoration, it is to be regarded as no sacrament; just as the water of baptism, when used to consecrate bells or to cure leprosy, or otherwise exhibited for worship, is no sacrament or baptism. For against such papistic abuses this rule has been set up at the beginning [of the reviving Gospel], and has been explained by Dr. Luther himself, Tom. IV, Jena.

Meanwhile, however, we must call attention also to this, that the Sacramentarians artfully and wickedly pervert this useful and necessary rule, in order to deny the true, essential presence and oral partaking of the body of Christ, which occurs here upon earth alike by the worthy and the unworthy, and interpret it as referring to the *usus fidei*, that is, to the spiritual and inner use of faith, as though it were no sacrament to the unworthy, and the partaking of the body occurred only spiritually, through faith, or as though faith made the body of Christ present in the Holy Supper, and therefore unworthy, unbelieving hypocrites did not receive the body of Christ as being present.

Now, it is not our faith that makes the sacrament, but only the true word and institution of our almighty God and Savior Jesus Christ, which always is and remains efficacious in the Christian Church, and is not invalidated or rendered inefficacious by the worthiness or unworthiness of the minister, nor by the unbelief of the one who receives it. Just as the Gospel, even though godless hearers do not believe it, yet is and remains none the less the true Gospel, only it does not work for salvation in the unbelieving; so, whether those who receive the Sacrament believe or do not believe, Christ remains none the less true in His words when He says: *Take, eat: this is My body*, and effects this [His presence] not by our faith, but by His omnipotence.

Accordingly, it is a pernicious, shameless error that some from a cunning perversion of this familiar rule ascribe more to our faith, which [in their opinion] alone renders present and partakes of the body of Christ, than to the omnipotence of our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ.

Now, as regards the various imaginary reasons and futile counter-arguments of the Sacramentarians concerning the essential and natural attributes of a human body, concerning the ascension of Christ, concerning His

Propheten"; item, „Daß dieſe Worte: ‚Das iſt mein Leib' uſw. noch feſtſtehen"; desgleichen in ſeinem großen und kleinen „Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl" und andern ſeinen Schriften widerlegt und nach ſeinem Tode nichts Neues durch die Rottengeiſter vorgebracht, wollen wir den chriſtlichen Leſer um geliebter Kürze willen in dieſelben gewieſen und uns darauf gezogen [bezogen] haben.

Denn daß wir uns durch keine menſchlichen klugen Gedanken, was für einen Schein und Anſehen ſie immermehr haben mögen, nicht wollen, können noch ſollen abführen laſſen von dem einfältigen, deutlichen und klaren Verſtand des Wortes und Teſtaments Chriſti auf fremde Meinung, anders denn wie ſie lauten, ſondern gehörtermaßen einfältig verſtehen und glauben, ſind unſere Gründe, darauf wir in dieſer Sache je und allewege nach erregtem Zwieſpalt von dieſem Artikel geſtanden, dieſe, wie D. Luther dieſelben gleich anfangs [1528] wider die Sakramentierer mit nachfolgenden Worten geſetzt hat (D. Luther im großen Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl): „Meine Gründe, darauf ich ſtehe in ſolchem Stück, ſind dieſe:

„1. Der erſte iſt dieſer Artikel unſers Glaubens: JEſus Chriſtus iſt weſentlicher, natürlicher, wahrhaftiger, völliger Gott und Menſch in einer Perſon, unzertrennt und ungeteilt.

„2. Der andere, daß Gottes rechte Hand allenthalben iſt.

„3. Der dritte, daß Gottes Wort nicht falſch iſt oder Lügen [lüge].

„4. Der vierte, daß Gott mancherlei Weiſe hat und weiß, etwa [irgendwo] an einem Ort zu ſein, und nicht allein die einige, da die Schwärmer von gaukeln, welche die Philoſophi localem oder räumliche nennen."

Item: „Chriſtus' einiger Leib hat dreierlei Weiſe oder alle drei Weiſen, etwa [irgendwo] zu ſein:

„Erſtlich die begreifliche, leibliche Weiſe, wie er auf Erden leiblich ging, da er Raum gab und nahm, nach ſeiner Größe. Solche Weiſe kann er noch brauchen, wenn er will, wie er nach der Auferſtehung tate [tat] und am Jüngſten Tage brauchen wird, wie Paulus ſagt 1 Tim. 6: ‚Welchen wird zeigen zu ſeiner Zeit derſelbige Gott' [welche wird zeigen zu ſeiner Zeit der ſelige Gott]. Und Kol. 3: ‚Wenn Chriſtus, euer Leben, ſich offenbaren wird.' Auf ſolche Weiſe iſt er nicht in Gott oder bei dem Vater noch im Himmel, wie der tolle Geiſt träumt; denn Gott iſt nicht ein leiblicher Raum oder Stätte. Und hierauf gehen die Sprüche, ſo die Geiſtler [die Schwarmgeiſter] führen, wie Chriſtus die Welt verlaſſe und zum Vater gehe.

„Zum andern die unbegreifliche, geiſtliche Weiſe, da er keinen Raum nimmt noch gibt, ſondern durch alle Kreatur fährt, wo er will, wie mein Geſicht

ptis, solide, nervose et copiose a D. Luthero in polemicis ipsius scriptis refutatae [R. 752 sunt. Quare pium lectorem (brevitatis studio) ad illius scripta remittimus. In his autem principem locum habent: libellus, quem contra coelestes prophetas (ut tum vocabantur) edidit, et aliud opusculum, cuius inscriptio est: Quod verba: *Hoc est corpus meum* adhuc firma constent; item maior ipsius et minor (post aliquot annos) edita confessio de Coena Domini et alia praeterea eiusdem de hoc negotio evulgata opuscula. Neque enim fanatici spiritus a morte D. Lutheri ullum novum argumentum in medium attulerunt.

92] Quod autem nullis argumentis ab hominibus argute excogitatis, utcunque rationi blandiantur, abduci nos patimur, nec pati vel volumus vel possumus vel debemus a perspicua, simplicissima et clara verborum testamenti Christi sententia in aliam opinionem, quae ab expressis verbis Christi recedit, sed simpliciter potius ea intelligimus et credimus: haec nostra sunt fundamenta, quibus hactenus, post motam controversiam in hoc arti-
93] culo, constanter nixi sumus, quae etiam D. Lutherus initio exortae huius dissensionis contra Sacramentarios sequentibus verbis posuit (D. Lutherus in maiori sua de Coena Domini confessione): *Mea fundamenta, quibus in hoc negotio nitor, haec sunt:*

94] I. *Primum est hic articulus fidei: Iesus Christus est substantialis, naturalis, verus, perfectus Deus et homo, in una persona indivisus et inseparabilis.*

95] II. *Secundum, quod dextera Dei est ubique.*

96] III. *Tertium, quod Verbum Dei neque falsum est neque fallax.*

97] IV. *Quartum, quod Deus varios modos habet novitque, quibus aliquo in loco esse potest, neque uno illo tantummodo contentus esse cogitur, de quo fanatici homines nugantur, quem philosophi localem vocant.*

98] *Et Christi unicum corpus* (inquit Lutherus) *tribus modis seu triplici ratione potest alicubi esse:*

99] *Primo, comprehensibili et corporali ratione, quali usus est, cum in terris* [R. 753 *corporaliter conversaretur, cum certo loco secundum quantitatem suam circumscriberetur. Hoc modo etiam hodie uti potest, quoties ipsi visum fuerit, id quod post resurrectionem suam aliquoties fecit et in novissimo die tali ratione praesentiae sese manifestabit, sicut Paulus de Christo docet, inquiens 1 Tim. 6, 15: „Quem* [quam] *suis temporibus ostendat beatus et solus potens, Rex regum et Dominus dominantium." Et ad Colossenses 3, 4: „Cum Christus apparuerit, vita vestra"* etc. *Hoc modo Christus non est in Deo aut apud Patrem, aut in coelis, sicut fanaticus ille spiritus somniat. Deus enim non est corporalis locus. Et de hoc modo agitur in illis Scripturae dictis, quae a fanaticis hominibus afferuntur, quod videlicet Christus mundum reliquerit et ad Patrem iverit.*

100] *Deinde alio incomprehensibili et spirituali modo alicubi esse potest, ut loco non circumscribatur, sed per omnes creaturas pene-*

departure from this world, and such like, inasmuch as these have one and all been refuted thoroughly and in detail, from God's Word, by Dr. Luther in his controversial writings: *Against the Heavenly Prophets, That These Words, "This Is My Body," Still Stand Firm;* likewise in his *Large* and his *Small Confession concerning the Holy Supper* [published some years afterwards], and in other of his writings, and inasmuch as since his death nothing new has been advanced by the factious spirits, we would for the sake of brevity have the Christian reader directed to them and have referred to them.

For that we neither will, nor can, nor should allow ourselves to be led away by thoughts of human wisdom, whatever outward appearance or authority they may have, from the simple, distinct, and clear sense of the Word and testament of Christ to a strange opinion, other than the words read, but that, in accordance with what is above stated, we understand and believe them simply, our reasons upon which we have rested in this matter ever since the controversy concerning this article arose, are those which Dr. Luther himself, in the very beginning, presented against the Sacramentarians in the following words (Dr. Luther in his *Large Confession concerning the Holy Supper*): *My reasons upon which I rest in this matter are the following:*

1. *The first is this article of our faith: Jesus Christ is essential, natural, true, perfect God and man in one person, inseparable and undivided.*

2. *The second, that God's right hand is everywhere.*

3. *The third, that God's Word is not false, nor does it lie.*

4. *The fourth, that God has and knows of many modes of being in any place, and not only the single one concerning which the fanatics talk flippantly, and which philosophers call* LOCALEM, *or local.*

Also: *The one body of Christ* [says Luther] *has a threefold mode or all three modes of being anywhere.*

First, the comprehensible, bodily mode, as He went about bodily upon earth, when, according to His size, He vacated and occupied space [was circumscribed by a fixed place]. *This mode He can still use whenever He will, as He did after the resurrection, and will use at the last day, as Paul says, 1 Tim. 6, 15: "Which in His times He shall show, who is the blessed God* [and only Potentate, the King of kings and Lord of lords]." *And to the Colossians, 3, 4: "When Christ, who is our Life, shall appear." In this manner He is not in God or with the Father, neither in heaven, as the mad spirits dream; for God is not a bodily space or place. And this is what the passages how Christ leaves the world and goes to the Father refer to which the false spirits cite.*

Secondly, the incomprehensible, spiritual mode, according to which He neither occupies nor vacates space, but penetrates all creatures

(daß ich grobes Gleichnis gebe) durch Luft, Licht oder Waſſer fährt und iſt [und in denſelben iſt] und nicht Raum nimmt noch gibt; wie Klang oder Ton durch Luft oder Waſſer oder Brett und Wand fährt und iſt und auch nicht Raum nimmt noch gibt; item, wie Licht und Hitze durch Luft, Waſſer, Glas, Kriſtall und dergleichen fährt und iſt und auch nicht Raum gibt noch nimmt; und dergleichen viel mehr. Solcher Weiſe hat er gebraucht, da er aus verſchloſſenem Grabe fuhr und durch verſchloſſene Tür kam, und im Brot und Wein im Abendmahl, und, wie man glaubt, da er von ſeiner Mutter geboren ward.

tret pro liberrima sua voluntate, quemadmodum (ut crassa quadam similitudine rem utcunque adumbrem) visus meus per aërem, lumen aut aquam penetrat atque in iis rebus est, neque tamen loco circumscribitur. Et quemadmodum sonus per aquam, aërem, asserem aut parietem transit et in iis rebus est neque tamen loco circumscribitur. Eodem modo etiam lux et calor per aërem, aquam, vitrum, crystallum et per similes materias penetrant et in iis rebus sunt, nec tamen loco circumscribuntur; et quidem eius rei multae comparationes adduci possent. Hoc modo usus est Christus, cum resurgens e sepulcro clauso et obsignato prodiret, et quando per ianuas clausas ad discipulos ingrederetur, et sicut est in pane et vino Coenae, atque hoc modo creditur de sanctissima virgine Maria, matre sua, natus esse.

„Zum dritten die göttliche, himmliſche Weiſe, da er mit Gott e i n e Perſon iſt, nach welcher freilich alle Kreaturen ihm gar viel durchläuftiger und gegenwärtiger ſein müſſen, denn ſie ſind nach der andern Weiſe. Denn ſo er nach derſelben andern Weiſe kann alſo ſein in und bei den Kreaturen, daß ſie ihn nicht fühlen, rühren, meſſen noch begreifen, wieviel mehr wird er nach dieſer hohen dritten Weiſe in allen Kreaturen wunderlich ſein, daß ſie ihn nicht meſſen noch begreifen, ſondern vielmehr, daß er ſie vor ſich hat gegenwärtig, [ſie] miſſet und begreift. Denn du mußt dies Weſen [dieſes Sein] Chriſti, ſo er mit Gott e i n e Perſon iſt, gar weit, weit außer den Kreaturen ſetzen, ſo weit, als Gott draußen iſt, wiederum ſo tief und nahe in allen Kreaturen ſetzen, als Gott darinnen iſt. Denn er iſt eine unzertrennte Perſon mit Gott; wo Gott iſt, da muß er auch ſein, oder unſer Glaube iſt falſch. Wer will aber ſagen oder denken, wie ſolches zugehe? Wir wiſſen wohl, daß es alſo ſei, daß er in Gott, außer allen Kreaturen, und mit Gott e i n e Perſon iſt, aber wie es zugehe, wiſſen wir nicht; es iſt über Natur und Vernunft, auch aller Engel im Himmel, allein Gott bewußt und bekannt. Weil es denn uns unbekannt und doch wahr iſt, ſo ſollen wir ſeine Worte nicht eher leugnen, wir wiſſen denn zu beweiſen gewiß, daß Chriſtus' Leib allerdings nicht [auf keine Weiſe] möge ſein, wo Gott iſt, und daß ſolche Weiſe zu ſein falſch ſei; welches die Schwärmer ſollen beweiſen, aber ſie werden's laſſen.

101] *Praeterea alicubi esse potest divino et coelesti modo, secundum quem cum Deo* [R. 754 *una est persona. Ea ratione creaturae longe illi praesentiores et penetratu faciliores sunt quam iuxta secundum modum. Si enim iuxta illum secundum modum potest esse in creaturis et apud creaturas, ut tamen ipsum non sentiant, tangant, circumscribant aut comprehendant, multo profecto magis secundum hunc tertium, admirandum, sublimem modum in omnibus creaturis, multoque mirabilius erit, ut ipsum non includant, circumscribant aut comprehendant, sed potius, ut ipsas praesentes habeat, circumscribat et comprehendat. Hunc enim praesentiae Christi modum, quem ex unione personali cum Deo habet, longissime extra creaturas, quam longe videlicet Deus extra creaturas est, ponere te oportet. Rursus autem tam profunde et prope eundem modum in omnes creaturas, quam profunde et prope Deus in omnibus creaturis est, pones. Est enim una inseparabilis persona cum Deo; ubi igitur Deus est, ibi ipsum quoque esse, aut* **102**] *fidem nostram falsam esse oportet. Quis autem explicare aut saltem cogitationibus suis assequi poterit, quomodo hoc fiat? Scimus quidem, rem revera ita se habere, quod videlicet sit in Deo extra omnes creaturas, et cum ipso una sit persona; modum autem, quo ista fiant, ignoramus. Excedit hoc mysterium naturam et rationis humanae, imo etiam angelorum in coelis captum; soli Deo notum est. Cum igitur hoc arcanum nobis incomprehensum et tamen verissimum sit, non decet nos ipsius verbo contradicere, nisi firmis argumentis probare possimus, quod Christi corpus nequaquam ibi esse valeat, ubi Deus est, et quod hic modus praesentiae confictus sit. Hoc fanaticis illis hominibus probandum incumbit, sed nunquam id praestabunt.*

„Ob nun Gott noch mehr Weiſen habe und wiſſe, wie Chriſtus' Leib etwa [irgendwo] ſei, will ich hiemit nicht verleugnet, ſondern angezeigt haben, wie grobe Hempel [Tröpfe, einfältige Menſchen] unſere Schwärmer ſind, daß ſie Chriſtus' Leib nicht mehr denn die erſte, begreifliche Weiſe zugeben; wiewohl ſie auch dieſelbige nicht können beweiſen, daß ſie wider unſern Verſtand ſei [unſerm Verſtändnis zuwider ſei]. Denn ich's in keinem Weg leugnen will, daß Gottes Gewalt nicht ſollte ſo viel vermögen, daß ein Leib zugleich an vielen Orten ſein möge [ſein könne], auch leiblicher-, begreiflicherweiſe. Denn wer will's beweiſen, daß Gott ſolches nicht vermag? Wer hat ſeiner Gewalt ein Ende geſehen? Die Schwärmer denken

103] *An vero Deus etiam plures modos habeat et norit, iuxta quos Christi corpus alicubi sit, ego haudquaquam negaverim. Hoc saltem indicare volui, quam crassi et* [R. 755 *stupidi homines sint fanatici illi, qui Christi corpori nonnisi unicum illum, primum et comprehensibilem praesentiae modum tribuunt. Sed neque de illo modo probare poterunt, quod cum nostra sententia pugnet. Ego enim nunquam asserere velim, quod potentia Dei non efficere valeat, ut unum corpus simul in pluribus locis, etiam corporali et comprehensibili modo, adesse possit. Quis enim et quibus argumentis evincet, quod hoc Deo sit impossibile? Quis potentiae ipsius finem depre-*

wherever He pleases [according to His most free will]; *as, to make an imperfect comparison, my sight penetrates and is in air, light, or water, and does not occupy or vacate space; as a sound or tone penetrates and is in air or water or board and wall, and also does not occupy or vacate space; likewise, as light and heat penetrate and are in air, water, glass, crystal, and the like, and also do not vacate or occupy space; and much more of the like* [many comparisons of this matter could be adduced]. *This mode He used when He rose from the closed* [and sealed] *sepulcher, and passed through the closed door* [to His disciples], *and in the bread and wine in the Holy Supper, and, as it is believed, when He was born of His mother* [the most holy Virgin Mary].

Thirdly, the divine, heavenly mode, since He is one person with God, according to which, of course, all creatures must be far more penetrable and present to Him than they are according to the second mode. For if, according to that second mode, He can be in and with creatures in such a manner that they do not feel, touch, circumscribe, or comprehend Him, how much more wonderfully will He be in all creatures according to this sublime third mode, so that they do not circumscribe nor comprehend Him, but rather that He has them present before Himself, circumscribes and comprehends them! For you must place this being of Christ, who is one person with God [for you must place this mode of presence of Christ which He has by His personal union with God], *very far, far outside of the creatures, as far as God is outside of them; and again as deep and near within all creatures as God is within them. For He is one inseparable person with God; where God is, there must He also be, or our faith is false. But who will say or think how this occurs? We know indeed that it is so, that He is in God outside of all creatures, and one person with God, but how it occurs we do not know; it* [this mystery] *is above nature and reason, even above the reason of all the angels in heaven; it is understood and known only by God. Now, since it is unknown to us, and yet true, we should not deny His words before we know how to prove to a certainty that the body of Christ can by no means be where God is, and that this mode of being* [presence] *is false. This the fanatics must prove; but they will forego it.*

Now, whether God has and knows still more modes in which Christ's body is anywhere, I did not intend to deny herewith, but to indicate what awkward dolts our fanatics are, that they concede to the body of Christ no more than the first, comprehensible mode; although they cannot even prove that to be conflicting with our meaning. For in no way will I deny that the power of God may accomplish this much that a body might be in many places at the same time, even in a bodily, comprehensible way. For who will prove that this

wohl also, Gott vermöge es nicht; aber wer will ihrem Denken glauben? Womit machen sie solches Denken gewiß?" Bis daher Lutherus.

Aus welchen Worten D. Luthers auch dies klar ist, in was Verstande [in welcher Bedeutung] das Wort „geistlich" in unsern Kirchen von diesem Handel gebraucht wird. Denn dieses Wort „geistlich" heißt den Sakramentierern anders nichts denn die geistliche Gemeinschaft, wenn durch den Glauben im Geist Christo dem HErrn die Rechtgläubigen [wahrhaft Gläubigen] einverleibt und wahrhaftige geistliche Glieder seines Leibes werden.

Wenn aber D. Luther oder wir dies Wort „geistlich" in diesem Handel gebrauchen, verstehen wir dadurch die geistliche, übernatürliche, himmlische Weise, nach welcher Christus bei dem heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig [ist und] nicht allein in den Gläubigen Trost und Leben, sondern auch in den Ungläubigen das Gericht wirkt, dadurch wir die kapernaitischen Gedanken von der groben, fleischlichen Gegenwärtigkeit verwerfen, welche unsern Kirchen durch die Sakramentierer über [unbekümmert um und wider] alles unser öffentlich vielfältig Bezeugen zugemessen und aufgedrungen wird; in welchem Verstande wir auch reden, daß der Leib und Blut Christi im heiligen Abendmahl geistlich empfangen, [ge]gessen und getrunken werde, obwohl solche Nießung mit dem Munde geschieht, die Weise aber geistlich ist.

Also ist unser Glaube in diesem Artikel von der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im heiligen Abendmahl auf des wahrhaftigen, allmächtigen Gottes, unsers HErrn und Heilandes JEsu Christi, **Wahrheit und Allmächtigkeit** gebaut; welche Gründe (unsern Glauben in allen Anfechtungen dieses Artikels halben zu stärken und zu befestigen und dagegen alle der Sakramentierer Gegenwürfe und Einreden, wie annehmlich und scheinlich [scheinbar richtig] sie der Vernunft immer sein mögen, umzustoßen und zu widerlegen) stark und fest genug sind, darauf sich auch ein christlich Herz sicher und fest lehnen und verlassen kann.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir mit Herzen und Mund als falsch, irrig und verführerisch alle Irrtümer, so dieser obgesetzten und in Gottes Wort gegründeten Lehre ungemäß, zuwider und entgegen sind, als:

1. Erstlich die papistische Transsubstantiation, da gelehrt wird, daß das konsekrierte oder gesegnete Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl seine Substanz und Wesen ganz und gar verlieren und in die Substanz des Leibes und Blutes Christi verwandelt werden, also daß allein die bloße Gestalt des Brotes und Weines, oder accidentia sine subiecto, übrigbleiben; unter welcher Gestalt des Brotes der Leib Christi (das doch nicht mehr Brot [sei], sondern ihrem Vorgeben nach sein natürlich Wesen verloren [habe]) auch außerhalb der Handlung des Abendmahls, wenn das Brot in das Sakramenthäuslein eingeschlossen oder zum Schauspiel und anzubeten umhergetragen wird, gegenwärtig sei; denn nichts Sakrament sein kann außer Gottes Befehl und geordnetem [Ge]Brauch, dazu es in Gottes Wort eingesetzt ist, wie droben angezeigt worden.

hendit? Fanatici quidem id cogitant: hoc Deus praestare non potest; sed quis ipsorum cogitationibus credet, et quo argumentorum genere has cogitationes suas confirmabunt? Hactenus Lutherus.

104] Ex his D. Lutheri verbis etiam manifestum est, in qua significatione vocabulum *spiritualiter* in ecclesiis nostris quoad hoc negotium usurpetur. Vocabulum enim *spiritualiter* Sacramentariis nihil aliud significat quam spiritualem illam communionem, quando nimirum per fidem in Spiritu vere credentes Christo Domino incorporantur et revera spiritualia membra corporis eius fiunt.

105] Cum vero D. Lutherus aut nos vocabulo *spiritualiter* in hoc negotio utimur, intelligimus spiritualem, supernaturalem, coelestem modum, secundum quem Christus in Sacra Coena praesens est et non tantum in credentibus consolationem et vitam, verum etiam in infidelibus iudicium efficit. Et quidem per vocabulum illud *spiritualiter* Capernaiticas illas imaginationes de crassa et carnali praesentia excludimus et reiicimus, quae ecclesiis nostris per Sacramentarios post tot publicas nostras protestationes affingitur. Et in ea sententia intelligi volumus vocabulum *spiritualiter*, cum dicimus, corpus et [R. 756 sanguinem Christi in Sacra Coena spiritualiter accipi, edi et bibi. Tametsi enim participatio illa ore fiat, tamen modus spiritualis est.

106] Fides igitur nostra in hoc articulo de vera praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena super veri et omnipotentis Dei, Domini et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi, *veritatem et omnipotentiam* est fundata et exstructa. Haec fundamenta ita solida atque immota sunt, ut et fidem nostram in omnibus tentationibus (quae de hoc articulo incidere possunt) confirmare et stabilire et omnes Sacramentariorum obiectiones et argutias, utcunque speciosae sint et humanae rationi plurimum blandiantur, refutare et evertere et piis animis per omnia sufficere et praesentissimam consolationem et fiduciam afferre possint.

107] Quare reiicimus et damnamus corde et ore utpote fallaces et fraude plenos omnes errores, qui recitatae iam sanae doctrinae et in sacris litteris fundatae adversantur et repugnant:

108] I. Pontificiam transsubstantiationem, cum docetur, quod panis et vinum, si consecrata seu benedicta fuerint, in Sacrosancta Coena substantiam et essentiam suam penitus amittant et in substantiam corporis et sanguinis Christi convertantur, ita quidem, ut sola externa species panis et vini, sive accidentia sine subiecto, reliqua maneant. Et quod fingunt, corpus Christi sub specie panis (qui tamen panis ipsorum opinione iam non amplius est panis, sed naturalem suam essentiam amisit) revera praesens esse etiam extra actionem Coenae Dominicae, cum videlicet panis in sacrario inclusus asservatur aut in solenni et theatrica pompa adorandus ostentatur et circumgestatur. Nihil enim rationem sacramenti habere potest extra mandatum Dei et usum a Christo institutum, ut supra monuimus.

is impossible with God? Who has seen an end to His power? The fanatics indeed think thus: God cannot do it. But who will believe their thinking? With what do they make such thinking sure? Thus far Luther.

From these words of Dr. Luther this, too, is clear in what sense the word *spiritual* is employed in our churches with reference to this matter. For to the Sacramentarians this word *spiritual* means nothing else than the spiritual communion, when through faith true believers are in the Spirit incorporated into Christ, the Lord, and become true spiritual members of His body.

But when Dr. Luther or we employ this word *spiritual* in regard to this matter, we understand by it the spiritual, supernatural, heavenly mode, according to which Christ is present in the Holy Supper, working not only consolation and life in the believing, but also condemnation in the unbelieving; whereby we reject the Capernaitic thoughts of the gross [and] carnal presence which is ascribed to and forced upon our churches by the Sacramentarians against our manifold public protestations. In this sense we also say [wish the word *spiritually* to be understood when we say] that in the Holy Supper the body and blood of Christ are spiritually received, eaten, and drunk, although this participation occurs with the mouth, while the mode is spiritual.

Thus our faith in this article concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper is based upon the *truth and omnipotence* of the true, almighty God, our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. These foundations are strong and firm enough to strengthen and establish our faith in all temptations concerning this article, and, on the contrary, to overthrow and refute all the counter-arguments and objections of the Sacramentarians, however agreeable and plausible they may be to our reason; and upon them a Christian heart also can securely and firmly rest and rely.

Accordingly, with heart and mouth we reject and condemn as false, erroneous, and misleading all errors which are not in accordance with, but contrary and opposed to, the doctrine above mentioned and founded upon God's Word, such as,

1. The papistic transubstantiation, when it is taught that the consecrated or blessed bread and wine in the Holy Supper lose entirely their substance and essence, and are changed into the substance of the body and blood of Christ in such a way that only the mere form of bread and wine is left, or *accidentia sine subiecto* (the accidents without the object); under which form of the bread, which nevertheless is bread no longer, but according to their assertion has lost its natural essence, the body of Christ is present even apart from the administration of the Holy Supper, when the bread is enclosed in the pyx or is carried about for display and adoration. For nothing can be a sacrament without God's command and the appointed use for which it is instituted in God's Word, as was shown above.

2. Desgleichen verwerfen und verdammen wir alle andern papistischen Mißbräuche dieses Sakraments, als, den Greuel der Opfermesse für die Lebendigen und Toten.

3. Item, daß den Laien nur eine Gestalt des Sakraments wider den öffentlichen Befehl und Einsetzung Christi gereicht wird, wie dieselben papistischen Mißbräuche in unserer Kirchen gemeinen Konfession und Apologia, Schmalkaldischen Artikeln und andern der Unsern Schriften ausführlich mit Gottes Wort und der alten Kirche Zeugnissen widerlegt worden.

Dieweil aber in dieser Schrift wir vornehmlich allein von der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi wider die Sakramentierer, deren etliche sich unter der Augsburgischen Konfession Namen in diese Kirchen unverschämt eindringen, unser Bekenntnis und Erklärung zu tun vorgenommen, so wollen wir auch der Sakramentierer Irrtümer vornehmlich allhier setzen und erzählen, damit unsere Zuhörer, daß sie sich davor hüten und vorsehen können, zu verwarnen.

Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir mit Mund und Herzen als falsch, irrig und verführerisch alle sakramentierischen opiniones und Lehren, so dieser obgesetzten und in Gottes Wort gegründeten Lehre ungemäß, zuwider und entgegen sind:

1. Als, wenn sie vorgeben, daß die Worte der Einsetzung nicht einfältig in ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung, wie sie lauten, von der wahren, wesentlichen Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl verstanden, sondern durch tropos oder figürliche Deutung auf einen andern, neuen, fremden Verstand gezogen werden sollen; wie wir hiermit alle solche sakramentierischen opiniones und ihnen [und einander] selbst widerwärtigen Meinungen, wie vielfältig und mancherlei dieselben auch seien, verwerfen.

2. Item, daß die mündliche Nießung des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl geleugnet und dagegen gelehrt wird, daß der Leib Christi im Abendmahl allein geistlich, durch den Glauben, genossen werde, also daß unser Mund im Abendmahl nur allein Brot und Wein empfange.

3. Gleichfalls auch, da gelehrt wird, daß Brot und Wein im Abendmahl nicht mehr sein sollen als Kennzeichen, dadurch die Christen untereinander zu erkennen; oder

4. Daß sie nur Bedeutungen, Gleichnisse und Anbildungen [Abbildungen] des weit abwesenden Leibes Christi seien, dergestalt, daß, gleichwie Brot und Wein unsers Leibes äußerliche Speise ist, also sei auch der abwesende Leib Christi mit seinem Verdienst unserer Seele geistliche Speise.

5. Oder, daß sie nicht mehr als Wahrzeichen, Gedenkzeichen des abwesenden Leibes Christi seien, durch welche Zeichen, als durch ein äußerliches Pfand, wir versichert werden sollten, daß der Glaube, der sich vom Abendmahl abwendet und über alle Himmel steigt, droben ja so wahrhaftig des Leibes und Blutes Christi teilhaftig werde, als so wahr wir im Abendmahl mit dem Munde die äußerlichen Zeichen empfangen; und daß also die Versicherung und Bekräftigung unsers Glau-

109] II. Repudiamus et damnamus etiam omnes alios pontificios abusus huius [R. 757 sacramenti, imprimis vero abominationem sacrificii missae pro vivis et defunctis.

110] III. Quod laicis (ut vocant) una tantum sacramenti species sive pars (et quidem contra expressum mandatum et claram institutionem Christi) porrigitur. Et sane hi aliique plurimi pontificii abusus in ecclesiis nostris, in communi illa Confessione et Apologia, in Smalcaldicis Articulis et aliis nostrorum scriptis, solide Verbo Dei et eruditae atque piae antiquitatis testimoniis refutati et reiecti sunt.

111] Cum autem in hoc scripto praecipue confessionem et declarationem nostram de vera praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi contra Sacramentarios (quorum aliqui sub Augustanae Confessionis titulo in ecclesias nostras sine fronte sese ingerunt) proponere voluerimus, eam ob causam Sacramentariorum errores praecipue hoc loco recitare et commemorare visum est, eo fine, ut auditores nostri eos agnoscere et cavere possint.

112] Reiicimus igitur atque damnamus corde et ore ut falsas et imposturae plenas omnes Sacramentariorum opiniones et dogmata, quae supra commemoratae et in Verbo Dei fundatae doctrinae non consentiunt, sed adversantur et repugnant:

113] I. Cum docetur, quod verba institutionis non simpliciter in propria sua significatione, ut sonant, de vera substantiali corporis et sanguinis Christi praesentia in Coena Domini, accipienda, sed per tropos et figuratas significationes in alienam et novam sententiam sint torquenda. Et hoc loco omnes Sacramentariorum opiniones eiusmodi, quarum aliquae inter se etiam pugnant (quot aut quam variae illae sint), reiicimus.

114] II. Quod oralis sumptio corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena a Sacramentariis negatur eique opponitur, quod [R. 758 corpus Christi in Coena spiritualiter tantum, per fidem, accipiatur, ita quidem, ut ore in Sacra Coena tantum panem et vinum edamus atque bibamus.

115] III. Quod docetur, panem et vinum in Coena Domini nihil aliud esse nisi notas quasdam professionis, quibus Christiani se invicem agnoscant.

IV. Vel quod panis et vinum sint tantum figurae, symbola, typi ac similitudines longissime absentis corporis Christi, ea quidem ratione, quod, ut panis et vinum sunt cibus externus nostri corporis, ita absens corpus Christi una cum ipsius merito sit animae nostrae cibus spiritualis.

116] V. Quod panis et vinum non sint nisi symbola aut signa memorialia absentis corporis Christi, quibus signis tamquam externo pignore confirmemur, quod fides illa (quae a Coena sese avertit et supra omnes coelos ascendit) sursum non minus vere corporis et sanguinis Christi particeps fiat, quam revera in Coena Domini ore externa symbola accipimus. Et quod hoc modo fides nostra in Sacra Coena tantummodo per externa symbola, non

2. We likewise reject and condemn all other papistic abuses of this Sacrament, as the abomination of the sacrifice of the mass for the living and dead.

3. Also, that contrary to the public command and institution of Christ only one form of the Sacrament is administered to the laity; as these papistic abuses have been thoroughly refuted by means of God's Word and the testimonies of the ancient Church, in the common *Confession* and the *Apology* of our churches, the *Smalcald Articles*, and other writings of our theologians.

However, since we have undertaken in this document to present especially only our confession and explanation concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Christ against the Sacramentarians, some of whom shamelessly insinuate themselves into our churches under the name of the Augsburg Confession, we will also state and enumerate here especially the errors of the Sacramentarians, in order to warn our hearers to guard against and look out for them.

Accordingly, with heart and mouth we reject and condemn as false, erroneous, and misleading all Sacramentarian *opiniones* (opinions) and doctrines which are not in accordance with, but contrary and opposed to, the doctrine above presented and founded upon God's Word:

1. As when they assert that the words of institution are not to be understood simply in their proper signification, as they read, of the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, but are to be wrested, by means of *tropi* (tropes) or figurative interpretations, to another new, strange sense. We hereby reject all such Sacramentarian *opiniones* (opinions) and self-contradictory notions [of which some even conflict with each other], however manifold and various they may be.

2. Also, that the oral participation of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper is denied [by the Sacramentarians], and it is taught, on the contrary, that the body of Christ in the Supper is partaken of only spiritually by faith, so that in the Supper our mouth receives only bread and wine.

3. Likewise, also, when it is taught that bread and wine in the Supper should be regarded as nothing more than tokens by which Christians are to recognize one another; or,

4. That they are only figures, similitudes, and representations [symbols, types] of the far-absent body of Christ, in such a manner that just as bread and wine are the outward food of our body, so also the absent body of Christ, with His merit, is the spiritual food of our souls.

5. Or that they are no more than tokens or memorials of the absent body of Christ, by which signs, as an external pledge, we should be assured that the faith which turns from the Supper and ascends beyond all heavens and there above becomes as truly participant of the body and blood of Christ as we truly receive with the mouth the external signs in the Supper; and that thus the assurance

bens im Abendmahl geschehe allein durch die äußerlichen Zeichen und nicht durch den wahrhaftigen, gegenwärtigen und uns überreichten Leib und Blut Christi.

6. Oder, daß im Abendmahl dem **Glauben** allein die Kraft, Wirkung und Verdienst des weit **abwesenden** Leibes Christi ausgeteilt werde, und wir also seines abwesenden Leibes teilhaftig werden; und daß auf diese jetzt erzählte Weise unio sacramentalis, das ist, sakramentliche Vereinigung, zu verstehen sei de analogia signi et signati, das ist, wie Brot und Wein mit dem Leib und Blut Christi ein Gleichnis [eine Ähnlichkeit] haben.

7. Oder, daß der Leib und Blut Christi anders nicht denn allein geistlich, durch den Glauben, empfangen und genossen werde.

8. Item, da gelehrt wird, daß Christus von wegen seiner Himmelfahrt mit seinem Leibe also an einem gewissen Ort im Himmel begriffen und umfangen sei, daß er mit demselben bei uns im Abendmahl, welches nach der Einsetzung Christi auf Erden gehalten wird, wahrhaftig und wesentlich nicht gegenwärtig sein könne oder wolle, sondern sei so weit oder fern davon, als Himmel und Erde voneinander ist; wie etliche Sakramentierer den Text Act. 3: *Oportet Christum coelum accipere*, das ist: „Christus muß den Himmel einnehmen", vorsätzlich und böslich zur Bestätigung ihres Irrtums verfälscht haben und anstatt desselben gesetzt: *Oportet Christum coelo capi*, das ist: „Christus muß vom oder im Himmel also eingenommen oder umschrieben und begriffen werden", daß er bei uns auf Erden keinerlei Weise mit seiner menschlichen Natur sein könnte [könne] oder wolle.

9. Item, daß Christus die wahre, wesentliche Gegenwärtigkeit seines Leibes und Blutes in seinem Abendmahl nicht habe verheißen noch leisten können oder wollen, weil die Natur und Eigenschaft seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur solches nicht leiden noch zugeben könne.

10. Item, da gelehrt wird, daß nicht allein die Worte und Allmächtigkeit Christi, sondern der Glaube den Leib Christi im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig mache; daher von etlichen die Worte der Einsetzung in der Handlung des Abendmahls unterlassen werden. Denn obwohl die papistische Konsekration, in welcher dem Sprechen als dem Werk des Priesters die Kraft zugemessen wird, als mache dasselbe ein Sakrament, billig gestraft und verworfen wird, so können oder sollen doch die Worte der Einsetzung in der Handlung des Abendmahls in keinem Weg ausgelassen werden, wie solches in vorgehender Erklärung angezeigt ist.

11. Item, daß die Gläubigen den Leib Christi vermöge der Worte der Einsetzung Christi bei dem Brot und Wein des Abendmahls nicht suchen [sollen], sondern vom Brot des Abendmahls mit ihrem Glauben im Himmel an das Ort [an den Ort] gewiesen werden, da der HErr Christus mit seinem Leibe sei, daß sie daselbst sein genießen sollen.

12. Wir verwerfen auch, so gelehrt wird, daß die ungläubigen und unbußfertigen, bösen Christen, die allein den Namen Christi tragen, aber den rechten, wahrhaftigen, lebendigen und seligmachenden Glauben nicht haben, im Abendmahl nicht den Leib und Blut Christi, sondern allein

autem per verum, praesens et nobis exhibitum corpus et sanguinem Christi obsignetur et confirmetur.

117] VI. Quod in Coena Domini *fidei* tantummodo virtus, operatio et meritum longe absentis corporis Christi distribuantur et communicentur, ut hac ratione *absentis* corporis Christi participes fiamus. Et quod iuxta hunc modum unio sacramentalis sit intelligenda, videlicet de analogia signi et signati, quatenus nimirum corpus et sanguis Christi cum pane et vino aliquid similitudinis habent.

118] VII. Quod corpus et sanguis Christi spiritualiter duntaxat, per fidem, sumatur et participetur.

119] VIII. Quod Christus propter ascensum suum in coelos corpore suo in certo quodam coeli loco ita sit comprehensus et circumscriptus, ut suo corpore nobiscum in Sacra Coena (quae iuxta institutionem Christi in terris celebratur) vere et substantialiter praesens esse neque possit neque velit, sed potius tam longe a Sacra Coena absit, quantum altissimum coelum a terris distat. Sic enim quidam Sacramentarii verba illa in [R. 759 Actis Apostolicis 3, 21: *Oportet Christum coelum accipere*, de industria malitiose (ad confirmandum errorem suum) depravarunt et loco sincerae translationis haec verba reposuerunt: *Oportet Christum coelo capi*, quae verba significant, Christum ita in coelum receptum, ut coelo circumscribatur et comprehendatur, ut nobiscum in terris humana sua natura nullo prorsus modo praesens esse possit aut velit.

120] IX. Quod Christus veram, substantialem praesentiam corporis et sanguinis sui in sacra sua Coena neque promiserit neque praestare possit aut velit, cum ipsius natura et proprietas assumptae suae humanitatis id non admittant.

121] X. Quod non solum verbum et sola Christi omnipotentia, sed fides corpus Christi in Coena Domini praesens nobis sistat. Unde quidam verba institutionis in actione Coenae Dominicae non recitant, sed omittunt. Etsi autem papistica consecratio (quae pronuntiationi verborum tamquam operi sacerdotis eam vim ascribit, quasi ea sacramentum efficiat) non iniuria reprehenditur atque reiicitur, tamen verba institutionis in actione Coenae Dominicae nequaquam omitti possunt aut debent; id quod ex superiore declaratione manifestum est.

122] XI. Quod credentes iubentur, corpus Christi non cum pane et vino Coenae (iuxta Christi institutionem) quaerere, sed a pane Sacrae Coenae fide sua in coelum ad locum illum ablegantur, in quo Christus suo corpore sit, ut ibi eius fiant participes.

123] XII. Reiicimus etiam hunc errorem, cum docetur, quod infideles et impoenitentes (qui titulo duntaxat Christiani sunt, revera autem fidem vivam, veram et salvificam non habent) in Coena Domini non corpus et sanguinem Christi, sed tantum panem et vinum

and confirmation of our faith occur in the Supper only through the external signs, and not through the true, present body and blood of Christ offered to us.

6. Or that in the Supper the power, efficacy, and merit of the far-*absent* body of Christ are distributed only to *faith*, and we thus become partakers of His absent body; and that, in this way just mentioned, *unio sacramentalis*, that is, the sacramental union, is to be understood *de analogia signi et signati* (with respect to the analogy of the sign and that which is signified), that is, as [far as] the bread and wine have a resemblance to the body and blood of Christ.

7. Or that the body and blood of Christ cannot be received and partaken of otherwise than only spiritually, by faith.

8. Likewise, when it is taught that because of His ascension into heaven Christ is so enclosed and circumscribed with His body in a definite place in heaven that with the same [His body] He cannot or will not be truly present with us in the Supper, which is celebrated according to the institution of Christ upon earth, but that He is as far and remote from it as heaven and earth are from one another, as some Sacramentarians have wilfully and wickedly falsified the text, Acts 3, 21: *oportet Christum coelum accipere*, that is, *Christ must occupy heaven*, for the confirmation of their error, and instead thereof have rendered it: *oportet Christum coelo capi*, that is, Christ must be received or be circumscribed and enclosed by heaven or in heaven, in such a manner that in His human nature He can or will in no way be with us upon earth.

9. Likewise, that Christ has not promised the true, essential presence of His body and blood in His Supper, and that He neither can nor will afford it, because the nature and property of His assumed human nature could not suffer or admit of it.

10. Likewise, when it is taught that not only the Word and omnipotence of Christ, but faith, renders the body of Christ present in the Supper; on this account the words of institution in the administration of the Supper are omitted by some. For although the papistic consecration is justly rebuked and rejected, in which the power to produce a sacrament is ascribed to the speaking as the work of the priest, yet the words of institution can or should in no way be omitted in the administration of the Supper, as is shown in the preceding declaration.

11. Likewise, that believers are not to seek, by reason of the words of Christ's institution, the body of Christ with the bread and wine of the Supper, but are directed with their faith away from the bread of the Supper to heaven, to the place where the Lord Christ is with His body, that they should become partakers of it there.

12. We reject also the teaching that unbelieving and impenitent, wicked Christians, who only bear the name of Christ, but do not have the right, true, living, and saving faith, receive in the Supper not the body and blood

Brot und Wein empfangen. Und weil allein zweierlei Gäste bei dieser himmlischen Mahlzeit gefunden [werden], würdige und unwürdige, verwerfen wir auch, wenn ein solcher Unterschied unter den Unwürdigen gemacht wird, daß die gottlosen Epikurer und Spötter Gottes Worts, so in der äußerlichen Gemeinschaft der Kirche sind, nicht den Leib und das Blut Christi zum Gericht im [Ge]Brauch des heiligen Abendmahls, sondern allein Brot und Wein empfangen.

13. Also auch, da gelehrt wird, daß die Würdigkeit nicht allein in wahrem Glauben, sondern auf der Menschen eigener Bereitung stehe.

14. Desgleichen auch, da gelehrt wird, daß auch die Rechtgläubigen, so einen rechten, wahrhaftigen, lebendigen Glauben haben und behalten, und aber vorgesetzter eigener genugsamer Bereitung mangeln, dies Sakrament zum Gericht als die unwürdigen Gäste empfangen könnten.

15. Item, da gelehrt wird, daß die Elemente, sichtiglichen [sichtbaren] species oder Gestalten des gesegneten Brotes und Weines, angebetet sollen werden. Daß aber Christus selber, wahrer Gott und Mensch, so im Abendmahl wahrhaftig und wesentlich gegenwärtig, in wahrem Gebrauch desselben solle im Geist und in der Wahrheit wie auch an allen andern Orten, sonderlich da seine Gemeinde versammelt [ist], angebetet werden, kann und wird niemand leugnen, er sei denn ein arianischer Ketzer.

16. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch alle vorwitzigen, spöttischen, lästerlichen Fragen und Reden, so auf grobe, fleischliche, kapernaitische Weise von den übernatürlichen himmlischen Geheimnissen dieses Abendmahls vorgebracht werden.

Anderer [andere] und mehr antitheses oder verworfene Gegenlehren sind in vorgehender Erklärung gestraft und verworfen worden, welche wir geliebter Kürze halben allhier nicht wiederholen wollen; und was noch über das andere mehr verdammliche opiniones oder irrige Meinungen sind, können aus der obgesetzten Erklärung leichtlich genommen und namhaft gemacht werden; denn wir alles, was der obgesetzten und in Gottes Wort wohlgegründeten Lehre ungemäß, zuwider und entgegen ist, verwerfen und verdammen.

accipiant. Et cum nonnisi duo genera convivarum in hoc coelesti convivio reperiantur, digni videlicet et indigni, reiicimus [R. 760 etiam illud discrimen inter indignos, quod aliqui faciunt, qui asserunt, impios Epicureos, empaectas et Verbi Dei contemptores (qui in externa ecclesiae communione sunt) non corpus et sanguinem Christi ad iudicium in usu Coenae, sed tantummodo panem et vinum sumere.

124] XIII. Et cum docetur, dignitatem non tantum in vera fide, verum etiam in propria hominis praeparatione consistere.

125] XIV. Similiter, cum docetur, etiam vere credentes, qui viva et vera fide praediti sunt eamque retinent, si tamen ea praeparatione propria et sufficiente careant, quam ipsi sibi proposuerunt, hoc sacramentum tamquam indignos convivas ad iudicium accipere.

126] XV. Elementa illa seu visibiles species benedicti panis et vini adorari oportere. Quod autem Christus ipse, verus Deus et homo (qui in Coena sua, in legitimo nimirum eius usu, vere et substantialiter praesens est) in spiritu et in veritate (quemadmodum etiam omnibus aliis locis, praecipue vero ubi ecclesia ipsius est congregata) adorari debeat, id nemo nisi Arianus haereticus negaverit.

127] XVI. Repudiamus praeterea et damnamus omnes curiosas, sarcasmis tinctas et blasphemas quaestiones atque huius generis sermones, qui crasse, carnaliter et Capernaitice de supernaturalibus et coelestibus mysteriis Coenae Dominicae proferuntur.

128] Reliquae antitheses et reiectae opiniones, quae cum pia doctrina pugnant, in superiore declaratione reprehensae atque repudiatae sunt, eas (quia brevitati studemus) hoc loco repetere noluimus. Si quae sunt autem, praeter haec, alia falsa et damnata dogmata, eorum diiudicatio ex praemissa copiosa explicatione peti et (si opus sit) nominatim [R. 761 reprobari possunt. Nos enim omnia, quae supra commemoratae et in Verbo Dei bene fundatae doctrinae non consentiunt, sed repugnant, reiicimus atque damnamus.

VIII.

Von der Person Christi.

Es hat sich auch ein Zwiespalt zwischen den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession **von der Person Christi** zugetragen, welche doch nicht erst unter ihnen angefangen, sondern ursprünglich von den Sakramentierern herrührt.

Denn nachdem D. Luther wider die Sakramentierer die wahre wesentliche Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes JEsu Christi im Abendmahl aus den Worten der Einsetzung mit beständigem Grund erhalten, ist ihm von den Zwinglianern vorgeworfen: wenn der Leib Christi zumal im Himmel und auf Erden im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei, so könnte es kein rechter, wahrhaftiger menschlicher Leib sein; denn solche Majestät allein Gottes eigen, deren der Leib Christi nicht fähig sei.

VIII.

DE PERSONA CHRISTI.

1] Orta est etiam controversia inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos *de persona Christi*, quam tamen non ipsi inter se moverunt, sed ei occasionem Sacramentarii originaliter dederunt.

2] Cum enim D. Lutherus veram et substantialem corporis et sanguinis Christi in Sacra Coena praesentiam contra Sacramentarios, e verbis institutionis Coenae firmissimis argumentis liquido probasset atque confirmasset, a Cinglianis illi obiectum est: si corpus Christi simul in coelo et in terris in Coena Domini praesens sit, necessario consequi, illud non esse verum et humanum corpus; talem enim maiestatem soli Deo tribuendam, corpus vero Christi nequaquam illius capax esse.

of Christ, but only bread and wine. And since there are only two kinds of guests found at this heavenly meal, the worthy and the unworthy, we reject also the distinction made among the unworthy [made by some who assert] that the godless Epicureans and scoffers at God's Word, who are in the external fellowship of the Church, when using the Holy Supper, do not receive the body and blood of Christ for condemnation, but only bread and wine.

13. So, too, the teaching that worthiness consists not only in true faith, but in man's own preparation.

14. Likewise, the teaching that even true believers, who have and keep a right, true, living faith, and yet lack the said sufficient preparation of their own, could, just as the unworthy guests, receive this Sacrament to condemnation.

15. Likewise, when it is taught that the elements or the visible species or forms of the consecrated bread and wine must be adored. However, no one, unless he be an Arian heretic, can and will deny that Christ Himself, true God and man, who is truly and essentially present in the Supper, should be adored in spirit and in truth in the true use of the same, as also in all other places, especially where His congregation is assembled.

16. We reject and condemn also all presumptuous, frivolous [sarcastically colored], blasphemous questions and expressions which are presented in a gross, carnal, Capernaitic way regarding the supernatural, heavenly mysteries of this Supper.

Other and additional *antitheses*, or rejected contrary doctrines, have been reproved and rejected in the preceding explanation, which, for the sake of brevity, we will not repeat here, and whatever other condemnable *opiniones* or erroneous opinions there may be still, over and above the foregoing, can be easily gathered and named from the preceding explanation; for we reject and condemn everything that is not in accordance with, but contrary and opposed to, the doctrine recorded above and thoroughly grounded in God's Word.

VIII.

OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

A controversy has also occurred among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession *concerning the Person of Christ*, which, however, did not first arise among them, but sprang originally from the Sacramentarians [for which the Sacramentarians furnished the occasion].

For when Dr. Luther, in opposition to the Sacramentarians, had maintained the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper with solid arguments from the words of institution, the objection was urged against him by the Zwinglians that, if the body of Christ were present at the same time in heaven and on earth in the Holy Supper, it could be no real, true human body; for

Als aber D. Luther ſolches widerſprochen und gewaltig widerlegt, wie ſeine Lehre [ſeine Lehr-] und Streitſchriften vom heiligen Abendmahl ausweiſen, zu welchen wir uns hiermit öffentlich ſowohl als zu ſeinen Lehrſchriften bekennen, haben nach ſeinem Tode etliche Theologen Augsburgiſcher Konfeſſion ſich zwar noch nicht öffentlich und ausdrücklich zu den Sakramentierern von des HErrn Abendmahl bekennen wollen; aber doch eben dieſelben Grundfeſten von der Perſon Chriſti, dadurch die Sakramentierer die wahre, weſentliche Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Blutes Chriſti aus ſeinem Abendmahl wegzuräumen ſich unterſtanden, geführt und gebraucht, daß nämlich der menſchlichen Natur in der Perſon Chriſti nichts ſolle zugeſchrieben werden, was über oder wider ihre natürliche, weſentliche Eigenſchaft ſei, und haben darüber D. Luthers Lehre und alle diejenigen, ſo derſelben als Gottes Wort gemäß folgen, mit Bezichtigung [Beſchuldigung] faſt aller alten ungeheuren Ketzereien beſchwert.

Dieſen Zwieſpalt chriſtlich, vermöge Gottes Worts, nach Anleitung unſers einfältigen chriſtlichen Glaubens zu erklären und durch Gottes Gnade gänzlich hinzulegen [beizulegen], iſt unſere einhellige Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis, wie folgt:

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, obwohl der Sohn Gottes eine ſonderliche, unterſchiedene, ganze göttliche Perſon und alſo wahrer, weſentlicher, völliger Gott mit Vater und dem Heiligen Geiſt von Ewigkeit geweſen [iſt], daß er gleichwohl, da die Zeit erfüllt, auch menſchliche Natur in Einigkeit ſeiner Perſon angenommen [hat], nicht alſo, daß nun zwei Perſonen oder zwei Chriſtus wären, ſondern daß Chriſtus JEſus nunmehr in einer Perſon zumal [zugleich] wahrhaftiger ewiger Gott ſei, vom Vater von Ewigkeit geboren, und ein wahrhaftiger Menſch, von der hochgelobten Jungfrau Maria geboren, wie geſchrieben ſteht Röm. 9: „Aus welchen Chriſtus herkommt nach dem Fleiſch, der da iſt Gott über alles, gelobet in Ewigkeit."

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß nunmehr in derſelben einigen, unzertrennten Perſon Chriſti zwei unterſchiedliche Naturen ſeien, die göttliche, ſo von Ewigkeit [iſt], und die menſchliche, ſo in der Zeit in Einigkeit der Perſon des Sohnes Gottes angenommen [iſt], welche zwei Naturen nimmermehr in der Perſon Chriſti weder getrennt noch miteinander vermiſcht [ſind], oder eine in die andere verwandelt, ſondern eine jede in ihrer Natur und Weſen in der Perſon Chriſti in alle Ewigkeit bleibt.

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, wie gemeldete beide Naturen in ihrer Natur und Weſen unvermiſcht und unabgetilgt bleiben, daß alſo auch eine jede ihre natürlichen, weſentlichen Eigenſchaften behalte und in alle Ewigkeit nicht von ſich lege, noch einer Natur weſentliche Eigenſchaften der andern Natur weſentliche Eigenſchaften nimmermehr [jemals] werden.

Alſo glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß allmächtig ſein, ewig, unendlich, allenthalben zumal natürlich, das iſt, nach Eigenſchaft der Natur und ihres natürlichen Weſens, für ſich ſelbſt gegen-

3] Hanc obiectionem D. Lutherus refutavit, eamque nihil ponderis habere, luculenter in didacticis et polemicis suis scriptis de Coena Domini, quae Sacramentariis opposuit, demonstravit, quae nos non minus quam didactica huius viri scripta approbamus; idque publice 4] testatum esse volumus. Interim, post mortem D. Lutheri prodierunt quidam theologi (Augustanam Confessionem profitentes), qui non quidem aperte et manifeste ad Sacramentarios in negotio Coenae Dominicae transierunt, sed tamen eadem fundamenta falsa, de persona Christi, quibus Sacramentarii veram et substantialem corporis et sanguinis Christi praesentiam e Coena Domini tollere [R. 762 conati sunt, in medium attulerunt, asserentes, humanae naturae in persona Christi ea non esse tribuenda, quae sint supra vel etiam contra humanas illius naturales et essentiales proprietates. Atque super hoc negotio D. Lutheri piam doctrinam et una omnes illos, qui eam utpote Verbo Dei conformem amplexi sunt, omnium propemodum veterum horribilium haereseon insimularunt atque accusarunt.

5] Ut autem haec controversia pie iuxta Verbi Dei et fidei nostrae analogiam declaretur et per gratiam Dei componatur, unanimi consensu doctrinam, fidem et confessionem nostram de hoc articulo recitabimus.

6] Credimus, docemus et confitemur: Etsi Filius Dei per se integra et distincta Divinitatis aeternae persona est, adeoque verus, substantialis, perfectus *Deus*, cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto ab aeterno fuit, quod tamen (in plenitudine temporis) humanam naturam in unitatem suae personae assumpserit, non ita, quasi duae iam in Christo personae aut duo Christi facti sint, sed quod Christus Iesus iam in una persona simul verus sit aeternus Deus, ab aeterno ex Patre genitus, et verus homo, e laudatissima virgine Maria natus, ut scriptum est Rom. 9, 5: *Ex quibus est Christus secundum carnem, qui est super omnia Deus benedictus in saecula.*

7] Credimus, docemus et confitemur, iam in una illa indivisa persona Christi duas esse distinctas naturas, divinam videlicet, quae ab aeterno est, et humanam, quae in tempore assumpta est in unitatem personae Filii Dei. Et hae duae naturae in persona Christi nunquam vel separantur, vel confunduntur, vel altera in alteram mutatur, sed utraque in sua natura et substantia seu essentia (in persona Christi) in omnem aeternitatem permanet.

8] Credimus etiam, docemus et confitemur, quod, ut natura utraque in sua natura [R. 763 et essentia inconfusa manet, neque unquam aboletur, ita etiam utraque suas naturales essentiales proprietates retineat, neque in omnem aeternitatem eas deponat, et quod unius naturae proprietates essentiales nunquam alterius naturae proprietates essentiales fiant.

9] Credimus autem, docemus et confitemur, quod omnipotentem esse, aeternum, infinitum, ubique simul esse, naturaliter, hoc est, secundum proprietatem naturae et naturalis illius

such majesty was said to be peculiar to God alone, and the body of Christ not capable of it.

But while Dr. Luther contradicted and effectually refuted this, as his doctrinal and polemical writings concerning the Holy Supper show, which we hereby publicly confess [approve], as well as his doctrinal writings [and we wish this fact to be publicly attested], some theologians of the Augsburg Confession after his death sought, though still unwilling to do so publicly and expressly, to confess themselves in agreement with the Sacramentarians concerning the Lord's Supper; nevertheless they introduced and employed precisely the same false arguments concerning the person of Christ whereby the Sacramentarians dared to remove the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Christ from His Supper, namely, that nothing should be ascribed to the human nature in the person of Christ which is above or contrary to its natural, essential property; and on this account they have loaded the doctrine of Dr. Luther, and all those who follow it as in conformity with God's Word, with the charge of almost all the ancient monstrous heresies.

To explain this controversy in a Christian way, in conformity with God's Word, according to the guidance [analogy] of our simple Christian faith, and by God's grace entirely to settle it, our unanimous doctrine, faith, and confession are as follows:

We believe, teach, and confess that the Son of God, although from eternity He has been a particular, distinct, entire divine person, and thus, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, true, essential, perfect God, nevertheless, in the fulness of time assumed also human nature into the unity of His person, not in such a way that there now are two persons or two Christs, but that Christ Jesus is now in one person at the same time true, eternal God, born of the Father from eternity, and a true man, born of the most blessed Virgin Mary, as it is written Rom. 9, 5: *Of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed forever.*

We believe, teach, and confess that now, in this one undivided person of Christ, there are two distinct natures, the divine, which is from eternity, and the human, which in time was assumed into the unity of the person of the Son of God; which two natures in the person of Christ are never either separated from, or mingled with, one another, or changed the one into the other, but each abides in its nature and essence in the person of Christ to all eternity.

We believe, teach, and confess also that, as both natures mentioned remain unmingled and undestroyed in their nature and essence, each retains also its natural, essential properties, and does not lay them aside to all eternity, neither do the essential properties of the one nature ever become the essential properties of the other nature.

Accordingly, we believe, teach, and confess that to be almighty, eternal, infinite, to be of itself everywhere present at once naturally, that is, according to the property of its na-

wärtig sein, alles wissen sind wesentliche Eigenschaften der göttlichen Natur, welche der menschlichen Natur wesentliche Eigenschaften in Ewigkeit nimmermehr werden.

Hinwiederum ein leiblich Geschöpf oder Kreatur sein, Fleisch und Blut sein, endlich und umschrieben sein, leiden, sterben, auf und ab fahren, von einem Ort zu dem andern sich bewegen, Hunger, Durst, Frost, Hitze leiden und dergleichen, sind Eigenschaften der menschlichen Natur, welche der göttlichen Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden.

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß nunmehr, nach der Menschwerdung, nicht eine jede Natur in Christo für sich selbst also bestehe, daß eine jede eine sonderbare [eine besondere] Person sei oder mache, sondern daß sie also vereinbart seien, daß sie eine einige Person machen, in welcher zugleich persönlich ist und besteht beide die göttliche und die angenommene menschliche Natur, also daß nunmehr, nach der Menschwerdung, zu der ganzen Person Christi gehöre nicht allein seine göttliche, sondern auch seine angenommene menschliche Natur, und daß, wie ohne seine Gottheit, also auch ohne seine Menschheit die Person Christi oder Filii Dei incarnati, das ist, des Sohnes Gottes, der Fleisch an sich genommen und Mensch [ge]worden, nicht ganz sei; daher Christus nicht zwei unterschiedene, sondern eine einige Person ist, unangesehen, daß zwei unterschiedliche Naturen in ihrem natürlichen Wesen und Eigenschaften unvermischt an ihm erfunden werden.

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß die angenommene menschliche Natur in Christo nicht allein ihre natürlichen wesentlichen Eigenschaften habe und behalte, sondern daß sie darüber [außerdem] durch die persönliche Vereinigung mit der Gottheit und hernach durch die Verklärung oder Glorifikation erhöht sei zur Rechten der Majestät, Kraft und Gewalt über alles, was genannt kann werden, nicht allein in dieser, sondern auch in künftiger Welt.

Soviel nun diese Majestät belangt, zu welcher Christus nach seiner Menschheit erhoben, hat er solches nicht erst empfangen, als er von den Toten erstanden und gen Himmel gefahren, sondern da er im Mutterleib empfangen und Mensch [ge=] worden, und die göttliche und menschliche Natur miteinander persönlich vereinigt worden [sind]. Welche persönliche Vereinigung doch nicht also zu verstehen [ist], wie etliche dieselbe unrecht auslegen, als sollten beide Naturen, die göttliche und menschliche, miteinander vereinigt sein, wie zwei Bretter zusammengeleimet, daß sie realiter, das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, ganz und gar keine Gemeinschaft miteinander haben sollten. Denn solches ist Nestorii und Samosateni Irrtum und Ketzerei gewesen, welche, wie Suidas und Theodorus presbyter Rethenensis bezeugen, gelehrt und gehalten haben: *δύο φύσεις ἀκοινωνήτους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς παντάπασιν*, hoc est, naturas omni modo incommunicabiles esse, das ist, daß die Naturen ganz und gar keine Gemeinschaft miteinander haben, dadurch die Naturen voneinander abgesondert und also zwei Christus gemacht [werden], daß ein anderer sei Christus und ein anderer Gott das Wort, so in Christo wohnt.

Denn also schreibt Theodorus presbyter: Paulus quidam iisdem, quibus Manes temporibus, essentiae, per se ubique praesentem esse, omnia nosse etc. sint revera essentiales naturae divinae proprietates, quae etiam humanae naturae essentiales proprietates in aeternum nunquam fiant.

10] At vero esse corpoream creaturam, carnem et sanguinem, finitum et circumscriptum esse, pati, mori, ascendere, descendere, de loco in locum moveri, esurire, sitire, algere, aestu affligi, et si quae sunt similia, esse proprietates humanae naturae statuimus, quae nunquam proprietates divinae naturae fiant.

11] Credimus, docemus et confitemur etiam, quod iam, post factam incarnationem, non quaelibet natura in Christo per se ita subsistat, ut utraque sit persona separata, aut quod utraque personam singularem constituat, sed ita naturas unitas esse sentimus, ut unicam tantum personam constituant, in qua simul personaliter ambae, divina et humana natura assumpta, unitae sint et subsistant, ita quidem, ut iam, post incarnationem, ad integram Christi personam non modo divina, sed etiam assumpta humana natura pertineat, et quod persona Filii Dei *incarnati* ut sine divinitate sua, ita etiam sine humanitate sua non sit integra persona. In Christo igitur non sunt duae distinctae, sed unica tantum persona, non obstante, quod duae distinctae naturae, utraque in sua essentia et proprietatibus naturalibus, inconfusae in ipso reperiantur.

12] Credimus quoque, docemus ac confitemur, assumptam humanam naturam in [R. 764 Christo non tantum essentiales et naturales suas proprietates habere et retinere, sed praeterea etiam per unionem personalem, qua cum divinitate mirando modo copulata est, et postea per glorificationem exaltatam esse ad dexteram maiestatis, virtutis et potentiae super omne, quod nominatur, non tantum in hoc, sed etiam in futuro saeculo, Eph. 1, 21.

13] Quod vero ad hanc maiestatem attinet, ad quam Christus secundum humanitatem suam exaltatus est, non eam tum demum accepit, cum a mortuis resurrexit et ad coelos ascendit, sed tum, cum in utero matris conciperetur et homo fieret, quando videlicet divina et humana natura personaliter sunt **14**] unitae. De hac autem hypostatica unione non ita sentiendum est (ut quidam sinistre eam accipiunt), quasi duae illae naturae, divina et humana, eo modo unitae sint, quo duo asseres conglutinantur, ut *realiter* seu re ipsa et vere nullam prorsus communicatio**15**] nem inter se habeant. Hic enim Nestorii et Samosateni error est et haeresis, qui haeretici (ut Suidas et Theodorus presbyter Rethenensis testantur) senserunt atque docuerunt: *δύο φύσεις διῃρημένως ἐχούσας, καὶ ἀκοινωνήτους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς παντάπασιν*, hoc est, *duas naturas separatim seu seorsim se habentes et omni modo ad invicem seu inter se incommunicabiles esse.* Hoc falso dogmate naturae separantur et duo Christi finguntur, quorum unus sit Christus, alter vero Deus Logos, qui in Christo habitet.

16] Sic enim Theodorus presbyter scribit: *Paulus quidam iisdem, quibus Manes tempori-*

ture and its natural essence, and to know all things, are essential attributes of the divine nature, which never to eternity become essential properties of the human nature.

On the other hand, to be a corporeal creature, to be flesh and blood, to be finite and circumscribed, to suffer, to die, to ascend and descend, to move from one place to another, to suffer hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and the like, are properties of the human nature, which never become properties of the divine nature.

We believe, teach, and confess also that now, since the incarnation, each nature in Christ does not so subsist of itself that each is or constitutes a separate person, but that they are so united that they constitute one single person, in which the divine and the assumed human nature are and subsist at the same time, so that now, since the incarnation, there belongs to the entire person of Christ personally, not only His divine, but also His assumed human nature; and that, as without His divinity, so also without His humanity, the person of Christ or *Filii Dei incarnati* (of the incarnate Son of God), that is, of the Son of God who has assumed flesh and become man, is not entire. Hence Christ is not two distinct persons, but one single person, notwithstanding that two distinct natures are found in Him, unconfused in their natural essence and properties.

We believe, teach, and confess also that the assumed human nature in Christ not only has and retains its natural, essential properties, but that over and above these, through the personal union with the Deity, and afterwards through glorification, it has been exalted to the right hand of majesty, power, and might, over everything that can be named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come [Eph. 1, 21].

Now as regards this majesty, to which Christ has been exalted according to His humanity, He did not first receive it when He arose from the dead and ascended into heaven, but when He was conceived in His mother's womb and became man, and the divine and human natures were personally united with one another. However, this personal union is not to be understood, as some incorrectly explain it, as though the two natures, the divine and the human, were united with one another, as two boards are glued together, so that they *realiter*, that is, in deed and truth, have no communion whatever with one another. For this was the error and heresy of Nestorius and Samosatenus, who, as Suidas and Theodore, presbyter of Raithu, testify, taught and held: *δύο φύσεις ἀκοινωνήτους πρὸς ἑαυτὰς παντάπασιν, hoc est, naturas omni modo incommunicabiles esse*, that is, that the two natures have no communion whatever with one another. Thereby the natures are separated from one another, and thus two Christs are constituted, so that Christ is one, and God the Word, who dwells in Christ, another.

For thus Theodore the Presbyter writes: *Paulus quidam iisdem, quibus Manes tempori-*

Samosatenus quidem ortu, sed Antiochiae Syriae antistes, Dominum impie dixit nudum fuisse hominem, in quo *Deus* Verbum sicut et in singulis prophetis habitavit, ac proinde duas naturas separatas et citra omnem prorsus inter se communionem in Christo esse, quasi alius sit Christus, alius *Deus* Verbum in ipso habitans. Das ist: Es hat eben zur selben Zeit, da Manes der Ketzer auch gelebt, einer mit Namen Paulus, der wohl seiner Geburt nach ein Samosatener, aber ein Vorsteher zu Antiochia in Syrien gewesen, gottlos gelehrt, daß der HErr Christus nur ein purlauterer Mensch gewesen [sei], in welchem Gott das Wort habe gewohnt wie in einem jeden Propheten; daher er auch gehalten, daß die göttliche und menschliche Natur voneinander getrennt und abgesondert [seien], und daß sie in Christo allerdings [ganz und gar] keine Gemeinschaft miteinander haben, gleich als wenn ein anderer wäre Christus und ein anderer Gott das Wort, so in ihm wohnt.

bus, Samosatenus quidem ortu, sed Antiochiae Syriae antistes, Dominum impie dixit nudum fuisse hominem, in quo Deus Verbum sicut et in singulis prophetis habitavit [habitaverit], *ac proinde duas naturas separatas et citra omnem prorsus inter se communionem in Christo esse, quasi alius sit Christus, alius Deus Verbum in ipso habitans.*

Wider diese verdammte Ketzerei hat die christliche Kirche je und allwege einfältig geglaubt und gehalten, daß die göttliche und menschliche Natur in der Person Christi also vereinigt [sind], daß sie eine wahrhaftige Gemeinschaft miteinander haben, dadurch die Naturen nicht in ein Wesen, sondern, wie D. Luther schreibt, in eine Person gemengt [werden]; inmaßen um solcher persönlichen Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft willen die alten Lehrer der Kirche vielfältig, vor und nach dem Chalcedonischen Konzilio, das Wort mixtio, „Vermischung", in gutem Verstand und Unterschied gebraucht (wie deshalben viele Zeugnisse der Väter, wo vonnöten, angezogen werden möchten, welche auch vielfältig in der Unsern Schriften zu finden) und die persönliche Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft mit dem Gleichnis animae et corporis und ferri candentis (das ist, eines feurigen Eisens, des Leibes und der Seele) erklärt [haben]. Denn Leib und Seele wie auch Feuer und Eisen nicht per phrasin oder modum loquendi oder verbaliter, das ist, daß es nur eine Weise zu reden und bloße Worte sein sollte, sondern vere und realiter, das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, Gemeinschaft miteinander haben, und gleichwohl dadurch keine confusio oder exaequatio naturarum, das ist, einige Vermischung oder Vergleichung der Naturen, eingeführt [wird], als, wenn aus Honig und Wasser ein Met gemacht, welcher kein unterschieden Wasser oder Honig mehr, sondern ein gemengter Trank ist, da es sich denn mit der göttlichen und menschlichen Natur Vereinigung in der Person Christi viel anders [ver]hält. Denn es viel eine andere, höhere und unaussprechlichere Gemeinschaft und Vereinigung ist zwischen der göttlichen und menschlichen Natur in der Person Christi, um welcher Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft willen **Gott ist Mensch und Mensch ist Gott,** dadurch doch weder die Naturen noch derselben Eigenschaften miteinander vermischt werden, sondern es behält eine jede Natur ihr Wesen und Eigenschaften.

Um dieser persönlichen Vereinigung willen, welche ohne solche wahrhaftige Gemeinschaft der Naturen nicht gedacht werden noch sein kann, hat nicht die bloße menschliche Natur für der ganzen Welt Sünde gelitten, deren Eigenschaft ist leiden und sterben, sondern es hat der Sohn Gottes selbst wahrhaftig, doch nach der angenommenen menschlichen Natur, gelitten und ist (vermöge unsers einfältigen christlichen Glaubens) wahrhaftig gestorben, wiewohl die göttliche Natur weder leiden noch sterben kann; wie D. Luther solches in seinem großen Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl wider

17] Contra hanc damnatam haeresin [R. 765 catholica Christi ecclesia semper omnibusque temporibus simplicissime credidit et sensit, humanam et divinam naturam in persona Christi eo modo unitas esse, ut veram inter se communicationem habeant. Neque tamen ideo naturae in unam essentiam, sed ut D. Lutherus loquitur, in unam personam conveniunt **18]** et commiscentur. Et propter hanc hypostaticam unionem et communicationem veteres orthodoxi ecclesiae doctores saepe admodum, non modo ante, verum etiam post Chalcedonense Concilium, vocabulo *mixtionis*, in pia tamen sententia et vero discrimine, usi sunt. Eius rei confirmandae gratia multa patrum testimonia in medium afferri possent, quae passim in hominum nostrorum scriptis reperire licet. Et quidem erudita antiquitas unionem hypostaticam et naturarum communicationem similitudine animae et corporis, item ferri candentis aliquo modo declaravit. Anima **19]** enim et corpus (quemadmodum etiam ignis et ferrum) non tantum per phrasin aut modum loquendi aut verbaliter, sed vere et realiter communicationem inter se habent, neque tamen hoc modo confusio aut naturarum exaequatio introducitur, qualis fieri solet, cum ex melle et aqua mulsum conficitur; talis enim potus non amplius aut aqua est mera aut mel merum, sed mixtus quidam ex utroque potus. Longe certe aliter se res in illa divinae et humanae naturae unione (in persona Christi) habent [habet]. Longe enim sublimior est et plane ineffabilis communicatio et unio divinae et humanae naturae in persona Christi, propter quam unionem et communicationem *Deus homo est et homo Deus.* Nec tamen hac unione et communicatione naturarum vel ipsae naturae vel harum proprietates confunduntur, sed utraque natura essentiam et proprietates suas retinet.

20] Propter hanc hypostaticam unionem (quae sine vera illa communicatione [R. 766 naturarum nec cogitari nec subsistere potest) non nude et sola humana natura, cuius proprium est pati et mori, pro totius mundi peccatis est passa, sed ipse Filius Dei vere (secundum tamen naturam humanam assumptam) passus et, ut Symbolum nostrum Apostolicum testatur, vere mortuus est, etsi divina natura neque pati neque mori potest. Hanc **21]** rem D. Lutherus in maiore sua de Coena Domini confessione copiose et solide declaravit,

bus, Samosatenus quidem ortu, sed Antiochiae Syriae antistes, Dominum impie dixit nudum fuisse hominem, in quo DEUS *Verbum sicut et in singulis prophetis habitavit [habitaverit], ac proinde duas naturas separatas et citra omnem prorsus inter se communionem in Christo esse, quasi alius sit Christus, alius* DEUS *Verbum in ipso habitans.* That is: *At the same time in which also the heretic Manes lived, one by the name of Paul, who, though born in Samosata, was a bishop at Antioch in Syria, wickedly taught that the Lord Christ was nothing else than a mere man in whom God the Word dwelt, just as in every prophet; therefore he also held that the divine and human natures are apart from one another and separate, and that in Christ they have no communion whatever with one another, just as though Christ were one, and God the Word, who dwells in Him, the other.*

Against this condemned heresy the Christian Church always and at all times has simply believed and held that the divine and the human nature in the person of Christ are so united that they have a true communion with one another, whereby the natures [do not meet and] are not mingled in one essence, but, as Dr. Luther writes, in one person. Accordingly, on account of this personal union and communion, the ancient teachers of the Church, before and after the Council of Chalcedon, frequently employed the word *mixtio,* mixture, in a good sense and with [true] discrimination. For proof of this, many testimonies of the Fathers, if necessary, could be adduced, which are to be found frequently also in the writings of our divines, and which explain the personal union and communion by the illustration *animae et corporis* and *ferri candentis,* that is, of the soul and body, and of glowing iron. For the body and soul, as also fire and iron, have communion with each other, not *per phrasin,* or *modum loquendi,* or *verbaliter* (by a phrase or mode of speaking, or in mere words), that is, so that it is to be a mere form of speech and mere words, but *vere* and *realiter* (truly and really), that is, in deed and truth; and, nevertheless, no *confusio* or *exaequatio naturarum,* that is, a mixing or equalizing of the natures, is thereby introduced, as when hydromel is made from honey and water, which is no longer pure water or pure honey, but a mixed drink. Now, in the union of the divine and the human nature in the person of Christ it is far different. For it is a far different, more sublime, and [altogether] ineffable communion and union between the divine and the human nature in the person of Christ, on account of which union and communion God is man and man is God, yet neither the natures nor their properties are thereby intermingled, but each nature retains its essence and properties.

On account of this personal union, which cannot be thought of nor exist without such a true communion of the natures, not the mere human nature, whose property it is to suffer and die, has suffered for the sins of the world, but the Son of God Himself truly suffered, however, according to the assumed human nature, and (in accordance with our simple Christian faith) [as our Apostles' Creed testifies] truly died, although the divine nature can neither suffer nor die. This Dr. Luther has fully explained in his Large Confession concerning the Holy Supper in opposition to

die gotteslästerliche alloeosin [Bedeutungsverwechslung] Zwinglii (da er gelehrt, daß eine Natur für die andere genommen und verstanden werden solle), die er als des Teufels Larven bis in Abgrund der Hölle verdammt, ausführlich erklärt hat.

Der Ursache denn die alten Kirchenlehrer beide Worte: *κοινωνία* und *ἕνωσις*, communio et unio, das ist, „Gemeinschaft" und „Vereinigung", in Erklärung dieses Geheimnisses zusammengesetzt und eins durch das andere erklärt haben, Irenaeus, lib. IV, cap. 37; Athanasius in Epistola ad Epictetum; Hilarius De Trinitate, lib. IX; Basilius et Nyssenus in Theodoreto; Damascenus, lib. III, cap. 19.

Um dieser persönlichen Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft willen der göttlichen und menschlichen Natur in Christo glauben, lehren und bekennen wir auch vermöge unsers einfältigen christlichen Glaubens, was gesagt wird von der Majestät Christi nach seiner Menschheit zur Rechten der allmächtigen Kraft Gottes, und was derselben anhanget; welches alles nichts wäre noch bestehen könnte, wo diese persönliche Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft der Naturen in der Person Christi nicht realiter, das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit, bestünde.

Um dieser persönlichen Vereinigung und Gemeinschaft willen der Naturen hat Maria, die hochgelobte Jungfrau, nicht einen purlauteren Menschen, sondern einen solchen Menschen, der wahrhaftig der Sohn Gottes des Allerhöchsten ist, geboren, wie der Engel zeugt; welcher seine göttliche Majestät auch in Mutterleibe erzeigt [hat], daß er von einer Jungfrau unverletzt ihrer Jungfrauschaft geboren [ist]; darum sie wahrhaftig Gottes Mutter und gleichwohl eine Jungfrau geblieben ist.

Daher [vermöge dieser persönlichen Vereinigung] hat er auch alle seine Wunderwerke gewirkt und solche seine göttliche Majestät nach seinem Gefallen, wann und wie er gewollt, und also nicht erst allein nach seiner Auferstehung und Himmelfahrt, sondern auch im Stand seiner Erniedrigung, geoffenbart; als, auf der Hochzeit in Kana Galilää; item, da er zwölf Jahre alt gewesen, unter den Gelehrten; item im Garten, da er mit einem Worte seine Feinde zu Boden geschlagen; desgleichen im Tode, da er nicht schlecht wie ein anderer Mensch gestorben [ist], sondern mit und in seinem Tode die Sünde, Tod, Teufel, Hölle und ewige Verdammnis überwunden [hat], das menschliche Natur allein nicht vermocht hätte, wenn sie nicht mit der göttlichen Natur also persönlich vereinigt [gewesen wäre] und Gemeinschaft gehabt hätte.

Daher hat auch die menschliche Natur die Erhöhung nach der Auferstehung von den Toten über alle Kreaturen im Himmel und auf Erden, welche nichts anderes ist, denn daß er Knechtsgestalt ganz und gar von sich gelegt und gleichwohl die menschliche Natur nicht abgelegt [hat], sondern in Ewigkeit behält und in die völlige Possess [Besitzergreifung] und Gebrauch der göttlichen Majestät, nach der angenommenen menschlichen Natur, eingesetzt [ist]; welche Majestät er doch gleich in seiner Empfängnis auch in Mutterleibe gehabt, aber, wie der Apostel zeugt, sich derselben geäußert und, wie ubi blasphemam Cinglii alloeosin, qui docuit, unam naturam pro altera sumi et intelligi, tamquam diaboli larvam reiecit et ad inferni barathrum damnavit.

22] Et sane veteres ecclesiae doctores duo haec vocabula, *κοινωνίαν* et *ἕνωσιν*, communicationem et unionem, in explicatione huius mysterii coniunxerunt et alterum per alterum declararunt. Irenaeus, lib. IV, cap. 37; Athanasius in Epistola ad Epictetum; Hilarius De Trinitate, lib. IX; Basilius et Nyssenus in Theodoreto; Damascenus, lib. III, cap. 19.

23] Propter hanc hypostaticam unionem et communionem divinae et humanae naturae in Christo credimus, docemus et confitemur iuxta fidei nostrae Christianae analogiam omnia ea, quae de Christi maiestate secundum humanam eius naturam, qua ad dexteram omnipotentiae et virtutis Dei sedet, et iis, quae ex ea consequuntur, dici solent, locum non habitura, neque stare posse, nisi hypostatica illa unio et communicatio naturarum in persona Christi *realiter* et vere existerent.

24] Huius hypostaticae unionis ratione et naturarum communione Maria, laudatissima illa virgo, non hominem duntaxat, sed talem hominem, qui vere Filius Dei altissimi est, genuit, ut archangelus Gabriel testatur. Is Filius Dei etiam in utero matris divinam suam maiestatem demonstravit, quod de virgine, inviolata ipsius virginitate, natus est. [R. 767 Unde et vere *θεοτόκος*, Dei genitrix, est et tamen virgo mansit.

25] Illius hypostaticae unionis et communicationis virtute omnia miracula sua edidit et divinam suam maiestatem pro liberrima voluntate, quando et quomodo ipsi visum fuit (non tantum post resurrectionem suam et ascensum ad coelos, verum etiam in statu exinanitionis), manifestavit; verbi gratia in nuptiis, quae in Cana Galilaeae celebratae fuerunt; item, cum duodecim annos natus, inter viros eruditos eruditissime disputaret; praeterea in horto, quando unico propemodum verbulo hostes suos in terram prosterneret; quin imo in ipsa morte; non enim ut alius quispiam vulgaris homo mortuus est, sed in morte, et quidem per suam mortem, ipsam mortem, peccatum, diabolum, infernum et aeternam damnationem devicit. Haec certe admiranda opera humana natura sola nequaquam praestare potuisset, nisi cum divina natura personaliter unita fuisset et realem cum ea communicationem habuisset.

26] Ex hac unione et naturarum communione humana natura habet illam exaltationem, post resurrectionem a mortuis, super omnes creaturas in coelo et in terra, quae revera nihil aliud est, quam quod Christus formam servi prorsus deposuit, humanam vero naturam non deposuit, sed in omnem aeternitatem retinet et ad plenam possessionem et divinae maiestatis usurpationem secundum assumptam humanam naturam evectus est. Eam vero maiestatem statim in sua conceptione, etiam in utero matris habuit, sed,

the blasphemous *alloeosis* of Zwingli, who taught that one nature should be taken and understood for the other, which Dr. Luther committed, as a devil's mask, to the abyss of hell.

For this reason, then, the ancient teachers of the Church combined both words, *κοινωνία* and *ἕνωσις, communio et unio,* that is, communion and union, in the explanation of this mystery, and have explained the one by the other. Irenaeus, lib. 4, chap. 37; Athanasius, in the *Letter to Epictetus;* Hilary, *Concerning the Trinity,* Book 9; Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, in Theodoret; Damascenus, Book 3, chap. 19.

On account of this personal union and communion of the divine and the human nature in Christ we believe, teach, and confess also, according to our simple Christian faith, what is said concerning the majesty of Christ according to His humanity, [by which He sits] at the right hand of the almighty power of God, and what is connected therewith [follows therefrom]; all of which would be naught and could not stand if this personal union and communion of the natures in the person of Christ did not exist *realiter,* that is, in deed and truth.

On account of this personal union and communion of the natures, Mary, the most blessed Virgin, bore not a mere man, but, as the angel [Gabriel] testifies, such a man as is truly the Son of the most high God, who showed His divine majesty even in His mother's womb, inasmuch as He was born of a virgin, with her virginity inviolate. Therefore she is truly the mother of God, and nevertheless remained a virgin.

In virtue of this He also wrought all His miracles, and manifested this His divine majesty, according to His pleasure, when and as He willed, and therefore not first after His resurrection and ascension only, but also in His state of humiliation; for example, at the wedding at Cana of Galilee; also, when He was twelve years old, among the learned; also in the garden, when with a word He cast His enemies to the ground; likewise in death, when He died not simply as any other man, but in and with His death conquered sin, death, devil, hell, and eternal damnation; which the human nature alone would not have been able to do if it had not been thus personally united and had not had communion with the divine nature.

Hence also the human nature, after the resurrection from the dead, has its exaltation above all creatures in heaven and on earth; which is nothing else than that He entirely laid aside the form of a servant, and yet did not lay aside His human nature, but retains it to eternity, and is put in the full possession and use of the divine majesty according to His assumed human nature. However, this majesty He had immediately at His conception, even in His mother's womb, but, as the

D. Luther erklärt, im Stand seiner Erniedrigung heimlich gehalten und nicht allezeit, sondern wann er gewollt, gebraucht hat.

Jetzund aber, nachdem er nicht schlecht wie ein anderer Heiliger [jetzt aber gebraucht er seine Majestät völlig und allezeit, sintemal er nicht bloß wie ein anderer Heiliger] gen Himmel, sondern, wie der Apostel zeugt, über alle Himmel gefahren [ist], auch wahrhaftig alles erfüllt und allenthalben nicht allein als Gott, sondern auch als Mensch gegenwärtig regiert von einem Meer zum andern und bis an der Welt Ende, wie die Propheten weissagen und die Apostel bezeugen, daß er allenthalben mit ihnen gewirkt und ihr Wort bestätigt habe durch nachfolgende Zeichen; doch solches nicht auf eine irdische Weise zugangen [zugegangen ist], sondern, wie D. Luther erklärt, nach Art göttlicher Rechten, welche kein gewisser Ort im Himmel, wie die Sakramentierer ohne Grund der Heiligen Schrift vorgeben, sondern anderes nichts denn die allmächtige Kraft Gottes ist, die Himmel und Erde erfüllt, in welche Christus nach seiner Menschheit realiter (das ist, mit der Tat und Wahrheit), sine confusione et exaequatione naturarum (das ist, ohne Vermischung und Vergleichung beider Naturen in ihrem Wesen und wesentlichen Eigenschaften) eingesetzt worden; aus welcher mitgeteilten Kraft vermöge der Worte seines Testaments er mit seinem Leib und Blut im heiligen Abendmahl, dahin er uns durch sein Wort gewiesen, wahrhaftig gegenwärtig sein kann und ist; das sonst keinem Menschen möglich [ist], dieweil kein Mensch solchergestalt mit der göttlichen Natur vereinigt und in solche göttliche, allmächtige Majestät und Kraft durch und in der persönlichen Vereinigung beider Naturen in Christo eingesetzt [ist], wie JEsus, der Sohn Marien, in dem die göttliche und menschliche Natur miteinander persönlich vereinigt [sind], also daß in Christo „alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig wohnet", Kol. 2, und in solcher persönlichen Vereinigung eine solch hohe, innerliche, unaussprechliche Gemeinschaft haben, darüber sich auch die Engel verwundern und, solche zu schauen, wie St. Petrus bezeugt, ihre Lust und Freude haben, wie solches alles ordentlich hernach etwas weitläuftiger soll erklärt werden. Ps. 93; Sach. 9; Mark. 16; 1 Petr. 1.

Aus diesem Grunde, inmaßen hievor [wie vorhin] angezeigt und die unio personalis erkläret, das ist, welchergestalt die göttliche und menschliche Natur in der Person Christi miteinander vereinigt [sind, nämlich], daß sie nicht allein die Namen gemein, sondern auch mit der Tat und Wahrheit unter sich selbst, ohne alle Vermischung oder Vergleichung derselben in ihrem Wesen, Gemeinschaft haben, fleußt [fließt] auch her die Lehre de communicatione idiomatum, das ist, von wahrhaftiger Gemeinschaft der Eigenschaften der Naturen, davon hernach weiter gesagt werden soll.

Denn weil es wahrhaftig also [ist], quod propria non egrediantur sua subiecta, das ist, daß eine jede Natur ihre wesentlichen Eigenschaften behalte [behält], und dieselben nicht von der Natur abgesondert, in die andere Natur wie Wasser aus einem Gefäß in das andere ausgegossen werden, so könnte auch keine Gemeinschaft der Eigenschaften nicht sein noch bestehen, wenn obgehörte persönliche Vereinigung oder Gemeinschaft der Naturut apostolus loquitur Phil. 2, 7, *se ipsum exinanivit* eamque, ut D. Lutherus docet, in statu suae humiliationis secreto habuit, neque eam semper, sed quoties ipsi visum fuit, usurpavit.

27] Iam vero, postquam non communi ratione, ut alius quispiam sanctus, in [R. 768 coelos ascendit, sed, ut apostolus Eph. 4, 10 testatur, *super omnes coelos ascendit* et revera *omnia implet* et ubique non tantum ut Deus, verum etiam ut homo praesens dominatur et regnat a mari ad mare et usque ad terminos terrae, quemadmodum olim prophetae, Ps. 8, 2. 7; 93, 1 sq.; Zach. 9, 10, de ipso sunt vaticinati, et apostoli Marc. 16, 20 testantur, quod *Christus ipsis ubique cooperatus sit et sermonem ipsorum sequentibus signis confirma-* **28**] *verit.* Haec autem non terreno modo, sed, ut D. Lutherus loqui solet, pro modo et ratione dexterae Dei facta sunt, quae non est certus aliquis et circumscriptus in coelo locus (ut Sacramentarii sine testimonio Sacrae Scripturae fingunt), sed nihil aliud est nisi omnipotens Dei virtus, quae coelum et terram implet, in cuius possessionem Christus iuxta humanitatem suam sine confusione tamen et exaequatione naturarum et in essentialibus proprietatibus realiter seu revera venit. Ex **29**] hac communicata sibi divina virtute homo Christus, iuxta verba testamenti sui, corpore et sanguine suo in Sacra Coena, ad quam nos verbo suo ablegat, praesens esse potest et revera est, quod alioqui nulli alii homini possibile est, quia nemo hominum cum divina natura hoc modo unitus et in divinam illam omnipotentem maiestatem et virtutem (ratione hypostaticae duarum in Christo naturarum unionis) collocatus est, sicut unus et solus ille **30**] Iesus virginis Mariae filius. In ipso enim divina et humana natura hypostatice sunt unitae, ita ut in Christo *tota Divinitatis plenitudo corporaliter inhabitet*, Col. 2, 9, et in illa personali unione tam arcta et ineffabilis est naturarum communio, in quam etiam, ut apostolus Petrus, 1 Pet. 1, 12, ait, *desiderant angeli cum admiratione et gaudio prospicere.* De qua re paulo post suo loco ordine et copiosius dicetur.

31] Et ex hoc fundamento, cuius iam [R. 769 facta est mentio, et quod unio personalis docet, quomodo videlicet divina et humana natura in persona Christi sint unitae, ut non modo nomina communia, sed *realiter* etiam et re ipsa inter se, sine omni confusione et exaequatione essentiarum, communicent, promanat etiam doctrina illa de communicatione idiomatum duarum in Christo naturarum, de qua infra aliquid amplius dicetur.

32] Cum autem indubitatum et extra controversiam positum sit, quod propria non egrediantur sua subiecta, hoc est, quod quaelibet natura suas proprietates essentiales retineat, et illae non ab una natura separentur atque in alteram, tamquam aqua de uno vase in aliud, transfundantur, nulla prorsus fieri aut constare posset proprietatum communicatio, nisi illa, de qua diximus, personalis natura-

apostle testifies [Phil. 2, 7], laid it aside; and, as Dr. Luther explains, He kept it concealed in the state of His humiliation, and did not employ it always, but only when He wished.

But now He does, since He has ascended, not merely as any other saint, to heaven, but, as the apostle testifies [Eph. 4, 10], above all heavens, and also truly fills all things, and being everywhere present, not only as God, but also as man [has dominion and] rules from sea to sea and to the ends of the earth; as the prophets predict, Ps. 8, 1. 6; 93, 1 f.; Zech. 9, 10, and the apostles testify, Mark 16, 20, that He everywhere wrought with them and confirmed their word with signs following. Yet this occurred not in an earthly way, but, as Dr. Luther explains, according to the manner of the right hand of God, which is no fixed place in heaven, as the Sacramentarians assert without any ground in the Holy Scriptures, but nothing else than the almighty power of God, which fills heaven and earth, in [possession of] which Christ is installed according to His humanity, *realiter,* that is, in deed and truth, *sine confusione et exaequatione naturarum,* that is, without confusion and equalizing of the two natures in their essence and essential properties; by this communicated [divine] power, according to the words of His testament, He can be and truly is present with His body and blood in the Holy Supper, to which He has directed us by His Word; this is possible to no other man, because no man is in such a way united with the divine nature, and installed in such divine almighty majesty and power through and in the personal union of the two natures in Christ, as Jesus, the Son of Mary. For in Him the divine and the human nature are personally united with one another, so that in Christ *dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,* Col. 2, 9, and in this personal union have such a sublime, intimate, ineffable communion that even the angels are astonished at it, and, as St. Peter testifies, have their delight and joy in looking into it [1 Pet. 1, 12]; all of which will shortly be explained in order and somewhat more fully.

From this basis of the personal union, as it has been stated and explained above, that is, from the manner in which the divine and the human nature in the person of Christ are united with one another, namely, that they have not only the names in common, but have also in deed and truth communion with one another, without any commingling or equalizing of the same in their essences, flows also the doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum,* that is, concerning the true communion of the properties of the natures, of which more is to be said hereafter.

For since this is verily so, *quod propria non egrediantur sua subiecta* (that properties do not leave their subjects), that is, that each nature retains its essential properties, and these are not separated from the nature and poured into the other nature, as water from one vessel into another, so also no communion of properties could be or subsist if the abovementioned personal union or communion of

ren in der Person Christi nicht wahrhaftig wäre, welches nach dem Artikel von der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit das größte Geheimnis im Himmel und auf Erden ist, wie Paulus sagt: „Kündlich groß ist dies gottselige Geheimnis, daß Gott geoffenbaret ist im Fleisch", 1 Tim. 3. Denn weil der Apostel Petrus mit klaren Worten bezeugt, daß auch wir, in welchen Christus allein aus Gnaden wohnt, um solches hohen Geheimnisses willen in Christo „teilhaftig werden der göttlichen Natur", was muß denn das für eine Gemeinschaft der göttlichen Natur sein, davon der Apostel redet, daß „in Christo alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig wohne", also daß Gott und Mensch e i n e Person ist! Weil aber hoch daran gelegen [ist], daß diese Lehre de communicatione idiomatum, das ist, von Gemeinschaft der Eigenschaften beider Naturen, mit gebührendem Unterschied gehandelt und erklärt werde (denn die propositiones oder praedicationes, das ist, wie man von der Person Christi, von derselben Naturen und Eigenschaften redet, haben nicht alle einerlei Art und Weise, und wenn ohne gebührenden Unterschied davon geredet wird, so wird die Lehre verwirrt und der einfältige Leser leichtlich irregemacht), soll nachfolgender Bericht mit Fleiß vermerkt werden, welcher um besseren und einfältigen Berichts willen wohl in drei Hauptpunkte gefaßt werden mag.

Als erstlich, weil in Christo zwei unterschiedliche Naturen an [in] ihrem natürlichen Wesen und Eigenschaften unverwandelt und unvermischt sind und bleiben, und aber [und demnach] der beiden Naturen nur eine einige Person ist, so wird dasselbe, was gleich nur e i n e r Natur Eigenschaft ist, nicht der Natur allein, als abgesondert, sondern der ganzen Person, welche zugleich Gott und Mensch ist (sie werde genennet [genannt] Gott oder Mensch), zugeschrieben.

Aber in hoc genere, das ist, in solcher Weise zu reden, folgt nicht, was der Person zugeschrieben wird, daß dasselbe zugleich beider Naturen Eigenschaft sei, sondern [es] wird unterschiedlich erklärt, nach welcher Natur ein jedes der Person zugeschrieben wird. Also ist **Gottes Sohn geboren aus dem Samen Davids nach dem Fleisch,** Röm. 1. Item, **Christus ist getötet nach dem Fleisch und hat für uns gelitten im oder am Fleisch,** 1 Petr. 3 und 4.

Weil aber unter den Worten (da gesagt wird, es werde der ganzen Person zugeschrieben, was e i n e r Natur eigen ist) die heimlichen und öffentlichen Sakramentierer ihren schädlichen Irrtum verbergen, daß sie wohl die ganze Person nennen, aber gleichwohl nur bloß die e i n e Natur darunter verstehen und die andere Natur gänzlich ausschließen, als hätte die bloße menschliche Natur für uns gelitten, wie denn D. Luther in seinem großen Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl von des Zwingels alloeosis [Zwinglis Bedeutungsverwechslung] geschrieben, wollen wir D. Luthers eigene Worte hie setzen [hierhersetzen], damit die Kirche Gottes wider solchen Irrtum zum besten verwahrt werden möge. Seine Worte lauten also:

„Das heißt Zwingel *alloeosin*, wenn etwas von der Gottheit Christi gesagt wird, das doch der Menschheit zusteht, oder wiederum [oder umgekehrt]. Als Luk. 24: ‚Mußte nicht Christus leirum in Christo esset unio et communicatio.

33] Hoc autem (post articulum Sanctae Trinitatis) summum est mysterium, quo nullum maius in coelo et in terra reperitur. Unde Paulus ait 1 Tim. 3, 16: *Manifeste magnum est pietatis mysterium, quod Deus manifesta-*

34] *tus est in carne* etc. Cum enim apostolus Petrus clarissimis verbis 2 Pet. 1, 4 testetur, quod nos etiam, in quibus Christus (tantummodo ex gratia) habitat, propter tantum mysterium *divinae naturae participes fiamus* in Christo, quantum existimabimus eam esse communicationem divinae naturae, de qua apostolus loquitur, quod videlicet *in Christo tota Divinitatis plenitudo inhabitat corporaliter*, ita quidem, ut Deus et homo una sint

35] persona! Plurimum autem refert, ut haec doctrina de communicatione idiomatum convenienti discrimine et distincte tractetur et explicetur. Propositiones enim et praedicationes, quibus utimur, cum de persona Christi et de naturis et proprietatibus eius loquimur, non omnes unius sunt generis aut modi. Et si quando non satis dextre et distincte hoc negotium tractatur, tum doctrina haec [R. 770 involvitur, et lector simplex facile perturbatur. Quare ea, quam subiiciemus, explicatio alta mente reponatur; ea autem, ut res ipsa lectori planior et intellectu facilior sit, tribus praecipuis capitibus comprehendi potest.

36] Primo, cum in Christo duae sint distinctae naturae, quae essentiis et proprietatibus suis neque mutantur neque confunduntur, utriusque vero naturae una tantum sit persona, ea, quae unius tantum naturae propria sunt, alteri naturae non seorsim, quasi separatae, sed toti personae (quae simul Deus et homo est) attribuuntur, sive Deus sive homo nominetur.

37] Sed in hoc praedicationum genere non sequitur, quod ea, quae toti personae tribuuntur, simul utriusque naturae sint proprietates, sed distincte declarandum est, secundum quam naturam aliquid toti personae ascribatur. Ad hunc modum loquitur Paulus Rom. 1, 3, cum de Christo dicit: *Christum genitum esse ex semine Davidis secundum carnem.* Et Petrus de Christo inquit 1 Pet. 3, 18; 4, 1, quod sit *mortificatus carne*, et quod *passus sit in carne.*

38] Cum autem et occulti et aperti Sacramentarii sub hac regula (quando dicitur, quod toti personae tribuatur, quod uni naturae proprium est) perniciosum suum errorem occultent, dum totam quidem personam nominant, interim tamen unam, eamque (ut sic dicamus) nudam tantum naturam intelligunt, alteram autem penitus excludunt, quasi nuda vel sola humana natura pro nobis passa sit, placuit D. Lutheri verba hoc loco recensere e maiori ipsius de Coena Domini confessione, in quibus de Cinglii alloeosi agit, ut ecclesia Dei quam optime adversus errorem illum praemuniatur. Verba autem D. Lutheri sic habent (Tom. 2, Wittemb., fol. 188):

39] *Hoc Cinglius vocat alloeosin, cum aliquid de divinitate Christi dicitur, quod tamen humanitatis proprium est, et contra. Verbi gratia, ubi in Scriptura dicitur, Luc. 24, 26:*

the natures in the person of Christ were not true. Next to the article of the Holy Trinity this is the greatest mystery in heaven and on earth, as Paul says: *Without controversy, great is the mystery of godliness, that God was manifest in the flesh,* 1 Tim. 3, 16. For since the Apostle Peter in clear words testifies [2 Ep. 1, 4] that we also, in whom Christ dwells only by grace, on account of that sublime mystery, are in Christ, *partakers of the divine nature,* what kind of communion of the divine nature, then, must that be of which the apostle says that *in Christ dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,* so that God and man are one person? But since it is highly important that this doctrine *de communicatione idiomatum,* that is, of the communion of the properties of both natures, be treated and explained with proper discrimination, — for the *propositiones* or *praedicationes,* that is, how to speak of the person of Christ, and of its natures and properties, are not all of one kind and mode, and when they are employed without proper discrimination, the doctrine becomes confused and the simple reader is easily led astray, — the following explanation should be carefully noted, which, for the purpose of making it plainer and simple, may well be comprised under three heads:

Namely, first, since in Christ two distinct natures exist and remain unchanged and unconfused in their natural essence and properties, and yet of both natures there is only one person, hence, that which is, indeed, an attribute of only one nature is ascribed not to that nature alone, as separate, but to the entire person, which is at the same time God and man (whether it is called God or man).

But *in hoc genere,* that is, in this mode of speaking, it does not follow that what is ascribed to the person is at the same time a property of both natures, but it is distinctively explained what nature it is according to which anything is ascribed to the person. Thus *the Son of God was born of the seed of David according to the flesh,* Rom. 1, 3. Also: *Christ was put to death according to the flesh, and hath suffered for us in, or according to, the flesh,* 1 Pet. 3, 18; 4, 1.

However, since beneath the words, when it is said that what is peculiar to one nature is ascribed to the entire person, secret and open Sacramentarians conceal their pernicious error, by naming indeed the entire person, but understanding thereby nevertheless only the one nature, and entirely excluding the other nature, as though the mere human nature had suffered for us, as Dr. Luther in his Large Confession concerning the Holy Supper has written concerning the *alloeosis* of Zwingli, we will here set down Luther's own words, in order that the Church of God may be guarded in the best way against this error. His words are as follows:

Zwingli calls that an ALLOEOSIS *when something is said of the divinity of Christ which really belongs to the humanity, or vice versa. As Luke 24, 26: "Ought not Christ to have*

den und also zu seiner Herrlichkeit eingehen?' Hie gaukelt er, daß ‚Christus' für ‚die menschliche Natur' genommen werde. Hüte dich, hüte dich, sage ich, vor der alloeosis! Sie ist des Teufels Larve; denn sie richtet zuletzt einen solchen Christum zu, nach dem ich nicht gern wollte ein Christ sein, nämlich, daß Christus hinfort nicht mehr sei noch tue mit seinem Leiden und Leben denn ein anderer schlechter Heiliger. Denn wenn ich das glaube, daß allein die menschliche Natur für mich gelitten hat, so ist mir der Christus ein schlechter Heiland, so bedarf er wohl selbst eines Heilandes. Summa, es ist unsäglich, was der Teufel mit der alloeosis sucht."

Und bald hernach: „Ob die alte Wettermacherin, die Frau Vernunft, der alloeosis Großmutter, sagen würde: Ja, die Gottheit kann nicht leiden noch sterben, sollst du antworten: Das ist wahr; aber dennoch, weil Gottheit und Menschheit in Christo e i n e Person ist, so gibt die Schrift um solcher persönlichen Einigkeit willen auch der Gottheit alles, was der Menschheit widerfährt, und wiederum. Und ist auch also in der Wahrheit; denn das mußt du ja sagen, die Person (zeiget Christum) leidet, stirbt; nun ist die Person wahrhaftiger Gott, darum ist recht geredet: Gottes Sohn leidet. Denn obwohl das eine Stück (daß ich so rede), als die Gottheit, nicht leidet, so leidet dennoch die Person, welche Gott ist, am andern Stück, als an der Menschheit; denn in der Wahrheit ist Gottes Sohn für uns gekreuzigt, das ist, die Person, die Gott ist; denn sie ist, sie (sage ich), die Person, ist gekreuzigt nach der Menschheit."

Und abermals bald hernach: „Wo die *alloeosis* soll bestehen, wie sie Zwingel führt, so wird Christus zwei Personen müssen sein, eine göttliche und eine menschliche, weil er die Sprüche vom Leiden allein auf die menschliche Natur zeucht [zieht] und allerdings von der Gottheit wendet. Denn wo die Werke geteilt und gesondert werden, da muß auch die Person zertrennt werden, weil alle Werke oder Leiden nicht den Naturen, sondern der Person zugeeignet werden. Denn die Person ist's, die alles tut und leidet, eines nach dieser Natur, das andere nach jener Natur; wie das alles die Gelehrten wohl wissen. Darum halten wir unsern HErrn Christum für Gott und Mensch in e i n e r Person, non confundendo naturas nec dividendo personam, daß wir die Natur [die Naturen] nicht mengen und die Person auch nicht trennen."

Item D. Luther „Von den Conciliis und Kirchen": „Wir Christen müssen wissen, wo Gott nicht mit in der Wage ist und das Gewicht gibt, so sinken wir mit unserer Schüssel zu Grunde. Das meine ich also: wo es nicht sollte heißen: Gott ist für uns gestorben, sondern allein ein Mensch, so sind wir verloren. Aber wenn Gottes Tod und Gott gestorben in der Wagschüssel liegt, so sinkt er unter, und wir fahren empor als eine leichte, ledige [leere] Schüssel; aber er kann auch wohl wieder emporfahren oder aus seiner Schüssel springen. Er könnte aber nicht in der Schüssel sitzen, er müßte uns gleich ein Mensch werden

„Nonne haec oportuit pati Christum [R. 771 *et ita intrare in gloriam suam?" Ibi nugatur Cinglius, quod vocabulum „Christus" hoc loco pro „humana natura" sumatur. Cave tibi,* **40**] *cave, inquam, tibi ab ista alloeosi! Est enim larva quaedam diaboli, quae tandem talem Christum fingit, secundum cuius rationes ego certe nolim esse Christianus. Hoc enim illa vult, quod Christus nihil amplius sit aut efficiat sua passione et vita quam alius quispiam sanctus. Si enim persuaderi mihi patiar, ut credam, solam humanam naturam pro me passam esse, profecto Christus mihi non magni pretii salvator erit, sed ipse tandem salvatore eget. In summa, verbis explicari non potest, quid diabolus per hanc alloeosin moliatur.*

41] Et paucis interpositis: *Si forte venefica illa, domina ratio (cuius neptis est ipsa alloeosis) reclamare voluerit, dicens: Divinitas neque pati neque mori potest, tu respondebis: Verum id quidem est; nihilominus tamen, quia divinitas et humanitas in Christo unam personam constituunt, Scriptura propter hypostaticam illam unionem etiam divinitati omnia illa tribuit, quae humanitati accidunt, et vicissim humanitati, quae divini-* **42**] *tatis sunt. Et sane revera ita res sese habent. Hoc enim fateri te necesse est: haec persona (monstrato Christo) patitur, moritur; haec autem persona est verus Deus. Recte igitur dicitur: Filius Dei patitur. Etsi enim una ipsius pars (ut sic loquar), divinitas videlicet, non patiatur, tamen ea persona, quae Deus est, patitur in altera sua parte, nimirum in humanitate. Revera enim Filius Dei pro nobis est crucifixus, hoc est, persona, quae Deus est. Ipsa enim, ipsa (inquam) persona, crucifixa est, secundum humanitatem.*

43] Et rursus post aliqua: *Si constabit alloeosis, ut eam Cinglius proponit, in Christo duas personas esse necesse erit, divinam videlicet et humanam, quandoquidem Cinglius dicta Scripturae de passione tantum ad humanitatem inflectit eaque per omnia a divinitate separat. Ubi enim opera divelluntur et* [R. 772 *separantur, ibi etiam personam ipsam dividi necesse est, cum omnia opera omnesque passiones non naturis, sed personae tribuantur. Persona enim ipsa est, quae omnia illa agit et patitur, hoc quidem secundum hanc naturam, illud vero secundum alteram naturam; quae sane omnia viris eruditis sunt notissima. Quare agnoscimus Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum Deum et hominem in una persona, non confundendo naturas nec dividendo personam.*

44] In eandem sententiam loquitur D. Lutherus etiam in eo libello, quem de conciliis et ecclesia scripsit (Tom. 7, Wittemb., fol. 530): *Sciendum id nobis Christianis est, nisi Deus in altera lance sit et pondere vincat, nos lance nostra deorsum (ad interitum) ferri. Hoc sic accipi volo: Nisi haec vera sint: Deus mortuus est pro nobis, et si solus homo pro nobis mortuus est, tum profecto prorsus actum fuerit de nobis. At vero, si Dei mors, et quod Deus ipse mortuus est, in altera lance ponitur, tum ille deorsum fertur, nos vero instar vacuae et levioris lancis sursum tendimus.*

suffered these things, and to enter into His glory?" Here Zwingli juggles, asserting that [the word] Christ is understood of the human nature. Beware, beware, I say, of the ALLOEOSIS! *For it is a devil's mask, for at last it manufactures such a Christ after whom I certainly would not be a Christian; namely, that henceforth Christ should be no more and do no more with His sufferings and life than any other mere saint. For if I believe this [permit myself to be persuaded] that only the human nature has suffered for me, then Christ is to me a poor Savior, then He Himself indeed needs a Savior. In a word, it is unspeakable what the devil seeks by the* ALLOEOSIS.

And shortly afterwards: *If the old weather-witch, Dame Reason, the grandmother of the* ALLOEOSIS, *would say, Yea, divinity cannot suffer nor die; you shall reply, That is true; yet, because in Christ divinity and humanity are one person, Scripture, on account of this personal union, ascribes also to divinity everything that happens to the humanity, and vice versa. And it is so in reality; for you must certainly answer this, that the person (meaning Christ) suffers and dies. Now the person is true God; therefore it is rightly said: The Son of God suffers. For although the one part (to speak thus), namely, the divinity, does not suffer, yet the person, which is God, suffers in the other part, namely, in His humanity; for in truth God's Son has been crucified for us, that is, the person which is God. For the person, the person, I say, was crucified according to the humanity.*

And again, shortly afterwards: *If the* ALLOEOSIS *is to stand as Zwingli teaches it, then Christ will have to be two persons, one divine and one human, because Zwingli applies the passages concerning suffering to the human nature alone, and diverts them entirely from the divinity. For if the works be parted and separated, the person must also be divided, since all the works or sufferings are ascribed not to the natures, but to the person. For it is the person that does and suffers everything, one thing according to one nature, and another according to the other nature, all of which the learned know well. Therefore we regard our Lord Christ as God and man in one person,* NON CONFUNDENDO NATURAS NEC DIVIDENDO PERSONAM, *so that we neither confound the natures nor divide the person.*

Dr. Luther says also in his book *Of the Councils and the Church: We Christians must know that if God is not also in the balance, and gives the weight, we sink to the bottom with our scale. By this I mean: If it were not to be said [if these things were not true], God has died for us, but only a man, we would be lost. But if "God's death" and "God died" lie in the scale of the balance, then He sinks down, and we rise up as a light,*

[wenn er nicht ein Mensch wie wir geworden wäre], daß es heißen könnte: Gott gestorben, Gottes Marter, Gottes Blut, Gottes Tod. Denn Gott in seiner Natur kann nicht sterben; aber nun Gott und Mensch vereinigt ist in einer Person, so heißet's recht Gottes Tod, wenn der Mensch stirbt, der mit Gott ein Ding oder eine Person ist." Bis daher Lutherus.

Daraus offenbar, daß es unrecht geredet sei, wenn gesagt oder geschrieben wird, daß hievor gesetzte Reden: „Gott hat gelitten, Gott ist gestorben", allein praedicatio verbalis, das ist, allein bloße Worte [seien] und [es] nicht mit der Tat also sei. Denn unser einfältiger christlicher Glaube weiset's aus [zeigt's an, beweist es], daß der Sohn Gottes, so Mensch [ge]worden, für uns gelitten, gestorben und mit seinem Blute uns erlöst habe.

Zum andern, was anlangt die Verrichtung des Amtes Christi, da handelt und wirkt die Person nicht in, mit, durch oder nach einer Natur allein, sondern in, nach, mit und durch beide Naturen, oder, wie das Concilium Chalcedonense redet, eine Natur wirkt mit Gemeinschaft der andern, was einer jeden Eigenschaft ist. Also ist Christus unser Mittler, Erlöser, König, Hoherpriester, Haupt, Hirte usw. nicht nach einer Natur allein, es sei die göttliche oder die menschliche, sondern nach beiden Naturen; wie diese Lehre anderswo ausdrücklich [ausführlicher] gehandelt wird.

Zum dritten aber ist noch viel ein anderes, wenn davon gefragt, geredet oder gehandelt wird, ob denn die Naturen in der persönlichen Vereinigung in Christo nichts anderes oder nicht mehr denn nur allein ihre natürlichen, wesentlichen Eigenschaften haben; denn daß sie dieselben haben und behalten, ist oben gemeldet.

Was nun die göttliche Natur in Christo anlangt, weil bei Gott keine Veränderung ist, Jak. 1, ist seiner göttlichen Natur durch die Menschwerdung an ihrem Wesen und Eigenschaften nichts ab- oder zu[ge]gangen, ist in [ist sie in] oder für sich dadurch weder gemindert noch gemehrt.

Was aber anlangt die angenommene menschliche Natur in der Person Christi, haben wohl etliche streiten wollen, daß dieselbe auch in der persönlichen mit der Gottheit Vereinigung [auch in der persönlichen Vereinigung mit der Gottheit] anders und mehr nicht habe denn nur allein ihre natürlichen, wesentlichen Eigenschaften, nach welchen sie ihren Brüdern allenthalben gleich ist, und daß derwegen der menschlichen Natur in Christo nichts solle noch könne zugeschrieben werden, was über oder wider ihre natürlichen Eigenschaften sei, wenngleich der Schrift Zeugnisse dahin lauten. Aber daß solche Meinung falsch und unrecht sei, ist aus Gottes Wort so klar, daß auch ihre eigenen Mitverwandten [Genossen] nunmehr solchen Irrtum strafen und verwerfen. Denn die Heilige Schrift und die alten Väter aus der Schrift zeugen gewaltig, daß die menschliche Natur in Christo darum und daher, weil sie mit der göttlichen Natur in Christo persönlich vereinigt [ist], als sie nach abgelegter knechtischer Gestalt und Erniedri-

Sed et ille deinde rursus vel sursum tendere, vel e lance exsilire potest. Non autem poterat in lancem descendere et considere, nisi nostri similis, hoc est, homo fieret, ut vere et recte de ipsius passione dici posset: Deus mortuus est, Dei passio, Dei sanguis, Dei mors. Non enim in sua natura Deus mori potest. Postquam autem Deus et homo unitus est in una persona, recte et vere dicitur: Deus mortuus est, quando videlicet ille homo moritur, qui cum Deo unum quiddam seu una persona est. Hactenus Lutherus.

45] Ex his liquet non carere errore, si quis dixerit scripseritve, quod commemoratae propositiones: *Deus passus est, Deus mortuus est,* sint tantummodo praedicationes verbales, hoc est, nuda verba, sine re. Simplicissima enim Christiana fides nostra docet, [R. 773 quod Filius Dei, qui homo factus est, pro nobis passus ac mortuus sit nosque sanguine suo redemerit.

46] Deinde, quod ad rationes officii Christi attinet, persona non agit et operatur in seu cum una vel per unam naturam tantum, sed potius in, cum et secundum atque per utramque naturam, seu, ut Concilium Chalcedonense loquitur, una natura agit seu operatur cum communicatione alterius, quod cuiusque pro-
47] prium est. Itaque Christus est noster Mediator, Redemptor, Rex, Summus Pontifex, Caput et Pastor etc. non secundum unam tantum naturam, sive divinam sive humanam, sed secundum utramque naturam; de qua re alias etiam copiosius dicitur.

48] Tertio vero longe adhuc aliud est, quando de eo quaeritur, disseritur vel tractatur, an duae illae naturae in hypostatica unione in Christo nihil amplius nisi suas naturales essentiales proprietates habeant; quod enim easdem habeant atque retineant, supra docuimus.

49] Quantum ergo ad divinam in Christo naturam attinet, cum *in ipso nulla sit,* ut Iacobus testatur, Iac. 1, 17, *transmutatio,* divinae Christi naturae per incarnationem nihil (quoad essentiam et proprietates eius) vel accessit vel decessit et per eam in se vel per se neque diminuta neque aucta est.

50] Iam quod ad humanam naturam in persona Christi attinet, non defuerunt quidam, qui contenderent, eam in personali etiam cum Divinitate unione nihil amplius habere quam duntaxat suas naturales essentiales proprietates, quarum ratione fratribus suis per omnia similis est. Unde affirmarunt, humanae in Christo naturae nihil eorum tribui vel debere vel posse, quod sit supra vel contra naturales ipsius proprietates, etiamsi Scripturae testimonia humanae Christi naturae talia tribuant.
51] Hanc vero ipsorum opinionem falsam esse Verbo Dei adeo perspicue demonstrari [R. 774 potest, ut etiam ipsorum consortes eum ipsum errorem reprehendere et reiicere tandem coeperint. Sacrae enim litterae et orthodoxi patres, Scripturae verbis edocti, praeclare testantur, quod humana natura in Christo eam ob causam et inde adeo, quod cum divina natura personaliter unita est (deposito servili statu et humiliatione, iam glorificata et ad

empty scale. But indeed He can also rise again or leap out of the scale; yet He could not sit in the scale unless He became a man like us, so that it could be said: "God died," "God's passion," "God's blood," "God's death." For in His nature God cannot die; but now that God and man are united in one person, it is correctly called God's death, when the man dies who is one thing or one person with God. Thus far Luther.

Hence it is manifest that it is incorrect to say or write that the above-mentioned expressions (*God suffered, God died*) are only *praedicationes verbales* (verbal assertions), that is, mere words, and that it is not so in fact. For our simple Christian faith proves that the Son of God, who became man, suffered for us, died for us, and redeemed us with His blood.

Secondly, as to the execution of the office of Christ, the person does not act and work in, with, through, or according to only one nature, but in, according to, with, and through both natures, or, as the Council of Chalcedon expresses it, one nature operates in communion with the other what is a property of each. Therefore Christ is our Mediator, Redeemer, King, High Priest, Head, Shepherd, etc., not according to one nature only, whether it be the divine or the human, but according to both natures, as this doctrine has been treated more fully in other places.

Thirdly, however, it is still a much different thing when the question, declaration, or discussion is, whether the natures in the personal union in Christ have nothing else or nothing more than only their natural, essential properties; for that they have and retain these has been mentioned above.

Now, as regards the divine nature in Christ, since in God there is no change, Jas. 1, 17, His divine nature, in its essence and properties, suffered no subtraction nor addition by the incarnation; was not, in or by itself, either diminished or increased thereby.

But as regards the assumed human nature in the person of Christ, some have indeed wished to contend that even in the personal union with divinity it has nothing else and nothing more than only its natural, essential properties according to which it is in all things like its brethren; and that, on this account, nothing should or could be ascribed to the human nature in Christ which is beyond, or contrary to, its natural properties, even though the testimony of Scripture is to that effect. But that this opinion is false and incorrect is so clear from God's Word that even their own associates rebuke and reject this error. For the Holy Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers from the Scriptures [in which they were fully trained], testify forcefully that, for the reason and because of the fact that it has been personally united with the divine nature in Christ, the human nature in Christ, when it was glorified and exalted to the right hand of the majesty and power of God, after the form of a servant and humilia-

gung glorifiziert und zur Rechten der Majestät und Kraft Gottes erhöht [worden], neben und über ihre natürlichen, wesentlichen, bleibenden Eigenschaften auch sonderliche, hohe, große, übernatürliche, unerforschliche, unaussprechliche, himmlische praerogativas und Vorzüge an Majestät, Herrlichkeit, Kraft und Gewalt über alles, was genannt mag werden, nicht allein in dieser, sondern auch in der künftigen Welt, empfangen habe; daß also die menschliche Natur in Christo zu den Wirkungen des Amtes Christi auf ihr Maß und Weise mit gebraucht werde und auch ihre efficaciam, das ist, Kraft und Wirkung, habe nicht allein aus und nach ihren natürlichen wesentlichen Eigenschaften, oder allein soferne sich das Vermögen derselben erstreckt, sondern vornehmlich aus und nach der Majestät, Herrlichkeit, Kraft und Gewalt, welche sie durch die persönliche Vereinigung, Glorifikation und Erhöhung empfangen hat. Und dies können oder dürfen auch nunmehr fast die Widersacher nicht leugnen, allein daß sie disputieren und streiten, daß es nur erschaffene Gaben oder finitae qualitates sein sollen wie in den Heiligen, damit die menschliche Natur in Christo begabt und geziert [sei], und daß sie nach ihren Gedanken und aus ihren eigenen argumentationibus oder Beweisungen abmessen und ausrechnen wollen, was [wessen] die menschliche Natur in Christo ohne derselben Abtilgung fähig oder nicht fähig könne oder solle sein.

Aber der beste, gewisseste und sicherste Weg in diesem Streit ist dieser, nämlich: was Christus nach seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur durch die persönliche Vereinigung, Glorifikation oder Erhöhung empfangen habe, und was [und wessen] seine angenommene menschliche Natur über die [außer den und hinaus über die] natürlichen Eigenschaften ohne derselben Abtilgung fähig sei, daß solches niemand besser oder gründlicher wissen könne denn der HErr Christus selber; derselbe aber hat solches, soviel uns in diesem Leben davon zu wissen vonnöten [ist], in seinem Wort offenbart. Wovon wir nun in der Schrift in diesem Falle klare, gewisse Zeugnisse haben, das sollen wir einfältig glauben und in keinem Wege dawider disputieren, als könnte die menschliche Natur in Christo desselben nicht fähig sein.

Nun ist das wohl recht und wahr, was von den erschaffenen Gaben, so der menschlichen Natur in Christo gegeben und mitgeteilt, daß sie dieselben an oder für sich selbst habe, gesagt wird. Aber dieselben erreichen noch nicht die Majestät, welche die Schrift und die alten Väter aus der Schrift der angenommenen menschlichen Natur in Christo zuschreiben.

Denn lebendig machen, alles Gericht und alle Gewalt haben im Himmel und auf Erden, alles in seinen Händen haben, alles unter seinen Füßen unterworfen haben, von Sünden reinigen usw. sind nicht erschaffene Gaben, sondern göttliche, unendliche Eigenschaften, welche doch nach Aussage der Schrift dem Menschen Christo gegeben und mitgeteilt sind, Joh. 5 und 6; Matth. 28; Dan. 7; Joh. 3 und 13; Matth. 11; Eph. 1; Hebr. 2; 1 Kor. 15; Joh. 1.

Und daß solche Mitteilung nicht per phrasin aut modum loquendi, das ist, allein mit Worten

dexteram maiestatis et virtutis divinae exaltata), praeter et supra naturales essentiales atque in ipsa permanentes humanas proprietates etiam singulares, excellentissimas, maximas, supernaturales, impervestigabiles, ineffabiles atque coelestes praerogativas maiestatis, gloriae, virtutis ac potentiae *super omne, quod nominatur, non solum in hoc saeculo, sed etiam in futuro,* Eph. 1, 21, acceperit, ut ita humana in Christo natura (suo modo et ratione) in exsequendo officio Christi simul adhibeatur, cooperetur et suam efficaciam, id est, virtutem et operationem, habeat, non tantum ex suis naturalibus proprietatibus aut secundum essentiales proprietates, aut quousque earum virtus et efficacia progreditur, sed praecipue secundum maiestatem, gloriam, virtutem atque potentiam, quam per unionem hypostaticam, glorificationem et exaltationem ac-

52] cepit. Et hoc ipsum hodie ne adversarii quidem nostri prorsus negare audent, nisi quod disputant et contendunt, illa tantum esse dona creata et finitas dotes seu qualitates, quibus humanam in Christo naturam donatam et ornatam esse sentiunt; quales sunt etiam in sanctis hominibus. Et argutis cogitationibus ac frivolis argumentationibus atque fictis probationibus metiri et ad calculum revocare conantur, quorum donorum humana natura in Christo, sine abolitione sua, capax aut non capax esse queat.

53] Rectissima autem et omnium tutissima via in huius controversiae diiudicatione [R. 775 est haec, videlicet neminem melius et certius nosse, quid Christus secundum assumptam humanam naturam (ratione unionis hypostaticae et glorificationis seu exaltationis) acceperit et quarum praerogativarum (praeter et supra naturales suas proprietates) sine eiusdem abolitione capax sit, quam ipsum Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum. Is vero hoc ipsum (quantum quidem nostra et quidem salutis causa in hac vita interest) in Verbo suo revelavit. De quibus igitur in Sacra Scriptura, quod ad hanc rem attinet, certa et perspicua testimonia habemus, simpliciter illis fidem adhibeamus et nequaquam contra disputemus, quasi humana natura in Christo illorum capax esse nequeat.

54] Vera quidem sunt, quae de creatis donis humanae naturae in Christo datis et communicatis dicuntur, quod humanitas Christi ea per se et in se ipsa habeat. Sed haec non satis explicant vel assequuntur maiestatem illam, quam Scriptura et orthodoxi patres secundum Scripturam humanae in Christo naturae ascribunt.

55] Vivificare enim, omne iudicium omnemque potestatem in coelo et in terra, adeoque omnia in manibus suis habere, omnia sub pedibus ipsius subiecta esse, a peccatis mundare etc. non sunt dona creata, sed divinae infinitae proprietates, quae tamen (iuxta testimonia Scripturae) Christo homini datae et communicatae sunt, Ioh. 5, 25; 6, 39; Matth. 28, 18; Dan. 7, 14; Ioh. 3, 35; 13, 3; Matth. 11, 27; Eph. 1, 22; Hebr. 2, 8; 1 Cor. 15, 27; Ioh. 1, 3. 14. 51.

56] Quod autem haec communicatio non tantum, quasi per phrasin aut modum loquendi

tion had been laid aside, did receive, apart from, and over and above its natural, essential, permanent properties, also special, high, great, supernatural, inscrutable, ineffable, heavenly *praerogativas* (prerogatives) and excellences in majesty, glory, power, and might above everything that can be named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come [Eph. 1, 21]; and that, accordingly, in the operations of the office of Christ, the human nature in Christ, in its measure and mode, is equally employed [at the same time], and has also its *efficaciam*, that is, power and efficacy, not only from, and according to, its natural, essential attributes, or only so far as their ability extends, but chiefly from, and according to, the majesty, glory, power, and might which it has received through the personal union, glorification, and exaltation. And nowadays even the adversaries can or dare scarcely deny this, except that they dispute and contend that those are only created gifts or *finitae qualitates* (finite qualities), as in the saints, with which the human nature in Christ is endowed and adorned; and that, according to their [crafty] thoughts or from their own [silly] *argumentationes* (argumentations) or [fictitious] proofs, they wish to measure and calculate of what the human nature in Christ could or should be capable or incapable without becoming annihilated.

But the best, most certain, and surest way in this controversy is this, namely, that what Christ has received according to His assumed human nature through the personal union, glorification, or exaltation, and of what His assumed human nature is capable beyond the natural properties, without becoming annihilated, no one can know better or more thoroughly than the Lord Christ Himself; and He has revealed it in His Word, as much as is needful for us to know of it in this life. Now, everything for which we have in this instance clear, certain testimonies in the Scriptures, we must simply believe, and in no way argue against it, as though the human nature in Christ could not be capable of the same.

Now it is indeed correct and true what has been said concerning the created gifts which have been given and imparted to the human nature in Christ, that it possesses them in or of itself. But these do not reach unto the majesty which the Scriptures, and the ancient Fathers from Scripture, ascribe to the assumed human nature in Christ.

For to quicken, to have all judgment and all power in heaven and on earth, to have all things in His hands, to have all things in subjection beneath His feet, to cleanse from sin, etc., are not created gifts, but divine, infinite properties; and yet, according to the declaration of Scripture, these have been given and communicated to the man Christ, John 5, 27; 6, 39; Matt. 28, 18; Dan. 7, 14; John 3, 35; 13, 3; Matt. 11, 27; Eph. 1, 22; Heb. 2, 8; 1 Cor. 15, 27; John 1, 3; 14, 51.

And that this communication is not to be understood *per phrasin aut modum loquendi* (as a phrase or mode of speaking), that is, only in words, with respect to the person ac-

von der Person allein nach der göttlichen Natur, sondern nach der angenommenen menschlichen Natur zu verstehen sei, beweisen drei starke, unwiderlegliche Argumente und nachfolgende Gründe:

1. Zum ersten ist ein [ist es eine] einhellige Regel der ganzen alten rechtgläubigen Kirche: Was die Heilige Schrift zeugt, das Christus in der Zeit empfangen habe, daß er dasselbe nicht nach der göttlichen (nach welcher er alles von Ewigkeit hat), sondern die Person ratione et respectu humanae naturae, das ist, nach der angenommenen menschlichen Natur, dasselbe in der Zeit empfangen habe.

2. Zum andern zeugt die Schrift klärlich Joh. 5 und 6, daß die Kraft, lebendig zu machen und das Gericht zu halten, Christo gegeben sei darum, daß er des Menschen Sohn ist, und wie [und insofern] er Fleisch und Blut hat.

3. Zum dritten sagt die Schrift nicht allein insgemein von der Person des Menschensohnes, sondern deutet auch ausdrücklich auf seine angenommene menschliche Natur, 1 Joh. 1: „Das Blut Christi reiniget uns von allen Sünden", nicht allein nach dem Verdienst, welches am Kreuz einmal verrichtet, sondern Johannes redet an demselben Ort davon, daß uns im Werk oder Handlung der Rechtfertigung nicht allein die göttliche Natur in Christo [reinige], sondern auch sein Blut (per modum efficaciae, das ist, wirklich) reinigt uns von allen Sünden. Also Joh. 6 ist das Fleisch Christi eine lebendigmachende Speise, wie daraus auch das Ephesinum Concilium geschlossen hat, daß das Fleisch Christi die Kraft habe, lebendig zu machen; wie von diesem Artikel andere viel herrliche Zeugnisse der alten rechtgläubigen Kirche anderswo angezogen sind.

Daß nun Christus nach seiner menschlichen Natur solches empfangen [habe], und der angenommenen menschlichen Natur in Christo solches gegeben und mitgeteilt sei, sollen und müssen wir nach der Schrift glauben. Aber wie droben gesagt, weil die beiden Naturen in Christo also vereinigt [sind], daß sie nicht miteinander vermischt oder eine in die andere verwandelt, auch eine jede ihre natürlichen, wesentlichen Eigenschaften behält, also daß einer Natur Eigenschaften der andern Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden, muß diese Lehre auch recht erklärt und mit Fleiß wider alle Ketzereien verwahrt werden.

Indem wir denn nichts Neues von uns selber erdenken [in dieser Sache erdenken wir eben nichts Neues aus uns selbst], sondern nehmen an und erholen [wiederholen] die Erklärungen, so die alte rechtgläubige Kirche aus gutem Grunde der Heiligen Schrift hiervon gegeben hat, nämlich daß solche göttliche Kraft, Leben, Gewalt, Majestät und Herrlichkeit der angenommenen **menschlichen** Natur in Christo gegeben sei, nicht also, wie der Vater dem Sohn nach der göttlichen Natur sein Wesen und alle göttlichen Eigenschaften von Ewigkeit mitgeteilt hat, daher er e i n e s Wesens mit dem Vater und Gott gleich ist; denn Christus ist allein nach der göttlichen Natur dem Vater gleich, aber nach der angenommenen menschlichen Natur ist er unter Gott; daraus offenbar, daß wir keine confusionem, exaequationem, abolitionem, das ist, keine Vermischung, Vergleichung oder Abtil-

dicta, de persona Christi secundum ipsius divinitatem, sed potius secundum assumptam humanam naturam sit intelligenda, id tribus firmissimis, atque adeo invictis argumentis, quae iam recitabimus, demonstrari potest:

57] I. Primo exstat regula communissima, maximo totius ecclesiae orthodoxae [R. 776 consensu approbata, videlicet: quae Scriptura Christum in tempore accepisse affirmat, ea non secundum divinitatem accepisse (secundum quam omnia ab aeterno possidet), sed quod persona Christi ratione et respectu humanae naturae ea in tempore acceperit.

58] II. Deinde Scriptura luculenter testatur Ioh. 5, 21 sq. et 6, 39 sq., quod virtus vivificandi et potestas exercendi iudicii Christo datae sint propterea, quia filius hominis est, quatenus videlicet carnem et sanguinem habet.

59] III. Postremo Scriptura in hoc negotio non tantum in genere filii hominis mentionem facit, sed quasi digitum in assumptam humanam naturam intendit, cum inquit 1 Ioh. 1, 7: *Sanguis Iesu Christi, Filii Dei, emundat nos ab omni peccato.* Id autem non tantum de merito sanguinis Christi in cruce semel perfecto accipiendum est, sed Iohannes eo loco de ea re agit, quod in negotio iustificationis non tantum divina natura in Christo, verum etiam ipsius sanguis per modum efficaciae nos ab omni peccato emundet. Ita caro Christi est *vivificus cibus*, Ioh. 6, 48—58. Et ex hoc evangelistae et apostoli dicto Concilium Ephesinum pronuntiavit, *carnem Christi habere vim vivificandi.* Et de hoc articulo multa in nostrorum hominum scriptis clarissima veteris et orthodoxae ecclesiae testimonia collecta passim exstant.

60] Quod igitur Christus virtutem vivificandi secundum humanitatem suam acceperit, et quod illa vis assumptae humanae naturae in Christo data atque communicata sit, id ex analogia Verbi Dei credere tenemur. Sed, ut paulo ante monuimus, cum duae naturae in Christo eo modo sint unitae, ut nulla sit facta confusio aut naturae unius in alteram transmutatio, et utraque suas naturales et essentiales proprietates retineat, ita ut unius naturae proprietates nunquam alterius naturae proprietates fiant: haec doctrina dextre [R. 777 admodum declaranda et adversus haeresium corruptelas bene munienda est.

61] In hoc autem negotio nihil novi de ingenio nostro fingimus, sed amplectimur et repetimus declarationem, quam vetus et orthodoxa ecclesia, e Sacrae Scripturae fundamentis desumptam, ad nos incorruptam transmisit, videlicet quod divina illa virtus, vita, potestas, maiestas et gloria assumptae *humanae* naturae in Christo data sit. Id vero non eo modo, sicut Pater Filio, secundum divinam naturam, essentiam suam et omnes divinas proprietates ab aeterno communicavit, unde et unius cum Patre essentiae et ipsi aequalis est. Christus enim tantum secundum divinam naturam Patri aequalis est; secundum humanam vero naturam sub Deo est. Ex his manifestum est, nullam nos confusionem, exaequationem aut abolitionem naturarum in Christo statuere. Etenim virtus vivificandi

cording to the divine nature alone, but according to the assumed human nature, the three strong, irrefutable arguments and reasons, now following, show:

1. First, there is a unanimously received rule of the entire ancient orthodox Church that what Holy Scripture testifies that Christ received in time He received not according to the divine nature (according to which He has everything from eternity), but the person has received it in time *ratione et respectu humanae naturae*, that is, as referring, and with respect to, according to the assumed human nature.

2. Secondly, the Scriptures testify clearly, John 5, 21 f.; 6, 39 f., that the power to quicken and to execute judgment has been given to Christ for the reason that He is the Son of Man, and in as far as He has flesh and blood.

3. Thirdly, the Scriptures speak not merely in general of the Son of Man, but also indicate expressly His assumed human nature, 1 John 1, 7: *The blood of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin*, not only according to the merit [of the blood of Christ] which was once attained on the cross; but in this place John speaks of this, that in the work or act of justification not only the divine nature in Christ, but also His blood *per modum efficaciae* (by mode of efficacy), that is, actually, cleanses us from all sins. Thus in John 6, 48—58 the flesh of Christ is a quickening food; as also the Council of Ephesus concluded from this [statement of the evangelist and apostle] that the flesh of Christ has power to quicken; and as many other glorious testimonies of the ancient orthodox Church concerning this article are cited elsewhere.

Now, that Christ, according to His human nature, has received this, and that it has been given and communicated to the assumed human nature in Christ, we shall and must believe according to the Scriptures. But, as above said, since the two natures in Christ are united in such a manner that they are not mingled with one another or changed one into the other, and each retains its natural, essential property, so that the properties of one nature never become properties of the other nature, this doctrine must also be rightly explained and diligently guarded against all heresies.

While we, then, invent nothing new of ourselves, but receive and repeat the explanations which the ancient orthodox Church has given hereof from the good foundation of Holy Scripture, namely, that this divine power, life, might, majesty, and glory was given to the assumed *human* nature in Christ, not in such a way as the Father from eternity has communicated to the Son, according to the divine nature, His essence and all divine attributes, whence He is of one essence with the Father and is equal to God (for Christ is equal to the Father only according to the divine nature, while according to the assumed human nature He is beneath God; from which it is manifest that we make no *confusionem, exaequationem, abolitionem*, that is, no confusion, equaliza-

gung der Naturen in Christo machen; so ist auch die Kraft, lebendig zu machen, nicht also in dem Fleisch Christi wie in seiner göttlichen Natur, nämlich als eine wesentliche Eigenschaft.

Es ist auch solche Kommunikation oder Mitteilung nicht geschehen durch eine wesentliche oder natürliche Ausgießung der Eigenschaften der göttlichen Natur in die menschliche, also daß Christus' Menschheit solche für sich selbst und von dem göttlichen Wesen abgesondert hätte, oder als hätte dadurch die menschliche Natur in Christo ihre natürlichen, wesentlichen Eigenschaften gar abgelegt und wäre nunmehr entweder in die Gottheit verwandelt oder derselben mit solchen mitgeteilten Eigenschaften in und für sich selbst [* derselben] gleich [ge]worden, oder daß nunmehr beider Naturen einerlei oder ja gleiche natürliche wesentliche Eigenschaften und Wirkungen sein sollten. Denn solche und dergleichen irrige Lehren sind in den alten bewährten conciliis aus Grund der Schrift billig verworfen und verdammt. Nullo enim modo vel facienda vel admittenda est aut conversio aut confusio aut exaequatio sive naturarum in Christo sive essentialium proprietatum. Das ist: Denn auf keinerlei Weise soll gehalten oder zugelassen werden Verkehrung, Vermischung oder Vergleichung der Naturen in Christo oder derselben wesentlichen Eigenschaften.

Wie wir denn auch die Worte realis communicatio oder realiter kommuniziert, das ist, die Mitteilung oder Gemeinschaft, so mit der Tat und Wahrheit geschieht, niemals von einer physica communicatione vel essentiali transfusione (das ist, von einer wesentlichen, natürlichen Gemeinschaft oder Ausgießung, dadurch die Naturen in ihrem Wesen und derselben wesentlichen Eigenschaften vermengt [werden]) verstanden [haben], wie etliche solche Worte und Reden arglistig und boshaftig, die reine Lehre damit verdächtig zu machen, wider ihr eigen Gewissen verkehrt haben; sondern [obige Worte] allein der verbali communicationi, das ist, dieser Lehre entgegengesetzt haben, da solche Leute vorgegeben, daß es nur eine phrasis und modus loquendi, das ist, mehr nicht denn bloße Worte, Titel und Name sei, darauf sie auch so hart gedrungen, daß sie von keiner andern Gemeinschaft [haben] wissen wollen. Derwegen zu wahrhaftiger Erklärung der Majestät Christi wir solche Worte (de reali communicatione) gebraucht und damit anzeigen wollen, daß solche Gemeinschaft mit der Tat und Wahrheit, doch ohne alle Vermischung der Naturen und ihrer wesentlichen Eigenschaften, geschehen sei.

So halten und lehren wir nun mit der alten, rechtgläubigen Kirche, wie dieselbe diese Lehre aus der Schrift erklärt hat, daß die menschliche Natur in Christo solche Majestät empfangen habe nach Art der persönlichen Vereinigung; nämlich, weil die ganze Fülle der Gottheit in Christo wohnt, nicht wie in andern heiligen Menschen oder Engeln, sondern leibhaftig, als **in ihrem eigenen Leibe,** daß sie mit aller ihrer Majestät, Kraft, Herrlichkeit und Wirkung in der angenommenen menschlichen Natur freiwillig (wann und wie er will) leuchtet, in [und in], mit und durch dieselbe seine göttliche Kraft, Herrlichkeit und Wirkung beweist, erzeigt und verrichtet, wie die Seele im Leibe und das Feuer in einem glühenden Eisen tut (denn durch solche Gleichnisse, wie droben auch vermeldet, hat die ganze alte Kirche diese Lehre erklärt); solnon eo modo est in carne Christi, quo est in divina eius natura, videlicet ut essentialis proprietas.

62] Communicatio autem illa non facta est per essentialem aut naturalem effusionem proprietatum divinae naturae in naturam humanam, quasi humanitas Christi eas per se et a divina essentia separatas haberet, aut quasi per illam communicationem humana natura in Christo naturales ac essentiales suas proprietates prorsus deposuerit et vel in divinam naturam conversa, aut divinae naturae communicatis illis suis proprietatibus, in se ipsa et per se [sese], exaequata sit, aut quod utriusque naturae eaedem aut certe aequales naturales et essentiales proprietates et operationes sint. Hi enim et similes errores in vetustissimis et approbatis conciliis e fundamentis Sacrae Scripturae merito sunt reiecti et damnati. Nullo enim modo vel facienda vel admittenda est aut conversio aut confusio aut exaequatio sive naturarum in Christo sive essentialium proprietatum.

63] Et quidem his vocabulis: *realis* [R. 778 *communicatio, realiter communicari,* nunquam ullam physicam communicationem vel essentialem transfusionem (qua naturae in suis essentiis aut essentialibus proprietatibus confunderentur) docere voluimus, ut quidam vocabula et phrases illas astute et malitiose falsa interpretatione, contra conscientiam suam, pervertere non dubitarunt, tantum, ut piam doctrinam suspicionibus iniquissimis gravarent. Sed vocabula et phrases illas verbali communicationi opposuimus, cum quidam fingerent, communicationem idiomatum nihil aliud nisi phrasin et modum quendam loquendi, hoc est, mera tantum verba, nomina et titulos inanes esse. Et hanc verbalem communicationem adeo urserunt, ut de nulla alia communicatione audire quidquam vellent. Quapropter ad recte declarandam maiestatem Christi vocabula (de reali communicatione) usurpavimus, ut significaremus, communicationem illam vere et re ipsa (sine omni tamen naturarum et proprietatum essentialium confusione) factam esse.

64] Sentimus itaque et docemus cum veteri orthodoxa ecclesia, quemadmodum illa hanc doctrinam ex Scriptura Sacra declaravit, quod humana in Christo natura maiestatem illam acceperit secundum rationem hypostaticae unionis, videlicet quod cum tota divinitatis plenitudo in Christo habitet, non quemadmodum in sanctis hominibus et angelis, sed corporaliter, ut *in proprio suo corpore,* etiam omni sua maiestate, virtute, gloria, operatione in assumpta humana natura, liberrime (quando et quomodo Christo visum fuerit) luceat et in ea, cum ea et per eam divinam suam virtutem, maiestatem et efficaciam exerceat, operetur et perficiat. Idque ea quodammodo ratione, qua anima in corpore et ignis in ferro candente agit. Hac enim [R. 779

tion, or abolition of natures in Christ), so, too, the power to quicken is in the flesh of Christ not in that manner in which it is in His divine nature, namely, as an essential property.

Moreover, this communication or impartation has not occurred through an essential or natural infusion of the properties of the divine nature into the human, so that the humanity of Christ would have these by itself and apart from the divine essence, or as though the human nature in Christ had thereby [by this communication] entirely laid aside its natural, essential properties and were now either transformed into divinity, or had, with such communicated properties, in and by itself become equal to the same, or that there should now be for both natures identical or, at any rate, equal natural, essential properties and operations. For these and similar erroneous doctrines were justly rejected and condemned in the ancient approved councils on the basis of Holy Scripture. *Nullo enim modo vel facienda vel admittenda est aut conversio aut confusio aut exaequatio sive naturarum in Christo sive essentialium proprietatum.* That is: *For in no way is conversion, confusion, or equalization of the natures in Christ or of their essential properties to be maintained* [made] *or admitted.*

Accordingly, we have never understood the words *realis communicatio* or communicated *realiter,* that is, the impartation or communion which occurs in deed and truth, of any *physica communicatio vel essentialis transfusio,* physical communication or essential transfusion, that is, of an essential, natural communion or effusion, by which the natures would be commingled in their essence, and their essential properties, as some have craftily and wickedly, against their own conscience, perverted these words and phrases in order to make the pure doctrine suspected; but we have only opposed them to *verbalis communicatio* (verbal communication), that is, to this doctrine, when such persons assert that it is only *phrasis* and *modus loquendi* (a phrase and mode of speaking), that is, nothing more than mere words, titles, and names, upon which they have also laid so much stress that they would know of no other communion. Hence, for the true explanation of the majesty of Christ we have used such terms *de reali communicatione* (of real communion), and wished to indicate by them that this communion has occurred in deed and truth, however, without any confusion of natures and their essential properties.

We, therefore, hold and teach, in conformity with the ancient orthodox Church, as it has explained this doctrine from the Scriptures, that the human nature in Christ has received this majesty according to the manner of the personal union, namely, because the entire fulness of the divinity dwells in Christ, not as in other holy men or angels, but bodily, as *in its own body,* so that it shines forth with all its majesty, power, glory, and efficacy in the assumed human nature, voluntarily when and as He [Christ] wills, and in, with, and through the same manifests, exercises,

ches ist zur Zeit der [Er]Niedrigung verborgen und hinterhalten [zurückgehalten] worden, aber jetzund nach abgelegter knechtischer Gestalt geschieht solches völlig, gewaltig und öffentlich vor allen Heiligen im Himmel und Erden, und werden auch wir in jenem Leben solche seine Herrlichkeit von Angesicht zu Angesicht schauen, Joh. 17.

Also ist und bleibt in Christo nur eine einige göttliche Allmächtigkeit, Kraft, Majestät und Herrlichkeit, welche allein der göttlichen Natur eigen ist; dieselbe aber leuchtet, beweist und erzeigt sich völlig, aber doch freiwillig, in, mit und durch die angenommene erhöhte menschliche Natur in Christo. Gleichwie in einem glühenden Eisen nicht zweierlei Kraft zu leuchten und zu brennen ist, sondern die Kraft zu leuchten und zu brennen ist des Feuers Eigenschaft; aber weil das Feuer mit dem Eisen vereinigt [ist], so beweiset's und erzeiget's solche seine Kraft zu leuchten und zu brennen in, mit und durch das glühende Eisen, also daß auch das glühende Eisen daher und durch solche Vereinigung die Kraft hat zu leuchten und zu brennen, ohne Verwandlung des Wesens und der natürlichen Eigenschaften des Feuers und Eisens.

Derwegen verstehen wir solche Zeugnisse der Schrift, so von der Majestät reden, zu welcher die menschliche Natur in Christo erhöht ist, nicht also, daß solche göttliche Majestät, welche der göttlichen Natur des Sohnes Gottes eigen ist, in der Person des Menschensohnes schlecht nur allein nach seiner göttlichen Natur zugeschrieben soll werden, oder daß dieselbe Majestät in der menschlichen Natur Christi allein dergestalt sein sollte, daß seine menschliche Natur von derselben allein den bloßen Titel und Namen, per phrasin et modum loquendi, das ist, allein mit Worten, aber mit der Tat und Wahrheit ganz und gar keine Gemeinschaft mit ihr haben sollte. Denn auf solche Weise (weil Gott ein geistlich, unzertrennt Wesen und demnach allenthalben und in allen Kreaturen ist, und in welchen er ist, sonderlich aber in den Gläubigen und Heiligen [in denen er] wohnt, daselbst solche seine Majestät mit und bei sich hat) auch mit Wahrheit gesagt werden möchte, daß in allen Kreaturen, in welchen Gott ist, sonderlich aber in den Gläubigen und Heiligen, in welchen Gott wohnt, alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig wohne, alle Schätze der Weisheit und der Erkenntnis verborgen [seien], alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden gegeben werde, weil ihnen der Heilige Geist, der alle Gewalt hat, gegeben wird; dergestalt denn zwischen Christo nach seiner menschlichen Natur und den andern heiligen Menschen kein Unterschied gemacht [würde], und also Christus seiner Majestät, so er vor allen Kreaturen als ein Mensch oder nach seiner menschlichen Natur empfangen hat, beraubt [würde]. Denn sonst keine Kreatur, weder Mensch noch Engel, sagen kann oder soll: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden"; so doch Gott mit aller Fülle seiner Gottheit, die er allenthalben bei sich hat, in den Heiligen ist, aber nicht leibhaftig in ihnen wohnt

similitudine (ut supra monuimus) tota erudita et pia antiquitas doctrinam hanc declaravit.

65] Haec autem humanae naturae maiestas in statu humiliationis maiori ex parte occultata et quasi dissimulata fuit. At nunc, post depositam servi formam (seu exinanitionem) maiestas Christi plene et efficacissime atque manifeste coram omnibus sanctis in coelo et in terris sese exserit. Et nos in altera illa beatissima vita hanc ipsius gloriam facie ad faciem videbimus, ut Iohannes testatur, cap. 17, 24.

66] Hac ratione est permanetque in Christo unica tantum divina omnipotentia, virtus, maiestas et gloria, quae est solius divinae naturae propria. Ea vero lucet et vim suam plene, liberrime tamen, exserit in et cum assumpta humanitate et per illam assumptam exaltatam in Christo humanitatem. Quemadmodum etiam in ferro candente non duplex est vis lucendi et urendi (quasi ignis peculiarem et ferrum etiam peculiarem et separatam vim lucendi et urendi haberet), quin potius illa vis lucendi et urendi est proprietas ignis. Sed tamen, quia ignis cum ferro unitus est, ideo vim et virtutem lucendi et urendi in et cum ferro et per ferrum illud candens exserit, ita quidem, ut ferrum ignitum ex hac unione vim habeat et lucendi et urendi, et tamen hoc fit sine transmutatione essentiae aut naturalium proprietatum tam ferri quam ignis.

67] Quare testimonia illa Sacrae Scripturae, quae de ea maiestate loquuntur, ad quam humana in Christo natura exaltata est, non in eam sententiam accipimus, quod divina illa maiestas (quae divinae naturae Filii Dei propria est) in persona Filii hominis tantum secundum divinam naturam Christo sit ascribenda, aut quod maiestas illa tantum ea ratione sit in humana Christi natura, ut humana Christi natura nudum tantum titulum et nomen solum divinae illius maiestatis, per phrasin et modum loquendi, revera autem nullam prorsus cum ea communicationem **68**] habeat. Cum enim Deus sit spiritualis indivisa essentia, quae ubique et in [R. 780 omnibus creaturis est, et ubi est, ibi (praesertim in credentibus et sanctis habitans) suam secum maiestatem habet: tum (secundum superiorem falsam hypothesin) dici posset in omnibus creaturis, in quibus Deus est, praecipue vero in electis et sanctis, qui sunt templa Dei, totam plenitudinem divinitatis corporaliter inhabitare, in eis omnes thesauros sapientiae et scientiae absconditos, illis omnem potestatem in coelo et in terra datam esse, cum fateri oporteat, credentibus Spiritum Sanctum datum esse, qui et ipse omnem pote-**69**] statem in coelo et in terra habet. Ea vero ratione inter Christum, iuxta humanam ipsius naturam, et inter alios sanctos homines nullum discrimen relinqueretur, et Christus maiestate illa sua, quam prae omnibus aliis creaturis ut homo seu secundum humanitatem **70**] suam accepit, exueretur. Nulla autem creatura (sive homo, sive angelus) dicere potest aut debet: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra;* cum tamen Deus universa divinitatis suae plenitudine, quam ubi-

and executes His divine power, glory, and efficacy, as the soul does in the body and fire in glowing iron (for by means of these illustrations, as was also mentioned above, the entire ancient Church has explained this doctrine). This was concealed and withheld [for the greater part] at the time of the humiliation; but now, after the form of a servant [or exinanition] has been laid aside, it is fully, powerfully, and publicly exercised before all saints, in heaven and on earth; and in the life to come we shall also behold this His glory face to face, John 17, 24.

Thus there is and remains in Christ only one divine omnipotence, power, majesty, and glory, which is peculiar to the divine nature alone; but it shines, manifests, and exercises itself fully, yet voluntarily, in, with, and through the assumed, exalted human nature in Christ. Just as in glowing iron there are not two kinds of power to shine and burn [as though the fire had a peculiar, and the iron also a peculiar and separate power of shining and burning], but the power to shine and to burn is a property of the fire; but since the fire is united with the iron, it manifests and exercises this its power to shine and to burn in, with, and through the glowing iron, so that thence and from this union also the glowing iron has the power to shine and to burn without conversion of the essence and of the natural properties of fire and iron.

For this reason we understand such testimonies of Scripture as speak of the majesty to which the human nature in Christ is exalted, not in such a way as if the divine majesty, which is peculiar to the divine nature of the Son of God, is in the person of the Son of Man to be ascribed [to Christ] simply and purely according to His divine nature, or that this majesty is to be in the human nature of Christ in such a manner only that from it His human nature should have but the mere title and name *per phrasin et modum loquendi* (by a phrase and mode of speaking), that is, only in words, but in deed and truth should have no communion whatever with it. For in that way (since God is a spiritual, undivided essence, and therefore present everywhere and in all creatures, and wherever He is, dwelling, however, especially in believers and saints, there He has with Him such majesty of His) it might also be said with truth that in all creatures in whom God is, but especially in believers and saints, in whom He dwells, all the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily, all treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hid, all power in heaven and earth is given, because the Holy Ghost, who has all power, is given them. In this way, then, no distinction would be made between Christ according to His human nature and other holy men, and thus Christ would be deprived of His majesty, which He has received above all creatures, as a man or according to His human nature. For no other creature, neither man nor angel, can or shall say: *All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth,* since, although God, with all the fulness of His Godhead, which He has everywhere with Himself, is in

oder persönlich mit ihnen vereinigt ist wie in Christo. Denn aus solcher persönlichen Vereinigung kommt's, daß Christus auch nach seiner menschlichen Natur spricht Matth. 28: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden." Item Joh. 13: „Da Christus wußte, daß ihm der Vater alles in seine Hand gegeben hatte." Item Kol. 2: „In ihm wohnet die ganze Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig." Item: „Mit Preis und Ehren hast du ihn gekrönet und hast ihn gesetzt über die Werke deiner Hände; alles hast du untertan zu seinen Füßen. In dem, daß er ihm alles hat untertan, hat er nichts gelassen, das ihm nicht untertan sei", Hebr. 2, „ausgenommen, der ihm alles untertan hat", 1 Kor. 15.

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen aber keineswegs eine solche Ausgießung der Majestät Gottes und aller derselben Eigenschaften in die menschliche Natur Christi, dadurch die göttliche Natur geschwächt [entkräftet werde] oder etwas von dem Ihren einem andern übergebe, das sie nicht für sich selbst behielte, oder daß die menschliche Natur in ihrer Substanz und Wesen gleiche Majestät empfangen haben sollte, von der Natur und Wesen des Sohnes Gottes abgesondert oder unterschieden, als wenn aus einem Gefäß in das andere Wasser, Wein oder Öl gegossen würde. Denn die menschliche Natur wie auch keine andere Kreatur weder im Himmel noch auf Erden [denn die menschliche Natur ebensowenig wie eine andere Kreatur] solchergestalt der Allmächtigkeit Gottes fähig ist, daß sie für sich selbst ein allmächtig Wesen würde oder allmächtige Eigenschaften an und für sich selbst hätte, dadurch die menschliche Natur in Christo geleugnet und in die Gottheit ganz und gar verwandelt [würde], welches unserm christlichen Glauben, auch aller Propheten und Apostel Lehre zuwider [ist].

Sondern wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, daß Gott der Vater seinen Geist Christo, seinem geliebten Sohn, nach der angenommenen Menschheit, also gegeben (darum er denn auch **Messias**, das ist, der Gesalbte, genennet [genannt] wird), daß er nicht mit dem Maß wie die andern Heiligen desselben Gaben empfangen habe. Denn auf Christo dem HErrn nach seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur (weil er nach der Gottheit mit dem Heiligen Geist e i n e s Wesens ist) „ruhet der Geist der Weisheit und des Verstandes, des Rats, der Stärke und der Erkenntnis", Jes. 11 und 61, nicht also, daß er daher, als ein Mensch, nur etliche Dinge wüßte und vermöchte, wie andere Heilige durch Gottes Geist, welcher allein erschaffene Gaben in ihnen wirkt, wissen und vermögen; sondern, weil Christus nach der Gottheit die andere [die zweite] Person in der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit ist und von ihm wie auch vom Vater der Heilige Geist ausgeht und also sein und des Vaters eigener Geist ist und bleibt in alle Ewigkeit, von dem Sohne Gottes nicht abgesondert, so ist Christo nach dem Fleisch, so mit dem Sohne Gottes persönlich vereinigt ist, die ganze Fülle des Geistes (wie die patres sagen) durch solche persönliche Vereinigung mitgeteilt, welche sich freiwillig mit aller Kraft darin, damit und dadurch beweist und erzeigt, daß er nicht nur etliches wisse und etliches nicht wisse, etliches vermöge und etliches nicht vermöge, sondern er weiß und vermag alles, auf welque secum habet, in electis quidem sit, verumtamen non corporaliter in illis habitet, nec personaliter cum illis unitus sit, sicut in Christo corporaliter inhabitat. Nam ratione illius hypostaticae unionis Christus dicit Matth. 28, 18 etiam secundum humanam suam naturam: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra.* Et alibi, Ioh. 13, 3: *Sciebat Iesus, quod omnia dedisset ei Pater in manus.* Item Col. 2, 9: *In ipso inhabitat tota divinitatis plenitudo corporaliter.* Et Ps. 8, 6; Hebr. 2, 7 sq.: *Gloria et honore coronasti eum et constituisti eum super omnia opera manuum tuarum; omnia subiecisti sub pedibus eius,* 1 Cor. 15, 27. *Dum autem omnia subiecit ei, nihil (excepto eo, qui omnia ei subiecit) reliquit, quod non ipsi subiecerit.*

71] Credimus autem, docemus et confitemur, non fieri talem maiestatis Dei et [R. 781 omnium proprietatum eius effusionem in humanam naturam Christi, qua divinae naturae aliquid decedat aut ut de suo alii ita largiatur aliquid, quod hac ratione sibi ipsa non in se retineat, aut quod humana natura in substantia atque essentia sua parem maiestatem acceperit, quae a natura et essentia divinae naturae sit separata et divisa, quasi cum vinum, aqua aut oleum de uno vase in aliud transfunditur. Neque enim vel humana in Christo natura vel ulla alia creatura in coelo aut in terra eo modo omnipotentiae divinae capax est, ut per se omnipotens essentia et natura fiat, aut omnipotentes proprietates in se et per se habeat. Hac enim ratione humana natura in Christo abnegaretur et in divinitatem prorsus transmutaretur. Quod sane et Christianae nostrae fidei et omnium prophetarum et apostolorum doctrinae repugnat.

72] Credimus autem, docemus et confitemur, quod Deus Pater Spiritum suum dilecto Filio suo Christo, ratione assumptae humanitatis, eo modo dederit (unde et *Messiae*, hoc est, Uncti, nomen accepit), ut ille non ad mensuram (quemadmodum alii sancti) illius Spiritus dona acceperit. In Christo enim, Domino nostro (cum secundum divinitatem unius sit cum Spiritu Sancto essentiae), requiescit (ratione humanae naturae) *Spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, Spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, Spiritus scientiae et pietatis,* Ies. 11, 2; 61, 1; **73**] Col. 2, 3. Id vero non eo certe modo fit, quod ille, quatenus homo, aliqua tantum norit et praestare possit, quemadmodum alii sancti virtute Spiritus Sancti (qui tantum dona creata in ipsis efficit) quaedam norunt et praestare possunt. Cum enim Christus, divinitatis ratione, secunda sit Persona in Sacrosancta Trinitate, et ab ipso non minus quam a Patre Spiritus Sanctus procedat (nam et Patris et Filii proprius Spiritus est, manetque in omnem aeternitatem, nec a Filio [R. 782 unquam separatur), certe Christo secundum carnem, quae cum Filio Dei personaliter unita est, tota plenitudo Spiritus (ut patres loquuntur) per hypostaticam illam unionem commu-
74] nicata est. Ea vero liberrime in et cum humana Christi natura et per eam omnem vim suam exserit, non eo modo, ut Christus secun-

the saints, He does not dwell in them bodily, nor is personally united with them as in Christ. For from such personal union it follows that Christ says, even according to His human nature, Matt. 28, 18: *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth.* Also John 13, 3: *Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into His hands.* Also Col. 2, 9: *In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.* Also: *Thou crownedst Him with glory and honor, and didst set Him over the works of Thy hands; Thou hast put all things in subjection under His feet. For in that He put all in subjection under Him, He left nothing that is not put under Him,* Heb. 2, 7 f.; Ps. 8, 6. *He is excepted which did put all things under Him,* 1 Cor. 15, 27.

By no means, however, do we believe, teach, and confess such an infusion of the majesty of God and of all its properties into the human nature of Christ by which the divine nature is weakened [by which anything of the divine nature departs], or anything of its own is surrendered to another that it does not retain for itself, or that the human nature in its substance and essence should have received equal majesty, separate or distinct from the nature and essence of the Son of God, as when water, wine, or oil is poured from one vessel into another. For the human nature, as also no other creature, either in heaven or on earth, is capable of the omnipotence of God in such a manner that it would become in itself an almighty essence, or have in and by itself almighty properties; for thereby the human nature in Christ would be denied, and would be entirely converted into the divinity, which is contrary to our Christian faith, as also to the doctrine of all the prophets and apostles.

But we believe, teach, and confess that God the Father has so given His Spirit to Christ, His beloved Son, according to the assumed humanity (on account of which He is called also *Messias, i. e.,* the Anointed), that He has not received His gifts by measure as other saints. For *upon Christ* the Lord, according to His assumed human nature (because, according to His divinity, He is of one essence with the Holy Ghost), rests *the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and might, the Spirit of knowledge* [*and of the fear of the Lord,* Col. 2, 3; Is. 11, 2; 61, 1], not in such a way that on this account, as a man, He knew and could do only some things, as other saints know and can do by the Spirit of God, who works in them only created gifts, but since Christ, according to His divinity, is the second person in the Holy Trinity, and from Him, as also from the Father, the Holy Ghost proceeds, and thus is and remains His and the Father's own Spirit to all eternity, not separated from the Son of God, therefore (as the Fathers say) the entire fulness of the Spirit has been communicated by the personal union to Christ according to the flesh, which is personally united with the Son of God. This voluntarily manifests and shows itself, with all its power therein, therewith and thereby [in, with, and through the human nature of Christ], so that He [Christ,

chen der Vater ohne Maß den Geist der Weisheit und Kraft ausgegossen, daß er als Mensch durch solche persönliche Vereinigung alle Erkenntnis, alle Gewalt mit der Tat und Wahrheit empfangen hat. Und also sind alle Schätze der Weisheit in ihm verborgen, also ist ihm alle Gewalt gegeben, und er ist gesetzt zur Rechten der Majestät und Kraft Gottes. Und aus den Historien ist wissentlich [bekannt], daß zur Zeit des Kaisers Valentis unter den Arianern eine sonderliche Sekte gewesen, welche Agnoeten genennet [genannt] sind worden, darum daß sie gedichtet haben, daß der Sohn, des Vaters Wort, wohl alles wisse, aber seine angenommene menschliche Natur sei vieler Dinge unwissend; wider welche auch Gregorius Magnus geschrieben hat.

dum humanam suam naturam aliqua tantum norit, aliqua vero ignoret, et quaedam praestare possit, quaedam vero praestare nequeat, sed iam etiam secundum assumptam humanam naturam omnia novit et potest. Pater enim super hunc Filium absque mensura Spiritum sapientiae et fortitudinis ita effudit, ut, quatenus homo est, per hypostaticam illam unionem omnem scientiam et omnem potestatem re ipsa et vere acceperit. Ea ratione omnes thesauri scientiae in Christo sunt absconditi, hoc modo omnis ipsi potestas in coelo et in terra data est, et ipse ad dexteram maiestatis et
75] virtutis Dei collocatus est. Manifestum est autem ex historiis, quod temporibus imperatoris Valentis inter Arianos peculiaris quaedam secta reperta fuerit eorum, qui Agnoetae appellabantur, propterea quod fingerent, Filium quidem utpote Verbum Patris omnia scire, at assumptam ipsius humanam naturam multarum rerum ignaram esse. Hanc haeresin etiam Gregorius Magnus refutavit.

Um dieser persönlichen Vereinigung und daraus erfolgenden Gemeinschaft willen, so die göttliche und menschliche Natur in der Person Christi mit der Tat und Wahrheit miteinander haben, wird Christo nach dem Fleisch zugelegt, das sein Fleisch seiner Natur und Wesen nach für sich selbst nicht sein und außerhalb dieser Vereinigung nicht haben kann, daß sein Fleisch nämlich eine wahrhaftige, lebendigmachende Speise und sein Blut ein wahrhaftig lebendigmachender Trank ist; wie die zweihundert patres des Ephesini Concilii bezeugt haben: carnem Christi esse vivificam seu vivificatricem, das ist, daß Christus' Fleisch ein lebendigmachend Fleisch sei; daher auch dieser Mensch allein und sonst kein Mensch weder im Himmel noch auf Erden mit Wahrheit sagen kann: Matth. 18: „Wo zwei oder drei in meinem Namen versammelt sind, da bin ich mitten unter ihnen." Item [Matth. 28]: „Ich bin allezeit bei euch bis an der Welt Ende."

Welche Zeugnisse wir auch nicht also verstehen, daß bei uns in der christlichen Kirche und Gemeinde allein die Gottheit Christi gegenwärtig sei, und solche Gegenwärtigkeit Christum nach seiner Menschheit in keinem Wege gar nichts angehen sollte, dergestalt denn Petrus, Paulus und alle Heiligen im Himmel, weil die Gottheit, so allenthalben ist, in ihnen wohnt, auch bei uns auf Erden wären, welches doch allein von Christo und sonst keinem andern Menschen die Heilige Schrift bezeugt; sondern wir halten, daß durch diese Worte die Majestät des Menschen Christi erklärt werde, die Christus nach seiner Menschheit zur Rechten der Majestät und Kraft Gottes empfangen [hat], daß er nämlich auch nach und mit derselben seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur gegenwärtig sein könne und auch sei, wo er will, und sonderlich, daß er bei seiner Kirche und Gemeinde auf Erden als Mittler, Haupt, König und Hoherpriester (nicht halb oder die Hälfte allein, sondern die ganze Person Christi, zu welcher gehören beide Naturen, die göttliche und menschliche) gegenwärtig sei, nicht allein nach seiner Gottheit, sondern auch nach und mit seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur, nach welcher er unser Bruder ist und wir Fleisch sind von seinem Fleisch und Bein von seinem Bein; wie er des zu gewisser Versicherung und Vergewiss[er]ung sein heilig Abendmahl eingesetzt hat, daß er auch nach der Natur, nach welcher er Fleisch

76] Propter unionem autem hypostaticam et ex ea consequentem communicationem (quam divina et humana natura in persona Christi revera et re ipsa inter se habent) Christo secundum carnem id tribuitur, quod ipsius caro (in natura et essentia sua per se considerata) non esse et extra unionem illam id non habere potest. Verbi gratia: carni Christi recte ascribitur, quod sit vere vivificus cibus, et quod sanguis eius vere sit vivificus potus. Sic enim ducenti patres Ephesini Concilii pronuntiarunt, *carnem Christi esse vivificam seu vivificatricem*, unde solus hic homo [R. 783 Iesus Christus (nullus autem alius homo vel in coelo vel in terris) recte et vere dicere potest, Matth. 18, 20: *Ubi sunt duo aut tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi sum in medio eorum.* Item Matth. 28, 20: *Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem saeculi.*

77] Et haec Scripturae testimonia non ita accipimus, quod tantum de praesentia divinitatis Christi in ipsius ecclesia loquantur, quasi ea praesentia ad Christum, qua homo ipse est, prorsus non pertineat. Ea enim ratione Petrus, Paulus et omnes sancti in coelo nobiscum in terris praesentes essent, cum divinitas, quae ubique est, in ipsis habitet; id quod tamen de solo Christo et de nullo alio homine Sacra Scriptura testatur. Credi-
78] mus vero, superioribus Scripturae testimoniis maiestatem hominis Christi declarari, quam Christus secundum suam humanitatem ad dexteram maiestatis et virtutis Dei accepit, ut videlicet etiam secundum illam suam assumptam naturam et cum ea praesens esse possit, et quidem praesens sit, ubicunque velit; praesertim vero sentimus, eum ecclesiae suae in terris ut mediatorem, caput, regem et summum sacerdotem praesentem esse. Non autem dimidiatus tantum Christus aut una duntaxat ipsius pars ecclesiae praesto est, sed tota Christi persona. Ad eam autem pertinent ambae naturae, divina et humana, quare eum praesentem habemus non tantum secundum divinam, verum etiam secundum assumptam humanam ipsius naturam, iuxta quam ipse frater noster est, et nos caro sumus de carne
79] eius et os de ossibus eius, Eph. 5, 30. Et

according to His human nature] not only knows some things and is ignorant of others, can do some things and is unable to do others, but [according to the assumed human nature] knows and can do all things. For upon Him the Father poured without measure the Spirit of wisdom and power, so that, as man, He has received through this personal union all knowledge and all power in deed and truth. And thus all the treasures of wisdom are hidden in Him, thus all power is given to Him, and He is seated at the right hand of the majesty and power of God. From history it can be learned that at the time of the Emperor Valens there was among the Arians a peculiar sect which was called the Agnoetae, because they imagined that the Son, the Word of the Father, knew indeed all things, but that His assumed human nature is ignorant of many things; against whom also Gregory the Great wrote.

On account of this personal union, and the communion resulting from it, which the divine and the human nature have with one another in the person of Christ in deed and truth, there is ascribed to Christ according to the flesh what His flesh, according to its nature and essence, cannot be of itself, and, apart from this union, cannot have, namely, that His flesh is a truly quickening food and His blood a truly quickening drink; as the two hundred Fathers of the Council of Ephesus have testified, *carnem Christi esse vivificam seu vivificatricem,* that is, that the flesh of Christ is a quickening flesh [or a quickener]. Hence, too, this man only, and no man besides, either in heaven or on earth, can say with truth, Matt. 18, 20: *Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them.* Also Matt. 28, 20: *Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*

And these testimonies we do not understand, as though only the divinity of Christ were present with us in the Christian Church and congregation, and such presence were to concern Christ according to His humanity in no way whatever; for in that manner Peter, Paul, and all the saints in heaven, since divinity which is everywhere present dwells in them, would also be with us on earth, which the Holy Scriptures, however, testify only of Christ, and of no other man besides. But we hold that by these words [the above passages of Scripture] the majesty of the man Christ is declared, which Christ has received, according to His humanity, at the right hand of the majesty and power of God, namely, that also according to His assumed human nature and with the same, He can be, and also is, present where He will, and especially that in His Church and congregation on earth He is present as Mediator, Head, King, and High Priest, not in part, or one-half of Him only, but the entire person of Christ is present, to which both natures belong, the divine and the human; not only according to His divinity, but also according to, and with, His assumed human nature, according to which He is our Brother, and we are flesh of His flesh and

und Blut hat, bei uns sein, in uns wohnen, wirken und kräftig sein will.

Auf solchen beständigen Grund hat D. Luther seliger auch von der Majestät Christi nach seiner menschlichen Natur geschrieben.

In der [in dem] großen Bekenntnis vom Abendmahl schreibt er von der Person Christi also: „Nun er aber ein solcher Mensch ist [* der übernatürlich mit Gott eine Person ist], und außer diesem Menschen kein Gott ist, so muß folgen, daß er auch nach der dritten, übernatürlichen Weise sei und sein möge allenthalben, wo Gott ist, und alles durch und durch voll Christus sei, auch nach der Menschheit, nicht nach der ersten, leiblichen, begreiflichen Weise, sondern nach der übernatürlichen, göttlichen Weise.“ Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., Fol. 191.

„Denn hie mußt du stehen und sagen: Christus nach der Gottheit, wo er ist, da ist er eine natürliche göttliche Person und ist auch natürlich und persönlich daselbst, wie das wohl beweist seine Empfängnis im Mutterleibe. Denn sollte er Gottes Sohn sein, so mußte er natürlich und persönlich im Mutterleibe sein und Mensch werden. Ist er nun natürlich und persönlich, wo er ist, so muß er daselbst auch Mensch sein; denn es sind nicht zwei zertrennte Personen, sondern eine einige Person: wo sie ist, da ist sie die einige unzertrennte Person, und wo du kannst sagen: Hie ist Gott, da mußt du auch sagen: So ist Christus der Mensch auch da. Und wo du einen Ort zeigen würdest, da Gott wäre und nicht der Mensch, so wäre die Person schon zertrennt, weil ich alsdann mit der Wahrheit könnte sagen: Hie ist Gott, der nicht Mensch ist und noch nie Mensch [ge]worden.

„Mir aber des Gottes nicht! Denn hieraus wollte [würde] folgen, daß Raum und Stätte die zwei Naturen voneinander sonderten und die Personen zertrennten, so doch der Tod und alle Teufel sie nicht könnten trennen noch voneinander reißen. Und es sollte mir ein schlechter Christus bleiben, der nicht mehr denn an einem einzelnen Ort zugleich eine göttliche und menschliche Person wäre, und an allen andern Orten müßte er allein ein bloßer abgesonderter Gott und göttliche Person sein ohne Menschheit. Nein, Gesell, wo du mir Gott hinsetzest, da mußt du mir die Menschheit mit hinsetzen; sie lassen sich nicht sondern und voneinander trennen; es ist eine Person worden und scheidet die Menschheit nicht von sich.“

Im Büchlein von den letzten Worten Davids, welches D. Luther kurz vor seinem Tode geschrieben, sagt er also: „Nach der andern, zeitlichen, menschlichen Geburt ist ihm auch die ewige Gewalt Gottes gegeben, doch zeitlich und nicht von Ewigkeit her. Denn die Menschheit Christi ist nicht von Ewigkeit gewesen wie die Gottheit, sondern wie man zählt und schreibt, ist JEsus, Mariä Sohn, dies Jahr 1543 Jahre alt; aber von dem Augenblick an, da Gottheit und Menschheit ist ver-

sane in huius rei confirmationem sacram suam Coenam instituit, ut testaretur, se etiam secundum eam naturam, qua carnem et sanguinem habet, nobiscum esse, in nobis habitare, operari et efficacem esse velle.

80] Huic firmissimo fundamento D. Lutherus, sanctae memoriae, innixus doctrinam de maiestate Christi iuxta humanitatem [R. 784 fideliter et perspicue ecclesiae proposuit.

81] Is in maiori sua de Coena Domini confessione de persona Christi ad hunc modum scripsit: *Cum Christus talis homo sit, qui praeter naturae ordinem cum Deo una est persona, et extra hunc hominem nullus Deus reperiatur, necessario conficitur, quod etiam iuxta tertium, supernaturalem illum modum sit et esse possit ubique, ubi Deus est, ita ut omnia plena sint Christi, etiam iuxta humanitatem, non quidem secundum primam illam corporalem et comprehensibilem rationem, sed iuxta supernaturalem divinum illum modum.* Tom. 2, Wit. Ger., Fol. 191.

82] *In hoc enim negotio fateri te oportet et dicere: Christus secundum divinitatem, ubiubi est, ibi est naturalis divina persona, et revera ibi naturaliter et personaliter est, quod perspicue ipsius incarnatio in utero materno testatur. Si enim Filius Dei erat, certe eum personaliter esse in utero matris et ibidem incarnari oportebat. Quodsi naturaliter et personaliter est, ubiubi est, profecto ibidem etiam necessario homo erit. Non enim in Christo sunt duae separatae personae, sed unica tantum est persona. Ubicunque ea est, ibi est unica tantum et indivisa persona. Et ubicunque recte dixeris: Hic est Deus, ibi fateri oportet et dicere: Ergo etiam Christus homo adest. Et si locum aliquem monstrares, in quo solus Deus, non autem homo esset, iam statim persona divideretur. Possem enim tum recte dicere: Hic est Deus ille, qui non est homo et qui adhuc nunquam homo factus est.*

83] *Absit autem, ut ego talem Deum agnoscam aut colam. Ex his enim consequeretur, quod locus et spatium possent duas naturas separare et personam Christi dividere, quam tamen neque mors neque omnes diaboli* [R. 785 **84**] *dividere aut separare potuere. Et quanti tandem, obsecro, pretii esset talis Christus, qui unico tantum loco simul divina et humana persona esset, in omnibus vero locis duntaxat et quidem separatus Deus aut divina persona esset, sine assumpta sua humanitate. Nequaquam vero id tibi, quisquis es, concessero: quin potius, quocunque locorum Deum collocaveris, eo etiam humanitatem Christi una collocare te oportebit; non enim duae in Christo naturae separari aut dividi possunt; una in Christo facta est persona, et Filius Dei assumptam humanitatem a se non segregat.*

85] In libello de ultimis verbis Davidis D. Lutherus paulo ante mortem suam in hanc sententiam scripsit: *Secundum alteram temporalem humanam nativitatem etiam data est illi aeterna Dei potestas, sed in tempore et non ab aeterno. Humanitas enim Christi non fuit ab aeterno ut divinitas, sed Iesus, Mariae filius, iuxta supputationem veram, hoc anno natus est annos mille quingentos quadraginta tres. Interim tamen ab eo momento, in quo*

bone of His bone. Even as He has instituted His Holy Supper for the certain assurance and confirmation of this, that also according to that nature according to which He has flesh and blood He will be with us, and dwell, work, and be efficacious in us.

Upon this firm foundation Dr. Luther, of blessed memory, has also written [faithfully and clearly] concerning the majesty of Christ according to His human nature.

In the *Large Confession concerning the Lord's Supper* he writes thus concerning the person of Christ: *Now, since He [Christ] is such a man as is supernaturally one person with God, and apart from this man there is no God, it must follow that also according to the third, supernatural mode He is and can be in every place where God is, and all things are through and through full of Christ, also according to the humanity, not according to the first corporeal, comprehensible mode, but according to the supernatural, divine mode.* Vol. 2, Wittenb. Germ., fol. 191.

For here you must stand [confess] and say: Wherever Christ according to the divinity is, there He is a natural, divine person, and He is there also naturally and personally, as His conception in His mother's womb well shows. For if He were to be God's Son, He must naturally and personally be in His mother's womb and become man. Now, if He is naturally and personally wherever He is, He must also be man in the same place. For there are not [in Christ] two separate persons, but only one person: wherever it is, there it is the one undivided person; and wherever you can say, Here is God, there you must also say, Then Christ the man is also there. And if you would point out a place where God is, and not the man, the person would already be divided, because I could then say with truth: Here is God who is not man, and who never as yet has become man.

However, no such a God for me! For it would follow hence that space and place separated the two natures from one another, and divided the person, and yet even death and all devils could not divide or rend them from one another. And there would remain to me a poor sort of Christ [a Christ of how much value, pray?], who would be a divine and human person at the same time in no more than in only one place, while in all other places He must be only a mere separate God and divine person without humanity. No, friend, wherever you place God, there you must also place with Him humanity; they do not allow themselves to be separated or divided from one another. There has been made [in Christ] one person, and it [the Son of God] does not separate from itself the [assumed] humanity.

In the little book concerning the Last Words of David, which Dr. Luther wrote shortly before his death, he says as follows: *According to the other, the temporal, human birth, also the eternal power of God has been given Him; however, in time, and not from eternity. For the humanity of Christ has not been from eternity, like the divinity; but, as we reckon and*

einigt in einer Person, da ist und heißt der Mensch, Mariä Sohn, allmächtiger, ewiger Gott, der ewige Gewalt hat und alles geschaffen hat und erhält, per communicationem idiomatum, darum daß er mit der Gottheit eine Person und auch rechter Gott ist. Davon redet er Matth. 11: ‚Alles ist mir vom Vater übergeben'; und Matthäi am letzten: ‚Mir ist alle Gewalt gegeben im Himmel und auf Erden.' Welchem ‚mir'? Mir JEsu von Nazareth, Marien Sohn, und Mensch geboren; von Ewigkeit hab' ich sie vom Vater, ehe ich Mensch ward; aber da ich Mensch ward, hab' ich sie zeitlich empfangen nach der Menschheit und heimlich gehalten bis auf meine Auferstehung und Auffahrt, so es [da es] hat sollen offenbart und erklärt werden, wie St. Paulus Röm. 1 spricht: ‚Er ist erkläret und erweiset ein Sohn Gottes kräftiglich.' Johannes nennt es verkläret, Joh. 17." Tom. 5, Ger. Wit., Fol. 545.

Dergleichen Zeugnisse werden in D. Luthers Schriften, besonders aber im Buch „Daß diese Worte noch fest stehen" und in der [in dem] großen Bekenntnis vom heiligen Abendmahl gefunden, auf welche Schriften als wohlgegründete Erklärungen der Majestät Christi zur Rechten Gottes und seines Testaments wir uns um Kürze willen in diesem Artikel so wohl als im heiligen Abendmahl, inmaßen hiervor gemeldet, gezogen [bezogen] haben wollen.

Darum wir es für einen schädlichen Irrtum halten, da Christo nach seiner Menschheit solche Majestät entzogen, dadurch den Christen ihr höchster Trost genommen, den sie in vorangezeigter Verheißung von der Gegenwärtigkeit und Beiwohnung ihres Hauptes, Königs und Hohenpriesters haben, der ihnen versprochen hat, daß nicht allein seine bloße Gottheit bei ihnen sein werde, welche gegen uns arme Sünder wie ein verzehrendes Feuer gegen dürre Stoppeln ist, sondern Er, Er, der Mensch, der mit ihnen geredet hat, der alle Trübsale in seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur versucht hat, der auch daher mit uns, als mit Menschen und seinen Brüdern, ein Mitleiden haben kann, der wolle bei uns sein in allen unsern Nöten, auch nach der Natur, nach welcher er unser Bruder ist und wir Fleisch von seinem Fleisch sind.

Derhalben verwerfen und verdammen wir einhellig mit Mund und Herzen alle Irrtümer, so der vorgesetzten Lehre nicht gemäß als den prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften, den reinen Symbolis und unserer christlichen Augsburgischen Konfession zuwider:

1. Als, da von jemand geglaubt oder gelehrt werden sollte, daß die menschliche Natur um der persönlichen Vereinigung willen mit der göttlichen vermischt oder in dieselbe verwandelt worden sein sollte.

2. Item, daß die menschliche Natur in Christo auf solche Weise wie die Gottheit als ein unendlich Wesen, aus wesentlicher Kraft, auch Eigenschaft ihrer Natur allenthalben gegenwärtig sei.

divinitas cum humanitate unita est in unam personam, homo ille, qui est filius Mariae, revera est et vocatur omnipotens aeternus Deus, qui aeternam habet potestatem, qui omnia creavit et conservat (per communicationem idiomatum), propterea quod cum divinitate una sit persona et verus sit Deus. De ea re loquitur, cum inquit Matth. 11, 27: *Omnia mihi tradita sunt a Patre. Et alibi* [Matth. 28, 18]: *Mihi data est omnis potestas in coelo et in terra. Quis est ille, qui dicit: Mihi? Mihi, videlicet, Iesu Nazareno, Mariae filio nato homini. Ab aeterno quidem habebam eam a Patre, priusquam homo fierem. Cum autem humanam naturam assumerem, accepi eam in tempore secundum humanitatem; occultavi autem eam, donec a morte resurgerem et ad coelos ascenderem; tum ea debebat manifestari et declarari, sicut Paulus dicit* Rom. 1, 4, *eum declaratum seu demonstratum Filium Dei cum potentia;* Iohannes, 17, 10, *vocat clarificatum seu glorificatum.* Tom. 5, Ger. Wit., Fol. 545.

86] Plura in hanc sententiam testimonia in D. Lutheri scriptis reperire licet, [R. 786 praesertim in eo libro, cui titulum fecit: „Quod haec verba (‚Hoc est corpus meum') adhuc firma maneant"; praeterea in maiori ipsius confessione de Coena Domini multa in hoc genere leguntur. Illa tanti viri pia scripta (ut bene fundatas declarationes articuli de maiestate Christi, sedentis ad dexteram Dei, et ipsius testamenti) brevitatis studio (eo modo, quo supra diximus) hoc loco, et de persona Christi et de Sacra Coena, repetita esse volumus.

87] Quare perniciosum errorem esse iudicamus, quando Christo iuxta humanitatem maiestas illa derogatur. Christianis enim ea ratione summa illa consolatio eripitur, quam e promissionibus paulo ante commemoratis de praesentia et inhabitatione capitis, regis et summi sui pontificis haurire poterant. Is enim promisit, non modo nudam suam divinitatem ipsis praesto futuram (quae nobis miseris peccatoribus est tamquam ignis consumens aridissimas stipulas), sed ille ipse, homo ille, qui cum discipulis locutus est, qui omnis generis tribulationes in assumpta sua humana natura gustavit, qui ea de causa nobis (ut et hominibus et fratribus suis) condolere potest, se in omnibus angustiis nostris nobiscum futurum promisit, secundum eam etiam naturam, iuxta quam ille frater noster est et nos caro de carne eius sumus.

88] Reiicimus igitur atque unanimi consensu, ore et corde damnamus omnes errores, qui a commemorata pia doctrina dissentiunt, qui cum propheticis et apostolicis scriptis, cum receptis et approbatis Symbolis et cum pia nostra Augustana Confessione pugnant, ut sunt:

89] I. Quod humana natura, propter personalem unionem, cum divinitate sit confusa aut in eam transmutata.

90] II. Quod humana in Christo natura eo modo quo divinitas, ut infinita aliqua essentia, et ex virtute aut proprietate essentiali suae naturae ubique praesens sit.

write, Jesus, the Son of Mary, is 1543 years old this year. But from the instant when divinity and humanity were united in one person, the man, the Son of Mary, is and is called almighty, eternal God, who has eternal might, and has created and sustains all things PER COMMUNICATIONEM IDIOMATUM *for the reason that He is one person with the divinity, and is also true God. Of this He speaks Matt. 11, 27: "All things are delivered unto Me of My Father"; and Matt. 28, 18: "All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth." To which Me? To Me, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Mary, and born man. From eternity I have it of the Father, before I became man. But when I became man, I received it in time, according to humanity, and kept it concealed until My resurrection and ascension; when it was to be manifested and declared, as St. Paul says, Rom. 1, 4: "He is declared and proved to be a Son of God with power." John [17, 10] calls it "glorified."* Vol. 5, Wittenb. Germ., fol. 545.

Similar testimonies are found in Dr. Luther's writings, but especially in the book *That These Words Still Stand Firm,* and in the *Large Confession concerning the Holy Supper;* to which writings, as well-grounded explanations of the majesty of Christ at the right hand of God, and of His testament, we would be understood as having referred, for the sake of brevity, in this article, as well as in the Holy Supper, as has been heretofore mentioned.

Therefore we regard it as a pernicious error when such majesty is denied to Christ according to His humanity. For thereby the very great consolation is taken from Christians which they have in the aforecited promise concerning the presence and dwelling with them of their Head, King, and High Priest, who has promised them that not only His mere divinity would be with them, which to us poor sinners is as a consuming fire to dry stubble, but that He, He, the man who has spoken with them, who has tried all tribulations in His assumed human nature, and who can therefore have sympathy with us, as with men and His brethren, — He will be with us in all our troubles also according to the nature according to which He is our brother and we are flesh of His flesh.

Therefore we unanimously reject and condemn, with mouth and heart, all errors not in accordance with the doctrine presented, as contrary to the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, the pure [received and approved] symbols, and our Christian *Augsburg Confession:*

1. As, when it is believed or taught by any one that on account of the personal union the human nature is mingled with the divine or is changed into it.

2. Also, that the human nature in Christ is everywhere present in the same mode as the divinity, as an infinite essence, by essential power and property of its nature.

3. Item, daß die menſchliche Natur in Chriſto der göttlichen Natur an ihrer Subſtanz und Weſen oder an derſelben weſentlichen Eigenſchaften exäquiert und gleich [ge]worden ſei.

4. Item, daß die Menſchheit Chriſti in alle Orte des Himmels und der Erde räumlich ausgeſpannt ſei, welches auch der Gottheit nicht ſoll zugemeſſen werden. Daß aber Chriſtus durch ſeine göttliche Allmacht mit ſeinem Leibe, den er geſetzt hat zu der Rechten der Majeſtät und Kraft Gottes, gegenwärtig ſein könne, wo er will, ſonderlich da er ſolche ſeine Gegenwärtigkeit, als im heiligen Abendmahl, in ſeinem Wort verſprochen, das kann ſeine Allmacht und Weisheit wohl verſchaffen ohne Verwandlung oder Abtilgung ſeiner wahren menſchlichen Natur.

5. Item, daß die bloße menſchliche Natur Chriſti für uns gelitten und uns erlöſt habe, mit welcher der Sohn Gottes im Leiden gar keine Gemeinſchaft gehabt.

6. Item, daß Chriſtus allein nach ſeiner Gottheit bei uns auf Erden bei dem gepredigten Wort und rechtem Brauch der heiligen Sakramente gegenwärtig ſei, und ſolche Gegenwärtigkeit Chriſti ſeine angenommene menſchliche Natur ganz und gar nichts angehe.

7. Item, daß die angenommene menſchliche Natur in Chriſto mit der göttlichen Kraft, Gewalt, Weisheit, Majeſtät und Herrlichkeit ganz und gar keine Gemeinſchaft mit der Tat und Wahrheit, ſondern allein den bloßen Titel und Namen gemein habe.

Dieſe Irrtümer und alle, ſo der obgeſetzten Lehre zuwider und entgegen [ſind], verwerfen und verdammen wir als dem reinen Wort Gottes, der heiligen Propheten und Apoſtel Schriften und unſerm chriſtlichen Glauben und Bekenntnis zuwider und vermahnen alle Chriſten (dieweil Chriſtus ein Geheimnis in der Heiligen Schrift genennet [genannt] wird, darüber alle Ketzer den Kopf zerſtoßen), daß ſie nicht vorwitzigerweiſe mit ihrer Vernunft in ſolchen Geheimniſſen grübeln, ſondern mit den lieben Apoſteln einfältig glauben, die Augen der Vernunft zuſchließen und ihren Verſtand in den Gehorſam Chriſti gefangennehmen und ſich deſſen tröſten und alſo ohne Unterlaß freuen, daß unſer Fleiſch und Blut in Chriſto ſo hoch zu der Rechten der Majeſtät und allmächtigen Kraft Gottes geſetzt [iſt]. So werden wir gewißlich in aller Widerwärtigkeit beſtändigen Troſt finden und vor ſchädlichem Irrtum wohl bewahrt bleiben.

91] III. Quod humana natura in [R. 787 Christo divinae naturae substantia seu essentia sua aut in suis essentialibus proprietatibus exaequata sit.

92] IV. Quod humanitas Christi in omnia loca coeli et terrae localiter extensa sit, quod tamen ne quidem divinitati tribui debet. Quod autem Christus per divinam omnipotentiam suam corpore suo (quod ad dexteram maiestatis et virtutis Dei collocavit) praesens esse possit, ubicunque voluerit, ibique imprimis, ubi suam praesentiam illam, ut in sacra sua Coena, in Verbo suo promisit, hoc ipsius omnipotentia et sapientia optime efficere potest sine transmutatione aut abolitione verae suae humanae naturae.

93] V. Quod humana natura in Christo sola pro nobis passa sit nosque redemerit, cum qua Filius Dei in passione nullam prorsus communicationem habuerit.

94] VI. Quod Christus secundum divinitatem suam duntaxat nobiscum in terris cum Verbo Dei praedicato et legitimo sacramentorum usu praesens sit, et haec Christi praesentia ad humanam ipsius naturam prorsus nihil pertineat.

95] VII. Quod assumpta humana natura in Christo cum divina virtute, sapientia, potentia, maiestate et gloria re ipsa et vere nullam habeat communicationem, sed quod tantum titulo et nomine nudo cum divinitate communicet.

96] Hos errores et alios omnes, a pia et sincera doctrina paulo ante commemorata dissentientes, reiicimus atque damnamus, ut qui Verbo Dei, propheticis et apostolicis scriptis et Christianae nostrae fidei et confessioni repugnent. Et hortamur omnes pias mentes (quandoquidem Christus in Sacra Scriptura mysterium vocatur, ad quod omnes haeretici capitibus suis impingunt), ne sua ratione humana in tantis mysteriis perscrutandis curiosae sint, sed potius cum apostolis Christi simpliciter credant, oculos rationis suae claudant et intellectum suum in Christi [R. 788 obedientiam captivent [2 Cor. 10, 5], inde autem dulcissimam et firmissimam consolationem petant atque sibi perpetuo gratulentur, quod caro nostra et sanguis noster in Christo in tantam sublimitatem ad dexteram maiestatis et omnipotentis virtutis Dei sit collocata. Sic in omnibus adversis inveniemus, quo nos solide consolemur et ab omnibus perniciosis erroribus praeservemur.

IX.

Von der Höllenfahrt Chriſti.

Und weil auch bei den alten chriſtlichen Kirchenlehrern ſowohl als bei etlichen unter den Unſern ungleiche Erklärung des Artikels von der Höllenfahrt Chriſti gefunden [wird], laſſen wir es gleichergeſtalt bei der Einfalt unſers chriſtlichen Glaubens bleiben, darauf uns D. Luther in der Predigt zu Torgau im Schloß, ſo Anno 33 uſw. von der Höllenfahrt Chriſti gehalten, gewieſen hat, da wir bekennen: „Ich glaube an den HErrn Chriſtum, Gottes Sohn, geſtorben, begraben und zur Hölle gefahren.“ In welchem denn, als unter-

IX.

DE DESCENSU CHRISTI AD INFEROS.

1] Constat, hunc fidei nostrae articulum de descensu Christi ad inferos non modo a quibusdam recentioribus, verum etiam olim ab orthodoxis veteribus ecclesiae doctoribus non prorsus eodem modo explicatum esse. Nos igitur tutissimum iudicamus, si simplicitatem fidei nostrae, in Symbolo comprehensam, retineamus, ad quam D. Lutherus pia sua concione, in arce Torgensi anno Domini MDXXXIII de Christi ad inferos descensu habita, remisit, ubi confitemur, quod credamus *in Iesum Chri-*

3. Also, that the human nature in Christ has become equal to and like the divine nature in its substance and essence or in its essential properties.

4. Also, that the humanity of Christ is locally extended in all places of heaven and earth; which is to be ascribed not even to the divinity. But that Christ, by His divine omnipotence can be present with His body, which He has placed at the right hand of the majesty and power of God, wherever He will, especially where He has, in His Word, promised this His presence, as in the Holy Supper, *this* His omnipotence and wisdom can well accomplish without change or abolition of His true human nature.

5. Also, that the mere human nature of Christ has suffered for us and redeemed us, with which the Son of God is said to have had no communion whatever in suffering.

6. Also, that Christ is present with us on earth in the Word preached and in the right use of the holy Sacraments only according to His divinity, and that this presence of Christ does not in any way pertain to His assumed human nature.

7. Also, that the assumed human nature in Christ has in deed and truth no communion whatever with the divine power, might, wisdom, majesty, and glory, but has in common only the mere title and name.

These errors, and all that are contrary and opposed to the [godly and pure] doctrine presented above, we reject and condemn as contrary to the pure Word of God, the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, and our Christian faith and confession. And we admonish all Christians, since in the Holy Scriptures Christ is called a mystery upon which all heretics dash their heads, not to indulge in a presumptuous manner in subtile inquiries, concerning such mysteries, with their reason, but with the venerated apostles simply to believe, to close the eyes of their reason, and bring into captivity their understanding to the obedience of Christ, 2 Cor. 10, 5, and to take comfort [seek most delightful and sure consolation], and hence to rejoice without ceasing in the fact that our flesh and blood is placed so high at the right hand of the majesty and almighty power of God. Thus we shall assuredly find constant consolation in every adversity, and remain well guarded from pernicious error.

IX.

OF THE DESCENT OF CHRIST TO HELL.

And since even in the ancient Christian teachers of the Church, as well as in some among our teachers, dissimilar explanations of the article concerning the descent of Christ

schiedliche Artikel, die Begräbnis und Höllenfahrt [das Begräbnis und die Höllenfahrt] Christi unterschieden [werden], und wir einfältig glauben, daß die ganze Person, Gott und Mensch, nach der [nach dem] Begräbnis zur Hölle gefahren [sei], den Teufel überwunden, der Hölle Gewalt zerstört und dem Teufel alle seine Macht genommen habe. Wie aber solches zu[ge]gangen, sollen wir uns mit hohen, spitzigen Gedanken nicht bekümmern; denn dieser Artikel ebensowenig als der vorhergehende (wie Christus zur Rechten der allmächtigen Kraft und Majestät Gottes gesetzt) mit Vernunft und fünf Sinnen sich begreifen läßt, sondern will allein geglaubt und an dem Wort gehalten sein. So behalten wir den Kern und Trost, daß uns und alle, die an Christum glauben, weder Hölle noch Teufel gefangennehmen noch schaden können. [In der Predigt Luthers von der Höllenfahrt Christi, auf welche sich der neunte Artikel der Konkordienformel bezieht, heißt es u. a., wie folgt: „Weil wir nun den HErrn Christum begraben haben und gehört, wie er aus diesem Leben geschieden ist, müssen wir ihn auch wieder herausheben und den Ostertag begehen, an welchem er in ein ander, neues Leben getreten ist, da er nicht mehr sterben kann, und ein HErr worden über Tod und alle Kreatur im Himmel und Erden. Welches zeuget auch dieser Artikel, da wir sprechen: ‚Niedergefahren zur Hölle, am dritten Tage wieder auferstanden von den Toten.‘ — Denn ehe er auferstanden und gen Himmel gefahren ist und noch im Grabe lag, ist er auch hinunter zur Hölle gefahren, auf daß er auch uns, die da sollten darinnen gefangen liegen, daraus erlösete; wie er auch darum in den Tod gekommen und ins Grab gelegt war, daß er die Seinen daraus holete. Ich will aber diesen Artikel nicht hoch und scharf handeln, wie es zugegangen sei, oder was da heiße, zur Hölle fahren, sondern bei dem einfältigsten Verstand bleiben, wie diese Worte lauten, wie man's Kindern und Einfältigen vorbilden muß. Denn es sind wohl viel gewesen, die solches mit Vernunft und fünf Sinnen haben wollen fassen, aber damit nichts getroffen noch erlangt, sondern nur weiter vom Glauben gegangen und abgeführet. Darum ist dies das Allersicherste, wer da will recht fahren und nicht anlaufen, daß er nur bleibe bei den Worten und dieselben ihm einfältiglich einbilde, aufs beste er kann. — Demnach pflegt man's auch also an die Wände zu malen, wie Christus hinunterfährt, mit einer Chorkappe und mit einer Fahne in der Hand vor die Hölle kommt und damit den Teufel schlägt und verjagt, die Hölle stürmt und die Seinen herausholt. Wie man auch in der Osternacht ein Spiel für die Kinder getrieben hat. Und gefällt mir wohl, daß man's also den Einfältigen vormalt, spielt, singt oder sagt, und soll's auch dabei bleiben lassen, daß man nicht viel mit hohen, spitzigen Gedanken sich bekümmere, wie es möge zugegangen sein, weil es ja nicht leiblich geschehen ist, sintemal er die drei Tage ja im Grabe ist geblieben." — „Denn solch Gemälde zeigt fein die Kraft und Nutz dieses Artikels, darum er geschehen, gepredigt und geglaubt wird, wie Christus der Hölle Gewalt zerstört und dem Teufel alle seine Macht genommen habe. Wenn ich das habe, so habe ich den rechten Kern und Verstand davon und soll nicht weiter fragen noch klügeln, wie es zugegangen oder möglich sei, eben als auch in andern Artikeln solch Klügeln und Meistern der Vernunft verboten ist, und auch nichts erlangen kann." — „Und ist ohne Zweifel von den alten Vätern so auf uns [ge]kommen, daß sie davon geredet und gesungen haben; wie auch noch die alten Lieder klingen und wir am Ostertage singen: ‚Der die Hölle zerbrach und den leidigen Teufel darinne band‘ usw. Denn wenn ein Kind oder Einfältiger solches hört, so denkt er nicht anders, denn daß Christus den Teufel habe überwunden und ihm alle seine Gewalt genommen. Das ist recht und christlich gedacht, die rechte Wahrheit und dieses Artikels Meinung getroffen, obwohl nicht nach der Schärfe davon geredet noch so eben ausgedrückt, wie es geschehen ist. Aber was liegt daran, wenn mir's meinen Glauben nicht verderbet und den rechten Verstand fein klar und helle gibt, den ich davon fassen soll und kann? Und ob ich gleich lange scharf suche, doch nichts mehr davon kann fassen, sondern viel eher den rechten Verstand verliere, wo ich nicht wohl verwahret an dem Wort festhalte." — „Das rede ich darum, weil ich sehe, daß die Welt jetzt will klug sein, in's Teufels Namen und in den Artikeln des Glaubens nach ihrem Kopf meistern und alles ausgründen. Also hie, wenn sie hört, daß Christus zur Hölle gefahren ist, fährt sie zu und will's sobald ausspekulieren, wie es zugegangen sei, und macht viel weitläuftiger, unnützer Fragen: Ob die Seele allein hinuntergefahren sei, oder ob die Gottheit bei ihr gewesen sei; item, was er daselbst getan habe, und wie er mit den Teufeln umgegangen sei; und dergleichen viel, davon sie doch nichts wissen kann. Wir aber sollen solche unnötige Fragen lassen fahren und schlecht einfältiglich unser Herz und Gedanken an die Worte des Glaubens heften und binden, welcher sagt: Ich glaube an den HErrn Christum, Gottes Sohn, gestorben, begraben und zur Hölle gefahren, das ist, an die ganze Person, Gott und Mensch, mit Leib und Seele, ungeteilt, von der Jungfrau geboren, gelitten, gestorben und begraben ist; also soll ich's hie auch nicht teilen, sondern glauben und sagen, daß derselbige Christus, Gott und Mensch in einer Person, zur Hölle gefahren, aber nicht darinnen geblieben ist, wie Ps. 16, 10 von ihm sagt: ‚Du wirst meine Seele nicht in der Hölle lassen, noch zugeben, daß dein Heiliger die Verwesung sehe.‘ Seele aber heißt er nach der Schrift Sprache nicht, wie wir, ein abgesondert Wesen vom Leibe, sondern

stum, Dominum nostrum, Filium Dei, qui mortuus, sepultus est et ad inferos descendit; in qua confessione videmus, sepulturam et descensum Christi ad inferos tamquam diversos artic. 2] culos distingui. Simpliciter igitur credimus, quod tota persona, Deus et homo, post sepulturam ad inferos descenderit, Satanam devicerit, potestatem inferorum everterit et diabolo omnem vim et potentiam eripuerit. 3] Quomodo vero Christus id effecerit, non est, ut argutis et sublimibus imaginationibus scrutemur. Hic enim articulus non magis ratione humana et sensibus comprehendi potest quam prior, quomodo Christus ad [R. 789 dexteram omnipotentis virtutis et maiestatis Dei sit collocatus. In his ergo mysteriis fides duntaxat est adhibenda, et Verbum Dei firmo assensu retinendum est. Sic solidam doctrinam et veram consolationem (quod videlicet neque Satan neque ipsi inferi nos omnesque alios in Christum credentes in potestatem suam redigere aut nobis nocere valeant) ex hoc articulo hauriemus. [Tom. 6., Ien., fol. 77.]

to hell are found, we abide in like manner by the simplicity of our Christian faith [comprised in the Creed], to which Dr. Luther in his sermon, which was delivered in the castle at Torgau in the year 1533, concerning the descent of Christ to hell, has pointed us, where we confess: *I believe in the Lord Christ, God's Son, our Lord, dead, buried, and descended into hell.* For in this [Confession] the burial and descent of Christ to hell are distinguished as different articles; and we simply believe that the entire person, God and man, after the burial descended into hell, conquered the devil, destroyed the power of hell, and took from the devil all his might. We should not, however, trouble ourselves with high and acute thoughts as to how this occurred; for with our reason and our five senses this article can be comprehended as little as the preceding one, how Christ is placed at the right hand of the almighty power and majesty of God; but we are simply to believe it and adhere to the Word [in such mysteries of faith]. Thus we

den ganzen Menschen, wie er sich nennt den Heiligen Gottes." — „Wie aber solches möge zugegangen sein, daß der Mensch da im Grabe liegt und doch zur Hölle fährt, das sollen und müssen wir wohl unergründet und unverstanden lassen; denn es ist freilich nicht leiblich noch greiflich zugegangen, ob man's wohl grob und leiblich malen und denken muß und so davon reden durch Gleichnisse. Als, wenn ein starker Held oder Riese in ein fest Schloß käme mit seinem Heer und Panier und Waffen und dasselbige zerstörete und den Feind darinnen finge und bünde usw. Darum sage nur einfältiglich also, wenn man dich fragt von diesem Artikel, wie es zugegangen sei: Das weiß ich wahrlich nicht, werde es auch nicht erdenken noch ausreden können; aber grob kann ich dir's wohl malen und in ein Bild fassen, von verborgenen Sachen fein klar und deutlich zu reden: daß er ist hingegangen und die Fahne genommen als ein siegender Held und damit die Tore aufgestoßen und unter den Teufeln rumort, daß hie einer zum Fenster, dort einer zum Loche hinausgefallen ist." — „Das sei nun aufs einfältigste von diesem Artikel geredet, daß man an den Worten halte und bei diesem Hauptstücke bleibe, daß uns durch Christum die Hölle zerrissen und des Teufels Reich und Gewalt gar zerstört ist, um welches willen er gestorben, begraben und hinuntergefahren ist, daß sie uns nicht mehr soll schaden noch überwältigen, wie er Matth. 16, 18 selbst sagt." (Walch 10, 1354 f.; E. A. 20, 165 f.; St. L. 10, 1125 ff.)]

X.

Von Kirchengebräuchen,

so man Adiaphora oder Mitteldinge nennt.

Von Zeremonien und Kirchengebräuchen, welche in Gottes Wort weder geboten noch verboten sind, sondern guter Meinung in die Kirche eingeführt werden um guter Ordnung und Wohlstands [Wohlanstands] willen, oder sonst christliche Zucht zu erhalten, ist gleichermaßen ein Zwiespalt unter etlichen Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession entstanden, da der eine Teil gehalten, daß man auch zu der Zeit der Verfolgung und im Fall der Bekenntnis [im Fall des Bekenntnisses], wenn die Feinde des heiligen Evangelii sich gleich mit uns in der Lehre nicht vergleichen, dennoch mit unverletztem Gewissen etliche gefallene Zeremonien, so an ihm selbst [so an sich] Mitteldinge und von Gott weder geboten noch verboten [sind], auf der Widersacher Dringen und Erfordern wiederum aufrichten, und man sich also mit ihnen in solchen adiaphoris oder Mitteldingen wohl vergleichen möge. Der andere Teil aber hat gestritten, daß zur Zeit der Verfolgung im Fall der Bekenntnis [im Fall des Bekenntnisses], sonderlich wenn die Widersacher damit umgehen, daß sie entweder durch Gewalt und Zwang oder hinterlistigerweise die reine Lehre unterdrücken und ihre falsche Lehre in unsere Kirche gemächlich wieder einschieben mögen, solches, wie gesagt, auch in Mitteldingen mit unverletztem Gewissen und ohne Nachteil der göttlichen Wahrheit keineswegs geschehen könnte.

Diesen Streit zu erklären und durch Gottes Gnade endlich hinzulegen [beizulegen], geben wir dem christlichen Leser hiervon diesen einfältigen Bericht.

Nämlich, wenn solche Dinge unter dem Titel und Schein der äußerlichen Mitteldinge vorgegeben werden, welche (ob ihnen gleich eine andere Farbe angestrichen würde) dennoch im Grunde wider Gottes Wort sind, daß dieselben nicht als freie Mitteldinge gehalten, sondern als von Gott verbotene Dinge gemieden sollen werden; wie auch unter die rechten freien adiaphora oder Mitteldinge nicht sollen gerechnet werden solche Zeremonien, die den Schein haben oder, dadurch Verfolgung zu vermeiden, den Schein vorgeben wollten, als wäre unsere Religion mit der papistischen nicht weit voneinander, oder wäre uns dieselbe ja nicht hoch entgegen, oder wenn solche Zeremonien dahin gemeint, also erfordert oder aufge-

X.

DE CEREMONIIS ECCLESIASTICIS,

quae vulgo adiaphora seu res mediae et indifferentes vocantur.

1] Ortum est etiam inter quosdam Augustanae Confessionis theologos dissidium de ceremoniis ecclesiasticis, quae Verbo Dei neque mandatae neque prohibitae sunt, sed bono consilio propter *εὐταξίαν* et ordinem aut ad conservandam piam disciplinam in ecclesia 2] usurpantur. Una pars sensit, quod persecutionis tempore (quando confessio fidei edenda est), etiamsi adversarii evangelii in doctrina nobiscum non consentiant, tamen sana et salva conscientia liceat, quasdam dudum abrogatas ceremonias (quae per se adiaphorae et a Deo neque praeceptae neque prohibitae sunt) postulantibus id et urgentibus adversariis restituere et hoc modo cum iis in rebus illis per se adiaphoris conformem quandam rationem instituere posse. Altera 3] vero pars contendit, quod persecutionis tempore (quando confessio fidei requiritur) adversariis illaesa conscientia et sine iactura veritatis coelestis restitutione rerum adiaphorarum gratificari non possimus; praesertim quando adversarii hoc agunt, ut aut vi manifesta aut occultis machinationibus sinceram doctrinam opprimant et paulatim falsa [R. 790 dogmata in ecclesias nostras reducant.

4] Ut autem haec etiam controversia pie declaretur et tandem per Dei gratiam componatur, candido lectori simplicem et Verbo Dei conformem sententiam nostram aperiemus.

5] Si quando talia sub titulo et praetextu externarum rerum adiaphorarum proponuntur, quae (licet alius color illis inducatur) revera Verbo Dei adversantur: ea nequaquam pro rebus adiaphoris habenda, sed tamquam Verbo Dei prohibita vitanda sunt. Et sane inter res adiaphoras non numerandae sunt tales ceremoniae, quae speciem quandam prae se ferunt, aut quibus (ad effugiendam persecutionem) simulatur, quasi nostra religio a pontificia non multum distaret, aut certe, quasi ab ea non admodum animus noster abhorreret, aut cum eiusmodi ceremoniae in eum finem restaurantur et earum restauratio ita accipitur, quasi hoc ipso dissentientes duae illae

retain the substance [sound doctrine] and [true] consolation that neither hell nor the devil can take captive or injure us and all who believe in Christ.

X.

OF CHURCH RITES,

Which are [Commonly] Called Adiaphora, or Matters of Indifference.

Concerning ceremonies and church rites which are neither commanded nor forbidden in God's Word, but are introduced into the Church with a good intention, for the sake of good order and propriety, or otherwise to maintain Christian discipline, a dissension has likewise arisen among some theologians of the Augsburg Confession: the one side holding that also in time of persecution and in case of confession [when confession of faith is to be made], even though the enemies of the Gospel do not come to an agreement with us in doctrine, yet some ceremonies, abrogated [long since], which in themselves are adiaphora, and neither commanded nor forbidden by God, may, without violence to conscience, be re-established in compliance with the pressure and demand of the adversaries, and thus in such [things which are of themselves] adiaphora, or matters of indifference, we may indeed come to an agreement [have conformity] with them. But the other side contended that in time of persecution, in case of confession, especially when it is the design of the adversaries, either through force and compulsion, or in an insidious manner, to suppress the pure doctrine, and gradually to introduce again into our churches their false doctrine, this, also in adiaphora, can in no way be done, as has been said, without violence to conscience and prejudice to the divine truth.

To explain this controversy, and by God's grace finally to settle it, we present to the Christian reader this simple statement regarding the matter [in conformity with the Word of God]:

Namely, when under the title and pretext of external adiaphora such things are proposed as are in principle contrary to God's Word (although painted another color), these are not to be regarded as adiaphora, in which one is free to act as he will, but must be avoided as things prohibited by God. In like maner, too, such ceremonies should not be reckoned among the genuine free adiaphora, or matters of indifference, as make a show or feign the appearance, as though our religion and that of the Papists were not far apart, thus to avoid persecution, or as though the latter were not at least highly offensive to us; or when such ceremonies are designed for the purpose, and required and received in this sense, as though by and through them both contrary religions were reconciled and became one body; or when a reentering into the Papacy and a departure from the pure doc-

nommen [verſtanden werden], als ob damit und dadurch beide widerwärtigen Religionen verglichen und ein Korpus [ge]worden, oder wiederum ein Zutritt zum Papſttum und ein Abweichen von der reinen Lehre des Evangelii und wahren Religion geſchehen oder gemächlich daraus erfolgen ſollte.

Denn in dieſem Fall ſoll und muß gelten, das Paulus ſchreibt 2 Kor. 6: „Ziehet nicht am fremden Joch; was hat das Licht für Gemeinſchaft mit der Finſternis? Darum gehet aus von ihnen und ſondert euch ab, ſpricht der HErr“ uſw.

Gleichfalls ſind das auch nicht rechte adiaphora oder Mitteldinge, wenn es unnütze, närriſche Spektakel [Schauſpiele] ſind, ſo weder zu guter Ordnung, chriſtlicher Disziplin oder evangeliſchem Wohlſtand in der Kirche nützlich [ſind].

Sondern was rechte adiaphora oder Mitteldinge (wie die vor[hin] erklärt) ſind, glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß ſolche Zeremonien an ihnen und für ſich ſelbſt kein Gottesdienſt, auch kein Teil desſelben [ſind], ſondern von ſolchen gebührlich unterſchieden werden ſollen, wie geſchrieben ſteht: „Vergeblich dienen ſie mir, dieweil ſie lehren ſolche Lehren, die nichts denn Menſchengebote ſind“, Matth. 15.

Demnach glauben, lehren und bekennen wir, daß die Gemeinde Gottes jedes Ortes und jeder Zeit derſelben Gelegenheit nach guten Fug, Gewalt und Macht habe, dieſelben ohne Leichtfertigkeit und Ärgernis ordentlicher- und gebührlicherweiſe zu ändern, zu mindern und zu mehren, wie es jederzeit zu guter Ordnung, chriſtlicher Disziplin und Zucht, evangeliſchem Wohlſtand und zur Erbauung der Kirche am nützlichſten, förderlichſten und beſten angeſehen wird. Wie man auch den Schwachen im Glauben in ſolchen äußerlichen Mitteldingen mit gutem Gewiſſen weichen und nachgeben könne, lehrt Paulus Röm. 14 und beweiſt es mit ſeinem Exempel Act. 16 und 21; 1 Kor. 9.

Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen auch, daß zur Zeit der Bekenntnis [des Bekenntniſſes], da die Feinde Gottes Worts die reine Lehre des heiligen Evangelii begehren unterzudrücken [zu unterdrücken], die ganze Gemeinde Gottes, ja ein jeder Chriſtenmenſch, beſonders aber die Diener des Worts als die Vorſteher der Gemeinde Gottes ſchuldig ſeien, vermöge Gottes Worts die Lehre und was zur ganzen Religion gehört, frei öffentlich nicht allein mit Worten, ſondern auch im Werk und mit der Tat zu bekennen; und daß alsdann in dieſem Fall auch in ſolchen Mitteldingen den Widerſachern nicht zu weichen, noch leiden ſollen, ihnen [ſich] dieſelben von den Feinden zur Schwächung des rechten Gottesdienſtes und Pflanzung und Beſtätigung der Abgötterei mit Gewalt oder hinterliſtig aufdringen zu laſſen; wie geſchrieben ſteht Gal. 5: „So beſtehet nun in der Freiheit, damit uns Chriſtus befreiet hat, und laſſet euch nicht wiederum in das knechtiſche Joch fangen!“ Item Gal. 2: „Da etliche falſche Brüder ſich mit eingedrungen und neben eingeſchlichen waren, zu verkundſchaften unſere Freiheit, die wir haben in Chriſto JEſu, daß ſie uns gefangen-

religiones iam in unam redactae essent atque in unum corpus coaluissent, aut cum periculum est, ne videamur ad papatum rursum accessisse et a sincera evangelii doctrina recessisse vel paulatim recessuri.

6] In hoc enim rerum statu maximum pondus habere debet illud apostoli dictum, 2 Cor. 6, 14. 17: *Nolite iugum ducere cum infidelibus. Quae enim participatio iustitiae cum iniquitate, aut quae societas luci ad tenebras* etc.? *Propter quod exite de medio eorum et separamini, dicit Dominus.*

7] Sed et haec non sunt vera adiaphora, quae neque ad observandum bonum ordinem, neque ad piam disciplinam conservandam, neque ad *εὐταξίαν* in ecclesia constituendam quidquam conferunt, sed praeter inutiles nugas et puerilia spectacula nihil habent.

8] De rebus autem illis, quae revera [R. 791 sunt adiaphorae (quarum supra mentionem fecimus), haec est fides, doctrina et confessio nostra, quod eiusmodi ceremoniae per se non sint cultus Dei, neque etiam pars cultus divini, sed inter illas et veros Dei cultus diligenter discernendum esse iudicamus. Scriptum est enim de humanis traditionibus Matth. 15, 9: *Frustra colunt me, docentes doctrinas, mandata hominum.*

9] Credimus autem, docemus et confitemur, quod ecclesia Dei, quibusvis temporibus et locis, pro re nata, liberrimam potestatem habeat (in rebus vere adiaphoris) aliquid mutandi, abrogandi, constituendi, si tamen id absque levitate et scandalo, decenter et bono ordine fiat, et si accurate expendatur, quid singulis temporibus ad conservandum bonum ordinem et ad piam retinendam disciplinam atque ad *εὐταξίαν* evangelica professione dignam et ad ecclesiae aedificationem quam plurimum faciat. Quousque etiam infirmis in fide in rebus illis externis bona cum conscientia cedere possimus, apostolus Paulus perspicue non modo verbis, verum etiam suo ipsius exemplo docuit, Rom. 14; Act. 16, 3; 21, 26; 1 Cor. 9, 19.

10] Credimus, docemus et confitemur, quod eo tempore, quo veritatis coelestis confessio requiritur (quando videlicet Verbi Dei hostes doctrinam evangelii opprimere student), tota ecclesia et singuli Christiani, praecipue vero ministri Verbi Dei tamquam ii, quos Dominus ecclesiae suae regendae praefecit, teneantur piam doctrinam iuxta Verbum Dei, et quidquid omnino ad sinceram religionem pertinet, palam et libere non modo verbis, verum etiam factis profiteri. Et sentimus tali tempore, etiam in rebus vere et per se adiaphoris, non esse adversariis cedendum neque permittendum, ut adversarii nobis talia adiaphora (ad detrimentum veri cultus divini et ad [R. 792 plantandam et stabiliendam idololatriam) observanda imponant et obtrudant, sive id mani-

11] festa vi sive dolis efficere conentur. Scriptum est enim Gal. 5, 1: *In libertate igitur, qua Christus nos liberavit, state et ne rursus iugo servitutis implicemini.* Et in eadem epistola, 2, 4 sq.: *Propter subintroductos falsos fratres, qui subintroierant explorare libertatem nostram, quam habemus in Christo Iesu,*

trine of the Gospel and true religion should occur or gradually follow therefrom [when there is danger lest we seem to have reentered the Papacy, and to have departed, or to be on the point of departing gradually, from the pure doctrine of the Gospel].

For in this case what Paul writes, 2 Cor. 6, 14. 17, shall and must obtain: *Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what communion hath light with darkness? Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord.*

Likewise, when there are useless, foolish displays, that are profitable neither for good order nor Christian discipline, nor evangelical propriety in the Church, these also are not genuine adiaphora, or matters of indifference.

But as regards genuine adiaphora, or matters of indifference (as explained before), we believe, teach, and confess that such ceremonies, in and of themselves, are no worship of God, nor any part of it, but must be properly distinguished from such as are, as it is written: *In vain they do worship Me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men,* Matt. 15, 9.

Therefore we believe, teach, and confess that the congregation of God of every place and every time has, according to its circumstances, the good right, power, and authority [in matters truly adiaphora] to change, to diminish, and to increase them, without thoughtlessness and offense, in an orderly and becoming way, as at any time it may be regarded most profitable, most beneficial, and best for [preserving] good order, [maintaining] Christian discipline [and for εὐταξία worthy of the profession of the Gospel], and the edification of the Church. Moreover, how we can yield and give way with a good conscience to the weak in faith in such external adiaphora, Paul teaches Rom. 14, and proves it by his example, Acts 16, 3; 21, 26; 1 Cor. 9, 19.

We believe, teach, and confess also that at the time of confession [when a confession of the heavenly truth is required], when the enemies of God's Word desire to suppress the pure doctrine of the holy Gospel, the entire congregation of God, yea, every Christian, but especially the ministers of the Word, as the leaders of the congregation of God [as those whom God has appointed to rule His Church], are bound by God's Word to confess freely and openly the [godly] doctrine, and what belongs to the whole of [pure] religion, not only in words, but also in works and with deeds; and that then, in this case, even in such [things truly and of themselves] adiaphora, they must not yield to the adversaries, or permit these [adiaphora] to be forced upon them by their enemies, whether by violence or cunning, to the detriment of the true worship of God and the introduction and sanction of idolatry. For it is written, Gal. 5, 1: *Stand fast, therefore, in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not again entangled in the yoke of bondage.* Also Gal. 2, 4 f.: *And that because of false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our liberty which we have in Christ Jesus,*

nähmen, wichen wir denselbigen nicht eine Stunde untertan zu sein, auf daß die Wahrheit des Evangelii bei uns bestünde.“ Und redet Paulus an demselben Ort von der Beschneidung, welche zu der Zeit ein frei Mittelding war, 1 Kor. 7, auch in geistlicher [* christlicher] Freiheit sonst von Paulo gebraucht ward, Act. 16. Da aber die falschen Apostel zur Bestätigung ihrer falschen Lehre (als wären die Werke des Gesetzes zur Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit vonnöten) die Beschneidung erforderten und mißbrauchten, da spricht Paulus, daß er nicht eine Stunde habe weichen wollen, auf daß die Wahrheit des Evangelii bestünde.

Also weicht Paulus und gibt den Schwachen nach in Speise und Zeit oder Tagen, Röm. 14. Aber den falschen Aposteln, die solches als **nötige Dinge** aufs Gewissen legen wollten, will er auch in solchen an ihm selbst [an sich] freien Mitteldingen nicht weichen. Kol. 2: „Lasset euch niemand Gewissen machen über Speise, Trank oder über bestimmte Feiertage!“ Und da Petrus und Barnabas in solchem Fall etwas nachgaben, straft sie Paulus öffentlich, als die in dem nicht richtig nach der Wahrheit des Evangelii wandelten, Gal. 2.

Denn hier ist es nicht mehr um die äußerlichen Mitteldinge zu tun, welche ihrer Natur und Wesen nach für sich selbst frei sind und bleiben und demnach kein Gebot oder Verbot leiden mögen, dieselben zu gebrauchen oder zu unterlassen, sondern es ist erstlich zu tun um den hohen Artikel unsers **christlichen Glaubens**; wie der Apostel zeugt Gal. 2: „auf daß die Wahrheit des Evangelii bestehe“, welche durch solchen Zwang oder Gebot verdunkelt und verkehrt wird, weil solche Mitteldinge alsdann zur Bestätigung falscher Lehre, Aberglaubens und Abgötterei und zur Unterdrückung reiner Lehre und christlicher Freiheit entweder öffentlich erfordert oder doch dazu von den Widersachern mißbraucht und also aufgenommen [verstanden] werden.

Desgleichen ist's auch zu tun um den Artikel der christlichen Freiheit, welchen zu erhalten der Heilige Geist durch den Mund des heiligen Apostels seiner Kirche, wie jetzt gehört, so ernstlich befohlen hat. Denn sobald derselbe geschwächt und Menschengebote mit Zwang der Kirche als nötig aufgedrungen werden, als wäre Unterlassung derselben Unrecht und Sünde, ist der Abgötterei der Weg schon bereitet, dadurch nachmals Menschengebote gehäuft [werden] und für einen Gottesdienst, nicht allein den Geboten Gottes gleichgehalten, sondern auch über dieselben gesetzt werden.

So werden auch durch solch Nachgeben und Vergleichen in äußerlichen Dingen, da man zuvor in der Lehre nicht christlich vereinigt [ist], die Abgöttischen in ihrer Abgötterei gestärkt, dagegen die Rechtgläubigen betrübt, geärgert und in ihrem Glauben geschwächt, welches beides ein jeder Christ bei seiner Seelen Heil und Seligkeit zu meiden schuldig ist; wie geschrieben steht: „Wehe der Welt der Ärgernis halben!“ Item: „Wer den Geringsten ärgert deren, die an mich glauben, dem wäre es besser, daß ihm ein Mühlstein an seinem Hals

ut nos in servitutem redigerent, iis neque ad horam cessimus subiectione, ut veritas evangelii permaneat apud vos. Manifestum **12**] est autem, Paulum ibi agere de circumcisione, quae illis temporibus iam res adiaphora facta erat, 1 Cor. 7, 18 sq., et quam Paulus alias (in libertate tamen Christiana et spirituali) observare aliquoties solebat, Act. 16, 3. Cum autem pseudoapostoli circumcisionem ad stabiliendum falsum suum dogma (quod opera legis ad iustitiam et salutem necessaria essent) urgerent eaque ad confirmandum suum errorem in animis hominum abuterentur, ingenue affirmat Paulus, quod ne ad horam quidem ipsis cesserit, ut veritas evangelii sarta tectaque permaneret.

13] Sic Paulus infirmis in fide cedit observatione discriminis ciborum et temporum seu dierum, Rom. 14, 6. Pseudoapostolis autem, qui haec *tamquam necessaria* conscientiis imponere volebant, etiam in rebus per se adiaphoris cedere recusat. Et alibi inquit, Col. 2, 16: *Nemo vos iudicet in cibo aut in potu aut in parte diei festi* etc. Et cum Petrus et Barnabas ea in re Iudaeis plus, quam oportebat, cessissent, in faciem eis restitit, eo quod non recte ambularent ad veritatem evangelii, Gal. 2, 11 sqq.

14] In eo enim rerum statu non iam de externis adiaphoris agitur, quae natura sua per se libera sunt permanentque, unde neque mandanda sunt neque prohibenda, ut vel observentur vel intermittantur. Sed agitur praecipuus religionis nostrae Christianae articulus, ut nimirum *veritas evangelii constet*, sicut apostolus testatur Gal. 2, 5. [R. 793 Veritas enim evangelii obscuratur et labefactatur, cum adiaphora cum mandato et coactione conscientiis observanda imponuntur, quia ad confirmationem superstitionum, falsae doctrinae et idololatriae et ad opprimendam sinceram doctrinam et libertatem Christianam vel palam ab adversariis requiruntur, vel certe ita ab ipsis recipiuntur et in hunc abusum et pravum finem restituta creduntur.

15] Praeterea in hoc negotio agitur etiam articulus de libertate Christiana, quem diligentissime conservandum Spiritus Sanctus per os apostoli Pauli ecclesiae Christi, ut modo dictum est, severissime praecepit. Quamprimum enim articulus ille labefactatur, et humanae traditiones per modum coactionis ecclesiae Dei tamquam observatu necessariae obtruduntur, quasi sine peccato negligi non possent: tum iam idololatriae magna fenestra est patefacta, ut deinceps humanae traditiones cumulentur et pro cultu divino habeantur, neque modo Dei praeceptis exaequentur, verum etiam illis longe praeponantur.

16] Quin etiam eiusmodi intempestiva cessione in externis illis rebus adiaphoris (ubi nondum de doctrina ipsa pius consensus est factus) idololatrae in sua idolomania confirmantur. Contra vero piae mentes et vere in Christum credentes contristantur, perturbantur, offenduntur et ipsarum fides, quasi ariete quodam, graviter concutitur et quodammodo labefactatur. Huic malo ne occasionem praebeamus, summo studio (si modo aeterna salus nobis cordi est) cavere debemus. Sic enim

that they might bring us into bondage; to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour, that the truth of the Gospel might continue with you. [Now it is manifest that in that place Paul speaks concerning circumcision, which at that time had become an adiaphoron (1 Cor. 7, 18 f.), and which at other occasions was observed by Paul (however, with Christian and spiritual freedom, Acts 16, 3). But when the false apostles urged circumcision for establishing their false doctrine, (that the works of the Law were necessary for righteousness and salvation,) and misused it for confirming their error in the minds of men, Paul says that he would not yield even for an hour, in order that the truth of the Gospel might continue unimpaired.]

Thus Paul yields and gives way to the weak as to food and [the observance of] times or days, Rom. 14, 6. But to the false apostles, who wished to impose these upon the conscience as *necessary things*, he will yield not even in such things as in themselves are adiaphora, Col. 2, 16: *Let no man therefore judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of an holy day.* And when Peter and Barnabas yielded somewhat [more than they ought] in such an emergency, Paul openly reproves them as those who in this matter were not walking aright, according to the truth of the Gospel, Gal. 2, 11 ff.

For here it is no longer a question concerning external matters of indifference, which in their nature and essence are and remain of themselves free, and accordingly can admit of no command or prohibition that they be employed or omitted; but it is a question, in the first place, concerning the eminent article of our Christian faith, as the apostle testifies, *that the truth of the Gospel might continue*, which is obscured and perverted by such compulsion or command, because such adiaphora are then either publicly required for the sanction of false doctrine, superstition, and idolatry, and for the suppression of pure doctrine and Christian liberty, or at least are abused for this purpose by the adversaries, and are thus viewed [and are believed to be restored for this abuse and wicked end].

Likewise, the article concerning Christian liberty also is here at stake, which the Holy Ghost through the mouth of the holy apostle so earnestly charged His Church to preserve, as we have just heard. For as soon as this is weakened and the ordinances of men [human traditions] are forced upon the Church with coercion, as though it were wrong and a sin to omit them, the way is already prepared for idolatry, and by this means ordinances of men [human traditions] are afterwards multiplied and regarded as a divine worship, not only equal to the ordinances of God, but are even placed above them.

Moreover, by such [untimely] yielding and conformity in external things, where there has not been previously Christian union in doctrine, idolaters are confirmed in their idolatry; on the other hand, the true believers are grieved, offended, and weakened in their faith [their faith is grievously shaken, and made to totter as though by a battering-ram]; both of which every Christian for the sake of his soul's welfare and salvation is bound to avoid, as it is written: *Woe unto the world because of offenses!* Also: *Whoso shall offend*

hinge, und er erſäufet würde im Meer, da es am tiefſten iſt", Matth. 18.

Sonderlich aber iſt zu bedenken, das Chriſtus ſagt: „Wer mich bekennet vor den Menſchen, den will ich auch bekennen vor meinem himmliſchen Vater", Matth. 10.

Daß aber ſolches je und allwege der vornehmſten Lehrer der Augsburgiſchen Konfeſſion Glaube und Bekenntnis von ſolchen Mitteldingen geweſen, in deren Fußtapfen wir getreten, und durch Gottes Gnade bei ſolchem ihrem Bekenntnis gedenken zu verharren, weiſen nachfolgende Zeugniſſe aus, ſo aus den Schmalkaldiſchen Artikeln gezogen, welche Anno 37 uſw. geſtellt und unterſchrieben worden.

Aus den Schmalkaldiſchen Artikeln.

Anno 1537 uſw.

Die Schmalkaldiſchen Artikel (Von der Kirche) ſagen hiervon alſo: „Wir geſtehen ihnen" (den päpſtiſchen Biſchöfen) „nicht, daß ſie die Kirche ſeien, und [ſie] ſind es auch nicht, und [wir] wollen es auch nicht hören, was ſie uns unter dem Namen der Kirche gebieten und verbieten. Denn es weiß, Gott Lob, ein Kind von ſieben Jahren, was die Kirche ſei, nämlich die Heiligen, Gläubigen und die Schäflein, die ihres Hirten Stimme hören." Und kurz zuvor (Von der Weihe und Vokation): „Wenn die Biſchöfe rechte Biſchöfe wollten ſein und ſich der Kirche und des Evangelii annehmen, ſo möchte man ihnen das um der Liebe und Einigkeit willen (doch nicht aus Not) laſſen gegeben ſein, daß ſie uns und unſere Prediger ordinierten und konfirmierten, doch hintangeſetzt alle Larven und Geſpenſt unchriſtlichen Weſens oder Gepränges. Nun ſie aber nicht rechte Biſchöfe ſind oder auch nicht ſein wollen, ſondern weltliche Herren und Fürſten, die weder predigen noch lehren noch taufen noch kommunizieren noch einiges Werk oder Amt der Kirche treiben wollen, dazu diejenigen, die zu ſolchem Amt berufen, vertreiben, verfolgen und verdammen, ſo muß dennoch die Kirche um ihretwillen nicht ohne Diener bleiben."

Und unter dem Artikel von des Papſts Primat oder Herrſchaft ſagen die Schmalkaldiſchen Artikel alſo: „Darum, ſowenig wir den Teufel ſelbſt für einen Herrn oder Gott anbeten können, ſo wenig können wir auch ſeinen Apoſtel, den Papſt oder Antichriſt, in ſeinem Regiment zum Haupt oder Herrn leiden; denn Lügen und Mord, Leib und Seele zu verderben ewiglich, das iſt ſein päpſtiſch Regiment eigentlich."

Und in der Schrift von der Gewalt und Obrigkeit des Papſts, welche den Schmalkaldiſchen Artikeln angehängt und von den damals anweſenden Theologen auch mit eigenen Händen unterſchrieben [iſt], ſtehen dieſe Worte: „Niemand ſoll die Kirche

Christus dicit Matth. 18, 6 sq.: *Vae mundo a scandalis!* Et ibidem: *Qui scandalizaverit unum de pusillis istis, qui in me credunt, expediret ei, ut suspenderetur mola asinaria in collo eius, et demergeretur in profundum maris.*

17] Imprimis vero hoc Christi dictum [R. 794 alta mente est reponendum Matth. 10, 32: *Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, eum etiam ego confitebor coram Patre meo coelesti.*

18] Et sane, quod haec semper fuerit clarissimorum Augustanae Confessionis theologorum fides et confessio de rebus adiaphoris (quam et nos ipsorum vestigiis insistentes, profitemur, et in ea constanter per Dei gratiam permanere cupimus), id liquidissime testimonia, quae recitabimus, demonstrabunt: ea in Smalcaldicis Articulis anno etc. XXXVII consignata et a praecipuis theologis subscriptione confirmata sunt.

Testimonia e Smalcaldicis Articulis,

anno Domini MDXXXVII conscriptis, deprompta.

19] Articuli Smalcaldici (De ecclesia) de hoc negotio sic loquuntur: *Nequaquam hoc episcopis (pontificiis) concedimus, quod ipsi sint ecclesia, quia non sunt ecclesia. Neque ea audiemus, quae illi nobis sub ecclesiae nomine vel mandaverint vel prohibuerint. Nam (Dei beneficio) puer septennis iam novit, quae sit vera ecclesia: sancti videlicet, credentes et oviculae, quae pastoris sui vocem audiunt.* Et paulo ante (De ordinatione et vocatione): *Si episcopi recte officio episcopali fungi et ecclesiae regendae atque evangelii propagandi curam serio suscipere vellent, hoc illis ratione caritatis et propter bonum pacis (non tamen ex quadam necessitate) concedi posset, ut nos et ecclesiae nostrae ministros ordinarent atque in functione ecclesiastica confirmarent, remotis tamen omnibus larvatis ineptis et impiis nugis atque magicis pompis. Cum autem neque veri sint aut esse velint episcopi, sed potius huius mundi principes ac domini, qui neque concionantur neque docent neque baptizant neque Coenam* [R. 795 *Domini administrant neque ullum opus ecclesiasticum facere aut munus tale obire velint, quin potius eos, qui ad ministerium evangelii vocati sunt, in exilium eiiciunt, persequuntur atque anathemate feriunt: profecto ecclesia Dei in ipsorum gratiam connivere non potest, ut interea idoneis ministris destituatur.*

20] In articulo de primatu papae Articuli Smalcaldici in hanc sententiam loquuntur: *Quare, ut non possumus ipsum diabolum ceu Dominum et Deum adorare, ita non possumus ipsius apostolum, pontificem Romanum seu antichristum, in suo illo imperio pro capite aut Domino agnoscere. Mentiri enim, innocentem sanguinem fundere, corpora et animas in aeternum exitium praecipitare, haec sunt pontificii regni propria.*

21] Et in scripto de potestate et iurisdictione papae, quod Smalcaldicis Articulis annexum et a theologis, qui tum Smalcaldiae erant, subscriptione confirmatum est, haec leguntur: *Nemo ecclesiam Dei gravet propriis*

one of these little ones which believe in Me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea [Matt. 18, 6, 7].

But it is to be especially remembered what Christ says: *Whosoever therefore shall confess Me before men, him will I confess also before My Father which is in heaven,* Matt. 10, 32.

However, that this has always and everywhere been the faith and confession, concerning such indifferent matters, of the chief teachers of the *Augsburg Confession,* into whose footsteps we have entered, and in whose Confession we intend by God's grace to persevere, is shown [most clearly] by the following testimonies drawn from the *Smalcald Articles,* which were composed and subscribed in the year 1537:

From the Smalcald Articles, in the Year 1537, etc.

The *Smalcald Articles* (*Of the Church*) say concerning this as follows: *We do not concede to them* (the papal bishops) *that they are the Church, and indeed they are not; nor will we listen to those things which, under the name of Church, they enjoin and forbid. For, thank God,* [*to-day*] *a child seven years old knows what the Church is, namely, the saints, believers, and lambs, who hear the voice of their Shepherd.* And shortly before (*Of Ordination and Vocation*): *If the bishops would be true bishops, and would devote themselves to the Church and the Gospel, it might be granted to them, for the sake of love and unity, but not from necessity, to ordain and confirm us and our preachers; omitting, however, all comedies and spectacular doings of an unchristian nature and display. But, because they neither are, nor wish to be, true bishops, but worldly lords and princes, who will neither preach, nor teach, nor baptize, nor administer the Lord's Supper, nor perform any work or office of the Church, and, moreover, persecute and condemn those who, having been called to do so, discharge these functions, the Church ought not on their account to remain without ministers.*

And in the article *Of the Papacy,* the *Smalcald Articles* say (p. 475): *Therefore, just as little as we can worship the devil himself as Lord and God, we can endure his apostle, the Pope, or Antichrist, in his rule as head or lord. For to lie and to kill and to destroy body and soul eternally, that is wherein his papal government really consists.*

And in the treatise *Concerning the Power and Primacy of the Pope,* which is appended to the *Smalcald Articles,* and was also subscribed by the theologians then present with their own hands, are these words: *No one is*

beſchweren mit eigenen Satzungen, ſondern hie ſoll es alſo heißen, daß keines Gewalt noch Anſehen mehr gelte denn das Wort Gottes."

Und bald danach: „Weil nun dem alſo iſt, ſollen alle Chriſten auf das fleißigſte ſich hüten, daß ſie ſolcher gottloſen Lehre, Gotteslästerung und unbilliger Täuberei [Wüterei] ſich nicht teilhaftig machen, ſondern ſollen vom Papſt und ſeinen Gliedern oder Anhang als von des Antichriſts Reich weichen und es verfluchen, wie Chriſtus befohlen hat: ‚Hütet euch vor den falſchen Propheten'; und Paulus gebeut, daß man falſche Prediger meiden und als einen Greuel verfluchen ſoll. Und 2 Kor. 6 ſpricht er: ‚Ziehet nicht am fremden Joch mit den Ungläubigen; denn was hat das Licht für Gemeinſchaft mit der Finſternis?'

„Schwer iſt es, daß man von ſo viel Landen und Leuten ſich trennen und eine [be]ſondere Lehre führen will; aber hie ſteht Gottes Befehl, daß jedermann ſich ſoll hüten und nicht mit denen einhellig ſein, ſo unrechte Lehre führen oder mit Wüterei zu erhalten gedenken."

So hat auch D. Luther in einem ſonderlichen Bedenken, was man von den Zeremonien insgemein und inſonderheit von Mitteldingen halten ſoll, tom. 3 Ien., fol. 523, ausführlich die Kirche Gottes erinnert, inmaßen auch Anno 30 uſw. geſchehen, wie in tom. 5 Ien. deutſch zu finden [iſt].

Aus welcher Erklärung jedermänniglich verſtehen kann, was einer chriſtlichen Gemeinde und jedem Chriſtenmenſchen, inſonderheit zur Zeit des Bekenntniſſes, beſonders den Predigern mit unverletztem Gewiſſen in Mitteldingen zu tun oder zu laſſen [gebührt], damit Gott nicht erzürnt, die Liebe nicht verletzt, die Feinde Gottes Worts nicht geſtärkt noch die Schwachgläubigen verärgert werden.

1. Demnach verwerfen und verdammen wir als unrecht, wenn Menſchengebote für ſich ſelbſt als ein Gottesdienſt oder Stück desſelben gehalten werden.

2. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch als unrecht, wenn ſolche Gebote mit Zwang als notwendig der Gemeinde Gottes aufgedrungen werden.

3. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch als unrecht derer Meinung, ſo da halten, daß man zur Zeit der Verfolgung den Feinden des heiligen Evangelii (das zum Abbruch der Wahrheit dient) in dergleichen Mitteldingen möge willfahren oder ſich mit ihnen vergleichen.

4. Gleichfalls halten wir auch für ſtrafwürdige Sünde, wo zur Zeit der Verfolgung entweder in Mitteldingen oder in der Lehre, und was ſonſt zur Religion gehört, um der Feinde des Evangelii willen im Werk und mit der Tat dem chriſtlichen Bekenntnis zuwider und entgegen etwas gehandelt wird.

5. Wir verwerfen und verdammen auch, wenn ſolche Mitteldinge dergeſtalt abgeſchafft werden, als ſollte es der Gemeinde Gottes nicht freiſtehen, jeder Zeit und Orts, derſelben Gelegenheit nach, wie es der Kirche am nützlichſten, ſich eines oder

aliquibus traditionibus. In hoc enim negotio fixum et firmum esse debet, quod nullius hominis potestas vel auctoritas Verbo Dei sit praeferenda.

22] Et post aliqua: *Quae cum ita se habeant, omnes Christiani quam diligentissime sibi caveant, ne impiae illius* [*pontificiae*] *doctrinae, blasphemiarum, tyrannidis crudelissimae participes sese faciant, pontificem autem, membra et squamas eius ut regnum ipsissimi antichristi aversentur atque exsecrentur. Christus enim id praecepit dicens* [Matth. 7, 15]: *„Cavete a pseudoprophetis." Et Paulus praecipit* [Tit. 3, 11], *ut falsos doctores vitemus et veluti abominationem quandam exsecremur. „Nolite"* (*inquit* 2 Cor. 6, 14) *„iugum ducere cum infidelibus; quae enim participatio iustitiae cum iniquitate? aut quae societas luci ad tenebras"* etc.?

23] *Grave id quidem videri potest* [R. 796 *sese a tot regnis et populis seiungere et separare et peculiarem quandam doctrinam profiteri. Sed clarum est Dei mandatum, quod praecipit nobis, ut omnes caveamus a consensu cum iis, qui vel falsa docent, vel falsam doctrinam immani crudelitate tueri conantur.*

24] Sed et D. Lutherus in alio quodam scripto (in quo ad quaestionem de ceremoniis in genere, de adiaphoris vero etiam in specie quid sentiendum sit, docuit) ecclesiam Dei de hoc negotio pie et luculenter erudivit. Et exstant quaedam ab ipso anno Domini MDXXX exarata, quae magno cum fructu legi possunt. Tom. 3 Ien., fol. 523. Tom. 5 Ien., Germ.

25] Ex his omnibus perspicue intelligi potest, quid unamquamque ecclesiam, quid singulos Christianos, praesertim temporibus illis, quando confessio fidei edenda est, imprimis ecclesiae ministros in rebus adiaphoris bona et illaesa conscientia facere vel omittere deceat, ne Deus ad iustam indignationem provocetur, caritas violetur, hostes Verbi Dei animosiores reddantur et infirmi in fide offendantur.

26] I. Reiicimus igitur et damnamus hos errores: Quando humanae traditiones per se pro Dei cultu aut pro illius aliqua parte habentur.

27] II. Quando humanae traditiones per modum coactionis tamquam necessariae ecclesiae Dei observandae obtruduntur.

28] III. Repudiamus et damnamus etiam eorum opinionem, qui sentiunt, quod persecutionis tempore hostibus evangelii (cum iactura certe veritatis divinae) in adiaphoris restituendis gratificari et cum ipsis ea in parte consentire liceat.

29] IV. Illud etiam crimine non vacare iudicamus, quando persecutionis tempore vel in adiaphoris vel in doctrina vel in aliis rebus ad religionem pertinentibus propter evangelii hostes ipso facto aliquid committitur, quod piae confessioni repugnet.

30] V. Reiicimus et damnamus etiam [R. 797 eorum intemperiem, qui adiaphora ea opinione abrogant, quasi ecclesiae Dei non esset liberum, quovis loco aut tempore, pro re nata et ecclesiae utilitate, unum vel plura adiaphora

to burden the Church with his own traditions, but here the rule is to be that nobody's power or authority is to avail more than the Word of God.

And shortly afterwards (p. 517): *This being the case, all Christians ought most diligently to beware of becoming partakers of the godless doctrine, blasphemies, and unjust cruelties of the Pope; but ought to desert and execrate the Pope with his members, or adherents, as the kingdom of Antichrist, just as Christ has commanded (Matt. 7, 15): "Beware of false prophets." And Paul commands us to avoid false teachers and execrate them as an abomination. And in 2 Cor. 6, 14 he says: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers; for what communion hath light with darkness?"*

It is a grave matter wanting to separate one's self from so many lands and nations, and to profess a separate doctrine; but here stands God's command, that every one should beware and not agree with those who maintain false doctrine, or who think of supporting it by means of cruelty.

So Dr. Luther, too, has amply instructed the Church of God in a special treatise concerning what should be thought of ceremonies in general, and especially of adiaphora, Vol. 3, Jena, p. 523; as was also done in 1530, and can be seen in Tom. 3, Jena, German.

From this explanation every one can understand what every Christian congregation and every Christian man, especially in time of confession [when a confession of faith should be made], and, most of all, preachers, are to do or to leave undone, without injury to conscience, with respect to adiaphora, in order that God may not be angered [provoked to just indignation], love may not be injured, the enemies of God's Word be not strengthened, nor the weak in faith offended.

1. Therefore we reject and condemn as wrong when the ordinances of men in themselves are regarded as a service or part of the service of God.

2. We reject and condemn also as wrong when these ordinances are by coercion forced upon the congregation of God as necessary.

3. We reject and condemn also as wrong the opinion of those who hold (what tends to the detriment of the truth) that at a time of persecution we may comply with the enemies of the holy Gospel in [restoring] such adiaphora, or come to an agreement with them.

4. We likewise regard it as a sin that deserves to be rebuked when in time of persecution anything is done either in indifferent matters or in doctrine, and in what otherwise pertains to religion, for the sake of the enemies of the Gospel, in word and act, contrary and opposed to the Christian confession.

5. We reject and condemn also [the madness] when these adiaphora are abrogated in such a manner as though it were not free to the congregation [church] of God at any time and place to employ one or more in Christian liberty, according to its circumstances, as may be most useful to the Church.

mehr [mehrerer] in christlicher Freiheit zu gebrauchen.

Solchergestalt werden die Kirchen von wegen Ungleichheit der Zeremonien, da in christlicher Freiheit eine weniger oder mehr derselben hat, einander nicht verdammen, wenn sie sonst in der Lehre und allen derselben Artikeln, auch rechtem Gebrauch der heiligen Sakramente miteinander einig [sind], nach dem wohlbekannten Spruch: Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei, „Ungleichheit des Fastens soll die Einigkeit des Glaubens nicht trennen".

recipere et pro ratione libertatis Christianae usurpare.

31] Iuxta hanc de adiaphoris doctrinam nulla ecclesia propter ceremoniarum dissimilitudinem (quarum aliae pro ratione libertatis Christianae pauciores, aliae plures observant) alteram condemnabit, si modo in doctrina et in omnibus illius partibus atque in legitimo sacramentorum usu concordes fuerint. Vetus enim et memorabile dictum est: *Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei.*

XI.

Von der ewigen Vorsehung [Versehung] und Wahl Gottes.

Wiewohl unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession noch gänzlich keine öffentliche, ärgerliche und weitläuftige Zwiespaltung von der ewigen Wahl der Kinder Gottes vorgefallen [ist], jedoch, nachdem dieser Artikel an andern Orten in ganz beschwerlichen Streit gezogen und auch unter den Unsern etwas davon erregt worden [ist], dazu von den Theologen nicht allewege gleiche Reden geführt [sind], derhalben, vermittelst göttlicher Gnade auch künftiglich bei unsern Nachkommen, soviel an uns, Uneinigkeit und Trennung in solchem vorzukommen [vorzubeugen], haben wir desselben Erklärung auch hierher setzen wollen, auf daß männiglich [jedermann] wissen möge, was auch von diesem Artikel unsere einhellige Lehre, Glaube und Bekenntnis sei. Denn die Lehre von diesem Artikel, wenn sie aus und nach dem Vorbilde des göttlichen Wortes geführt [wird], man nicht kann noch soll für unnütz oder unnötig, viel weniger für ärgerlich oder schädlich halten, weil die Heilige Schrift des Artikels nicht an einem Ort allein etwa ungefähr gedenkt, sondern an vielen Orten denselben gründlich handelt und treibt. So muß man auch um Mißbrauchs oder Mißverstandes willen die Lehre des göttlichen Wortes nicht unterlassen oder verwerfen, sondern eben derhalben, allen Mißbrauch und Mißverstand abzuwenden, soll und muß der rechte Verstand aus Grund der Schrift erklärt werden. Und steht demnach die einfältige Summa und Inhalt der Lehre von diesem Artikel auf nachfolgenden Punkten:

Erstlich ist der Unterschied zwischen der **ewigen Vorsehung Gottes** und [der] **ewigen Wahl seiner Kinder zu der ewigen Seligkeit** mit Fleiß zu merken. Denn praescientia vel praevisio (das ist, daß Gott alles vorher sieht und weiß, ehe es geschieht, welches man die **Vorsehung Gottes** nennt) geht über alle Kreaturen, gute und böse, daß er nämlich alles zuvor sieht und weiß, was da ist oder sein wird, was da geschieht oder geschehen wird, es sei gut oder böse, weil vor Gott alle Dinge, sie seien vergangen oder zukünftig, unverborgen und gegenwärtig sind. Wie geschrieben steht Matth. 10: „Kauft man nicht zween Sperlinge um e i n e n Pfennig? Noch fällt derselben keiner auf die Erde ohne euren Vater." Und Ps. 139: „Deine Augen sahen mich, da ich noch unbereitet war, und waren alle Tage auf dein Buch geschrieben, die noch werden sollten, und der-

XI.

DE AETERNA PRAEDESTINATIONE ET ELECTIONE DEI.

1] De aeterna electione filiorum Dei inter Augustanae Confessionis theologos nulla hactenus aperta et cum scandalo coniuncta lateque sparsa controversia exorta est. Quia vero apud exteros de eo articulo vehementer disceptatum est, et inter nostros etiam homines aliquid gliscere coepit, et theologi non semper similes de hoc negotio sermones usurpant, studebimus, per gratiam Dei in eo elaborare, ut, quantum quidem in nobis erit, omnes dissensiones et schismata apud posteritatem nostram praecaveantur. Itaque illius articuli declarationem huic scripto inserere placuit, ut omnibus manifestum fiat, quae etiam [R. 798 de hoc articulo nostra fides, doctrina et con-
2] fessio sit. Neque enim sentiendum est, doctrinam de hoc articulo (si tamen iuxta praescriptum et analogiam Verbi Dei et fidei proponatur) vel inutilem vel non necessariam esse; multo autem minus existimandum est, quod offensionis plena sit et detrimentum aliquod piis mentibus afferat. Scriptura enim sacra huius articuli non semel tantum et obiter mentionem facit, sed multis locis eun-
3] dem satis copiose tractat et explicat. Neque vero propter abusum aut sinistras aliquorum opiniones doctrina Verbi coelestis negligenda est aut reiicienda, quin potius eam ipsam ob causam, ut abusus et pravae opiniones tollantur, vera de hoc negotio sententia ex sacrarum litterarum fundamentis proferenda atque proponenda est. Summa autem doctrinae coelestis de hoc articulo his capitibus, quae recensebimus, comprehenditur.

4] Initio discrimen inter *aeternam praescientiam* et inter *electionem aeternam filiorum Dei ad aeternam salutem* accurate observandum est. *Praescientia* enim vel *praevisio* Dei, qua ille omnia, antequam fiant, praevidet et praescit, ad omnes creaturas, tam malas quam bonas, extenditur. Hac enim vel praevisione vel praescientia Dominus ante novit videtque, quidquid est vel aliquando futurum est, quidquid iam fit, vel quod aliquando continget, sive id bonum sit sive malum, quia Deum neque praeterita neque futura latent, sed omnia ipsi sunt manifesta et praesentia. Sic enim scriptum est Matth. 10, 29: *Nonne duo passeres asse veneunt? Et unus ex illis non cadet super terram sine Patre vestro.* Et Psaltes canit Ps. 139, 16: *Imperfectum meum viderunt oculi tui, et in libro tuo omnes scripti*

Thus [According to this doctrine] the churches will not condemn one another because of dissimilarity of ceremonies when, in Christian liberty, one has less or more of them, provided they are otherwise agreed with one another in the doctrine and all its articles, also in the right use of the holy Sacraments, according to the well-known saying: *Dissonantia ieiunii non dissolvit consonantiam fidei;* "Disagreement in fasting does not destroy agreement in the faith."

XI.

OF GOD'S ETERNAL FOREKNOWLEDGE [PREDESTINATION] AND ELECTION.

Although among the theologians of the *Augsburg Confession* there has not occurred as yet any public dissension whatever concerning the eternal election of the children of God that has caused offense, and has become wide-spread, yet since this article has been brought into very painful controversy in other places, and even among our theologians there has been some agitation concerning it; moreover, since the same expressions were not always employed concerning it by the theologians; therefore, in order, by the aid of divine grace, to prevent disagreement and separation on its account in the future among our successors, we, as much as in us lies, have desired also to present an explanation of the same here, so that every one may know what is our unanimous doctrine, faith, and confession also concerning this article. For the doctrine concerning this article, if taught from, and according to, the pattern of the divine Word [and analogy of God's Word and of faith], neither can nor should be regarded as useless or unnecessary, much less as offensive or injurious, because the Holy Scriptures not only in but one place and incidentally, but in many places, thoroughly treat and urge [explain] the same. Moreover, we should not neglect or reject the doctrine of the divine Word on account of abuse or misunderstanding, but precisely on that account, in order to avert all abuse and misunderstanding, the true meaning should and must be explained from the foundation of the Scriptures; and the plain sum and substance [of the heavenly doctrine] concerning this article, accordingly, consists in the following points:

First, the distinction between the *eternal foreknowledge of God* and the *eternal election of His children to eternal salvation,* is carefully to be observed. For *praescientia vel praevisio* (foreknowledge or prevision), that is, that God sees and knows everything before it happens, which is called *God's foreknowledge* [*prescience*], extends over all creatures, good and bad; namely, that He foresees and foreknows everything that is or will be, that is occurring or will occur, whether it be good or bad, since before God all things, whether they be past or future, are manifest and present. Thus it is written, Matt. 10, 29: *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father.* And Ps. 139, 16: *Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect; and in Thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as*

ſelben keiner da war.“ Item Jeſ. 37: „Ich kenne deinen Auszug und Einzug und dein Toben wider mich.“

Die **ewige Wahl Gottes** aber vel *praedestinatio*, das iſt, **Gottes Verordnung zur Seligkeit,** geht nicht zumal über die Frommen und Böſen, ſondern allein über die Kinder Gottes, die zum ewigen Leben erwählt und verordnet ſind, ehe der Welt Grund gelegt ward; wie Paulus ſpricht Eph. 1: „Er hat uns erwählet in Chriſto JEſu und verordnet zur Kindſchaft.“

Die **Vorſehung Gottes** (praescientia) ſieht und weiß zuvor auch das Böſe, aber nicht alſo, daß es Gottes gnädiger Wille wäre, daß es geſchehen ſollte; ſondern was der verkehrte, böſe Wille des Teufels und der Menſchen vornehmen und tun werde und wolle, das ſieht und weiß Gott alles zuvor und hält ſeine praescientia, das iſt, Vorſehung, auch in den böſen Händeln oder Werken ihre Ordnung, daß von Gott dem Böſen, welches Gott nicht will, ſein Ziel und Maß geſetzt wird, wie fern es gehen und wie lang es währen ſolle, wann und wie er's hindern und ſtrafen wolle; welches doch alles Gott der HErr alſo regiert, daß es zu ſeines göttlichen Namens Ehre und ſeiner Auserwählten Heil gereichen [muß], und die Gottloſen darob zuſchanden werden müſſen.

Der Anfang aber und Urſache des Böſen iſt nicht Gottes Vorſehung (denn Gott ſchafft und wirkt das Böſe nicht, hilft und befördert's auch nicht), ſondern des Teufels und der Menſchen böſer, verkehrter Wille; wie geſchrieben ſteht Hoſ. 13: „Iſrael, du bringeſt dich in Unglück; aber dein Heil ſtehet allein bei mir.“ Item: „Du biſt nicht ein Gott, dem gottlos Weſen gefalle“, Pſ. 5.

Die ewige **Wahl Gottes** aber ſieht und weiß nicht allein zuvor der Auserwählten Seligkeit, ſondern iſt auch aus gnädigem Willen und Wohlgefallen Gottes in Chriſto JEſu eine Urſache, ſo da unſere Seligkeit, und was zu derſelben gehört, ſchafft, wirkt, hilft und befördert; darauf auch unſere Seligkeit alſo gegründet iſt, daß „die Pforten der Hölle nichts dawider vermögen ſollen“; wie geſchrieben ſteht: „Meine Schafe wird mir niemand aus meiner Hand reißen.“ Und abermals: „Und es wurden gläubig, ſoviele ihrer zum ewigen Leben verordnet waren.“ Matth. 16; Joh. 10; Act. 13.

Dieſelbe ewige Wahl oder Verordnung Gottes zum ewigen Leben iſt auch nicht alſo bloß in dem heimlichen, unerforſchlichen Rat Gottes zu betrachten, als hielte ſolche nicht mehr in ſich oder gehörte nicht mehr dazu, wäre auch nicht mehr dabei zu bedenken, denn daß Gott zuvor erſehen [habe], welche und wie viele ſelig, welche und wie viele verdammt ſollten werden, oder daß er allein ſolche Muſterung gehalten: Dieſer ſoll ſelig, jener ſoll verdammt werden; dieſer ſoll beſtändig bleiben, jener ſoll nicht beſtändig bleiben.

Denn daraus nehmen und faſſen ihrer viele ſeltſame, gefährliche und ſchädliche Gedanken, entweder Sicherheit und Unbußfertigkeit oder Klein-

erant dies, qui futuri erant, antequam essent. Et Esaias ait Es. 37, 28: *Habitationem tuam et egressum tuum et introitum tuum cognovi et insaniam tuam contra me.*

5] Aeterna vero *electio* seu *praedestinatio Dei ad salutem* non simul ad bonos et [R. 799 ad malos pertinet, sed tantum ad filios Dei, qui ad aeternam vitam consequendam electi et ordinati sunt, priusquam mundi fundamenta iacerentur, ut apostolus testatur inquiens Eph. 1, 5: *Praedestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum in ipsum.*

6] *Praescientia Dei* praevidet et novit etiam mala, antequam fiant, sed non ea ratione, quasi Dei voluntas propitia illa sit, ut fiant. Sed ea, quae perversa diaboli et hominum voluntas molitur et efficere conatur atque etiam effectura est, haec Deus omnia longe ante praevidet et novit. Et ipsius praescientia etiam in malis rebus et operibus ordinem suum ita servat, ut a Domino rebus malis (quas Deus nec vult nec approbat) certae metae ponantur atque circumscribantur, quas egredi nequeant, et iisdem praescribitur, quam diu durare debeant, et quando et quomodo ea mala impediri rursus et puniri debeant. Et haec omnia Dominus ita gubernat, ut ad nominis sui divini gloriam et ad electorum suorum salutem cedant, impii vero confundantur et pudefiant.

7] Principium autem et causa mali non est ipsa Dei praescientia (Deus enim non creat, procurat, efficit aut operatur malum, sed neque illud iuvat aut promovet), at diaboli et hominum prava et perversa voluntas causa est mali. Sic enim scriptum est Os. 13, 9: *Perditio tua ex te est, Israel; tantummodo in me salus tibi.* Et David inquit Ps. 5, 5: *Non Deus volens iniquitatem tu es.*

8] Aeterna vero *electio Dei* non tantum praevidet et praescit electorum salutem, sed ex clementissima Dei voluntate et beneplacito in Christo Iesu causa est, quae nostram salutem, et quae ad eam pertinent, procurat, efficit, iuvat, promovet. Et quidem in ea divina praedestinatione aeterna nostra salus ita fundata est, *ut etiam inferorum portae adversus eam praevalere nequeant,* Matth. 16, 18. Scriptum est enim Ioh. 10, 28: *Oves meas nemo* [R. 800 *rapiet de manu mea.* Et alibi, Act. 13, 48: *Crediderunt, quotquot ad vitam aeternam erant ordinati.*

9] Et haec sane aeterna electio seu ordinatio Dei ad vitam aeternam non nude in arcano illo coelesti et imperscrutabili Dei consilio consideranda est, quasi ea nihil praeterea complectatur, aut ad eam requiratur, aut in ea meditanda expendendum sit nisi hoc, quod Deus praeviderit, quinam et quot homines salutem sint consecuturi, et qui atque quam multi in aeternum sint perituri, aut quasi Dominus militarem quendam delectum instituerit atque dixerit aut statuerit: Hic salvandus est, ille vero damnandus; hic ad finem usque in fide constans perseverabit, ille vero non perseveraturus est.

10] Ex opinione enim hac multi absurdas, periculosas et perniciosas cogitationes hauriunt, quae aut securitatem et impoenitentiam

yet there were none of them. Also Is. 37, 28: *I know thy abode, and thy going out, and thy coming in, and thy rage against Me.*

The *eternal election of God,* however, *vel praedestinatio* (or *predestination*), that is, *God's ordination to salvation,* does not extend at once over the godly and the wicked, but only over the children of God, who were elected and ordained to eternal life before the foundation of the world was laid, as Paul says, Eph. 1, 4. 5: *He hath chosen us in Him, having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ.*

The *foreknowledge of God* (*praescientia*) foresees and foreknows also that which is evil; however, not in such a manner as though it were God's gracious will that it should happen; but all that the perverse, wicked will of the devil and of men wills and desires to undertake and do, God sees and knows before; and His *praescientia,* that is, foreknowledge, observes its order also in wicked acts or works, inasmuch as a limit and measure is fixed by God to the evil which God does not will, how far it should go, and how long it should last, when and how He will hinder and punish it; for all of this God the Lord so overrules that it must redound to the glory of the divine name and to the salvation of His elect, and the godless, on that account, must be put to confusion.

However, the beginning and cause of evil is not God's foreknowledge (for God does not create and effect [or work] evil, neither does He help or promote it); but the wicked, perverse will of the devil and of men [is the cause of evil], as it is written Hos. 13, 9: *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thy help.* Also: *Thou art not a God that hath pleasure in wickedness.* Ps. 5, 4.

The eternal election of God, however, not only foresees and foreknows the salvation of the elect, but is also, from the gracious will and pleasure of God in Christ Jesus, a cause which procures, works, helps, and promotes our salvation and what pertains thereto; and upon this [divine predestination] our salvation is so founded *that the gates of hell cannot prevail against it,* Matt. 16, 18, as is written John 10, 28: *Neither shall any man pluck My sheep out of My hand.* And again, Acts 13, 48: *And as many as were ordained to eternal life, believed.*

Nor is this eternal election or ordination of God to eternal life to be considered in God's secret, inscrutable counsel in such a bare manner as though it comprised nothing further, or as though nothing more belonged to it, and nothing more were to be considered in it, than that God foresaw who and how many were to be saved, who and how many were to be damned, or that He only held a [sort of military] muster, thus: "This one shall be saved, that one shall be damned; this one shall remain steadfast [in faith to the end], that one shall not remain steadfast."

For from this [notion] many derive and conceive strange, dangerous, and pernicious thoughts, which occasion and strengthen either security and impenitence or despondency and

mütigkeit und Verzweiflung daher zu verursachen und zu stärken, daß sie in beschwerliche Gedanken fallen und reden: Weil Gott seine Auserwählten zur Seligkeit vorsehen [versehen] hat, ehe der Welt Grund gelegt ward, Eph. 1, und Gottes Vorsehen nicht fehlen noch von jemand gehindert oder geändert werden kann, Jes. 14; Röm. 9; bin ich denn zur Seligkeit vorsehen, so kann mir's daran nicht schaden, ob ich gleich ohne Buße allerlei Sünde und Schande treibe, Wort und Sakrament nicht achte, weder mit Buße, Glauben, Gebet oder Gottseligkeit mich bekümmere, sondern ich werde und muß doch selig werden, denn Gottes Vorsehung muß geschehen; bin ich aber nicht vorsehen, so hilft es doch nicht, wenn ich mich gleich zum Worte hielte, Buße täte, glaubte usw., denn Gottes Vorsehung kann ich nicht hindern oder ändern.

aut angustias et desperationem in mentibus hominum gignunt et confirmant. Sic enim quidam periculose secum cogitant, quin etiam interdum in hanc sententiam loquuntur: Deus (inquiunt) electos suos ad vitam aeternam praedestinavit, *antequam mundi fundamenta iacerentur*, Eph. 1, 4. Electio autem Dei errare non potest, *neque eam quisquam impedire aut mutare valet*, Es. 14, 27; Rom. 9, 19. Ergo si ad vitam aeternam sum electus, nihil saluti meae decedet, etiamsi absque omni poenitentia omnis generis scelera atque flagitia designavero, Verbum et sacramenta contempsero, neque unquam de poenitentia, fide, precibus aut pietate cogitavero. Necessario enim salvabor, quia electionem Dei fieri necessario oportet. Sin vero praedestinatus non fuero, nihil prorsus mihi profuerit, etiamsi Verbum Dei meditatus fuero, poenitentiam egero, in Christum credidero etc., quia praedestinationem Dei neque impedire neque mutare potero.

Und solche Gedanken fallen auch wohl gottseligen Herzen ein, wenn sie gleich aus Gottes Gnade Buße, Glauben und guten Vorsatz haben, daß sie gedenken: Wenn du aber nicht von Ewigkeit zur Seligkeit vorsehen bist, so ist's doch alles umsonst, und sonderlich wenn sie auf ihre Schwachheit sehen und auf die Exempel derer, so nicht verharrt, sondern wieder abgefallen sind.

11] Neque vero tantum homines impii, verum etiam pii quandoque in has [R. 801 cogitationes veniunt et incidunt, ut, si maxime per Dei gratiam poenitentiam agant, in Christum credant et pie vivendi laudabile institutum habeant, nihilominus ita secum rem reputent: Quid? si non ab aeterno ad salutem electus seu praedestinatus es, omnis tuus conatus totusque labor tuus irritus erit. Et haec tum praecipue homini pio in mentem veniunt, cum suas infirmitates considerat et in eorum exempla animi oculos defixos habet, qui non in fide ad finem usque perseverarunt, sed a vera pietate in impietatem rursus prolapsi et apostatae facti sunt.

Wider diesen falschen Wahn und Gedanken soll man nachfolgenden klaren Grund, der gewiß ist und nicht fehlen kann, setzen, nämlich: Weil alle Schrift, von Gott eingegeben, nicht zur Sicherheit und Unbußfertigkeit, sondern zur Strafe, Züchtigung und Besserung dienen soll, 2 Tim. 3; item, weil alles in Gottes Wort darum uns vorgeschrieben ist, nicht daß wir dadurch in Verzweiflung getrieben sollen werden, sondern daß wir durch Geduld und Trost der Schrift Hoffnung haben, Röm. 15: so ist ohne allen Zweifel in keinem Wege das der gesunde Verstand oder rechte Gebrauch der Lehre von der ewigen Vorsehung Gottes, daß dadurch entweder Unbußfertigkeit oder Verzweiflung verursacht oder gestärkt werden. So führt auch die Schrift diese Lehre nicht anders denn also, daß sie uns dadurch zum Wort weist, Eph. 1; 1 Kor. 1, zur Buße vermahnt, 2 Tim. 3, zur Gottseligkeit anhält, Eph. 1; Joh. 15, den Glauben stärkt und unserer Seligkeit uns vergewissert, Eph. 1; Joh. 10; 2 Thess. 2.

12] Contra hanc falsam opinionem et periculosas cogitationes huic solidissimo fundamento, quod exspectationem nostram fallere non potest, sed longe firmissimum est, inniti oportet, nempe: Certum est, *omnem Scripturam divinitus inspiratam* non ad alendam securitatem aut impoenitentiam, sed *ad arguendum, ad erudiendum in iustitia et ad vitae emendationem propositam esse*, 2 Tim. 3, 16. Certum est etiam, quod omnia, quae in Scriptura Sacra nobis proponuntur, non ideo revelata sint, ut ad desperationem adigamur, sed ut *per patientiam et consolationem Scripturae spem habeamus*, Rom. 15, 4. Quare haec nequaquam erit vera et sana sententia aut legitimus usus doctrinae de aeterna praedestinatione Dei, quibus vel impoenitentia vel desperatio in hominum mentibus excitatur aut confirmatur. Neque vero nobis Scriptura hanc doctrinam aliter quam hoc modo proponit, ut nos ad Verbum Dei revelatum, fide amplectendum, ableget, ad poenitentiam agendam hortetur, ad pie vivendum invitet, fidem nostram confirmet et de salute nostra quam certissimos reddat. Eph. 1, 13; 1 Cor. 1, 7; 2 Tim. 3, 16; Ioh. 5, 39; 15, 3; 10, 27 sq.; 2 Thess. 2, 13 sq.

Derwegen, wenn man von der ewigen Wahl oder von der Prädestination und Verordnung der Kinder Gottes zum ewigen Leben recht und mit Frucht gedenken oder reden will, soll man sich gewöhnen, daß man nicht von der bloßen, heimlichen, verborgenen, unausforschlichen Vorsehung Gottes spekuliere, sondern [betrachte,] wie der Rat, Vorsatz und Verordnung Gottes in Christo JEsu, der das rechte, wahre Buch des Lebens ist, durch das Wort uns geoffenbart wird, nämlich, daß die ganze Lehre von dem Vorsatz, Rat, Willen und Verordnung Gottes, belangend unsere Erlösung, Be-

13] Quare cum de aeterna electione seu praedestinatione et ordinatione filiorum Dei ad vitam aeternam recte et cum fructu cogitare aut loqui volemus, assuefaciamus [R. 802 nos, ne nudam, occultam, nulli homini exploratam et cognitam Dei praescientiam ratione nostra perscrutari conemur. Sed ad eum modum divinam electionem meditemur, quemadmodum Dei consilium, propositum et ordinatio in Christo Iesu (qui est verus ille liber vitae) per Verbum nobis revelatur. Totam **14]** igitur doctrinam de proposito, consilio,

despair, so that they fall into troublesome thoughts and [for thus some think, with peril to themselves, nay, even sometimes] say: Since, before the foundation of the world was laid, Eph. 1, 4, God has foreknown [predestinated] His elect to salvation, and God's foreknowledge [election] cannot fail nor be hindered or changed by any one, Is. 14, 27; Rom. 9, 19, therefore, if I am foreknown [elected] to salvation, nothing can injure me with respect to it, even though I practise all sorts of sin and shame without repentance, have no regard for the Word and Sacraments, concern myself neither with repentance, faith, prayer, nor godliness; but I shall and must be saved nevertheless, because God's foreknowledge [election] must come to pass. If, however, I am not foreknown [predestinated], it helps me nothing anyway, even though I would occupy myself with the Word, repent, believe, etc.; for I cannot hinder or change God's foreknowledge [predestination].

And indeed also to godly hearts, even when, by God's grace they have repentance, faith, and a good purpose [of living in a godly manner], such thoughts occur as these: If you are not foreknown [predestinated or elected] from eternity to salvation, everything [your every effort and entire labor] is of no avail. This occurs especially when they view their weakness and the examples of those who have not persevered [in faith to the end], but have fallen away again [from true godliness to ungodliness, and have become apostates].

To this false delusion and [dangerous] thought we should oppose the following clear argument, which is sure and cannot fail, namely: Since all Scripture, given by inspiration of God, is to serve, not for [cherishing] security and impenitence, but *for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness,* 2 Tim. 3, 16; also, since everything in God's Word has been prescribed to us, not that we should thereby be driven to despair, but *that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope,* Rom. 15, 4, therefore it is without any doubt in no way the sound sense or right use of the doctrine concerning the eternal foreknowledge of God that either impenitence or despair should be occasioned or strengthened thereby. Accordingly, the Scriptures teach this doctrine in no other way than to direct us thereby to the [revealed] Word, Eph. 1, 13; 1 Cor. 1, 7; exhort to repentance, 2 Tim. 3, 16; urge to godliness, Eph. 1, 14; John 15, 3; strengthen faith and assure us of our salvation, Eph. 1, 13; John 10, 27 f.; 2 Thess. 2, 13 f.

Therefore, if we wish to think or speak correctly and profitably concerning eternal election, or the predestination and ordination of the children of God to eternal life, we should accustom ourselves not to speculate concerning the bare, secret, concealed, inscrutable foreknowledge of God, but how the counsel, purpose, and ordination of God in Christ Jesus, who is the true Book of Life, is revealed to us

ruf, Gerecht- und Seligmachung, zusammengefaßt werde; wie Paulus also diesen Artikel handelt und erklärt Röm. 8; Eph. 1, wie auch Christus in der Parabel Matth. 22, nämlich, daß Gott in seinem Vorsatz und Rat verordnet habe:

1. Daß wahrhaftig das menschliche Geschlecht erlöst und mit Gott versöhnt sei durch Christum, der uns mit seinem unschuldigen Gehorsam, Leiden und Sterben Gerechtigkeit, die vor Gott gilt, und das ewige Leben verdient habe.

2. Daß solch Verdienst und Wohltaten Christi durch sein Wort und Sakrament uns sollen vorgetragen, dargereicht und ausgeteilt werden.

3. Daß er mit seinem Heiligen Geist durch das Wort, wenn es gepredigt, gehört und betrachtet wird, in uns wolle kräftig und tätig sein, die Herzen zu wahrer Buße bekehren und im rechten Glauben erhalten.

4. Daß er alle die, so in wahrer Buße durch rechten Glauben Christum annehmen, gerecht machen, sie zu Gnaden, zur Kindschaft und Erbschaft des ewigen Lebens annehmen wolle.

5. Daß er auch, die also gerechtfertigt, heiligen wolle in der Liebe, wie St. Paulus Eph. 1 sagt.

6. Daß er sie auch in ihrer großen Schwachheit wider Teufel, Welt und Fleisch schützen und auf seinen Wegen regieren und führen, da sie straucheln, wieder aufrichten, in Kreuz und Anfechtung trösten und erhalten wolle.

7. Daß er auch in ihnen das gute Werk, so er angefangen hat, stärken, mehren und sie bis ans Ende erhalten wolle, wo sie [wenn sie] an Gottes Wort sich halten, fleißig beten, an Gottes Güte bleiben und die empfangenen Gaben treulich brauchen.

8. Daß er endlich dieselben, so er erwählt, berufen und gerecht gemacht hat, auch im ewigen Leben ewig selig und herrlich machen wolle.

Und hat Gott in solchem seinem Rat, Vorsatz und Verordnung nicht allein insgemein die Seligkeit bereitet, sondern hat auch alle und jede Personen der Auserwählten, so durch Christum sollen selig werden, in Gnaden bedacht, zur Seligkeit erwählt, auch verordnet, daß er sie auf die Weise, wie jetzt gemeldet, durch seine Gnade, Gaben und Wirkung dazu bringen, helfen, fördern, stärken und erhalten wolle.

Dieses alles wird nach der Schrift in der Lehre von der ewigen Wahl Gottes zur Kindschaft und ewigen Seligkeit begriffen, soll auch darunter verstanden und nimmer ausgeschlossen noch unterlassen werden, wenn man redet von dem Vorsatz, Vorsehung, Wahl und Verordnung Gottes zur Seligkeit. Und wenn also nach der Schrift die

voluntate et ordinatione Dei (omnia videlicet, quae ad nostram redemptionem, vocationem, iustificationem et salutem pertinent) simul mente complectamur. Sic enim divus Paulus hunc articulum in scriptis suis, Rom. 8, 29 sq.; Eph. 1, 4 sq., tractavit et explicuit, idem fecit *Christus* in parabola illa de nuptiis regiis, Matth. 22, 1 sqq., quod videlicet Deus in suo consilio et proposito decreverit haec:

15] I. Ut humanum genus vere redimeretur atque cum Deo per Christum reconciliaretur, qui nobis innocentia atque perfectissima obedientia, passione ac morte acerbissima iustitiam, quae coram ipso valet, et vitam aeternam promeruit.

16] II. Ut Christi meritum eiusque beneficia per Verbum et sacramenta nobis offerrentur, exhiberentur et distribuerentur.

17] III. Decrevit etiam, se Spiritu Sancto suo per Verbum annuntiatum, auditione perceptum et memoriae commendatum velle in nobis efficacem esse et corda ad veram poenitentiam agendam inflectere et in vera fide conservare.

18] IV. Illius aeternum propositum est, quod omnes, qui poenitentiam vere agunt et Christum vera fide amplectuntur, iustificare, in gratiam recipere et in filios et heredes vitae aeternae adoptare velit.

19] V. Et quod fide iustificatos in vera caritate sanctificare velit, ut apostolus testatur Eph. 1, 4.

20] VI. Item in aeterno suo consilio proposuit, se iustificatos etiam in multiplici et varia ipsorum infirmitate adversus diabolum, mundum et carnem defensurum et in [R. 803 viis suis deducturum atque gubernaturum et, si lapsi fuerint, manum suppositurum, ut in cruce atque tentationibus solidam consolationem percipiant atque ad vitam conserventur.

21] VII. Illius aeternum decretum est, quod opus illud bonum a se in illis inceptum promovere atque confirmare et ad finem usque conservare velit, si modo Verbo ipsius tamquam scipioni constanter innitantur, ipsius opem ardentibus precibus implorent, in gratia Dei perseverent et dona accepta fideliter et bene collocent.

22] VIII. Ille idem in aeterno consilio suo decrevit, quod eos, quos elegit, vocavit, iustificavit, in altera aeterna illa vita salvos facere et aeterna gloria ornare velit.

23] Et quidem Deus illo suo consilio, proposito et ordinatione non tantum in genere salutem suorum procuravit, verum etiam omnes et singulas personas electorum (qui per Christum salvandi sunt) clementer praescivit, ad salutem elegit et decrevit, quod eo modo (quem iam recitavimus) ipsos per suam gratiam, dona atque efficaciam salutis aeternae participes facere, iuvare, eorum salutem promovere, ipsos confirmare et conservare velit.

24] Haec omnia secundum Scripturam in articulo praedestinationis et aeternae electionis divinae ad adoptionem in filios et ad aeternam salutem comprehenduntur, universa illa, de quibus diximus, sub hoc articulo complecti debemus, nec quidquam horum excludendum aut omittendum est, quando de proposito Dei,

through the Word, namely, that the entire doctrine concerning the purpose, counsel, will, and ordination of God pertaining to our redemption, call, justification, and salvation should be taken together; as Paul treats and has explained this article Rom. 8, 29 f.; Eph. 1, 4 f., as also Christ in the parable, Matt. 22, 1 ff., namely, that God in His purpose and counsel ordained [decreed]:

1. That the human race is truly redeemed and reconciled with God through Christ, who, by His faultless [innocency] obedience, suffering, and death, has merited for us the righteousness which avails before God, and eternal life.

2. That such merit and benefits of Christ shall be presented, offered, and distributed to us through His Word and Sacraments.

3. That by His Holy Ghost, through the Word, when it is preached, heard, and pondered, He will be efficacious and active in us, convert hearts to true repentance, and preserve them in the true faith.

4. That He will justify all those who in true repentance receive Christ by a true faith, and will receive them into grace, the adoption of sons, and the inheritance of eternal life.

5. That He will also sanctify in love those who are thus justified, as St. Paul says. Eph. 1, 4.

6. That He also will protect them in their great weakness against the devil, the world, and the flesh, and rule and lead them in His ways, raise them again [place His hand beneath them], when they stumble, comfort them under the cross and in temptation, and preserve them [for life eternal].

7. That He will also strengthen, increase, and support to the end the good work which He has begun in them, if they adhere to God's Word, pray diligently, abide in God's goodness [grace], and faithfully use the gifts received.

8. That finally He will eternally save and glorify in life eternal those whom He has elected, called, and justified.

And [indeed] in this His counsel, purpose, and ordination God has prepared salvation not only in general, but has in grace considered and chosen to salvation each and every person of the elect who are to be saved through Christ, also ordained that in the way just mentioned He will, by His grace, gifts, and efficacy, bring them thereto [make them participants of eternal salvation], aid, promote, strengthen, and preserve them.

All this, according to the Scriptures, is comprised in the doctrine concerning the eternal election of God to adoption and eternal salvation, and is to be understood by it, and never excluded nor omitted, when we speak of God's purpose, predestination, election, and ordination to salvation. And when our

Gedanken von diesem Artikel gefaßt werden, so kann man sich durch Gottes Gnade einfältig darein richten.

Es gehört auch dies zu fernerer Erklärung und heilsamem [Ge]Brauch der Lehre von der Vorsehung Gottes zur Seligkeit: weil allein die Auserwählten selig werden, deren Namen geschrieben stehen im Buch des Lebens, **wie man das wissen, woraus und wobei erkennen könne, welche die Auserwählten sind,** die sich dieser Lehre zum Trost annehmen können und sollen.

Und hiervon sollen wir nicht urteilen nach unserer Vernunft, auch nicht nach dem Gesetz oder aus einigem äußerlichen Schein; auch sollen wir uns nicht unterstehen, den heimlichen, verborgenen Abgrund göttlicher Vorsehung zu [er]forschen, sondern **auf den geoffenbarten Willen Gottes achtgeben.** Denn „er hat uns offenbaret und wissen lassen das Geheimnis seines Willens und hat dasselbige hervorgebracht durch Christum, daß es geprediget werde", Eph. 1; 2 Tim. 1.

Dasselbe aber wird uns also geoffenbart, wie Paulus spricht Röm. 8: „Die Gott versehen, erwählet und verordnet hat, die hat er auch berufen." Nun beruft Gott nicht ohne Mittel, sondern durch das Wort, wie er denn **befohlen hat, zu predigen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden.** Dergleichen bezeugt auch St. Paulus, da er geschrieben: „Wir sind Botschafter an Christus' Statt, und Gott vermahnet durch uns: Lasset euch versöhnen mit Gott!" 2 Kor. 5. Und die Gäste, welche der König zu seines Sohnes Hochzeit haben will, läßt er durch seine ausgesandten Diener berufen, Matth. 22, etliche zur ersten, etliche zur andern, dritten, sechsten, neunten, auch wohl zur elften Stunde, Matth. 20.

Derhalben, wenn wir unsere ewige Wahl zur Seligkeit nützlich betrachten wollen, müssen wir in alle Wege steif und fest darüber halten, daß, wie die Predigt der Buße, also auch die Verheißung des Evangelii universalis [sei], das ist, über alle Menschen gehe, Luk. 24. Darum Christus befohlen hat, zu predigen in seinem Namen Buße und Vergebung der Sünden **unter allen Völkern.** Denn Gott hat die **Welt** geliebet und derselben seinen Sohn gegeben, Joh. 3. Christus hat der **Welt** Sünde getragen, Joh. 1; sein Fleisch gegeben für der **Welt** Leben, Joh. 6; sein Blut ist die Versöhnung für der **ganzen Welt** Sünde, 1 Joh. 2. Christus spricht: Kommet **alle** zu mir, die ihr beladen seid, ich will euch erquicken, Matth. 11. Gott hat alles beschlossen unter dem [unter den] Unglauben, auf daß er sich **aller** erbarme, Röm. 11. Der HErr will nicht, daß jemand verloren werde, sondern daß sich **jedermann** zur Buße kehre, 2 Petr. 3. Er ist **aller zumal** ein HErr, reich über **alle,** die ihn anrufen, Röm. 10. Die Gerechtigkeit kommt durch den Glauben an Christum zu **allen** und auf **alle,** die glauben, Röm. 3. Das ist der Wille des Vaters, daß **alle,** die an Christum glauben, das ewige Leben haben sollen, Joh. 6. Also ist Christus' Befehl, daß ins-

praedestinatione, electione et ordinatione ad vitam aeternam agitur. Et cum secundum Scripturam de hoc negotio cogitatur, per gratiam Dei hic articulus et perspicue et dextre intelligi et salubriter tractari potest.

25] Sed et hoc ad pleniorem huius negotii declarationem et salutarem usum doctrinae de divina praedestinatione electorum ad [R. 804 salutem cognitu est necessarium: cum videlicet soli electi salventur, quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro vitae, *quomodo et unde agnosci possit, quinam sint electi* et quibus haec doctrina solatio esse possit et debeat.

26] De hac autem quaestione non iudicandum est ex rationis nostrae sententia, sed neque ex lege, neque ex ulla aliqua externa specie. Et cavendum est, ne absconditam et occultissimam abyssum divinae praedestinationis pervestigare conemur. Quin potius *in revelatam Dei voluntatem intueri nos oportet. Etenim certos nos reddidit de mysterio suae voluntatis, idque ex arcano illo consilio suo per Christum in lucem produci curavit, ut publice praedicaretur,* Eph. 1, 9 sqq.; 2 Tim. 1, 9 sq.

27] Ad hunc modum autem nobis illud arcanum consilium Dei revelatur. *Quos praedestinavit, elegit et praeordinavit* (inquit Paulus Rom. 8, 29 sq.), *hos et vocavit.* Dominus autem non solet homines immediate vocare, sed per Verbum, unde et *praecepit, suo nomine praedicari poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum,* Luc. 24, 47. Idem testatur Paulus 2 Cor. 5, 20 dicens: *Pro Christo legatione fungimur, tamquam Deo exhortante per nos. Obsecramus pro Christo: Reconciliamini Deo!* Et parabola evangelica, Matth. 22, 2 sqq., docet convivas, quos rex ad filii sui nuptias convenire volebat, per emissos ipsius ministros invitatos et vocatos esse. Et sane Dominus in vineam suam vocat, alios quidem hora prima, alios tertia, sexta, nona, vel etiam undecima hora, Matth. 20, 3 sqq.

28] Si igitur aeternam electionem ad salutem utiliter considerare voluerimus, firmissime et constanter illud retinendum est, quod non tantum praedicatio poenitentiae, verum etiam promissio evangelii sit universalis, hoc est, ad omnes homines pertineat. Eam [R. 805 ob causam Christus, Luc. 24, 47, *iussit praedicari in nomine suo poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes. Deus enim mundum dilexit eique Filium suum unigenitum donavit,* Ioh. 3, 16. *Christus peccata mundi sustulit,* Ioh. 1, 29. *Idem carnem suam tradidit pro mundi vita,* Ioh. 6, 51. *Ipsius sanguis propitiatio est pro totius mundi peccatis,* 1 Ioh. [1, 7] 2, 2. Christus dicit Matth. 11, 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos. Deus omnia in incredulitate conclusit, ut omnium misereatur,* Rom. 11, 32. *Non vult Dominus aliquos perire, sed omnes ad poenitentiam reverti,* 2 Petr. 3, 9. *Idem Dominus omnium, dives in omnes, qui invocant illum,* Rom. 10, 12. *Iustitia Dei per fidem Iesu Christi venit in omnes et super omnes, qui credunt in eum,* Rom. 3, 22. *Et haec est voluntas Patris, ut omnes, qui in Christum cre-*

thoughts concerning this article are thus formed according to the Scriptures, we can by God's grace simply [and correctly] adapt ourselves to it [and advantageously treat of it].

This also belongs to the further explanation and salutary use of the doctrine concerning God's foreknowledge [predestination] to salvation: Since only the elect, whose names are written in the book of life, are saved, *how we can know, whence and whereby we can perceive who are the elect* that can and should receive this doctrine for comfort.

And of this we should not judge according to our reason, nor according to the Law or from any external appearance. Neither should we attempt to investigate the secret, concealed abyss of divine predestination, but should *give heed to the revealed will of God.* For *He has made known unto us the mystery of His will, and made it manifest through Christ that it might be preached,* Eph. 1, 9 ff.; 2 Tim. 1, 9 f.

This, however, is revealed to us in the manner as Paul says, Rom. 8, 29 f.: *Whom God predestinated, elected, and foreordained, He also called.* Now, God does not call without means, but through the Word, as He has commanded *repentance and remission of sins to be preached in His name,* Luke 24, 47. St. Paul also testifies to like effect when he writes: *We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us; we pray you in Christ's stead, Be ye reconciled to God.* 2 Cor. 5, 20. And the guests whom the King will have at the wedding of His Son He calls through His ministers sent forth, Matt. 22, 2 ff., some at the first and some at the second, third, sixth, ninth, and even at the eleventh hour, Matt. 20, 3 ff.

Therefore, if we wish to consider our eternal election to salvation with profit, we must in every way hold sturdily and firmly to this, that, as the preaching of repentance, so also the promise of the Gospel is *universalis* (universal), that is, it pertains to all men, Luke 24, 47. For this reason Christ has *commanded that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among* ALL *nations.* For *God loved the* WORLD *and gave His Son,* John 3, 16. *Christ bore the sins of the* WORLD, John 1, 29, *gave His flesh for the life of the* WORLD, John 6, 51; *His blood is the propitiation for the sins of the* WHOLE WORLD, 1 John 1, 7; 2, 2. Christ says: *Come unto Me,* ALL *ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,* Matt. 11, 28. *God hath concluded them* ALL *in unbelief, that He might have mercy upon* ALL, Rom. 11, 32. *The Lord is not willing that* ANY *should perish, but that* ALL *should come to repentance,* 2 Pet. 3, 9. *The same Lord over all is rich unto* ALL *that call upon Him,* Rom. 10, 12. *The righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, unto* ALL *and upon* ALL *them that believe,* Rom. 3, 22. *This is the will of Him that sent Me, that* EVERY ONE *that seeth the Son and believeth on Him may have everlasting life,*

gemein allen, denen Buße gepredigt wird, auch diese Verheißung des Evangelii soll vorgetragen werden, Luk. 24; Mark. 16.

Und solchen Beruf Gottes, so durch die Predigt des Worts geschieht, sollen wir für kein Spiegelfechten halten, sondern wissen, daß dadurch Gott seinen Willen offenbart, daß er in denen, die er also beruft, durchs Wort wirken wolle, daß sie erleuchtet, bekehrt und selig werden mögen. Denn das Wort, dadurch wir berufen werden, ist ein Amt des Geistes, das den Geist gibt oder dadurch der Geist gegeben wird, 2 Kor. 3, und eine Kraft Gottes, selig zu machen, Röm. 1. Und weil der Heilige Geist durchs Wort kräftig sein, stärken, Kraft und Vermögen geben will, so ist Gottes Wille, daß wir das Wort annehmen, glauben und demselben folgen sollen.

Daher werden die Auserwählten also beschrieben Joh. 10: „Meine Schafe hören meine Stimme, und ich kenne sie, und sie folgen mir; und ich gebe ihnen das ewige Leben." Und Eph. 1: „Die nach dem Vorsatz verordnet sind zum Erbteil", die hören das Evangelium, glauben an Christum, beten und danken, werden geheiligt in der Liebe, haben Hoffnung, Geduld und Trost im Kreuz, Röm. 8; und ob dies alles gleich sehr schwach in ihnen ist, haben sie doch Hunger und Durst nach der Gerechtigkeit, Matth. 5.

Also „gibt der Geist Gottes den Auserwählten Zeugnis, daß sie Kinder Gottes sind; und da sie nicht wissen, was sie beten sollen, wie sich's gebührt, vertritt er sie mit unaussprechlichem Seufzen", Röm. 8.

So zeugt auch die Heilige Schrift, daß Gott, der uns berufen hat, so getreu sei, wenn er das gute Werk in uns angefangen hat, daß er's auch bis ans Ende erhalten und vollführen wolle, wo wir uns nicht selbst von ihm abkehren, sondern das angefangene Wesen bis ans Ende fest behalten, dazu er denn seine Gnade verheißen hat, 1 Kor. 1; Phil. 1; 2 Petr. 3; Hebr. 3.

Mit diesem geoffenbarten Willen Gottes sollen wir uns bekümmern, demselben folgen und uns desselben befleißigen, weil der Heilige Geist durchs Wort, dadurch er uns beruft, Gnade, Kraft und Vermögen dazu verleiht, und den Abgrund der verborgenen Vorsehung Gottes nicht forschen, wie Luk. 13 geschrieben, da einer fragt: „HErr, meinest du, daß wenig selig werden?" antwortet Christus: „Ringet ihr danach, daß ihr durch die enge Pforte eingehet!" Also spricht Lutherus: „Folge du der Epistel zu'n Römern in ihrer Ordnung, bekümmere dich zuvor mit Christo und seinem Evangelio, daß du deine Sünde und seine Gnade erkennest, danach mit der Sünde streitest, wie Paulus vom ersten bis ins achte Kapitel lehrt; danach, wenn du im achten Kapitel in Anfechtung unter Kreuz und Leiden kommen wirst, das wird

dunt, vitam aeternam habeant, Ioh. 6, 40. Et vult Christus, ut in genere omnibus, quibus poenitentia agenda praedicatur, etiam haec promissio evangelii proponatur, Luc. 24, 47; Marc. 16, 15.

29] Et hanc vocationem Dei, quae per verbum evangelii nobis offertur, non existimemus esse simulatam et fucatam, sed certo statuamus, Deum nobis per eam vocationem voluntatem suam revelare, quod videlicet in iis, quos ad eum modum vocat, per Verbum efficax esse velit, ut illuminentur, convertantur et salventur. Verbum enim illud, quo vocamur, *ministerium Spiritus* est, 2 Cor. 3, 8, quod Spiritum Sanctum affert, seu per quod Spiritus Sanctus hominibus confertur, et est *virtus Dei ad salutem omni credenti*, Rom. 1, 16. Cum igitur Spiritus Sanctus per Verbum efficax esse, nos corroborare et vires subministrare velit, profecto vult Dominus, ut verbum evangelii recipiamus, ei credamus atque pareamus.

30] Qua de causa electi his notis in sacris litteris, ab aliis discernendi, describuntur: *Oves meae vocem meam audiunt, et ego* [R. 806 *cognosco eas, et sequuntur me; et ego illis do vitam aeternam*, Ioh. 10, 27 sq. Et Eph. 1, 11. 13: *Qui secundum propositum ordinati sunt ad capiendam hereditatem*, audiunt evangelion, credunt in Christum, invocant Deum eique gratias agunt, sanctificantur in caritate, perseverant in spe, patientia et consolatione sub cruce, Rom. 8, 25. Et quamvis haec bona omnia in ipsis adhuc tenuia atque infirma sint, tamen esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, Matth. 5, 6.

31] Sic scilicet *Spiritus Dei testimonium electis perhibet, quod sint filii Dei, et cum, quid petendum sit, nesciunt, sicut oportet, ipse Spiritus pro eis intercedit gemitibus inenarrabilibus*, Rom. 8, 16. 26.

32] Praeterea Scriptura testatur, Deum, qui nos vocavit, adeo fidelem esse, ut, cum bonum opus in nobis inceperit, illud conservare et continuare atque ad finem usque perducere et perficere velit, si modo non ipsi nos ab eo avertamus, sed initium substantiae usque ad finem firmum retineamus; ad quam constantiam suam nobis gratiam promisit, 1 Cor. 1, 9; Phil. 1, 6 [1 Petr. 5, 10]; 2 Petr. 3, 9; Hebr. 3, 2.

33] Hanc revelatam Dei voluntatem inquiramus, meditemur, atque, ut eidem pareamus, sedulo elaboremus, quandoquidem Spiritus Sanctus per Verbum (quo nos vocat) gratiam, vires et facultatem largiri vult; arcanae autem et occultae praedestinationis divinae abyssum perscrutari ne conemur. In hanc sententiam Christus cuidam curiose interroganti, an pauci salvarentur, respondit [Luc. 13, 24]: *Contendite, ut intretis per angustam portam.* Et D. Lutherus inquit (in praef. sup. ep. ad Rom.): *Eodem ordine, quem Paulus in epistola ad Romanos observavit, procede. Prima tua cura sit de Christo eiusque evangelio, ut et tua peccata et ipsius gratiam atque clementiam agnoscas. Deinde luctare cum peccato, sicut docet Paulus a primo capite usque ad*

John 6, 40. Likewise it is Christ's command that to all in common to whom repentance is preached this promise of the Gospel also should be offered Luke 24, 47; Mark 16, 15.

And this call of God, which is made through the preaching of the Word, we should not regard as jugglery, but know that thereby God reveals His will, that in those whom He thus calls He will work through the Word, that they may be enlightened, converted, and saved. For the Word, whereby we are called, is a ministration of the Spirit, that gives the Spirit, or whereby the Spirit is given, 2 Cor. 3, 8, and a power of God unto salvation, Rom. 1, 16. And since the Holy Ghost wishes to be efficacious through the Word, and to strengthen and give power and ability, it is God's will that we should receive the Word, believe and obey it.

For this reason the elect are described thus, John 10, 27 f.: *My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me, and I give unto them eternal life.* And Eph. 1, 11. 13: Those *who according to the purpose are predestinated to an inheritance* hear the Gospel, believe in Christ, pray and give thanks, are sanctified in love, have hope, patience, and comfort under the cross, Rom. 8, 25; and although all this is very weak in them, yet they hunger and thirst after righteousness, Matt. 5, 6.

Thus *the Spirit of God gives to the elect the testimony that they are children of God, and when they do not know for what they should pray as they ought, He intercedes for them with groanings that cannot be uttered,* Rom. 8, 16. 26.

Thus, also, Holy Scripture testifies that God, who has called us, is so faithful that, when He has begun the good work in us, He also will preserve it to the end and perfect it, if we ourselves do not turn from Him, but firmly retain to the end the work begun, for which He has promised His grace, 1 Cor. 1, 9; Phil. 1, 6 [1 Pet. 5, 10]; 2 Pet. 3, 9; Heb. 3, 2.

With this revealed will of God we should concern ourselves, follow and be diligently engaged upon [eagerly con] it, because through the Word, whereby He calls us, the Holy Ghost bestows grace, power, and ability to this end, and should not [attempt to] sound the abyss of God's hidden predestination, as it is written in Luke 13, 24, where one asks: *Lord, are there few that be saved?* and Christ answers: *Strive to enter in at the strait gate.* Accordingly, Luther says [in the Preface to the Epistle to the Romans]: *Follow the Epistle to the Romans in its order, concern yourself first with Christ and His Gospel, that you may recognize your sins and His grace; next, that you contend with sin, as Paul teaches from the first to the eighth chapter; then, when in*

dich lehren im neunten, zehnten und elften Kapitel die Vorsehung, wie tröstlich die sei" usw.

Daß aber „viele berufen sind und wenige auserwählt", kommt nicht daher, daß es mit Gottes Beruf, so durchs Wort geschieht, die Meinung haben sollte, als spräche Gott: Äußerlich, durchs Wort, berufe ich euch wohl alle, denen ich mein Wort gebe, zu meinem Reich, aber im Herzen meine ich's nicht mit allen, sondern nur mit etlichen wenigen; denn es ist mein Wille, daß der größte Teil von denen, so ich durchs Wort berufe, nicht sollen erleuchtet und bekehrt werden, sondern verdammt sein und bleiben, ob ich mich gleich durchs Wort im Beruf anders gegen sie erkläre. Hoc enim esset Deo contradictorias voluntates affingere. Das ist, solchergestalt würde gelehrt, daß Gott, der doch die ewige Wahrheit ist, ihm selbst [sich selbst] zuwider sein sollte; so doch Gott solche Untugend, da man sich eines Dinges erklärt und ein anderes im Herzen gedenkt und meint, auch an Menschen straft, Ps. 5 und 12. Dadurch uns auch der nötige, tröstliche Grund gänzlich ungewiß und zunichte gemacht [wird], da wir täglich erinnert und vermahnt werden, daß wir allein aus Gottes Wort, dadurch er mit uns handelt und uns beruft, lernen und schließen sollen, was sein Wille gegen uns sei; und was uns solches [Wort Gottes] zusagt und verheißt, daß wir das gewiß glauben und daran nicht zweifeln sollen.

Derhalben auch Christus die Verheißung des Evangelii nicht allein läßt insgemein vortragen, sondern dieselbe durch die Sakramente, die er als Siegel der Verheißung angehängt, [versiegelt] und damit einen jeden [einem jeden] Gläubigen insonderheit bestätigt.

Darum behalten wir auch, wie die Augsburgische Konfession articulo 11. sagt, die Privatabsolution und lehren, daß es Gottes Gebot sei, daß wir solcher Absolution glauben und für gewiß halten sollen, daß wir so wahrhaftig, wenn wir dem Wort der Absolution glauben, Gott versöhnt werden, als hätten wir eine Stimme vom Himmel gehört, wie die Apologia diesen Artikel erklärt; welcher Trost uns ganz und gar genommen [würde], wenn wir nicht aus dem Beruf, der durchs Wort und durch die Sakramente geschieht, von Gottes Willen gegen uns schließen sollten.

Es würde uns auch der Grund umgestoßen und genommen, daß der Heilige Geist bei dem gepredigten, gehörten, betrachteten Wort gewißlich gegenwärtig und dadurch kräftig sein und wirken wolle. Derhalben hat's die Meinung in keinem Wege, davon hievor Meldung geschehen, daß nämlich diejenigen die Auserwählten sein sollten, [* so durchs Wort berufen werden,] wenn sie gleich das Wort Gottes verachten, von sich stoßen, lästern und verfolgen, Matth. 22, Act. 13, oder wenn sie es hören, ihre Herzen verstocken, Hebr. 4, dem Heiligen Geist widerstreben, Act. 7, ohne Buße in Sünden verharren, Luk. 14, an Christum nicht wahrhaftig glauben, Mark. 16, nur einen äußerlichen

octavum. Postea ubi (in octavo capite) sub cruce, tentationibus et afflictionibus exercitatus fueris, nonum, decimum et undecimum caput recte te docebunt, quanta in praedestinatione divina consolatio reposita sit.

34] Quod autem *multi vocati sunt,* [R. 807 *pauci vero electi* [Matth. 20, 16], eius rei causa non est vocatio divina, quae per Verbum fit, quasi Dei haec sit sententia: Ego quidem vos, quibus Verbum meum propono, externe per id Verbum omnes voco ad regni mei coelestis participationem, at in corde meo non de omnibus serio ad salutem vocandis, sed de paucis tantum cogito. Voluntas enim mea haec est, ut maior eorum, quos per Verbum voco, pars neque illuminetur neque convertatur, sed condemnetur atque in aeterna morte maneat, etsi per Verbum meum, quo vocantur, aliter meam **35**] illis mentem declaro etc. Hoc enim esset Deo contradictorias voluntates affingere, quasi is, qui aeterna veritas est, secum ipse dissentiret aut aliud loqueretur, aliud vero corde premeret. Hanc levitatem, hanc improbitatem (cum aliud verbis proponitur, aliud in corde fovetur) Deus ipse etiam in hominibus arguit et punit, ut David aliquoties testatur Ps. 5, 10; **36**] 12, 3 sq. Et hac ratione fundamentum fidei nostrae maxime necessarium et consolationis verae plenissimum prorsus everteretur, ex quo nobis quotidie admonitiones hae afferuntur et inculcantur, quod ex solo Dei Verbo (per quod nobiscum agit nosque vocat) dicere atque statuere debeamus, quae sit ipsius erga nos voluntas, et quod omnia illa, quae nobis in Verbo Domini promittuntur, firma fide amplecti neque de iis ulla ratione dubitare debeamus.

37] Et quidem eam ipsam ob causam (ne de revelata Dei erga nos voluntate dubitemus) promissionem evangelii Christus non tantum generaliter proponi curat, sed etiam sacramenta promissioni annectere voluit, quibus tamquam sigillis ad promissionem appensis unicuique credenti promissionis evangelicae certitudinem confirmat.

38] Ea de causa retinemus etiam privatam absolutionem (ut Augustana Confessio [R. 808 articulo undecimo loquitur), docentes, Dei mandatum esse, ut absolutioni fidem habeamus ac certo statuamus, tam vere (quando verbis absolutionis fidem habemus) Deo reconciliatos nos esse, ac si vocem coelitus delapsam ea de re audivissemus, quam sententiam etiam Apologia confirmat. Haec vero consolatio eximia prorsus nobis eriperetur, si non ex vocatione, quae fit per Verbum et sacramenta, de voluntate Dei erga nos statuendum esset.

39] Quin etiam illud fundamentum religionis nostrae everteretur, quod credimus, Spiritum Sanctum cum Verbo praedicato, audito et diligenter considerato praesentem atque efficacem esse et operari velle. Quare nequaquam sentiendum est, ut paulo ante monuimus, eos etiam in electorum numero habendos, qui Verbum Dei contemnunt, repellunt, exsecrantur atque persequuntur, Matth. 22, 6; Act. 13, 46, qui audito Verbo corda sua contra illud obfirmant, Hebr. 4, 2. 7, qui Spiritui Sancto resistunt, Act. 7, 51, qui in peccatis absque poenitentia perseverant, Luc. 14, 18, neque in Christum vere credunt, Marc. 16, 16, externa

the eighth chapter you will come into [will have been exercised by] temptation under the cross and afflictions, this will teach you in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh chapters how consolatory predestination is, etc.

However, that many are called and few chosen is not owing to the fact that the call of God, which is made through the Word, had the meaning as though God said: Outwardly, through the Word, I indeed call to My kingdom all of you to whom I give My Word; however, in My heart I do not mean this with respect to all, but only with respect to a few; for it is My will that the greatest part of those whom I call through the Word shall not be enlightened nor converted, but be and remain damned, although through the Word, in the call, I declare Myself to them otherwise. *Hoc enim esset Deo contradictorias voluntates affingere,* that is: For this would be to assign contradictory wills to God. That is, in this way it would be taught that God, who surely is Eternal Truth, would be contrary to Himself [or say one thing, but revolve another in His heart], while, on the contrary, God [rebukes and] punishes also in men this wickedness [this wantonness, this dishonesty] when a person declares himself to one purpose, and thinks and means another in the heart, Ps. 5, 9; 12, 2 f. Thereby also the necessary consolatory foundation is rendered altogether uncertain and void, as we are daily reminded and admonished that only from God's Word, through which He treats with us and calls us, we are to learn and conclude what His will towards us is, and that we should believe and not doubt what it affirms to us and promises.

For this reason also Christ causes the promise of the Gospel not only to be offered in general, but He seals it through the Sacraments which He attaches as seals of the promise, and thereby confirms it [the certainty of the promise of the Gospel] to every believer in particular.

On this account, as the *Augsburg Confession* in Art. 11 says, we also retain private absolution, and teach that it is God's command that we believe such absolution, and should regard it as sure that, when we believe the word of absolution, we are as truly reconciled to God as though we had heard a voice from heaven, as the *Apology* explains this article. This consolation would be entirely taken from us if we were not to infer the will of God towards us from the call which is made through the Word and through the Sacraments.

There would also be overthrown and taken from us the foundation that the Holy Ghost wishes certainly to be present with the Word preached, heard, considered, and to be efficacious and operate through it. Therefore the meaning is not at all the one referred to above, namely, that the elect are to be such [among the elect are to be numbered such] as even despise the Word of God, thrust it from them, blaspheme and persecute it, Matt. 22, 6; Acts 13, 46; or, when they hear it, harden their hearts, Heb. 4, 2. 7; resist the Holy Ghost,

Schein führen, Matth. 7 und 22, oder außer Christo andere Wege zur Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit suchen, Röm. 9. Sondern wie Gott in seinem Rat verordnet hat, daß der Heilige Geist die Auserwählten durchs Wort berufen, erleuchten und bekehren, und daß er alle die, so durch rechten Glauben Christum annehmen, gerecht und selig machen wolle, also hat er auch in seinem Rat beschlossen, daß er diejenigen, so durchs Wort berufen werden, wenn sie das Wort von sich stoßen und dem Heiligen Geist, der in ihnen durchs Wort kräftig sein und wirken will, widerstreben und darin verharren, sie [daß er sie] verstocken, verwerfen und verdammen wolle. Und also [und so] sind viele berufen und wenige auserwählt.

Denn wenig nehmen das Wort an und folgen ihm; der größte Haufe verachtet das Wort und will zu der Hochzeit nicht kommen. Solcher Verachtung des Wortes ist nicht die Ursache Gottes Vorsehung, sondern des Menschen verkehrter Wille, der das Mittel und Werkzeug des Heiligen Geistes, so ihm Gott durch den Beruf vorträgt, von sich stößt oder verkehrt und dem Heiligen Geist, der durchs Wort kräftig sein will und wirkt, widerstrebt; wie Christus spricht: „Wie oft habe ich dich versammeln wollen, und du hast nicht gewollt!" Matth. 23.

Also „nehmen ihrer viele das Wort mit Freuden an, aber danach fallen sie wieder ab", Luk. 8. Die Ursache aber ist nicht, als wollte Gott ihnen, in welchen er das gute Werk angefangen, die Gnade zur Beständigkeit nicht geben; denn das ist wider St. Paulum, Phil. 1; sondern die Ursache ist: weil sie sich mutwillig von dem heiligen Gebot wieder abwenden, den Heiligen Geist betrüben und verbittern, in den Unflat der Welt sich wieder einflechten, dem Teufel die Herberge des Herzens wieder schmücken, mit welchen das letzte ärger wird denn das erste, 2 Petr. 2; Luk. 11; Hebr. 10.

Und so fern ist uns das Geheimnis der Vorsehung in Gottes Wort geoffenbart, und wenn wir dabei bleiben und uns daran halten, so ist es gar eine nützliche, heilsame, tröstliche Lehre; denn sie bestätigt gar gewaltig den Artikel, daß wir ohne alle unsere Werke und Verdienst, lauter aus Gnaden, allein um Christus' willen gerecht und selig werden. Denn vor der Zeit der Welt, ehe wir gewesen sind, ja ehe der Welt Grund gelegt [ward], da wir ja nichts Gutes haben tun können, sind wir **nach Gottes Vorsatz** aus Gnaden in Christo zur Seligkeit erwählt, Röm. 9; 2 Tim. 1. Es werden auch dadurch alle opiniones und irrige Lehren von den Kräften unsers natürlichen Willens ernieder-[danieder-]gelegt, weil Gott in seinem Rat vor der Zeit der Welt bedacht und verordnet hat, daß er alles, was zu unserer Bekehrung gehört, selbst mit der Kraft seines Heiligen Geistes durchs Wort in uns schaffen und wirken wolle.

tantum specie pietatem prae se ferunt, Matth. 7, 22; 22, 12, aut extra Christum alias iustitiae et salutis rationes quaerunt, Rom. 9, 31.

40] Ut enim Deus in aeterno suo consilio ordinavit, ut Spiritus Sanctus electos per Verbum vocet, illuminet atque convertat, atque omnes illos, qui Christum vera fide amplectuntur, iustificet atque in eos aeternam salutem conferat: ita in eodem suo consilio decrevit, quod eos, qui per Verbum vocati illud repudiant et Spiritui Sancto (qui in ipsis per Verbum efficaciter operari et efficax esse vult) resistunt et obstinati in ea contumacia perseverant, indurare, reprobare et aeternae damnationi devovere velit. Et secundum has rationes intelligendum est, quod Scriptura dicit, *multos vocatos, paucos vero electos esse.*

41] Pauci enim Verbum Dei serio recipiunt eique sincere obtemperant; maior pars contemnit Verbum neque in regiis illis [R. 809 nuptiis vult comparere, Matth. 22, 3 sqq. Huius contemptus Verbi non est in causa vel praescientia vel praedestinatio Dei, sed perversa hominis voluntas, quae medium illud et instrumentum Spiritus Sancti, quod Deus homini per vocationem offert, reiicit aut depravat et Spiritui Sancto, qui per Verbum efficaciter operari cupit, repugnat, sicut Christus dicit Matth. 23, 37: *Quoties volui congregare te, et noluisti.*

42] *Multi quidem Verbum Dei initio magno gaudio recipiunt, sed postea rursus deficiunt,* Luc. 8, 13. Eius autem rei causa non haec est, quasi Deus illis, in quibus bonum illud opus iam incepit, gratiam suam ad perseverandum dare nolit; hoc enim cum Pauli verbis Phil. 1, 6 pugnat; sed vera causa defectionis ipsorum est, quod sese a sancto Dei praecepto rursus, et quidem petulanter, avertunt, quod Spiritum Sanctum contristant et exasperant, quod coinquinationibus huius mundi rursus sese implicant et Satanae hospitium cordis sui adornant. Horum hominum posteriora deteriora fiunt prioribus, 2 Petr. 2, 10. 20; Eph. 4, 30; Hebr. 10, 26; Luc. 11, 25.

43] Hucusque Sacra Scriptura in revelando divinae praedestinationis mysterio progreditur. Quodsi intra has metas nos continuerimus et Verbo Dei revelato innixi fuerimus, profecto doctrina illa amplissima consolationis verae materiam nobis suppeditabit. Egregie enim praedestinationis doctrina articulum iustificationis confirmat, quod videlicet gratuito, sine omnibus operibus et meritis nostris, ex mera gratia, propter solum Christum iustificemur atque salvemur. Ante saecula enim huius mundi, priusquam in rerum natura essemus, imo antequam mundi fundamenta iacerentur, cum quidem nihil boni agere adhuc poteramus, secundum *propositum Dei* in Christo ad aeternam salutem electi sumus, Rom. 44] 9, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 9. Hac etiam doctrina omnes falsae opiniones et errores de viribus naturalis nostri arbitrii evertuntur, [R. 810 quia manifestum est, quod Deus in suo consilio ante mundi saecula decreverit atque ordinarit, quod omnia, quae ad conversionem nostram pertinent, ipse virtute Spiritus sui Sancti (per Verbum) in nobis efficere et operari velit.

Acts 7, 51; without repentance persevere in sins, Luke 14, 18; do not truly believe in Christ, Mark 16, 16; only make [godliness] an outward show, Matt. 7, 22; 22, 12; or seek other ways to righteousness and salvation outside of Christ, Rom. 9, 31. Moreover, even as God has ordained in His [eternal] counsel that the Holy Ghost should call, enlighten, and convert the elect through the Word, and that He will justify and save all those who by true faith receive Christ, so He also determined in His counsel that He will harden, reprobate, and condemn those who are called through the Word, if they reject the Word and resist the Holy Ghost, who wishes to be efficacious and to work in them through the Word, and persevere therein. And in this manner many are called, but few are chosen.

For few receive the Word and follow it; the greatest number despise the Word, and will not come to the wedding, Matt. 22, 3 ff. The cause for this contempt for the Word is not God's foreknowledge [or predestination], but the perverse will of man, which rejects or perverts the means and instrument of the Holy Ghost, which God offers him through the call, and resists the Holy Ghost, who wishes to be efficacious, and works through the Word, as Christ says: *How often would I have gathered you together, and ye would not!* Matt. 23, 37.

Thus many *receive the Word with joy, but afterwards fall away again,* Luke 8, 13. But the cause is not as though God were unwilling to grant grace for perseverance to those in whom *He has begun the good work,* for that is contrary to St. Paul, Phil. 1, 6; but the cause is that they wilfully turn away again from the holy commandment [of God], grieve and embitter the Holy Ghost, implicate themselves again in the filth of the world, and garnish again the habitation of the heart for the devil. With them the last state is worse than the first, 2 Pet. 2, 10. 20; Eph. 4, 30; Heb. 10, 26; Luke 11, 25.

Thus far is the mystery of predestination revealed to us in God's Word, and if we abide thereby and cleave thereto, it is a very useful, salutary, consolatory doctrine; for it establishes very effectually the article that we are justified and saved without all works and merits of ours, purely out of grace alone, for Christ's sake. For before the time of the world, before we existed, yea, before the foundation of the world was laid, when, of course, we could do nothing good, we were according to God's purpose chosen by grace in Christ to salvation, Rom. 9, 11; 2 Tim. 1, 9. Moreover, all *opiniones* (opinions) and erroneous doctrines concerning the powers of our natural will are thereby overthrown, because God in His counsel, before the time of the world, decided and ordained that He Himself, by the power of His Holy Ghost, would produce and work in us, through the Word, everything that pertains to our conversion.

Es gibt auch also diese Lehre den schönen, herrlichen Trost, daß Gott eines jeden Christen Bekehrung, Gerechtigkeit und Seligkeit so hoch ihm [so hoch sich hat] angelegen sein lassen und es so treulich damit gemeint, daß er, ehe der Welt Grund gelegt, darüber Rat gehalten und in seinem Vorsatz verordnet hat, wie er mich dazu bringen und darin erhalten wolle; item, daß er meine Seligkeit so wohl und gewiß habe verwahren wollen, weil sie durch Schwachheit und Bosheit unsers Fleisches aus unsern Händen leichtlich könnte verloren oder durch List und Gewalt des Teufels und der Welt daraus gerissen und genommen werden, daß er dieselbe in seinem ewigen Vorsatz, welcher nicht fehlen oder umgestoßen werden kann, verordnet und in die allmächtige Hand unsers Heilandes JEsu Christi, daraus uns niemand reißen kann, zu bewahren gelegt hat, Joh. 10; daher auch Paulus sagt Röm. 8: „Weil wir nach dem Vorsatz Gottes berufen sind, **wer will uns denn scheiden von der Liebe Gottes in Christo?**"

45] Quin etiam haec doctrina praeclaram nobis consolationem monstrat. Quantum enim est hoc beneficium Dei, quod is de uniuscuiusque Christiani conversione, iustitia et salute adeo sollicitus fuit atque tam fideliter procuravit, ut ante iacta fundamenta mundi deliberaverit atque in illo arcano suo proposito iam tum ordinaverit, quomodo me ad salutem vocare, adducere et in illa conservare velit! Quid? quod meam salutem adeo firmis praesidiis munire voluit, ut eam in aeternum suum propositum (quod falli aut everti nunquam potest) tamquam in arcem munitissimam collocaret atque adeo in omnipotenti manu Domini nostri Iesu Christi (unde nemo rapere nos potest, Ioh. 10, 28) conservandam 46] poneret. Si enim nobis tutela et defensio nostrae salutis committeretur, Deus bone, quam levi momento eam propter infirmitatem, pravitatem et corruptionem carnis nostrae amitteremus! quam facile ea nobis per insidias et vim diaboli atque mundi machinas e nostris manibus extorqueretur atque eripe-

47] retur! Ideo Paulus certitudinem beatitudinis nostrae super fundamentum propositi divini exstruit, cum ex eo, quod *secundum propositum Dei vocati sumus*, colligit, *neminem nos posse separare a dilectione Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu, Domino nostro*, Rom. 8, 28. 39.

Es gibt auch diese Lehre in Kreuz und Anfechtungen herrlichen Trost, nämlich daß Gott in seinem Rat vor der Zeit der Welt bedacht und beschlossen habe, daß er uns in allen Nöten beistehen, Geduld verleihen, Trost geben, Hoffnung wirken und einen solchen Ausgang verschaffen wolle, daß es uns seliglich sein möge. Item, wie Paulus dies gar tröstlich handelt Röm. 8, daß Gott in seinem Vorsatz vor der Zeit der Welt verordnet habe, durch was Kreuz und Leiden er einen jeden seiner Auserwählten gleich wollte machen dem Ebenbilde seines Sohnes, und daß einem jeden sein Kreuz zum besten dienen solle und müsse, weil sie nach dem Vorsatz berufen sind; daraus Paulus für gewiß und ungezweifelt geschlossen, daß weder Trübsal noch Angst, weder Tod noch Leben usw. uns scheiden können von der Liebe Gottes in Christo JEsu.

48] In afflictionibus vero et gravibus tentationibus dulcissimam ex hoc articulo consolationem petere licet. Docemur enim, Deum in consilio suo ante saecula mundi decrevisse, quod in omnibus calamitatibus, miseriis et angustiis nobis adesse, tolerantiam sub cruce largiri, consolari nos, spem Christianam exsuscitare, alere et nutantem erigere, talemque tandem eventum dare velit, ut omnia [R. 811 mala ad salutem nostram cedant eamque pro-

49] moveant. Unde et divus Paulus egregiam consolationem ex hoc articulo depromit, cum docet Rom. 8, 28. 29. 35. 38. 39, *Deum in suo proposito ante tempora mundi ordinasse*, quasnam tribulationes et quod crucis genus Dominus singulis Christianis imponere velit, ut omnes conformes fiant imagini Filii sui, et ostendit, quod unicuique pio sua crux in bonum cedat seu cooperetur, propterea quod

pii omnes secundum propositum Dei sint vocati. Ac tandem universa complectitur, quod *neque tribulatio neque angustia, neque vita neque mors* etc. *possit nos separare a dilectione Dei, quae est in Christo Iesu.*

Es gibt auch dieser Artikel ein herrlich Zeugnis, daß die Kirche Gottes wider alle Pforten der Hölle sein und bleiben werde, und lehrt auch, welches die rechte Kirche Gottes sei, daß wir uns an dem großen Ansehen der falschen Kirche nicht ärgern, Röm. 9.

Es werden auch aus diesem Artikel mächtige Vermahnungen und Warnungen genommen, als Luk. 7: „Sie verachten Gottes Rat wider sich selbst." Luk. 14: „Ich sage euch, daß der Männer keiner mein Abendmahl schmecken wird." Item: „Viele sind berufen, aber wenige auserwählet." Item: „Wer Ohren hat zu hören, der höre, und: „Sehet zu, wie ihr höret!" Also kann die Lehre von diesem Artikel nützlich, tröstlich und seliglich gebraucht werden.

50] Praeterea hic articulus luculenter testatur, quod ecclesia Dei adversus omnes inferorum portas et impetus sit mansura, et docet, quae sit vera Dei ecclesia, ne magna illa falsae ecclesiae auctoritate et angusta illius specie offendamur, Rom. 9, 24. 25.

51] Et ex hoc articulo multae gravissimae admonitiones et exhortationes depromuntur, ut Luc. 7, 30: *Contemnunt Dei consilium adversus semet ipsos.* Et Luc. 14, 24: *Dico vobis, quod nemo virorum illorum gustaturus sit coenam meam.* Et alibi [Matth. 20, 16]: *Multi vocati sunt, pauci vero electi.* Et rursus [Luc. 8, 8. 18]: *Qui aures habet audiendi, audiat*, et: *Videte, quomodo audiatis!* Atque ita doctrina de hoc articulo salutaris est, plena consolationis et ad usum nostrum multis modis transferri potest.

Es muß aber mit [be]sonderem Fleiß Unterschied gehalten werden zwischen dem, was in Got-

52] Accurate autem discrimen observandum et retinendum est inter id, quod de hoc negotio

Thus this doctrine affords also the excellent, glorious consolation that God was so greatly concerned about the conversion, righteousness, and salvation of every Christian, and so faithfully purposed it [provided therefor] that before the foundation of the world was laid, He deliberated concerning it, and in His [secret] purpose ordained how He would bring me thereto [call and lead me to salvation], and preserve me therein. Also, that He wished to secure my salvation so well and certainly that, since through the weakness and wickedness of our flesh it could easily be lost from our hands, or through craft and might of the devil and the world be snatched and taken from us, He ordained it in His eternal purpose, which cannot fail or be overthrown, and placed it for preservation in the almighty hand of our Savior Jesus Christ, from which no one can pluck us, John 10, 28. Hence Paul also says, Rom. 8, 28. 39: *Because we have been called according to the purpose of God, who will separate us from the love of God in Christ?* [Paul builds the certainty of our blessedness upon the foundation of the divine purpose, when, from *our being called according to the purpose of God,* he infers *that no one can separate us,* etc.]

Moreover, this doctrine affords glorious consolation under the cross and amid temptations, namely, that God in His counsel, before the time of the world, determined and decreed that He would assist us in all distresses [anxieties and perplexities], grant patience [under the cross], give consolation, excite [nourish and encourage] hope, and produce such an outcome as would contribute to our salvation. Also, as Paul in a very consolatory way treats this, Rom. 8, 28. 29. 35. 38. 39, that *God in His purpose has ordained before the time of the world* by what crosses and sufferings He would conform every one of His elect to the image of His Son, and that to every one His cross shall and must work together for good, because they are called according to the purpose, whence Paul has concluded that it is certain and indubitable that *neither tribulation nor distress, nor death, nor life,* etc., *shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus, our Lord.*

This article also affords a glorious testimony that the Church of God will exist and abide in opposition to all the gates of hell, and likewise teaches which is the true Church of God, lest we be offended by the great authority [and majestic appearance] of the false Church, Rom. 9, 24. 25.

From this article also powerful admonitions and warnings are derived, as Luke 7, 30: *They rejected the counsel of God against themselves.* Luke 14, 24: *I say unto you that none of those men which were bidden shall taste of my supper.* Also Matt. 20, 16: *Many be called, but few chosen.* Also Luke 8, 8. 18: *He that hath ears to hear, let him hear,* and: *Take heed how ye hear.* Thus the doctrine concerning this article can be employed profitably, comfortingly, and savingly [and can be transferred in many ways to our use].

But a distinction must be observed with especial care between that which is expressly

tes Wort ausdrücklich hiervon offenbart oder nicht geoffenbart ist. Denn über das [außer dem], davon bisher gesagt, so hiervon in Christo offenbart [ist], hat Gott von diesem Geheimnis noch viel verschwiegen und verborgen und allein seiner Weisheit und Erkenntnis vorbehalten, welches wir nicht erforschen noch unsern Gedanken hierin folgen, schließen oder grübeln, sondern uns an das geoffenbarte Wort halten sollen; welche Erinnerung zum höchsten vonnöten [ist].

Denn damit hat unser Vorwitz immer viel mehr Lust sich zu bekümmern als mit dem, das Gott uns in seinem Wort davon offenbart hat, weil wir's nicht zusammenreimen können, welches uns auch zu tun nicht befohlen ist.

Also ist daran kein Zweifel, daß Gott gar wohl und aufs allergewisseste vor der Zeit der Welt zuvor ersehen habe und noch wisse, welche von denen, so berufen werden, glauben oder nicht glauben werden; item, welche von den Bekehrten beständig, welche nicht beständig bleiben werden; welche nach dem Fall wiederkehren, welche in Verstockung fallen werden. So ist auch die Zahl, wie viele derselben beiderseits sein werden, Gott ohne allen Zweifel bewußt und bekannt. Weil aber solches Geheimnis Gott seiner Weisheit vorbehalten und uns im Wort davon nichts offenbart, viel weniger solches durch unsere Gedanken zu erforschen uns befohlen, sondern [uns] ernstlich davon abgehalten hat, Röm. 11, sollen wir mit unsern Gedanken nicht folgern, schließen noch darin grübeln, sondern uns an sein geoffenbartes Wort, darauf er uns weiset, halten.

Also weiß auch Gott ohne allen Zweifel und hat einem jeden Zeit und Stunde seines Berufs, Bekehrung [* und Wiederbekehrung] bestimmt; weil aber uns solches nicht geoffenbart [ist], haben wir Befehl, daß wir immer mit dem Wort anhalten, die Zeit aber und Stunde Gott befehlen sollen, Act. 1.

Gleichfalls, wenn wir sehen, daß Gott sein Wort an einem Ort gibt, am andern nicht gibt, von einem Ort hinwegnimmt, am andern bleiben läßt; item, einer wird verstockt, verblendet, in verkehrten Sinn gegeben, ein anderer, so wohl in gleicher Schuld, wird wiederum bekehrt usw.: in diesen und dergleichen Fragen setzt uns Paulus ein gewisses Ziel, wie fern wir gehen sollen, nämlich daß wir bei einem Teil erkennen sollen Gottes Gericht. Denn es sind wohlverdiente Strafen der Sünden, wenn Gott an einem Lande oder Volk die Verachtung seines Wortes also straft, daß es auch über die Nachkommen geht, wie an den Juden zu sehen; dadurch Gott den Seinen an etlichen Landen und Personen seinen Ernst zeigt, was wir alle wohl verdient hätten, würdig und wert wären, weil wir uns gegen Gottes Wort übel verhalten und den Heiligen Geist oft schwerlich [schwer] betrüben; auf daß wir in Gottesfurcht leben und Gottes

expresse in sacris litteris revelatum est, et inter ea, quae non sunt revelata. Praeter illa enim, de quibus hactenus dictum est, et quae in Christo manifeste revelata sunt, multa adhuc Dominus de hoc mysterio reticuit et occultavit, eaque soli suae sapientiae et scientiae reservavit. Talia investigare, cogitationibus nostris indulgere, aliquid de iis statuere aut scrutari nobis non licet, sed toti a [R. 812 Verbo Dei revelato, quod ipse nobis proponit, pendere debemus. Haec admonitio in hoc mysterio apprime necessaria est.

53] Ea enim est corruptae naturae nostrae curiositas, ut magis iis, quae abstrusa et arcana sunt, indagandis quam iis, quae de hoc negotio Deus in Verbo suo nobis revelavit, cognoscendis delectemur, praesertim cum quaedam in hoc mysterio tam intricata et perplexa occurrant, quae nos in mentibus nostris acumine ingenii nostri conciliare non possumus; sed neque id nobis a Deo demandatum est.

54] Dubium quidem non est, quin Deus exactissime et certissime ante tempora mundi praeviderit et hodie etiam norit, quinam ex eorum numero, qui vocati sunt, in Christum credituri aut non credituri sint; qui ex conversis in fide perseveraturi sint, qui non; et qui in peccata gravia prolapsi reversuri sint, et qui in sceleribus perituri. Et haud dubie etiam numerus eorum, qui salvabuntur, et **55]** damnandorum Deo probe notus est. Quia vero Dominus talia arcana soli suae sapientiae reservavit, neque ea de re quidquam in Verbo suo revelavit, multo vero minus haec mysteria cogitationibus nostris indagare nos iussit, quin potius, ne id conaremur, prohibuit, Rom. 11, 33 sqq., non decet nos cogitationibus nostris indulgere, statuere aliquid, ratiocinari aut illa occultissima investigare velle, sed in Verbo ipsius revelato (ad quod ille nos ablegavit) acquiescere nos oportet.

56] Novit etiam Dominus procul dubio tempus et horam eamque apud se constituit, quando videlicet unumquemque vocare, convertere et lapsum rursus erigere velit. Quia vero id nobis non est revelatum, intelligimus hoc nobis iniungi serio, ut semper praedicando et tractando Dei Verbo instemus, tempus vero et horam conversionis Deo permittamus, Act. 1, 7.

57] Ad eundem modum, cum videmus, quod Deus Verbum suum alicui regno aut [R. 813 ditioni donat, idem vero alii genti non largitur; item, quod id ipsum ab uno populo aufert, alii vero diutius concedit; quod hic induratur, excaecatur et in reprobum sensum datur, ille vero, qui in eadem culpa haeret, ad Deum convertitur etc.: cavendum est diligenter, ne in his rebus expendendis cogitationibus nostris nimium indulgeamus. Paulus **58]** Rom. 11, 22 sqq. autem certas metas nobis posuit, quousque progredi liceat. Iubet enim nos in illis, qui pereunt, considerare iustum Dei iudicium et poenas peccatorum. Sunt enim haec digna peccatis supplicia, si Deus totam aliquam provinciam aut gentem (propter Verbi divini contemptum) ita punit, ut hoc ingens malum etiam in ipsorum posteritatem redundet, ut est videre in obstinatis et

revealed concerning it in God's Word, and what is not revealed. For, in addition to what has been revealed in Christ concerning this, of which we have hitherto spoken, God has still kept secret and concealed much concerning this mystery, and reserved it for His wisdom and knowledge alone, which we should not investigate, nor should we indulge our thoughts in this matter, nor draw conclusions, nor inquire curiously, but should adhere [entirely] to the revealed Word [of God]. This admonition is most urgently needed.

For our curiosity has always much more pleasure in concerning itself with these matters [with investigating those things which are hidden and abstruse] than with what God has revealed to us concerning this in His Word, because we cannot harmonize it, which, moreover, we have not been commanded to do [since certain things occur in this mystery so intricate and involved that we are not able by the penetration of our natural ability to harmonize them; but this has not been demanded of us by God].

Thus there is no doubt that God most exactly and certainly foresaw before the time of the world, and still knows, which of those that are called will believe or will not believe; also which of the converted will persevere [in faith] and which will not persevere; which will return after a fall [into grievous sins], and which will fall into obduracy [will perish in their sins]. So, too, the number, how many there are of these on either side, is beyond all doubt perfectly known to God. However, since God has reserved this mystery for His wisdom, and has revealed nothing to us concerning it in His Word, much less commanded us to investigate it with our thoughts, but has earnestly discouraged us therefrom, Rom. 11, 33 ff., we should not reason in our thoughts, draw conclusions, nor inquire curiously into these matters, but should adhere to His revealed Word, to which He points us.

Thus without any doubt God also knows and has determined for every one the time and hour of his call and conversion [and when He will raise again one who has lapsed]. But since this has not been revealed to us, we have the command always to keep urging the Word, but to entrust the time and hour [of conversion] to God, Acts 1, 7.

Likewise, when we see that God gives His Word at one place [to one kingdom or realm], but not at another [to another nation]; removes it from one place [people], and allows it to remain at another; also, that one is hardened, blinded, given over to a reprobate mind, while another, who is indeed in the same guilt, is converted again, etc., — in these and similar questions Paul [Rom. 11, 22 ff.] fixes a certain limit to us how far we should go, namely, that in the one part we should recognize God's judgment [for He commands us to consider in those who perish the just judgment of God and the penalties of sins]. For they are well-deserved penalties of sins when God so punishes a land or nation for despising His Word that the punishment extends also to their posterity, as is to be seen in the Jews. And thereby [by the punishments] God in some lands and persons exhibits His severity to those that are His [in order to indicate] what we all would have well deserved, and would be worthy and worth, since we act wickedly in opposition to God's Word [are ungrateful for the revealed Word, and

Güte ohne und wider unſer Verdienſt an und bei uns, denen er ſein Wort gibt und läßt, die er nicht verſtockt und verwirft, erkennen und preiſen.

Denn weil unſere Natur durch die Sünde verderbt [iſt], Gottes Zorn und der Verdammnis würdig und ſchuldig, ſo iſt uns Gott weder Wort, Geiſt oder Gnade ſchuldig; und wenn er's aus Gnaden gibt, ſo ſtoßen wir es oft von uns und machen uns unwürdig des ewigen Lebens, Act. 13. Und ſolch ſein gerechtes, wohlverſchuldetes Gericht läßt er ſchauen an etlichen Ländern, Völkern und Perſonen, auf daß wir, wenn wir gegen ihnen [gegen ſie] gehalten und mit ihnen verglichen [werden], deſto fleißiger Gottes lautere, unverdiente Gnade an den Gefäßen der Barmherzigkeit erkennen und preiſen lernen.

Denn denen geſchieht nicht unrecht, ſo geſtraft werden und ihrer Sünden Sold empfangen; an den andern aber, da Gott ſein Wort gibt und erhält, und dadurch die Leute erleuchtet, bekehrt und erhalten werden, preiſt Gott ſeine lautere Gnade und Barmherzigkeit, ohne ihr Verdienſt.

Wenn wir ſo fern in dieſem Artikel gehen, ſo bleiben wir auf der rechten Bahn, wie geſchrieben ſteht Hoſeä 13: „Iſrael, daß du verdirbeſt, die Schuld iſt dein; daß dir aber geholfen wird, das iſt lauter meine Gnade."

Was aber in dieſer Disputation zu hoch [iſt] und aus dieſen Schranken laufen will, da ſollen wir mit Paulo den Finger auf den Mund legen, gedenken und ſagen: „Wer biſt du, Menſch, der du mit Gott rechten willſt?"

Denn daß wir in dieſem Artikel nicht alles ausforſchen und ausgründen können noch ſollen, bezeugt der hohe Apoſtel Paulus, welcher, da er von dieſem Artikel aus dem [ge]offenbarten Wort Gottes viel diſputiert, ſobald er dahin kommt, daß er anzeigt, was Gott von dieſem Geheimnis ſeiner verborgenen Weisheit vorbehalten [habe], drückt er's nieder und ſchneidet's ab mit nachfolgenden Worten: „O welch eine Tiefe des Reichtums, beide der Weisheit und Erkenntnis Gottes! Wie gar unbegreiflich ſind ſeine Gerichte und unerforſchlich ſeine Wege! Denn wer hat des HErrn Sinn erkannt?" nämlich außer und über dem, was er in ſeinem Wort uns offenbart hat.

Demnach ſoll dieſe ewige Wahl Gottes in Chriſto und nicht außerhalb oder ohne Chriſtum betrachtet werden. Denn „in Chriſto", zeugt der heilige Apoſtel Paulus, „ſind wir erwählet, ehe der Welt Grundfeſte geleget war", wie geſchrieben ſteht: „Er hat uns geliebet in dem Geliebten." Solche Wahl aber wird offenbar vom Himmel durch das gepredigte Wort, da der Vater ſpricht: „Das iſt mein lieber Sohn, an dem ich ein Wohlgefallen habe; den ſollt ihr hören." Und Chriſtus ſpricht: „Kommet zu mir alle, die ihr beſchweret

59] perditissimis hominibus, Iudaeis. Et hoc modo Dominus quarundam provinciarum et personarum poenis severitatem suam ostendit, ut demonstret, quibus nos omnes malis digni essemus, qui Deo pro revelato Verbo ingrati sumus et indigne evangelio vivimus, Spiritum Sanctum saepe graviter contristamus. Et vult Dominus, ut illorum exemplis moniti in timore Dei vivamus, et ut ipsius bonitatem (quae praeter meritum nobis contingit) in nobis, quos Verbo suo dignatur, neque nos indurat aut reiicit, agnoscamus et grata mente celebremus.

60] Quum enim natura nostra peccato corrupta et idcirco irae divinae et aeternae damnationis rea sit, Deus nobis prorsus nihil debet neque ullo iure tenetur, ut nobis Verbum suum et Spiritum Sanctum largiatur atque gratia et favore nos prosequatur. Quid? quod saepe etiam ea dona, quae ipse nobis ex gratia largitur, repudiamus nosque aeterna vita indignos reddimus, Act. 13, 46. Iustum igitur suum iudicium, quod hominum impietas meretur, conspiciendum in quibusdam regnis, populis, personis proponit, ut, [R. 814 nos cum illis collati et quam simillimi illis deprehensi, tanto accuratius Dei immensam misericordiam (quae nulli merito nostro debetur) in vasis misericordiae agnoscere et celebrare discamus.

61] Illi enim nulla afficiuntur iniuria, qui poenas suae impietatis luunt et scelerum suorum stipendia accipiunt. At in his, quos Deus luce Verbi sui donat eamque apud ipsos conservat, qua miseri mortales illuminantur, convertuntur, salvantur, Dominus immensam suam gratiam et misericordiam sine ipsorum meritis commendat.

62] Cum eo usque in huius articuli meditatione progredimur, tum in tuta et regia via ambulamus. Scriptum est enim de hoc mysterio Oseae 13, 9: *Perditio tua ex te est, Israel; tantummodo in me auxilium tuum.*

63] Quaecunque autem cogitationes et quicunque sermones extra hos limites in hac disputatione evagari volent, eos statim cohibeamus et cum divo Paulo labellum digito compescamus, memores dicti Rom. 9, 20: *O homo, tu quis es, qui responses Deo?*

64] Et sane, quod in hoc articulo non omnia perscrutari et pervestigare possimus aut debeamus, docet divus Paulus suo ipsius exemplo. Cum enim de hoc articulo multis e Verbo Dei revelato disputasset, tandem cum eo ventum esset, ut diceretur, quaenam Deus arcanae suae sapientiae de hoc mysterio reservasset, silentio ea tegit, disputationem abrumpit et his verbis concludit, Rom. 11, 33 sqq.: *O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei! Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius! Quis enim cognovit sensum Domini?* etc., scilicet extra et supra id, quod ipse in Verbo suo nobis revelavit.

65] Aeterna igitur Dei praedestinatio in Christo et nequaquam extra mediatorem Christum consideranda est. *In Christo enim,* inquit Paulus Eph. 1, 4 sqq., *elegit nos Deus, antequam mundi fundamenta iacerentur.* Et scriptum est, quod *Dominus dilexerit* [R. 815 *nos in Dilecto.* Haec autem electio de coelo nobis revelatur per Verbi Dei praedicationem, cum Pater coelestis inquit Matth. 17, 5: *Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi complacitum est; hunc audite.* Et Christus

live unworthily of the Gospel] and often grieve the Holy Ghost sorely, in order that we may live in the fear of God, and acknowledge and praise God's goodness, to the exclusion of, and contrary to, our merit in and with us, to whom He gives His Word, and with whom He leaves it, and whom He does not harden and reject.

For inasmuch as our nature has been corrupted by sin, and is worthy of, and subject to, God's wrath and condemnation, God owes to us neither the Word, the Spirit, nor grace; and when He bestows these gifts out of grace, we often thrust them from us, and make ourselves unworthy of everlasting life, Acts 13, 46. And this His righteous, well-deserved judgment He displays in some countries, nations, and persons, in order that, when we are placed alongside of them and compared with them [and found to be most similar to them], we may learn the more diligently to recognize and praise God's pure [immense], unmerited grace in the vessels of mercy.

For no injustice is done those who are punished and receive the wages of their sins; but in the rest, to whom God gives and preserves His Word, by which men are enlightened, converted, and preserved, God commends His pure [immense] grace and mercy, without their merit.

When we proceed thus far in this article, we remain on the right [safe and royal] way, as it is written Hos. 13, 9: *O Israel, thou hast destroyed thyself; but in Me is thy help.*

However, as regards these things in this disputation which would soar too high and beyond these limits, we should, with Paul, place the finger upon our lips, and remember and say, Rom. 9, 20: *O man, who art thou that repliest against God?*

For that we neither can nor should investigate and fathom everything in this article, the great Apostle Paul declares [teaches by his own example], who, after having argued much concerning this article from the revealed Word of God, as soon as he comes to the point where he shows what God has reserved for His hidden wisdom concerning this mystery, suppresses and cuts it off with the following words, Rom. 11, 33 f.: *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord?* that is, outside of and beyond that which He has revealed to us in His Word.

Accordingly, this eternal election of God is to be considered in Christ, and not outside of or without Christ. For *in Christ*, the Apostle Paul testifies, Eph. 1, 4 f., *He hath chosen us before the foundation of the world*, as it is written: *He hath made us accepted in the Beloved.* This election, however, is revealed from heaven through the preaching of His Word, when the Father says, Matt. 17, 5: *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye Him.* And Christ says, Matt. 11, 28: *Come unto Me, all ye that labor*

seid; ich will euch erquicken." Und vom Heiligen Geist sagt Christus: „Er wird mich verklären und euch erinnern alles, was ich euch gesagt habe." Daß also die ganze heilige Dreifaltigkeit, Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist, alle Menschen auf Christum weisen als auf das Buch des Lebens, in dem sie des Vaters ewige Wahl suchen sollen. Denn das ist von Ewigkeit bei dem Vater beschlossen: wen er wolle selig machen, den wolle er durch Christum selig machen, wie er selber spricht: „Niemand kommt zum Vater denn durch mich"; und abermals: „Ich bin die Tür; so jemand durch mich eingehet, der wird selig werden." Eph. 1; Luk. 3; Matth. 11; Joh. 16. 14. 10.

Christus aber, als der eingeborne Sohn Gottes, der in des Vaters Schoß ist, hat uns **des Vaters Willen** und also auch unsere ewige Wahl zum ewigen Leben **verkündigt,** nämlich da er sagt: „Tut Buße und glaubet dem Evangelio; denn das Reich Gottes ist nahe herbeikommen." Item, er sagt: „Das ist der Wille des, der mich gesandt hat, daß, wer den Sohn siehet und glaubet an ihn, habe das ewige Leben." Und abermals: „Also hat Gott die Welt geliebet" usw. Mark. 1; Joh. 6. 3.

Diese Predigt, will der Vater, daß alle Menschen hören und zu Christo kommen sollen, die auch Christus nicht von sich treibt, wie geschrieben steht: „Wer zu mir kommt, den werde ich nicht hinausstoßen", Joh. 6.

Und auf daß wir zu Christo mögen kommen, wirkt der Heilige Geist durch das Gehör des Wortes den wahrhaftigen Glauben, wie der Apostel zeugt, da er spricht: „So kommt nun der Glaube aus dem Gehör Gottes Worts", wenn dasselbe lauter und rein gepredigt wird, Röm. 10.

Derhalben, welcher Mensch selig werden will, der soll sich selber nicht bemühen oder plagen mit den Gedanken von dem heimlichen Rat Gottes, ob er auch zum ewigen Leben erwählt und verordnet sei, damit der leidige Satan fromme Herzen pflegt anzufechten und zu vexieren. Sondern sie sollen Christum hören, welcher ist das Buch des Lebens und der ewigen Wahl Gottes zum ewigen Leben aller Kinder Gottes; der bezeugt allen Menschen ohne Unterschied, daß Gott wolle, **daß alle Menschen zu ihm kommen,** die mit Sünden beschwert und beladen sind, auf daß sie erquickt und selig werden.

Nach dieser seiner Lehre sollen sie von ihren Sünden abstehen, Buße tun, seiner Verheißung glauben und sich ganz und gar auf ihn verlassen; und weil wir das aus eigenen Kräften von uns selbst nicht vermögen, will solches, nämlich Buße und Glauben, der Heilige Geist in uns wirken durchs Wort und durch die Sakramente. Und daß wir solches mögen vollführen, darin verharren und beständig bleiben, sollen wir Gott um seine Gnade anrufen, die er uns in der heiligen Taufe zugesagt hat, und nicht zweifeln, er werde uns dieselbe vermöge seiner Verheißung mitteilen; wie er versprochen hat Luk. 11: „Wo bittet unter euch ein Sohn den Vater um Brot, der ihm einen

dicit Matth. 11, 28: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.* De Spiritu Sancto vero Christus inquit Ioh. 16, 14: *Ille me clarificabit, quia de meo ac-*
66] *cipiet et annuntiabit vobis* etc. Itaque tota sacratissima Trinitas, Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, ablegat omnes homines ad Christum tamquam ad librum vitae, ut in eo aeternam Patris praedestinationem investigent et cognoscant. Hoc enim iam ab aeterno decretum est a Patre, quod eos, quos salvare vult, per Christum salvos facere velit, ut Christus ipse inquit Ioh. 14, 6: *Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me;* et alibi, 10, 9: *Ego sum ostium; si quis per me introierit, salvabitur.*

67] Christus autem, unigenitus Dei Filius, qui est in sinu Patris, Ioh. 1, 18, nobis *voluntatem Patris coelestis,* atque hac ratione etiam electionem nostram ad vitam aeternam *annuntiavit,* idque his verbis Marc. 1, 15: *Poenitentiam agite et credite evangelio; appropinquavit enim regnum coelorum.* Et alio loco, Ioh. 6, 40, ait: *Haec est voluntas eius, qui misit me,* [*ut,*] *qui Filium videt et credit in eum, habeat vitam aeternam.* Et alibi, Ioh. 3, 16: *Sic Deus dilexit mundum, ut Filium suum unigenitum daret, ut omnis, qui in eum crediderit, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam* etc.

68] Hanc dulcissimam concionem vult Deus Pater, ut omnes homines audiant, vult, ut ad Christum veniant. Qui vero venerint, eos Christus non a se repellit. Sic enim scriptum est Ioh. 6, 37: *Quod venerit ad me, non eiiciam foras.*

69] Ut autem ad Christum venire possimus, Spiritus Sanctus per auditionem Verbi Dei veram in nobis fidem operatur. Sic [R. 816 enim apostolus ait Rom. 10, 17: *Fides est ex auditu Verbi Dei,* quando videlicet illud sincere et pure annuntiatur.

70] Qui igitur aeternae salutis vero desiderio tenentur, non macerent atque excrucient sese cogitationibus et imaginationibus de arcano Dei consilio, an ad vitam aeternam sint praedestinati et ordinati, quibus curis Satanas pias mentes quandoque affligere atque excruciare solet. Christum potius audiant et in eum ut in librum vitae intueantur, in quo perscripta est omnium filiorum Dei electio ad vitam aeternam. Hic vero omnibus hominibus absque ullo discrimine testis locupletissimus est, hanc esse Dei voluntatem, *ut omnes homines ad Christum veniant,* qui peccatis gravati et onerati sunt, ut ab ipso recreentur et salvi fiant [Matth. 11, 28].

71] Hac doctrina Christi percepta vitam emendemus et vere poenitentiam agamus et promissioni eius credamus totamque nostram in ipsum fiduciam collocemus. Quia vero haec nostris viribus et ex nobis ipsis praestare non possumus, Spiritus Sanctus ipse per Verbum et sacramenta in nobis poenitentiam et fidem
72] vult operari. Ut autem in bono isto proposito usque ad beatum finem progredi, perseverare atque in vera pietate constantes manere valeamus, invocandus est Deus ardentibus votis, ut gratiam nobis suam benigne largiatur, quam nobis in sacro baptismate pollicitus est, nec dubitemus, quin eam sit iuxta promis-

and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. And concerning the Holy Ghost Christ says, John 16, 14: *He shall glorify Me; for He shall receive of Mine, and shall show it unto you.* Thus the entire Holy Trinity, God Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, directs all men to Christ, as to the Book of Life, in whom they should seek the eternal election of the Father. For this has been decided by the Father from eternity, that whom He would save He would save through Christ, as He [Christ] Himself says, John 14, 6: *No man cometh unto the Father but by Me.* And again, John 10, 9: *I am the Door; by Me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved.*

However, Christ, as the only-begotten Son of God, who is in the bosom of the Father, has announced to us *the will of the Father,* and thus also our eternal election to eternal life, namely, when He says, Mark 1, 15: *Repent ye, and believe the Gospel; the kingdom of God is at hand.* Likewise He says, John 6, 40: *This is the will of Him that sent Me, that every one which seeth the Son and believeth on Him may have everlasting life.* And again [John 3, 16]: *God so loved the world,* etc. [*that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have everlasting life*].

This proclamation the Father wishes all men to hear and desires that they come to Christ; and these Christ does not drive from Him, as it is written John 6, 37: *Him that cometh to Me I will in no wise cast out.*

And in order that we may come to Christ, the Holy Ghost works true faith through the hearing of the Word, as the apostle testifies when he says, Rom. 10, 17: *Faith cometh by hearing and hearing by the Word of God,* [namely] when it is preached in its truth and purity.

Therefore, whoever would be saved should not trouble or harass himself with thoughts concerning the secret counsel of God, as to whether he also is elected and ordained to eternal life, with which miserable Satan usually attacks and annoys godly hearts. But they should hear Christ [and look upon Him as the Book of Life in which is written the eternal election], who is the Book of Life and of God's eternal election of all of God's children to eternal life: He testifies to all men without distinction that it is God's will *that all men should come to Him* who labor and are heavy laden with sin, in order that He may give them rest and save them, Matt. 11, 28.

According to this doctrine of His they should abstain from their sins, repent, believe His promise, and entirely trust in Him; and since we cannot do this by ourselves, of our own powers, the Holy Ghost desires to work these things, namely, repentance and faith, in us through the Word and Sacraments. And in order that we may attain this, persevere in it, and remain steadfast, we should implore God for His grace, which He has promised us in Holy Baptism, and, no doubt, He will impart it to us according to His promise, as He has

Stein dafür biete; [und so er um einen Fisch bittet, der ihm eine Schlange für den Fisch biete;] oder so er um ein Ei bittet, der ihm einen Skorpion dafür biete? So denn ihr, die ihr arg seid, könnet euren Kindern Gutes geben, viel mehr wird der Vater im Himmel den Heiligen Geist geben denen, die ihn bitten."

Und nachdem der Heilige Geist in den Auserwählten, die gläubig [ge]worden sind, wohnt als in seinem Tempel, der in ihnen nicht müßig ist, sondern treibt die Kinder Gottes zum Gehorsam der Gebote Gottes, sollen die Gläubigen gleichergestalt auch nicht müßig sein, noch viel weniger dem Treiben des Geistes Gottes sich widersetzen, sondern in allen christlichen Tugenden, in aller Gottseligkeit, Bescheidenheit, Mäßigkeit, Geduld, brüderlicher Liebe sich üben und allen Fleiß tun, daß sie ihren Beruf und Erwählung festmachen, damit sie desto weniger daran zweifeln, je mehr sie des Geistes Kraft und Stärke in ihnen [in sich] selbst befinden. Denn der Geist Gottes den Auserwählten Zeugnis gibt, daß sie Gottes Kinder sind, Röm. 8. Und ob sie gleich etwan [bisweilen] in so tiefe Anfechtung geraten, daß sie vermeinen, sie empfinden keine Kraft des inwohnenden Geistes Gottes mehr, und sagen mit David Ps. 31: „Ich sprach in meinem Zagen: Ich bin von deinen Augen verstoßen", so sollen sie doch wiederum mit David darauf sagen, unangesehen, was sie in ihnen selbst befinden, wie denn gleich folgt, ibidem: „Dennoch hörest [hörtest] du meines Flehens Stimme, da ich zu dir schrie."

Und weil unsere Wahl zum ewigen Leben nicht auf unserer Frömmigkeit oder Tugend, sondern allein auf Christus' Verdienst und [den] gnädigen Willen seines Vaters gegründet ist, der sich selbst nicht verleugnen kann, weil er in seinem Willen und Wesen unwandelbar ist: derhalben, wenn seine Kinder aus dem Gehorsam treten und straucheln, läßt er sie durchs Wort wieder zur Buße rufen, und will der Heilige Geist dadurch in ihnen zur Bekehrung kräftig sein; und wenn sie in wahrer Buße durch rechten Glauben sich wieder zu ihm bekehren, will er das alte Vaterherz immer erzeigen allen denen, die sich ob [die sich vor] seinem Wort fürchten und von Herzen wieder zu ihm bekehren; wie geschrieben steht Jer. 3: „Wenn sich ein Mann von seinem Weibe scheiden läßt, und sie zeucht [zieht] von ihm und nimmt einen andern Mann, darf er sie auch wieder annehmen? Ist's nicht also, daß das Land verunreiniget würde? Du aber hast mit viel Buhlern gehuret; doch komm wieder zu mir, spricht der HErr."

Daß aber gesagt wird Joh. 6, „niemand komme zu Christo, der Vater ziehe ihn denn", ist recht und wahr. Aber der Vater will das nicht tun ohne Mittel, sondern hat dazu sein Wort und Sakramente als ordentliche Mittel und Werkzeuge verordnet; und [es] ist weder des Vaters noch des Sohnes Wille, daß ein Mensch die Predigt seines Wortes nicht hören oder verachten und auf das Ziehen des Vaters ohne Wort und Sakramente warten solle. Denn der Vater zeucht [zieht] wohl mit der Kraft seines Heiligen Geistes, jedoch, seisionem suam nobis donaturus. Hoc enim Christus nobis ipse sancte promisit, dicens Luc. 11, 11 sqq.: *Quis autem ex vobis patrem petit panem, numquid lapidem dabit illi; aut piscem, numquid pro pisce serpentem dabit illi; aut si petierit ovum, numquid porriget illi scorpionem? Si ergo vos, cum sitis mali, nostis bona dona dare filiis vestris, quanto magis Pater vester coelestis dabit Spiritum bonum petentibus se?*

73] Et quia Spiritus Sanctus in electis, qui iam in Christum credunt, habitat [R. 817 (1 Cor. 3, 16) ut in templo suo et in ipsis non est otiosus, sed impellit filios Dei ad obedientiam mandatis Dei praestandam, ipsos etiam credentes non otiosos esse, multo vero minus agenti et operanti Spiritui Sancto resistere decet. Exerceant igitur sese in omnibus virtutibus, homine Christiano dignis, in omni videlicet pietate, modestia, temperantia, patientia et caritate fraterna, magnamque diligentiam adhibeant, ut vocationem et electionem suam firmam faciant, ut tanto minus de ea dubitent, quanto efficacius Spiritus Sancti vir-
74] tutem et robur in se sentiunt. *Spiritus Dei enim testimonium perhibet electis, quod sint filii Dei,* Rom. 8, 16. Quodsi etiam aliquando in tam graves tentationes inciderint, ut prorsus nullam amplius inhabitantis Spiritus Dei virtutem in se animadvertere et sentire possint, ut cum Davide queribunda voce dicant, Ps. 31, 23: *Ego dixi in excessu mentis meae: Proiectus sum a facie oculorum tuorum,* tamen rursum se erigant et illud cum Davide adiiciant (utcunque aliud in se sentiant): *Ideo exaudisti vocem orationis meae, dum clamarem ad te.*

75] Cum etiam electio nostra ad vitam aeternam non virtutibus aut iustitia nostra, sed solo Christi merito et benigna coelestis Patris voluntate nitatur, qui se ipsum negare non potest (cum in voluntate et essentia sua sit immutabilis): eam ob causam, quando filii ipsius obedientiam non praestant, sed in peccata labuntur, per Verbum eos ad poenitentiam revocat, et Spiritus Sanctus per Verbum vult in iis efficax esse, ut in viam redeant et vitam emendent. Quando igitur vera poenitentia et fide rursus ad ipsum sese convertunt, Pater coelestis animum suum paternum constanter omnibus suis ostendere vult, qui ad Verbum eius tremunt et serio resipiscunt. Sic enim scriptum est Ier. 3, 1: *Si dimiserit vir uxorem suam, et recedens ab eo, viro alteri nupserit, numquid revertetur ad eum* [R. 818 *ultra? Numquid non ipsa terra sic contaminaretur? Tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis; tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus.*

76] Quod vero in sacris litteris, Ioh. 6, 44, asseritur, *neminem ad Christum venire posse, nisi Pater eum trahat,* id pie et recte dicitur. Pater autem neminem trahere vult absque mediis; sed utitur tamquam ordinariis mediis et instrumentis, Verbo suo et sacramentis. Et neque Patris neque Filii voluntas est, ut quisquam praedicationem Verbi negligat aut contemnat et interim exspectet, donec a Patre absque Verbo et sacramento trahatur. Pater enim trahit quidem hominem virtute Spiritus

said, Luke 11, 11 ff.: *If a son shall ask bread of any of you that is a father, will he give him a stone? Or if he ask a fish, will he for a fish give him a serpent? Or if he shall ask an egg, will he offer him a scorpion? If ye, then, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask Him!*

And since the Holy Ghost dwells in the elect, who have become believers, as in His temple, and is not idle in them, but impels the children of God to obedience to God's commands, believers, likewise, should not be idle, and much less resist the impulse of God's Spirit, but should exercise themselves in all Christian virtues, in all godliness, modesty, temperance, patience, brotherly love, and give all diligence to make their calling and election sure, in order that they may doubt the less concerning it, the more they experience the power and strength of the Spirit within them. For the Spirit bears witness to the elect that they are God's children, Rom. 8, 16. And although they sometimes fall into temptation so grievous that they imagine they perceive no more power of the indwelling Spirit of God, and say with David, Ps. 31, 22: *I said in my haste, I am cut off from before Thine eyes,* yet they should, without regard to what they experience in themselves, again [be encouraged and] say with David, as is written *ibidem,* in the words immediately following: *Nevertheless Thou heardest the voice of my supplications when I cried unto Thee.*

And since our election to eternal life is founded not upon our godliness or virtue, but alone upon the merit of Christ and the gracious will of His Father, who cannot deny Himself, because He is unchangeable in will and essence, therefore, when His children depart from obedience and stumble, He has them called again to repentance through the Word, and the Holy Ghost wishes thereby to be efficacious in them for conversion; and when they turn to Him again in true repentance by a right faith, He will always manifest the old paternal heart to all those who tremble at His Word and from their heart turn again to Him, as it is written, Jer. 3, 1: *If a man put away his wife, and she go from him and become another man's, shall he return unto her again? Shall not that land be greatly polluted? But thou hast played the harlot with many lovers; yet return again to Me, saith the Lord.*

Moreover, the declaration, John 6, 44, that *no one can come to Christ except the Father draw him,* is right and true. However, the Father will not do this without means, but has ordained for this purpose His Word and Sacraments as ordinary means and instruments; and it is the will neither of the Father nor of the Son that a man should not hear or should despise the preaching of His Word, and wait for the drawing of the Father without the Word and Sacraments. For the Father draws indeed by the power of His Holy Ghost,

ner gemeinen Ordnung nach, durch das Gehör seines heiligen göttlichen Wortes als mit einem Netze, dadurch die Auserwählten aus dem Rachen des Teufels gerissen werden, dazu sich ein jeder armer Sünder verfügen, dasselbe mit Fleiß hören und an dem Ziehen des Vaters nicht zweifeln soll; denn der Heilige Geist will mit seiner Kraft bei dem Wort sein und dadurch wirken; und das ist das Ziehen des Vaters.

Daß aber nicht alle die, so es gehört, glauben und derhalben so viel desto tiefer verdammt werden, [davon] ist nicht die Ursache, daß ihnen Gott die Seligkeit nicht gegönnt hätte, sondern sie selbst sind schuldig [schuld] dran, die solchergestalt das Wort gehört [haben], nicht zu lernen, sondern dasselbe allein zu verachten, zu lästern und zu schänden, und daß sie dem Heiligen Geist, der durchs Wort in ihnen wirken wollte, widerstrebt haben, wie es eine Gestalt [Bewandtnis] zur Zeit Christi mit den Pharisäern und ihrem Anhang gehabt. So unterscheidet der Apostel mit [be]sonderem Fleiß das Werk Gottes, der allein Gefäße der Ehre macht, und das Werk des Teufels und des Menschen, der sich selbst aus Eingebung des Teufels, und nicht Gottes, zum Gefäß der Unehre gemacht hat. Denn also steht geschrieben Röm. 9: „Gott hat mit großer Geduld getragen die Gefäße des Zorns, die da zugerichtet sind zur Verdammnis, auf daß er kundtäte den Reichtum seiner Herrlichkeit an den Gefäßen der Barmherzigkeit, die er bereitet hat zur Seligkeit."

Da denn der Apostel deutlich sagt, Gott habe die Gefäße des Zorns mit großer Geduld **getragen,** und sagt nicht, er habe sie zu Gefäßen des Zorns **gemacht;** denn da es sein Wille gewesen wäre, hätte er keiner großen Geduld dazu bedörfet [bedurft]. Daß sie aber bereitet sind zur Verdammnis, daran sind der Teufel und die Menschen selbst, und nicht Gott, schuldig.

Denn alle Bereitung zur Verdammnis ist vom Teufel und Menschen, durch die Sünde, und ganz und gar nicht von Gott, der nicht will, daß ein Mensch verdammt werde: wie sollte er denn einen Menschen zur Verdammnis selbst bereiten? Denn wie Gott nicht ist eine Ursache der Sünde, also ist er auch keine Ursache der Strafe, der Verdammnis, sondern die einige [die alleinige] Ursache der Verdammnis ist die Sünde; denn „der Sünde Sold ist der Tod". Und wie Gott die Sünde nicht will, auch keinen Gefallen an der Sünde hat, also **will er auch nicht den Tod des Sünders,** hat auch keinen Gefallen über ihrer [an ihrer] Verdammnis; denn er „will nicht, daß jemand verloren werde, sondern daß sich jedermann zur Buße bekehre", 2 Petr. 3; wie geschrieben steht Ezech. 18 und 33: „Ich habe keinen Gefallen am Tode des Sterbenden. So wahr, als ich lebe, will ich nicht den Tod des Sünders, sondern daß er sich bekehre und lebe." Und St. Paulus bezeugt mit lauteren [mit klaren] Worten, daß aus den Gefäßen der Unehre Gefäße der Ehre durch Gottes Kraft und Wirkung werden mögen, da er also schreibt 2 Tim. 2: „So nun jemand sich reiniget von solchen Leuten, der wird ein geheiliget Faß sein, zu Ehren, dem Hausherrn bräuchlich, und zu allen guten Werken bereitet." Denn wer sich reinigen soll, der muß zuvor unrein und demnach ein Gesui Sancti, trahit tamen eum iuxta ordinem a se decretum et institutum, videlicet per auditionem Verbi sui divini, tamquam reti aut sagena, qua electi e faucibus Satanae

77] eripiuntur. Ad conciones itaque sacras miseri peccatores conveniant, Verbum Dei accurata diligentia audiant neque dubitent, quin Pater eos ad Filium suum Christum sit pertracturus. Spiritus enim Sanctus virtute sua ministerio adesse et per illud ad hominum salutem vult operari. Et hic est tractus ille Patris, de quo sacrae litterae loquuntur.

78] Quod autem non omnes, qui Verbum Dei audiunt, credunt, ideoque ad graviora supplicia in aeternum damnantur, non existimandum est, Deum illis salutem invidere. Ipsi suae perditionis causa sunt et culpam sustinent, propterea quod Verbum non ea intentione aut eo proposito audierint, ut illud serio et cum desiderio discerent, sed ut auditum Verbum spernerent, blasphemarent, conviciis proscinderent et Spiritui Sancto, qui per Verbum in ipsis operari volebat, resisterent. Tales olim erant Christi temporibus Pharisaei

79] eorumque asseclae. Unde accurate apostolus distinguit inter opus Dei, qui solus facit vasa honoris, et inter opus diaboli et hominis, qui ex instinctu et impulsu [R. 819 diaboli (nequaquam autem impellente Deo) se ipsum vas contumeliae fecit. Sic enim scriptum est Rom. 9, 22 sq.: *Deus sustinuit in multa patientia vasa irae aptata in interitum, ut ostenderet divitias gloriae suae in vasa misericordiae, quae praeparavit in gloriam.*

80] His verbis Paulus diserte dicit, Deum vasa irae multa patientia *sustinuisse,* non autem dicit, Deum *fecisse* vasa irae. Si enim haec ipsius fuisset voluntas, non multa certe opus erat divina patientia. Quod autem aptata sunt ad interitum, in culpa sunt diabolus et homines, nullo autem modo Deus.

81] Omnis enim praeparatio seu aptatio ad interitum a diabolo est et ab homine, per peccatum, nequaquam autem a Deo. Deus enim non vult, ut homo ullus damnetur: quomodo igitur hominem ad damnationem ipse praepararet seu aptaret? Ut enim Deus non est causa peccati, ita etiam non est poenae, hoc est, damnationis, sed unica causa damnationis est peccatum. *Stipendium enim peccati mors est,* Rom. 6, 23. Et ut Deus non vult peccatum nec peccato delectatur, ita etiam *non vult mortem peccatoris,* Ezech. 33, 11, neque ipsius damnatione delectatur. *Non enim vult Deus quemquam perire, sed potius, ut omnes poenitentiam agant,* 2 Petr. 3, 9. Sic enim scriptum est in Ezechiele, 18, 23; 33, 11: *Vivo ego, dicit Dominus, nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut con-*

82] *vertatur et vivat.* Et Paulus disertis verbis testatur, quod ex vasis ignominiae vasa in honorem (per virtutem et operationem Dei) fieri possint. Sic enim scribit 2 Tim. 2, 21: *Si quis emundaverit se ab istis, erit vas in honorem, sanctificatum et utile Domino, ad omne opus bonum paratum.* Qui autem se emundare debet, eum necesse est prius fuisse immundum, impurum et per consequens vas ignominiae. De vasis autem misericordiae apostolus clare dicit, quod Dominus ipse

however, according to His usual order [the order decreed and instituted by Himself], by the hearing of His holy, divine Word, as with a net, by which the elect are plucked from the jaws of the devil. Every poor sinner should therefore repair thereto [to holy preaching], hear it attentively, and not doubt the drawing of the Father. For the Holy Ghost will be with His Word in His power, and work by it; and that is the drawing of the Father.

But the reason why not all who hear it believe, and some are therefore condemned the more deeply [eternally to severer punishments], is not because God had begrudged them their salvation; but it is their own fault, as they have heard the Word in such a manner as not to learn, but only to despise, blaspheme, and disgrace it, and have resisted the Holy Ghost, who through the Word wished to work in them, as was the case at the time of Christ with the Pharisees and their adherents. Hence the apostle distinguishes with especial care the work of God, who alone makes vessels of honor, and the work of the devil and of man, who by the instigation of the devil, and not of God, has made himself a vessel of dishonor. For thus it is written, Rom. 9, 22 f.: *God endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy, which He had afore prepared unto glory.*

Here, then, the apostle clearly says that God *endured* with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath, but does not say that He *made* them vessels of wrath; for if this had been His will, He would not have required any great long-suffering for it. The fault, however, that they are fitted for destruction belongs to the devil and to men themselves, and not to God.

For all preparation for condemnation is by the devil and man, through sin, and in no respect by God, who does not wish that any man be damned; how, then, should He Himself prepare any man for condemnation? For as God is not a cause of sins, so, too, He is no cause of punishment, of damnation; but the only cause of damnation is sin; for *the wages of sin is death,* Rom. 6, 23. And as God does not will sin, and has no pleasure in sin, so He does not wish *the death of the sinner either,* Ezek. 33, 11, nor has He pleasure in his condemnation. For He is not willing *that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance,* 2 Pet. 3, 9. So, too, it is written in Ezek. 18, 23; 33, 11: *As I live, saith the Lord God, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.* And St. Paul testifies in clear words that from vessels of dishonor vessels of honor may be made by God's power and working, when he writes thus, 2 Tim. 2, 21: *If a man, therefore, purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work.* For he who is to purge himself must first have been un-

fäß der Unehre gewesen sein. Aber von den Gefäßen der Barmherzigkeit sagt er klar, daß der HErr selbst sie bereitet habe zur Herrlichkeit, welches er nicht sagt von den Verdammten, die sich selbst (und nicht Gott) zu Gefäßen der Verdammnis bereitet haben.

Es ist auch mit Fleiß zu bedenken: wenn Gott Sünde mit Sünden, das ist, diejenigen, so bekehrt gewesen, von wegen folgender ihrer Sicherheit, Unbußfertigkeit und mutwilligen Sünden, hernach mit Verstockung und Verblendung straft, daß solches nicht dahin gezogen werden solle, als wäre es Gottes wohlgefälliger Wille niemals gewesen, daß solche Leute zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit kommen [sollten] und selig würden. Denn es ist beides Gottes offenbarter Wille:

Erstlich, daß Gott alle, so Buße tun und an Christum glauben, zu Gnaden aufnehmen wolle.

Zum andern, daß er auch die, so sich mutwillig von dem heiligen Gebot abwenden und in den Unflat der Welt wieder einflechten, 2 Petr. 2, dem Satan das Herz schmücken, Luk. 11, den Heiligen Geist schänden, Hebr. 10, strafen wolle, und da sie drin verharren, daß sie verstockt, verblendet und ewig verdammt sollen werden.

Demnach auch Pharao (von dem geschrieben steht: „Eben darum habe ich dich erwecket, daß meine Kraft an dir erscheine und mein Name verkündiget würde in allen Landen") nicht darum zugrund [ge]gangen, daß Gott ihm die Seligkeit nicht gegönnt haben sollte, oder sein wohlgefälliger Wille gewesen wäre, daß er sollte verdammt und verloren werden; denn Gott will nicht, daß jemand verloren werde, hat auch keinen Gefallen am Tode des Sünders, sondern will, daß er sich bekehre und lebe, Ezech. 33.

Daß aber Gott Pharaos Herz verhärtet, daß nämlich Pharao immer fort und fort sündigt, und je mehr er vermahnt [wird], je verstockter er wird, das ist eine Strafe seiner vorgehenden Sünde und greulichen Tyrannei gewesen, die er an den Kindern Israel viel und mancherlei, ganz unmenschlich und wider das Anklagen seines Herzens geübt hat. Und weil ihm Gott sein Wort predigen und seinen Willen verkündigen ließ, und aber [und dennoch] Pharao sich mutwillig stracks wider alle Vermahnung und Warnung auflehnte, hat Gott die Hand von ihm abgezogen, und ist also das Herz verhärtet und verstockt [worden], und hat Gott sein Gericht an ihm erzeigt; denn er anders nichts denn des höllischen Feuers schuldig war. Wie denn der heilige Apostel das Exempel Pharaos auch anders nicht einführt, denn hiermit die Gerechtigkeit Gottes zu erweisen, die er über die Unbußfertigen und Verächter seines Wortes erzeigt, keineswegs aber dahin gemeint noch verstanden [hat], daß Gott ihm oder einigem Menschen die Seligkeit nicht gönnete, sondern [ihn] also in seinem heimlichen Rat zur ewigen Verdammnis verordnet [hätte], daß er nicht sollte können oder mögen selig werden.

Durch diese Lehre und Erklärung von der ewigen und seligmachenden Wahl der auserwählten Kinder Gottes **wird Gott seine Ehre ganz und völlig gegeben,** daß er aus lauter Barmherzig-

praeparaverit ea ad gloriam, id quod nequaquam affirmat de damnatis, qui ipsi (non autem Deus) sese vasa damnationis fecerunt.

83] Sed et hoc magna cura considerandum est, quando Dominus peccata peccatis [R. 820 punit, hoc est, cum eos, qui aliquando conversi fuerant, propter subsequentem securitatem carnalem, impoenitentiam, contumaciam in sceleribus et propter voluntaria flagitia punit excaecatione et induratione, id non ita accipiendum esse, quasi Deus nunquam serio voluisset, ut tales ad agnitionem veritatis pervenirent et salutem consequerentur. Ut enim haec voluntas Dei revelata est:

I. Quod Deus omnes resipiscentes et in Christum credentes in gratiam recipere velit. Ita et haec est Dei revelata voluntas,

II. Quod eos, qui sponte sese a sancto Dei mandato avertunt, *in coinquinationes mundi se denuo implicant,* 2 Petr. 2, 20, *et Satanae cor adornant,* Luc. 11, 25 sq., *Spiritumque gratiae contumelia afficiunt,* Hebr. 10, 29, severissime punire velit, et quod tales, si in impietate perseveraverint, indurandi, excaecandi et in aeternum damnandi sint.

84] Itaque Pharao (de quo scriptum est Exod. 9, 16; Rom. 9, 17.: *In hoc ipsum excitavi te, ut ostendam in te virtutem meam, et ut annuntietur nomen meum in universa terra*) non ideo periit, quod Deus illi salutem invideret, aut quasi Deus ipsius damnatione et interitu delectaretur. *Deus enim non vult quemquam perire* [2 Pet. 3, 9]; *neque morte peccatoris delectatur; sed vult, ut convertatur et vivat* Ezech. 33, 11.

85] Quod autem Dominus cor Pharaonis indurat, ut Pharao subinde peccando pergat, et quo gravius admonetur, eo magis ipse induretur, id poena est antecedentium ipsius peccatorum et immanissimae et multiplicis tyrannidis, quam in filios Israel (contra conscientiae suae stimulos) exercuerat. Et cum Dominus ipsi Verbum ac voluntatem suam annuntiari curaret, Pharao vero nihilominus ex proposito et destinata malitia simpliciter adversus omnes exhortationes et admonitiones contumaciter insurgeret, Dominus manum ab eo suam retraxit, eum deseruit, atque [R. 821 ita cor ipsius induratum est, et Dominus iustum iudicium suum adversus eum exsecutus est. Omnino enim Pharao aeterno gehen-
86] nae incendio dignus erat. Et sane divus Paulus exemplum Pharaonis non alio fine affert, quam ut eo ipso Dei iustitiam declararet, quam in impoenitentibus hominibus et Verbi divini contemptoribus puniendis demonstrat. Nequaquam autem Pauli mens est, quod Dominus Pharaoni aut ulli alii homini salutem invideat, aut quod in arcano suo consilio quemquam ad damnationem praedestinaverit, ut ille nullo modo salutem consequi possit.

87] Hac pia doctrina et declaratione articuli de aeterna et salvifica electorum filiorum Dei praedestinatione *Deo gloria sua omnis solide tribuitur,* quod videlicet mera et gra-

clean, and hence a vessel of dishonor. But concerning the vessels of mercy he says clearly that the Lord Himself has prepared them for glory, which he does not say concerning the damned, who themselves, and not God, have prepared themselves as vessels of damnation.

Moreover, it is to be diligently considered that when God punishes sin with sins, that is, when He afterwards punishes with obduracy and blindness those who had been converted, because of their subsequent security, impenitence, and wilful sins, this should not be interpreted to mean that it never had been God's good pleasure that such persons should come to the knowledge of the truth and be saved. For both these facts are God's revealed will:

First, that God will receive into grace all who repent and believe in Christ.

Secondly, that He also will punish those who wilfully turn away from the holy commandment, and again entangle themselves in the filth of the world, 2 Pet. 2, 20, and garnish their hearts for Satan, Luke 11, 25 f., and do despite unto the Spirit of God, Heb. 10, 29, and that they shall be hardened, blinded, and eternally condemned if they persist therein.

Accordingly, even Pharaoh (of whom it is written, Ex. 9, 16; Rom. 9, 17: *In very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee My power, and that My name may be declared throughout all the earth*) perished, not because God had begrudged him salvation, or because it had been His good pleasure that he should be damned and lost. For God *is not willing that any should perish*, 2 Pet. 3, 9; *He also has no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live*, Ezek. 33, 11.

But that God hardened Pharaoh's heart, namely, that Pharaoh always sinned again and again, and became the more obdurate, the more he was admonished, that was a punishment of his antecedent sin and horrible tyranny, which in many and manifold ways he practised inhumanly and against the accusations of his heart towards the children of Israel. And since God caused His Word to be preached and His will to be proclaimed to him, and Pharaoh nevertheless wilfully reared up straightway against all admonitions and warnings, God withdrew His hand from him, and thus his heart became hardened and obdurate, and God executed His judgment upon him; for he was guilty of nothing else than hell-fire. Accordingly, the holy apostle also introduces the example of Pharaoh for no other reason than to prove by it the justice of God which He exercises towards the impenitent and despisers of His Word; by no means, however, has he intended or understood it to mean that God begrudged salvation to him or any person, but had so ordained him to eternal damnation in His secret counsel that he should not be able, or that it should not be possible for him, to be saved.

By this doctrine and explanation of the eternal and saving choice [predestination] of the elect children of God His own glory is entirely and fully given to God, that in Christ

keit in Christo, ohne alle unser Verdienst oder gute Werke uns selig mache, nach dem Vorsatz seines Willens, wie geschrieben steht Eph. 1: „Er hat uns verordnet zur Kindschaft gegen ihn selbst durch JEsum Christum nach dem Wohlgefallen seines Willens, zu Lob seiner Herrlichkeit und Gnade, durch welche er uns hat angenehm gemacht in dem Geliebten." Darum es falsch und unrecht, wenn gelehrt wird, daß nicht allein die Barmherzigkeit Gottes und [das] allerheiligste Verdienst Christi, sondern **auch in uns** eine Ursache der Wahl Gottes sei, um welcher willen Gott uns zum ewigen Leben erwählt habe. Denn nicht allein, ehe wir etwas Gutes getan, sondern auch, ehe wir geboren werden, hat er uns in Christo erwählt, ja, ehe der Welt Grund gelegt war, und „auf daß der Vorsatz Gottes bestünde nach der Wahl, ward zu ihm gesagt, nicht aus Verdienst der Werke, sondern aus Gnaden des Berufers, also: Der Größte soll dienstbar werden dem Kleineren". Wie denn geschrieben steht: „Ich habe Jakob geliebet, aber Esau habe ich gehasset", Röm. 9; Gen. 25; Mal. 1.

Desgleichen gibt diese Lehre niemand Ursache weder zur Kleinmütigkeit noch zu einem frechen, wilden Leben, wenn die Leute gelehrt werden, daß sie die ewige Wahl in Christo und seinem heiligen Evangelio, als in dem Buch des Lebens, suchen sollen, welches keinen bußfertigen Sünder ausschleußt [ausschließt], sondern zur Buße und Erkenntnis ihrer Sünden und zum Glauben an Christum alle armen, beschwerten und betrübten Sünder lockt und ruft und den Heiligen Geist zur Reinigung und Erneurung verheißt und also den allerbeständigsten Trost den betrübten, angefochtenen Menschen gibt, daß sie wissen, daß ihre Seligkeit nicht in ihrer Hand stehe (sonst würden sie dieselbe viel leichtlicher, als Adam und Eva im Paradies geschehen, ja alle Stunden und Augenblicke verlieren), sondern in der gnädigen Wahl Gottes, die er uns in Christo geoffenbart hat, aus des Hand uns niemand reißen wird, Joh. 10; 2 Tim. 2.

Demnach, welcher die Lehre von der gnädigen Wahl Gottes also führt, daß sich die betrübten Christen derselben nicht trösten können, sondern dadurch zur Verzweiflung verursacht [werden], oder die Unbußfertigen in ihrem Mutwillen gestärkt werden, so ist ungezweifelt gewiß und wahr, daß dieselbe Lehre nicht nach dem Wort und Willen Gottes, sondern nach der Vernunft und Anstiftung des leidigen Teufels getrieben werde.

Denn, wie der Apostel zeugt Röm. 15, „alles, was geschrieben ist, das ist uns zur Lehre geschrieben, auf daß wir durch Geduld und Trost der Schrift Hoffnung haben". Da uns aber durch die Schrift [wenn uns aber durch Anführung von Stellen aus der Schrift] solcher Trost und Hoffnung geschwächt oder gar genommen [wird], so ist gewiß, daß sie wider des Heiligen Geistes Willen und Meinung verstanden und ausgelegt werde.

Bei dieser einfältigen, richtigen, nützlichen Erklärung, die in Gottes [ge]offenbartem Willen beständigen guten Grund hat, bleiben wir, fliehen und meiden alle hohen, spitzigen Fragen und Distuita misericordia in Christo (absque omnibus nostris meritis aut bonis operibus) salvos nos faciat, secundum voluntatis suae propositum. Sic enim scriptum est [Eph. 1, 5 sq.]: *Qui praedestinavit nos in adoptionem filiorum per Iesum Christum, in ipsum, in laudem gloriae gratiae suae, in qua acceptos nos fecit in* **88**] *Dilecto.* Falsum igitur est et cum Verbo Dei pugnat, cum docetur, quod non sola Dei misericordia et unicum sanctissimum Christi meritum, verum etiam *aliquid in nobis* causa sit electionis divinae, propter quod nos Deus ad vitam aeternam praedestinaverit. Non enim tantum antequam aliquid boni faceremus, verum etiam priusquam nasceremur, imo ante iacta fundamenta mundi, elegit nos Deus in Christo. Ut secundum electionem propositum Dei maneret, non ex operibus, sed ex vocante, dictum est ei: *Maior serviet minori.* Sicut scriptum est: *Iacob dilexi, Esau autem odio habui*, Rom. 9, 11 sqq.; Gen. 25, 23; Mal. 1, 2 sq.

89] Sed et haec pia doctrina nulli vel ad animi angustias, vel ad vitam dissolutam et impiam ullam occasionem praebet, [R. 822 quando videlicet homines docentur, quod aeternam electionem in Christo, qui liber vitae est, et sancto eius evangelio quaerere debeant. Evangelion enim nullum resipiscentem peccatorem a salute excludit, sed ad poenitentiam, ad agnitionem peccatorum suorum et ad fidem in Christum omnes peccato gravatos et sensu irae Dei perturbatos peccatores vocat et invitat et Spiritum Sanctum ad emundationem **90**] et sanctificationem promittit. Etenim hic articulus recte et dextre explicatus veram et omnium firmissimam consolationem perturbatis mentibus praebet, quia inde certi fiunt, quod salus aeterna non in manu ipsorum sit posita (quam alias multo facilius quam Adam et Eva in paradiso, imo singulis horis et momentis amitterent), sed norunt, eam in clementi divina praedestinatione fundatam esse, quam nobis revelavit in Christo, *ex cuius manu nemo nos rapiet*, Ioh. 10, 28; 2 Tim. 2, 19.

91] Quare si quis doctrinam de aeterna Dei praedestinatione eo modo proponat, ut vel perturbatae mentes ex ea consolationem nullam haurire possint, sed potius ad desperationem illis ansa praebeatur, vel impoenitentes in sua securitate, improbitate et malitia confirmentur, tum nihil certius est, quam quod articulus de electione non ad normam et iuxta voluntatem Dei, sed secundum humanae rationis caecum iudicium et ex impulsu atque instinctu diaboli male et perverse doceatur.

92] *Quidquid enim scriptum est* (ut apostolus Rom. 15, 4 testatur), *in doctrinam nostram scriptum est, ut per patientiam et consolationem Scripturae spem habeamus.* Quodsi nobis per Scripturam consolatio illa vel enervatur vel eripitur, certo certius est, Scripturam contra sententiam et mentem Spiritus Sancti explicari et intelligi.

93] In hac simplici, perspicua et salutari declaratione, quae in voluntate Dei [R. 823 revelata solidissimum habet fundamentum, acquiescimus et omnes argutas, curiosas et

He saves us out of pure [and free] mercy, without any merits or good works of ours, according to the purpose of His will, as it is written Eph. 1, 5 f.: *Having predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ to Himself, according to the good pleasure of His will, to the praise of the glory of His grace, wherein He hath made us accepted in the Beloved.* Therefore it is false and wrong [conflicts with the Word of God] when it is taught that not alone the mercy of God and the most holy merit of Christ, but that also in us there is a cause of God's election, on account of which God has chosen us to eternal life. For not only before we had done anything good, but also before we were born, yea, even before the foundations of the world were laid, He elected us in Christ; and *that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of Him that calleth, it was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger; as it is written concerning this matter, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated,* Rom. 9, 11 ff.; Gen. 25, 23; Mal. 1, 2 f.

Moreover, this doctrine gives no one a cause either for despondency or for a shameless, dissolute life, namely, when men are taught that they must seek eternal election in Christ and His holy Gospel, as in the Book of Life, which excludes no penitent sinner, but beckons and calls all the poor, heavy-laden, and troubled sinners [who are disturbed by the sense of God's wrath], to repentance and the knowledge of their sins and to faith in Christ, and promises the Holy Ghost for purification and renewal, and thus gives the most enduring consolation to all troubled, afflicted men, that they know that their salvation is not placed in their own hands, — for otherwise they would lose it much more easily than was the case with Adam and Eve in paradise, yea, every hour and moment, — but in the gracious election of God, which He has revealed to us in Christ, out of whose hand no man shall pluck us, John 10, 28; 2 Tim. 2, 19.

Accordingly, if any one presents the doctrine concerning the gracious election of God in such a manner that troubled Christians cannot derive comfort from it, but are thereby incited to despair, or that the impenitent are confirmed in their wantonness, it is undoubtedly sure and true that such a doctrine is taught, not according to the Word and will of God, but according to [the blind judgment of human] reason and the instigation of the devil.

For, as the apostle testifies, Rom. 15, 4: *Whatsoever things were written aforetime were written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope.* But when this consolation and hope are weakened or entirely removed by Scripture, it is certain that it is understood and explained contrary to the will and meaning of the Holy Ghost.

By this simple, correct [clear], useful explanation which has a firm and good founda-

putationes; und was diesen einfältigen, nützlichen Erklärungen zuwider ist, das verwerfen und verdammen wir.

Und so viel von den zwiespaltigen Artikeln, die unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession nun viel Jahre disputiert [sind], darin sich etliche geirrt, und darüber schwere controversiae, das ist, Religionsstreite, entstanden.

Aus welcher unserer Erklärung Freund und Feind und also männiglich [jedermann] klar abzunehmen [vermag], daß wir nicht bedacht [sind], um zeitlichen Friedens, Ruhe und Einigkeit willen etwas der ewigen, unwandelbaren Wahrheit Gottes (wie auch solches zu tun in unserer Macht nicht steht) zu begeben [etwas von der Wahrheit Gottes nachzugeben, preiszugeben], welcher Friede und Einigkeit, da sie wider die Wahrheit und zur Unterdrückung derselben gemeint, auch keinen Bestand haben würde; noch viel weniger gesinnet [sind], Verfälschung der reinen Lehre und öffentliche, verdammte Irrtümer zu schmücken und zu decken; sondern zu solcher Einigkeit herzliche Lust und Liebe tragen und dieselbe unsers Teils nach unserm äußersten Vermögen zu befördern von Herzen geneigt und begierig [sind], durch welche Gott seine Ehre unverletzt [bleibt], der göttlichen Wahrheit des heiligen Evangelii nichts begeben, dem wenigsten Irrtum nichts eingeräumt, die armen Sünder zu wahrhaftiger, rechter Buße gebracht, durch den Glauben aufgerichtet, im neuen Gehorsam gestärkt und also allein durch das einige Verdienst Christi gerecht und ewig selig werden.

ad aedificationem inutiles quaestiones atque disputationes fugimus atque aversamur. Et si quae huic simplici, sincerae atque salutari explicationi repugnant, ea reiicimus atque damnamus.

94] Et haec de controversis articulis (de quibus inter theologos Augustanae Confessionis multos iam annos disputatum est, cum quidam in illis errassent, unde difficiles controversiae et certamina religionis eruperunt) dixisse sufficiat.

95] Speramus autem omnes, tam adversarios quam amicos nostros, ex hac declaratione deprehensuros, nostrum propositum haudquaquam fuisse, propter temporariam pacem, tranquillitatem aut concordiam aliquid (cum iactura aut detrimento aeternae atque immotae atque immutabilis veritatis coelestis) cuiquam largiri, id quod etiam non in nostra est potestate. Neque vero talis pax et concordia, quae veritati adversaretur et eiusdem oppressionem moliretur, diu durare posset. Sed et ne in animum quidem nostrum unquam induximus, purioris doctrinae corruptelas vel etiam manifestos damnatosque errores fuco quodam commendare, dissimulare **96**] aut occultare. Hanc vero concordiam ex animo diligimus et toto pectore amplectimur eamque pro virili (quantum quidem in nobis erit) promovere summo studio cupimus, qua Deo honor suus illibatus servetur, veritati evangelicae nihil decedat, nulli etiam falso dogmati locus concedatur, peccatores ad seriam poenitentiam invitentur, perturbatae mentes fide erigantur, in obedientia nova confirmentur atque adeo per unicum Christi meritum iustitiam veram et salutem aeternam consequantur.

XII.

Von andern Rotten und Sekten, so sich niemals zu der Augsburgischen Konfession bekennet [bekannt haben].

Was aber die Sekten und Rotten belangt, die sich zur Augsburgischen Konfession nie bekannt, und derselben [und deren] in dieser unserer Erklärung nicht ausdrücklich Meldung geschehen [ist], als da sind Wiedertäufer, Schwenckfeldianer, neue Arianer und Antitrinitarier, deren Irrtümer einhellig von allen Kirchen Augsburgischer Konfession verdammt worden: haben wir derselben der Ursachen in dieser Erklärung nicht insonderheit und vornehmlich Meldung tun wollen, dieweil auf diesmal allein das gesucht [weil wir diesmal allein das im folgenden Genannte gesucht haben, nämlich, die römischen Verleumdungen, die Lutheraner seien unter sich selber nicht einig, zu widerlegen].

Nachdem unser Gegenteil mit unverschämtem Munde vor[ge]geben und in aller Welt unsere Kirchen und derselben Lehrer ausgerufen [verschrien hat], daß nicht zwei Prädikanten gefunden [würden], die in allen und jeden Artikeln der Augsburgischen Konfession einig [seien], sondern dermaßen untereinander zerrissen und zertrennt, daß sie selbst nicht mehr wissen, was die Augsburgische Konfession und derselben eigentlicher Verstand sei, haben wir nicht mit kurzen bloßen

XII. [R. 824

DE ALIIS HAERETICIS ET SECTARIIS, qui Augustanam Confessionem nunquam sunt amplexi.

1] Irrepserunt etiam hinc inde alii quidam haeretici et sectarii, qui Augustanam Confessionem non amplectuntur aut profitentur, quorum in hac declaratione nominatim nullam mentionem fecimus, ut sunt: Anabaptistae, Schwencfeldiani, Novi Ariani et Antitrinitarii. **2**] Horum errores unanimi consensu ab omnibus ecclesiis Augustanam confessionem profitentibus damnati sunt. Noluimus autem de illis erroribus in hoc scripto nisi incidenter agere, propterea quod hoc tempore scopum illum praefixum habuerimus, ut potissimum adversariorum pontificiorum calumnias refutaremus.

3] Illi enim sine fronte in toto Christiano orbe ecclesias nostras earumque sinceros doctores hactenus traduxerunt atque iactarunt non reperiri duos saltem evangelicos concionatores, qui de omnibus et singulis articulis Augustanae Confessionis consentiant, sed tantas inter eos omnes esse dissensiones, ut ne quidem amplius norint, quae sit vera Augustana Confessio et ipsius genuina et germana sententia. **4**] Non igitur nudis et paucis verbis aut nomi-

tion in God's revealed will, we abide; we flee from, and shun, all lofty, acute questions and disputations [useless for edifying]; and reject and condemn whatever is contrary to these simple, useful explanations.

So much concerning the controverted articles which have been discussed for many years already among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, in which some have erred and severe *controversiae* (controversies), that is, religious disputes, have arisen.

From this our explanation, friends and enemies, and therefore every one, may clearly infer that we have no intention of yielding aught of the eternal, immutable truth of God for the sake of temporal peace, tranquillity, and unity (which, moreover, is not in our power to do). Nor would such peace and unity, since it is devised against the truth and for its suppression, have any permanency. Still less are we inclined to adorn and conceal a corruption of the pure doctrine and manifest, condemned errors. But we entertain heartfelt pleasure and love for, and are on our part sincerely inclined and anxious to advance, that unity according to our utmost power, by which His glory remains to God uninjured, nothing of the divine truth of the Holy Gospel is surrendered, no room is given to the least error, poor sinners are brought to true, genuine repentance, raised up by faith, confirmed in new obedience, and thus justified and eternally saved alone through the sole merit of Christ.

XII.

OF OTHER FACTIONS [HERETICS] AND SECTS,

Which Never Embraced the Augsburg Confession.

However, as regards the sects and factions [sectarists and heretics] which never have embraced the Augsburg Confession, and of which express mention has not been made in this our explanation, such as are the Anabaptists, Schwenckfeldians, New Arians, and Anti-Trinitarians, whose errors have been unanimously condemned by all churches of the Augsburg Confession, we have not wished to make particular and especial mention of them in this explanation, for the reason that at the present time this has been our only aim [that we might above all refute the charges of our adversaries, the Papists].

Since our opponents alleged with shameless mouths, and decried throughout all the world our churches and their teachers, claiming that not two preachers are found who agree in each and every article of the Augsburg Confession, but that they are rent asunder and separated from one another to such an extent that they themselves no longer know what is the Augs-

Worten oder Namen uns zusammen bekennet [bekannt], sondern von allen vorgefallenen Artikeln, so allein unter den Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession disputiert und angefochten, eine lautere, helle, unterschiedliche Erklärung tun wollen, auf daß männiglich [jedermann] sehen möge, daß wir solches alles nicht arglistigerweise verschlahen [verschlagen, verheimlichen] oder verdecken oder uns allein zum Schein vergleichen, sondern der Sache mit Grund helfen und unsere Meinung also hievon dartun wollen, daß auch unsere Widersacher selbst bekennen müssen, daß wir in solchem allem bei dem rechten, einfältigen, natürlichen und eigentlichen Verstand der Augsburgischen Konfession bleiben; bei welcher wir auch durch Gottes Gnade begehren standhaftig bis an unser Ende zu verharren und, soviel an unserm Dienst gelegen, nicht zusehen noch stille schweigen wollen, daß derselben zuwider etwas in unsere Kirchen und Schulen eingeführt werde, darin uns der allmächtige Gott und Vater unsers HErrn JEsu Christi zu Lehrern und Hirten gesetzt hat.

num nostrorum subscriptionibus tantummodo de nostro consensu testari voluimus, sed de omnibus articulis, de quibus ab Augustanae Confessionis theologis disceptatum fuit, perspicuam, disertam, sinceram declarationem conscribere voluimus. Idque eo consilio fecimus, ut omnes intelligant, nos illas [R. 825 controversias et falsas opiniones neque malitiose dissimulare neque occultare voluisse. Et 5] deprehendent boni et intelligentes viri non hoc nos egisse, ut fucatam et simulatam concordiam faceremus, nec ut malis istis medicinam aliquam superficiariam, sed ut remedia 6] solida et vera adhiberemus. Itaque sententiam nostram liquidissime proposuimus, ut adversarios etiam nostros fateri oporteat, quod in tota hac controversiarum tractatione et explicatione veram, simplicem, sinceram, genuinam atque propriissimam Augustanae Confessionis sententiam retinere voluerimus. Et sane in ea pia sententia per gratiam Dei constanter ad ultimum usque spiritum perseverare cupimus. Et quantum quidem proficisci a cura nostra rationibusque ministerii nostri potest, non connivebimus aut silentio nostro committemus, ut aliquid, quod cum genuina et pia Augustanae Confessionis sententia pugnet, in ecclesias aut scholas nostras invehatur, in quibus nos Deus et Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi doctores et pastores esse voluit.

Damit uns aber nicht stillschweigend oberzählter Rotten und Sekten verdammte Irrtümer zugemessen werden (welche mehrerenteils an den Orten und sonderlich zu der Zeit heimlich, wie solcher Geister Art ist, eingeschlichen, da dem reinen Wort des heiligen Evangelii nicht Platz noch Raum gegeben, sondern alle desselben rechtschaffenen Lehrer und Bekenner verfolgt worden, und die tiefe Finsternis des Papsttums noch regiert [hat] und die armen einfältigen Leute, so des Papsttums öffentliche Abgötterei und falschen Glauben greifen müssen, in ihrer Einfalt leider angenommen [haben], was nach dem Evangelio genannt und nicht päpstisch war), haben wir nicht unterlassen können, uns dawider auch öffentlich vor der ganzen Christenheit zu bezeugen, daß wir mit derselben Irrtümern, es seien ihrer viel oder wenig, weder Teil noch Gemein[schaft] haben, sondern solche allezumal als unrecht und ketzerisch, der heiligen Propheten und Apostel Schriften, auch unserer christlichen und in Gottes Wort wohlgegründeten Augsburgischen Konfession zuwider verwerfen und verdammen.

7] Ne quis autem tacitis nos cogitationibus accuset, quasi errores damnatos earum haeresium et sectarum (quarum supra paucis mentionem fecimus) ulla ex parte approbemus, facere non potuimus, quin publice coram tota ecclesia in hoc scripto protestaremur, nos illis erroribus omnibus (qualescunque et quotcunque tandem illi sint) nulla ex parte subscribere aut eos approbare, sed potius penitus reiicere atque damnare, propterea quod eos impios et fanaticos esse et cum prophetica et apostolica doctrina atque cum pia nostra Augustana Confessione in Verbo Dei probe 8] fundata pugnare iudicemus. Atque illi sane errores maxime in iis locis et tum temporis potissimum irrepserunt (ut est ingenium fanaticorum spirituum), ubi sincero Christi evangelio locus non erat, et unde omnes [R. 826 sinceri doctores et confessores evangelii fuere repulsi aut eiecti. Ubi enim crassissimae et plus quam cimmeriae, ut dici solet, papatus tenebrae regnabant, ibi miseri homines, qui pontificiam manifestissimam idololatriam et falsam doctrinam tantum non manibus palpant, ex mera simplicitate amplexi sunt, quidquid a papatu discrepabat et sub evangelii nomine ipsis obtrudebatur. Quorum malorum pontificia tyrannis, quae sinceram doctrinam persequitur, vel praecipua causa est.

Irrige Artikel der Wiedertäufer.

Als nämlich der Wiedertäufer irrige, ketzerische Lehre, die weder in der Kirche noch in der Polizei noch in der Haushaltung zu dulden und zu leiden, da sie lehren:

1. Daß unsere Gerechtigkeit vor Gott nicht allein auf dem einigen Gehorsam und Verdienst Christi, sondern in der Erneurung und unserer eigenen Frömmigkeit stehe, in welcher wir vor Gott wandeln; welche sie das mehrere Teil auf eigene sonderliche Satzungen und selbsterwählte Geistlichkeit, wie auf eine neue Möncherei, setzen.

Errores Anabaptistarum.

9] Reiicimus et damnamus falsa Anabaptistarum dogmata, quae neque in ecclesia Dei neque in politia neque in oeconomia tolerari possunt.

10] I. Quod iustitia nostra coram Deo non tantum in sola obedientia et unico merito Christi, verum etiam in nostra renovatione et propria iustitia (in qua coram Deo ambulamus) consistat. Et eam probitatem seu iustitiam Anabaptistae ut plurimum in peculiaribus observationibus et sua quadam electicia sanctimonia, quasi in quodam novo monachatu, collocant.

burg Confession and its proper [true, genuine, and germane] sense; we have not made a joint confession only in brief words or names, but wished to make a pure, clear, distinct declaration concerning all the disputed articles which have been discussed and controverted only among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, in order that every one may see that we do not wish in a cunning manner to dissemble or cover up all this, or to come to an agreement only in appearance; but to remedy the matter thoroughly, and have wished to set forth our opinion of these matters in such a manner that even our adversaries themselves must confess that in all this we abide by the true, simple, natural, and proper sense of the Augsburg Confession, in which we desire, moreover, by God's grace, to persevere constantly until our end; and so far as it depends on our service, we will not connive at or be silent, lest anything contrary to the same [the genuine and sacred sense of the Augsburg Confession] is introduced into our churches and schools, in which the almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has appointed us teachers and pastors.

However, lest there be silently ascribed to us the condemned errors of the above enumerated factions and sects ["of which evil the papistic tyranny, which persecutes the pure doctrine, is the chief cause"], — which, as is the nature of such spirits, for the most part, secretly stole in at localities, and especially at a time when no place or room was given to the pure Word of the holy Gospel, but all its sincere teachers and confessors were persecuted, and the deep darkness of the Papacy still prevailed, and poor simple men who could not help but feel the manifest idolatry and false faith of the Papacy, in their simplicity, alas! embraced whatever was called the Gospel, and was not papistic, — we could not forbear testifying also against them publicly, before all Christendom, that we have neither part nor fellowship with their errors, be they many or few, but reject and condemn them, one and all, as wrong and heretical, and contrary to the Scriptures of the prophets and apostles, and to our Christian Augsburg Confession, well grounded in God's Word.

Erroneous Articles of the Anabaptists.

Namely, for instance, the erroneous, heretical doctrines of the Anabaptists, which are to be tolerated and allowed neither in the Church, nor in the commonwealth, nor in domestic life, when they teach:

1. That our righteousness before God consists not only in the sole obedience and merit of Christ, but in our renewal and our own piety in which we walk before God; which they, for the most part, base upon their own peculiar ordinances and self-chosen spirituality, as upon a new sort of monkery.

2. Daß die Kinder, so nicht getauft, vor Gott nicht Sünder, sondern gerecht und unschuldig seien und also in ihrer Unschuld ohne die Taufe, deren sie nicht bedürfen, selig werden. Verleugnen und verwerfen also die ganze Lehre von der Erbsünde, und was derselben anhängig.

3. Daß die Kinder nicht sollen getauft werden, bis sie zu ihrem Verstand kommen und ihren Glauben selbst bekennen können.

4. Daß der Christen Kinder darum, weil sie von christlichen und gläubigen Eltern geboren, auch ohne und vor der Taufe heilig und Gottes Kinder seien, auch der Ursache [halber] der Kinder Taufe weder hochhalten noch befördern, wider die ausgedrückten Worte der Verheißung, die sich allein auf die erstrecken, welche den Bund halten und denselben nicht verachten, Gen. 17.

5. Daß dies keine rechte christliche Versammlung noch Gemeinde sei, in der noch Sünder gefunden werden.

6. Daß man keine Predigt hören noch besuchen soll in den Tempeln, darin zuvor päpstische Messen gelesen worden.

7. Daß man nichts mit den Kirchendienern, so das heilige Evangelium vermöge Augsburgischer Konfession predigen und der Wiedertäufer Irrtum strafen, zu schaffen haben, ihnen auch weder dienen noch etwas arbeiten, sondern [sie] als die Verkehrer Gottes Worts fliehen und meiden solle.

8. Daß die Obrigkeit kein gottseliger Stand im neuen Testament sei.

9. Daß ein Christenmensch mit gutem, unverletztem Gewissen das Amt der Obrigkeit nicht tragen könne.

10. Daß ein Christ mit unverletztem Gewissen das Amt der Obrigkeit in zufälligen Sachen wider die Bösen nicht [ge]brauchen noch derselben Untertanen ihre Gewalt anrufen mögen.

11. Daß ein Christenmensch mit gutem Gewissen keinen Eid vor Gericht schwören noch mit Eid seinem Landesfürsten oder Oberherrn die Erbhuldigung tun könne.

12. Daß die Obrigkeit mit unverletztem Gewissen die Übeltäter am Leben nicht strafen könne.

13. Daß ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen nichts Eigenes behalten noch besitzen könne, sondern schuldig sei, dasselbe in die Gemeinde [in die Gemeinde- oder Kommunkasse] zu geben.

14. Daß ein Christ mit gutem Gewissen kein Gastgeber, Kaufmann oder Messerschmied sein könne.

15. Daß Eheleute um des Glaubens willen sich voneinander scheiden und eins das andere verlassen und mit einem andern, das seines Glaubens ist, sich verehelichen möge.

16. Daß Christus sein Fleisch und Blut nicht von Maria der Jungfrau angenommen, sondern vom Himmel mit sich gebracht [habe].

17. Daß er auch nicht wahrer, wesentlicher Gott sei, sondern nur mehr und höhere Gaben und Herrlichkeit denn andere Menschen habe.

11] II. Quod infantes non baptizati coram Deo non sint peccatores, sed iusti et prorsus innocentes, et quod in sua illa innocentia sine baptismo (quo non indigeant) salventur. Et hac ratione negant atque reiiciunt Anabaptistae totam de originali peccato doctrinam et quidquid ad eam pertinet.

12] III. Quod docent, infantes non esse baptizandos, donec usum rationis habeant et fidem suam ipsi confiteri possint.

13] IV. Infantes Christianorum ob eam causam (etiam sine baptismo et ante susceptum baptisma) sanctos et filios Dei esse, quod parentibus Christianis prognati sint. [R. 827 Unde et baptismum infantum non magni faciunt, neque admodum urgent. Id quod pugnat cum expressis verbis promissionis, quae ad eos tantum pertinet, qui foedus Dei observant, neque illud contemnunt [Gen. 17, 9].

14] V. Non esse eam veram et Christianam ecclesiam, in qua peccatores reperiantur.

15] VI. Non esse conciones sacras audiendas in iis templis, in quibus aliquando missae pontificiae sunt celebratae.

16] VII. Non habendum quidquam commercii cum ecclesiae ministris, qui et sanctum Christi evangelion iuxta piam Augustanae Confessionis sententiam docent et Anabaptistarum errores refutant, neque illis operam locandam, quin potius ut Verbi Dei corruptores fugiendos atque vitandos esse.

17] VIII. Magistratus officium non esse (in novo testamento) genus vitae, homine et pio et Christiano dignum.

18] IX. Hominem pium salva conscientia officio magistratus fungi non posse.

19] X. Hominem Christianum illaesa conscientia officium magistratus, re ita postulante, adversus facinorosos facere et exsequi non posse, nec quemquam subditorum implorare opem magistratus debere.

20] XI. Christianos sana conscientia in foro civili iuramentum praestare aut principi ac magistratui suo fidem sub religione iurisiurandi astringere non posse.

21] XII. Quod magistratus sontes et morte dignos supplicio capitis afficere sine vulnere et labe conscientiae nequeat.

22] XIII. Hominem Christianum salva sua conscientia proprium tenere ac possidere non posse, sed oportere, quidquid id est, in communem fiscum conferre.

23] XIV. Hominem pium sana conscientia non posse cauponariam aut mercaturam exercere aut arma conficere.

24] XV. Coniugibus propter religionis diversitatem divortium facere et matrimonium cum alia persona, quacum in religione conveniat, contrahere licitum esse.

25] XVI. Christum carnem et sanguinem suum non e Maria virgine assumpsisse, [R. 828 sed de coelo attulisse.

26] XVII. Christum non esse verum et essentialem Deum, sed duntaxat alios homines multitudine et excellentia donorum et gloriae superare.

2. That children who are not baptized are not sinners before God, but righteous and innocent, and thus are saved in their innocency without Baptism, which they do not need. Accordingly, they deny and reject the entire doctrine concerning original sin and what belongs to it.

3. That children are not to be baptized until they have attained the use of reason and can confess their faith themselves.

4. That the children of Christians, since they have been born of Christian and believing parents, are holy and the children of God even without and before Baptism; and for this reason they neither attach much importance to the baptism of children nor encourage it, contrary to the express words of the promise, which extends only to those who keep God's covenant and do not despise it, Gen. 17, 9.

5. That a congregation [church] in which sinners are still found is no true Christian assembly.

6. That no sermon should be heard or attended in those churches in which the papal masses have previously been said.

7. That no one should have anything to do with those ministers of the Church who preach the holy Gospel according to the Augsburg Confession, and rebuke the errors of the Anabaptists; also, that no one should serve or in any way labor for them, but should flee from and shun them as perverters of God's Word.

8. That under the New Testament the magistracy is not a godly estate.

9. That a Christian cannot with a good, inviolate conscience hold the office of magistrate.

10. That a Christian cannot without injury to conscience use the office of the magistracy in matters that may occur [when the matter so demands] against the wicked, neither can its subjects appeal to its power.

11. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience take an oath before a court, nor with an oath do homage to his prince or hereditary sovereign.

12. That magistrates cannot without injury to conscience inflict capital punishment upon evil-doers.

13. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience hold or possess any property, but is in duty bound to devote it to the common treasury.

14. That a Christian cannot with a good conscience be an inn-keeper, merchant, or cutler.

15. That married persons may be divorced on account of faith [diversity of religion], and that the one may abandon the other, and be married to another of his own faith.

16. That Christ did not assume His flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary, but brought them with Him from heaven.

17. That He is not true, essential God either, but only has more and higher gifts and glory than other men.

Und dergleichen andere Artikel mehr; wie sie denn untereinander in viel Haufen zerteilt [sind], und einer mehr, der andere weniger Irrtümer hat, und also ihre ganze Sekte im Grunde anders nichts denn eine neue Möncherei ist.

Irrige Artikel der Schwenckfeldianer.

Desgleichen, da die Schwenckfeldianer vorgeben:

1. Erstlich, daß alle die keine Erkenntnis des regierenden Himmelskönigs Christi haben, die Christum nach dem Fleisch oder seine angenommene Menschheit für eine Kreatur halten, und daß das Fleisch Christi durch die Erhöhung alle göttlichen Eigenschaften also angenommen, daß er an Macht, Kraft, Majestät, Herrlichkeit dem Vater und dem ewigen Wort allenthalben in Grad und Stelle des Wesens gleich [sei], also daß einerlei Wesen, Eigenschaft, Wille und Glorie beider Naturen in Christo sei, und daß Christi Fleisch zu dem Wesen der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit gehöre.

2. Daß der Kirchendienst, das gepredigte und gehörte Wort, nicht sei ein Mittel, dadurch Gott der Heilige Geist den [die] Menschen lehre, seligmachende Erkenntnis Christi, Bekehrung, Buße, Glauben, neuen Gehorsam in ihnen wirke.

3. Daß das Taufwasser nicht sei ein Mittel, dadurch Gott der HErr die Kindschaft versiegele und die Wiedergeburt wirke.

4. Daß Brot und Wein im heiligen Abendmahl nicht Mittel seien, dadurch Christus seinen Leib und Blut austeile.

5. Daß ein Christenmensch, der wahrhaftig durch den Geist Gottes wiedergeboren, das Gesetz Gottes in diesem Leben vollkommen halten und erfüllen könne.

6. Daß [es] keine rechte christliche Gemeinde sei, da kein öffentlicher Ausschluß oder ordentlicher Prozeß des Bannes gehalten werde.

7. Daß der Diener der Kirche andere Leute nicht nützlich lehren oder rechte, wahrhaftige Sakramente reichen könne, der nicht für seine Person wahrhaftig verneuert, gerecht und fromm sei.

Irrige Artikel der neuen Arianer.

Item, da die neuen Arianer lehren, daß Christus nicht ein wahrhaftiger, wesentlicher, natürlicher Gott, *eines* ewigen göttlichen Wesens mit Gott dem Vater, sondern allein mit göttlicher Majestät unter und neben Gott dem Vater gezieret sei.

Irrige Artikel der neuen Antitrinitarier.

1. Item, da etliche Antitrinitarier die alten, bewährten Symbola, Nicaenum et Athanasianum, beide was die Meinung und Worte belangt, verwerfen und verdammen und lehren, daß nicht ein

27] Hos atque similes falsos articulos Anabaptistae profitentur. Et quidem in multas sectas sunt divisi, et alii plures, alii pauciores religionis errores amplectuntur. Tota vero ipsorum secta nil nisi novus quidam est monachismus.

Errores Schwencfeldianorum.

28] Reiicimus atque damnamus etiam Schwencfeldianorum errores, quibus docent:

29] I. Quod omnes illi non habeant coelestis regis Christi iam regnantis veram agnitionem, qui sentiunt, Christum secundum carnem seu Christi humanam naturam esse creaturam, quod caro Christi per exaltationem omnes divinas proprietates ita acceperit, ut iam Christus, humanitatis suae ratione, potentia, virtute, maiestate, gloria Patri et aeterno Verbo prorsus gradu, loco et essentia sit aequalis, ita ut sit eadem omnino utriusque naturae in Christo essentia, eaedem proprietates, una eademque voluntas, una gloria, quod denique caro Christi ad essentiam Sacrosanctae Trinitatis pertineat.

30] II. Quod ministerium ecclesiasticum, hoc est, Verbum Dei praedicatum et auditum, non sit medium seu instrumentum, quo Deus Spiritus Sanctus homines doceat et per quod ipsis donet veram Christi agnitionem, poenitentiam et fidem, et quo in ipsis novam obedientiam operetur.

31] III. Quod aqua baptismi non sit medium aut instrumentum, quo Dominus adoptionem filiorum Dei obsignet et homines regeneret.

32] IV. Quod panis et vinum in Sacra Coena non sint media seu instrumenta, cum [R. 829 quibus Christus corpus et sanguinem suum distribuat.

33] V. Quod homo Christianus vere per Spiritum Dei renatus legem Dei in hac vita perfecte implere possit.

34] VI. Quod non sit ea vera et Christiana ecclesia, in qua non externa excommunicatio vigeat, aut in qua non externus ordinarius excommunicationis modus, delectus et processus observetur.

35] VII. Quod is ecclesiae minister non possit alios salubriter docere aut sacramenta rite administrare, qui non ipse sit vere renovatus, iustus et pius.

Errores Novorum Arianorum.

36] Reiicimus et damnamus etiam novorum Arianorum impium et blasphemum dogma, quod affirmant, Christum non esse verum, essentialem, naturalem Deum, eiusdem aeternae atque divinae essentiae cum Deo Patre, sed fingunt eundem tantummodo divina maiestate cum Patre ornatum, ita ut revera sit inferior Deo Patre.

Errores Novorum Antitrinitariorum.

37] I. Quod Antitrinitarii aliqui vetera et in ecclesia Christi approbata Symbola, Nicaenum et Athanasianum, tum quoad verba tum quoad sententiam repudiant atque condemnant.

And still more articles of like kind; for they are divided among themselves into many bands [sects], and one has more and another fewer errors, and thus their entire sect is in reality nothing but a new kind of monkery.

Erroneous Articles of the Schwenckfeldians.

Likewise, when the Schwenckfeldians assert:

1. First, that all those have no knowledge of the reigning King of heaven, Christ, who regard Christ according to the flesh, or His assumed humanity, as a creature, and that the flesh of Christ has by exaltation so assumed all divine properties that in might, power, majesty, and glory He is in every respect, in degree and position of essence, equal to the Father and the eternal Word, so that there is the same essence, properties, will, and glory of both natures in Christ, and that the flesh of Christ belongs to the essence of the Holy Trinity.

2. That the ministry of the Church, the Word preached and heard, is not a means whereby God the Holy Ghost teaches men, and works in them saving knowledge of Christ, conversion, repentance, faith, and new obedience.

3. That the water of Baptism is not a means by which God the Lord seals adoption and works regeneration.

4. That bread and wine in the Holy Supper are not means by which Christ distributes His body and blood.

5. That a Christian man who is truly regenerated by God's Spirit can in this life keep and fulfil the Law of God perfectly.

6. That a congregation in which no public excommunication or regular process of the ban is observed, is no true Christian congregation [church].

7. That the minister of the Church who is not on his part truly renewed, righteous, and godly cannot teach other men with profit or administer real, true sacraments.

Erroneous Articles of the New Arians.

Also, when the New Arians teach that Christ is not a true, essential, natural God, of one eternal divine essence with God the Father, but is only adorned with divine majesty inferior to, and beside, God the Father.

Erroneous Articles of the New Anti-Trinitarians.

1. Also, when some Anti-Trinitarians reject and condemn the ancient approved *symbola, Nicaenum et Athanasianum* (the Nicene and Athanasian creeds), as regards both their

einig, ewig, göttlich Wesen sei des Vaters, Sohnes und Heiligen Geistes; sondern wie drei unterschiedliche Personen seien, Gott Vater, Sohn und Heiliger Geist, also habe auch eine jede Person ihr unterschiedlich und von andern Personen abgesondert Wesen, die doch entweder alle drei, als sonst drei unterschiedene und in ihrem Wesen abgesonderte Menschen, gleicher Gewalt, Weisheit, Majestät und Herrlichkeit seien, oder am Wesen und Eigenschaften ungleich.

Quod iidem haeretici asserunt, non esse unicam tantum aeternam divinam essentiam Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, sed ut tres sunt distinctae Trinitatis personae (videlicet Deus Pater, Filius et Spiritus Sanctus): ita etiam unamquamque personam habere distinctam et ab aliis personis separatam essentiam. Et alii fingunt, tres illas separatas essentias (ut alias tres distinctos et in essentiis [R. 830 suis separatos homines) eiusdem esse potentiae, sapientiae, maiestatis et gloriae; alii vero sentiunt, tres illas personas ratione essentiae et proprietatum non esse aequales.

2. Daß allein der Vater wahrer Gott sei.

38] II. Quod solus Pater sit verus Deus.

Diese und dergleichen Artikel allzumal, und was denselben anhängt und daraus folgt, verwerfen und verdammen wir als unrecht, falsch, ketzerisch, dem Wort Gottes, den drei Symbolis, der Augsburgischen Konfession und Apologia, den Schmalkaldischen Artikeln und Katechismis Lutheri zuwider; vor welchen sich alle frommen Christen hüten wollen und sollen, als lieb ihnen ihrer Seelen Heil und Seligkeit ist.

Derwegen wir uns [weil wir uns nun] **vor dem Angesicht Gottes** und der ganzen Christenheit, bei den Jetztlebenden und so nach uns kommen werden, bezeugt [öffentlich und feierlich erklärt] haben wollen, daß diese jetztgetane Erklärung von allen vorgesetzten und erklärten streitigen Artikeln, und kein anderes, unser Glaube, Lehre und Bekenntnis sei, in welchem wir auch durch die Gnade Gottes mit unerschrockenem Herzen vor dem Richterstuhl JEsu Christi erscheinen und deshalb Rechenschaft geben, dawider auch nichts heimlich noch öffentlich reden oder schreiben wollen, sondern vermittelst der Gnade Gottes dabei gedenken zu bleiben: haben wir wohlbedächtig, in Gottes Furcht und Anrufung uns mit eignen Händen unterschrieben. [Im deutschen Konkordienbuch folgt hier 1. das „Register der vornehmsten Hauptstücke christlicher Lehre, so in diesem Buch gehandelt werden"; 2. die zirka 8000 „Namen der Theologen, Kirchen und Schuldiener", die das Konkordienbuch unterschrieben haben; 3. das Druckerzeichen, mit Ps. 9, 1. 2 als Inschrift oben: „Ich danke dem HErrn von ganzem Herzen und erzähle alle deine Wunder. Ich freue mich und bin fröhlich in dir und lobe deinen Namen, du Allerhöchster", und unten: „Gedruckt zu Dresden durch Matthes Stöckel. Anno 1580 (1579)"; 4. das „Verzeichnis der Zeugnisse Heiliger Schrift und der alten reinen Kirchenlehrer von der Person und Majestät der menschlichen Natur Christi".]

39] Hos omnes articulos simul, et si quid cum illis cohaeret aut ex iis consequitur, reiicimus atque damnamus ut falsos, impios, haereticos, Verbo Dei, tribus approbatis Symbolis, Augustanae Confessioni eiusdemque Apologiae, Smalcaldicis Articulis et Catechismis Lutheri repugnantes. Et hortamur omnes pias mentes, ut hos errores fugiant et detestentur, si modo ipsis animae salus est cordi.

40] *In conspectu* igitur *Dei omnipotentis* et coram tota ecclesia Christi, quae nunc est et quae aliquando in posteritate erit, clara voce et diserte testamur, quod declaratio illa nostra de omnibus commemoratis controversis articulis, et nulla prorsus alia, revera sit nostra doctrina, fides et confessio. In ea per gratiam Dei intrepido animo coram tribunali *Iesu Christi* comparebimus, de ea iusto Iudici rationem reddituri. Contra hanc declarationem etiam nihil vel occulte vel aperte loquemur aut scribemus, sed in ea, Domino nos bene iuvante, usque ad vitae finem constantes perseverabimus. In eius rei fidem matura cum deliberatione in timore Dei et nominis ipsius invocatione propriis manibus huic declarationi subscripsimus.

sense and words, and teach that there is not only one eternal divine essence of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, but as there are three distinct persons, God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, so each person has also its essence distinct and separate from the other persons; yet that all three are either as otherwise three men, distinct and separate in their essence, of the same power, wisdom, majesty, and glory [as some imagine], or in essence and properties unequal [as others think].

2. That the Father alone is true God.

These and like articles, one and all, with what pertains to them and follows from them, we reject and condemn as wrong, false, heretical, and contrary to the Word of God, the three Creeds, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Smalcald Articles, and the Catechisms of Luther. Of these articles all godly Christians should and ought to beware, as much as the welfare and salvation of their souls is dear to them.

Since now, **in the sight of God** and of all Christendom [the entire Church of Christ], we wish to testify to those now living and those who shall come after us that this declaration herewith presented concerning all the controverted articles aforementioned and explained, and no other, is our faith, doctrine, and confession, in which we are also willing, by God's grace, to appear with intrepid hearts before the judgment-seat of Jesus Christ, and give an account of it; and that we will neither privately nor publicly speak or write anything contrary to it, but, by the help of God's grace, intend to abide thereby: therefore, after mature deliberation, we have, in God's fear and with the invocation of His name, attached our signatures with our own hands.

[*APPENDIX.]

Verzeichnis

der

Zeugnisse Heiliger Schrift

und

der alten reinen Kirchenlehrer,

wie dieselben von der Person und göttlichen Majestät der menschlichen Natur unsers HErrn JEsu Christi, zur Rechten der allmächtigen Kraft Gottes eingesetzt, gelehrt und geredet haben.

Dresden 1580.

CATALOGUS TESTIMONIORUM

cum Scripturae

tum purioris antiquitatis,

ostendentium, quid utraque non modo de persona deque divina maiestate humanae naturae Domini nostri Iesu Christi, evectae ad dexteram omnipotentiae Dei, tradiderit, sed etiam quibus loquendi formulis usa sit.

CATALOGUE OF TESTIMONIES,

Both of Scripture and Orthodox Antiquity,

Which Show not only what Either has Taught concerning the Person and the Divine Majesty of the Human Nature of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Exalted to the Right Hand of God's Omnipotence, but also what Forms of Speech Either has Used.

Dem christlichen Leser.

Nachdem besonders im Artikel von der Person Christi etliche mit Ungrund vorgeben, daß im Buch der Konkordie von den phrasibus und modis loquendi, das ist, von Weise und Art zu reden, der alten reinen Kirche und Väter abgewichen [sei], dagegen neue, fremde, selbsterdachte, ungebräuchliche und unerhörte Reden eingeführt werden, und aber die Zeugnisse der alten Kirche und Väter, darauf sich dies Buch gezogen [bezogen], demselben einzuleiben etwas zu lang sein wollen, welche hernach etlichen Kurfürsten und Fürsten, mit Fleiß ausgezeichnet [exzerpiert], übergeben worden:

Sind dem christlichen Leser zum wahrhaftigen und gründlichen Bericht dieselben zum Ende dieses Buches in guter Anzahl auf unterschiedliche Punkte beigedruckt worden, darin er sich zu ersehen und alsbald zu befinden [vermag], daß in ermeldetem Buch nichts Neues, weder in rebus noch phrasibus, das ist, weder in der Lehre oder Art und Weise zu reden, gesetzt [sei], sondern daß eben also, wie zuvörderst die Heilige Schrift und folgends die alte reine Kirche getan, von diesem Geheimnis gelehrt und geredet werde.

Als erstlich, daß im Buch der Konkordie **von Einigkeit der Person und Unterschied der beiden Naturen in Christo wie auch derselben wesentlichen Eigenschaften** also geschrieben, wie die alte reine Kirche, derselben Väter und Konzilia geredet haben, nämlich daß nicht zwei Personen, sondern ein Christus, und in dieser Person zwei unterschiedliche Naturen, die göttliche und menschliche Natur, seien, welche nicht getrennt noch miteinander vermischt oder eine in die andere verwandelt, sondern jede Natur ihre wesentlichen Eigenschaften habe und behalte und in Ewigkeit nicht von sich lege, und daß einer Natur wesentliche Eigenschaften, so der ganzen Person wahrhaftig und recht zugeschrieben, der andern Natur Eigenschaften nimmermehr werden: erweisen nachfolgende der alten reinen Konzilien Zeugnisse.

AD CHRISTIANUM LECTOREM.

Quum Librum Concordiae, praesertim articulum de persona Christi, hac calumnia deformare non vereantur nonnulli, quod a phrasibus et modis loquendi, veteri ac puriori ecclesiae atque patribus orthodoxis receptis et approbatis recedendo, novas, peregrinas, proprio arbitrio excogitatas, inusitatas et inauditas loquendi formulas in ecclesiam invehat, testimonia vero antiquissimae ecclesiae et patrum, ad quae in hoc ipso Libro provocatur, eidem inseri nimis longe futurum sit, quae postea illustrissimis aliquot Electoribus et Principibus exhibita sunt, singulari diligentia excerpta et consignata:

Ideo recte et solide informandi Christiani lectoris causa mediocris eorum cumulus, certis capitibus distinctus, ad calcem Libri adiectus est, unde illi cognoscere facile erit in modo nominato Libro, neque quod ad res neque quod ad phrases attinet, id est, neque in doctrina neque in sermonis genere quidquam innovatum, sed cum Sacrae Scripturae tum veteris atque purioris ecclesiae de hoc mysterio tam doctrinam quam loquendi formam retentam atque usurpatam esse.

Sic primo, quod Liber Concordiae in articulo *de unitate personae et discrimine duarum naturarum in Christo earumque essentialibus proprietatibus* veteris ac purioris ecclesiae, patrum eiusdem et conciliorum doctrinam et sermonem imitetur, asserendo nimirum non duas personas Christi, sed unum Christum, et hanc personam in duabus distinctis naturis subsistentem, divina scilicet et humana, non divulsis, neque confusis aut una in alteram conversa, sed ita ut utraque natura substantiales proprietates suas retineat, neque in omnem aeternitatem easdem deponat, et unius naturae proprietates essentiales, quae toti personae recte et vere ascribuntur, nunquam fiant alterius naturae idiomata: id ostendunt sequentia veterum puriorum conciliorum testimonia.

In Ephesino Concilio, can. 4 [Tom. I, concil., p. 606]: Si quis voces Scripturae de Christo in duabus personis vel subsistentiis dividit et aliquas quidem velut homini, qui praeter *Dei Verbum* specialiter intelligatur, aptaverit, aliquas vero tamquam dignas *Deo* soli *Dei* Patris verbo deputaverit, anathema sit. [Der hier und im folgenden gebotene griechische und lateinische Text ist der der offiziellen lateinischen Ausgabe des Konkordienbuchs von 1584.]

Das ist [Im deutschen Konkordienbuch von 1580 sind die Zitate aus den Kirchenvätern und auch die Bibelsprüche zuerst lateinisch gegeben; die deutsche Übersetzung wird deshalb eingeleitet mit „Das ist" oder mit dem bloßen Namen des Autors]: In dem vierten Kanon oder Regel des Ephesinischen Konzilii ist also geschlossen: So jemand die Reden der Schrift von Christo in zwei Personen trennt, daß derselben etliche als dem Menschen, der außer und ohne des Vaters Wort oder ohne den Sohn Gottes verstanden werde, zugelegt, etliche aber allein dem Sohn Gottes, als die allein Gotte zugehören, zugeschrieben werden, der sei verflucht.

Canone 5: Si quis audeat dicere, Hominem *Christum* theophoron ac non potius *Deum* esse, tamquam Filium per naturam veraciter dixerit, secundum quod Verbum caro factum est, et communicarit similiter ut nos carni et sanguini, anathema sit.

Im fünften Kanon also: So jemand sagen darf, daß der Mensch Christus Gott getragen, und nicht vielmehr, daß er wahrhaftig Gott, als der natürliche Sohn Gottes, sei, nachdem oder darum, daß das Wort Fleisch [ge]worden ist und teilhaftig [ge]worden Fleisches und Blutes gleichwie wir, der sei verflucht.

TO THE CHRISTIAN READER.

Since, especially in the article of the Person of Christ, some have without reason asserted that in the Book of Concord there is a deviation from *phrasibus* and *modis loquendi*, that is, the phrases and modes of speech of [received and approved by] the ancient pure Church and fathers, and that, on the contrary, new, strange, self-devised, unusual and unheard-of expressions are introduced; and since the testimonies of the ancient Church and fathers to which this book appeals proved somewhat too extended to be incorporated in it, and, having been carefully excerpted, were afterwards delivered to several electors and princes, —

[Therefore] they are printed in goodly number as an appendix at the end of this book, in regard to particular points, for the purpose of furnishing a correct and thorough account to the Christian reader, whereby he may perceive and readily discover that in the aforesaid book nothing new has been introduced either in *rebus* (matter) or in *phrasibus* (expressions), that is, neither as regards the doctrine nor the manner of teaching it, but that we have taught and spoken concerning this mystery just as, first of all, the Holy Scriptures and afterwards the ancient pure Church have done.

Thus, in the first place, *concerning the unity of the person and the distinction of the two natures in Christ, and their essential properties*, the Book of Concord writes just as the ancient pure Church, its fathers and councils, have spoken — namely, that there are not two persons, but one Christ, and in this person two distinct natures, the divine and the human nature, which are not separated nor intermingled or transformed the one into the other, but each nature has and retains its essential attributes, and in [all] eternity does not lay them aside; and that the essential attributes of the one nature, which are truly and properly ascribed to the entire person, never become attributes of the other natures. This is borne out by the following testimonies of the ancient pure councils:

In the fourth canon, or rule, of the Council of Ephesus occurs the following resolution: "If any one divides the words of Scripture regarding Christ in two persons or subsistences, and applies some of them indeed to Him as man, who is to be understood specially, outside of *the Word of God* [outside of or without the Word of the Father, or without the Son of God], and assigns others, as worthy of *God* alone, to the Word of *God* the Father [some, however, only to the Son of God, as belonging to God alone], let him be accursed."

In the fifth canon, thus: "If any one dares to say that the man *Christ* is the Bearer of God, and not rather that He is God, so as to call Him truly the Son by nature [that as the natural Son of God He is truly God], because it was the Word that was made flesh, and, in a similar manner [even] as we, became sharer of flesh and blood, let him be accursed."

Canone 6: Si quis non confitetur, eundem *Christum Deum* simul et hominem, propterea quod *Verbum* caro factum est, secundum Scripturas, anathema sit.

Im ſechſten Kanon alſo: So jemand nicht bekennt, daß der einige Chriſtus zugleich Gott und Menſch ſei, darum daß das Wort vermöge Heiliger Schrift iſt Fleiſch [ge]worden, der ſei verflucht.

Canone 12: Si quis non confitetur, *Dei* Verbum passum carne et crucifixum carne et mortem carne gustasse, factumque primogenitum ex mortuis, secundum quod vita et vivificator est *ut Deus*, anathema sit.

Im zwölften Kanon alſo: So jemand nicht bekennt, daß das Wort des Vaters am Fleiſch gelitten habe und am Fleiſch gekreuzigt ſei und den Tod am Fleiſch geſchmeckt [habe] und der Erſtgeborne aus den Toten [ge]worden ſei, nachdem er das Leben und ein Lebendigmacher iſt, nämlich als Gott, der ſei verflucht.

Et Decretum Chalcedonensis Concilii, citante Evagrio, lib. 2, cap. 4, sic habet: *Ἑπόμενοι τοίνυν τοῖς ἁγίοις πατράσιν ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογοῦμεν Υἱὸν τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, καὶ ὁμοφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν Θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι, Θεὸν ἀληθῶς καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀληθῶς τὸν αὐτόν, ἐκ ψυχῆς λογικῆς καὶ σώματος, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν Θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, κατὰ πάντα ὅμοιον ἡμῖν χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας, πρὸ αἰώνων μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννηθέντα κατὰ τὴν Θεότητα, ἐπ' ἐσχάτων δὲ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν αὐτὸν δι' ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν σωτηρίαν ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου καὶ Θεοτόκου κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα, ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, Υἱόν, Κύριον, μονογενῆ, ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς τῶν φύσεων διαφορᾶς ἀνῃρημένης, διὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν, σωζομένης δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς ἰδιότητος ἑκατέρας φύσεως, καὶ εἰς ἓν πρόσωπον καὶ μίαν ὑπόστασιν συντρεχούσης, οὐχ ὡς εἰς δύο πρόσωπα μεριζόμενον ἢ διαιρούμενον, ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Υἱὸν μονογενῆ, Θεὸν Λόγον καὶ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν· καθάπερ ἄνωθεν οἱ προφῆται περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐξεπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῖν παραδέδωκε σύμβολον.*

Sequentes igitur sanctos patres, confitemur unum et eundem Filium, Dominum nostrum *Iesum Christum*, et una voce omnes depraedicamus eundem perfectum in divinitate et perfectum eundem in humanitate, vere Deum et vere hominem eundem, ex anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum divinitatem et consubstantialem nobis secundum humanitatem, per omnia nobis similem absque peccato, ante saecula quidem ex Patre genitum secundum divinitatem, in extremis autem diebus ipsum eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria virgine, Dei genetrice secundum humanitatem genitum, unum et eundem *Iesum Christum*, Filium et Dominum unigenitum, in duabus naturis inconfuse, inconvertibiliter, indivise, insegregabiliter cognitum, nequaquam differentia naturarum sublata propter unionem, *sed* servata *potius* proprietate utriusque naturae et utraque in unam personam concurrente, non velut in duas personas dispertitum aut divisum, sed unum et eundem Filium unigenitum, Deum, Verbum et Dominum Iesum Christum; quemadmodum olim prophetae et de se ipso Christus ipse nos docuit, et patrum nobis tradidit symbolum (tom. 1, concil., p. 154).

Das iſt: Der Beſchluß des Chalcedoniſchen Konzilii lautet alſo: Wir bekennen einen einigen Sohn, unſern HErrn JEſum Chriſtum, vollkommen in der Gottheit und vollkommen in der Menſchheit, und daß derſelbe wahrhaftiger Gott und wahrhaftiger Menſch, der eine vernünftige Seele und Leib hat, eines Weſens mit dem Vater nach der göttlichen Natur und eines Weſens mit uns nach menſchlicher Natur, aller Dinge uns gleich, ohne die Sünde, der zwar vor der Welt von dem Vater nach der Gottheit, zur letzten Zeit aber eben derſelbe, um unſert- und unſers Heils willen von der Jungfrau Maria, Gottesgebärerin, nach der Menſchheit geboren; denſelben einigen JEſum Chriſtum, den eingebornen Sohn und HErrn, erkennen wir in zwei Naturen unvermiſcht, unverwandelt, unzertrennt oder unzerteilt und unabgeſondert, alſo daß der Naturen Unterſchied in keinem Wege durch die perſönliche Vereinigung aufgehoben ſei, ſondern daß vielmehr beider Naturen Eigenſchaften behalten werden und in eine Perſon zuſammenkommen, nicht als in zwei Perſonen zerteilt oder zertrennt, ſondern wir erkennen einen einigen Chriſtum, unſern HErrn, der zugleich der eingeborne Sohn oder das Wort des Vaters und auch wahrer Menſch iſt uſw.

Ita etiam decima epistola Leonis synodica (Ad Flavianum, cap. 3, fol. 92) loquitur: Salva proprietate utriusque naturae et in unam coeunte personam, suscepta est a maiestate humilitas, a virtute infirmitas, ab aeternitate mortalitas (abstractum pro concreto), et ad resolvendum conditionis nostrae debitum natura inviolabilis naturae est unita passibili, ut unus et idem Mediator noster et mori posset ex uno et mori non posset ex altero.

Item (cap. 4, fol. 93): Qui verus est Deus, idem verus est homo, dum invicem sunt et humilitas hominis et altitudo Deitatis. Sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate; agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est, Verbo scilicet operante, quod Verbi est, et carne exsequente, quod carnis est. Unum horum coruscat miraculis, alterum succumbit iniuriis. Deus est per id, quod in principio erat Verbum, et Deus erat Verbum, per quod omnia facta sunt. Homo per id, quod Verbum caro factum est, quodque factus est ex muliere. Item propter hanc unitatem personae in utraque natura intelligendam, et filius hominis legitur descendisse de coelo, quum Filius Dei ex Maria virgine carnem assumpserit.

Et rursus (cap. 5, fol. 93): Filius Dei crucifixus dicitur et sepultus, quum haec non in ipsa divinitate, qua consubstantialis est Patri, sed in naturae humanae sit infirmitate perpessus etc.

Hucusque verba utriusque concilii, Ephesini et Chalcedonensis, quibuscum reliqui sancti patres omnes consentiunt.

In the sixth canon, thus: "If any one does not confess the same *Christ* to be at the same time *God* and man [that the one Christ is at the same time God and man], for the reason that according to the Scriptures the *Word* was made flesh, let him be accursed."

In the twelfth canon, thus: "If any one does not confess that the Word of *God* [the Father] suffered in the flesh, and was crucified in the flesh, and tasted death in the flesh, and became the First-born from the dead, according as [since] He is, as *God*, the Life and He that maketh alive, let him be accursed."

And the decree of the Council of Chalcedon, as cited by Evagrius, lib. 2, cap. 4, reads thus: "Following, then, the holy fathers, we confess one and the same Son, our Lord *Jesus Christ*, and we all set forth with one voice that the same is perfect in deity and the same perfect in humanity; that the same is truly God and truly man, consisting of a rational soul and a body; that He is consubstantial with the Father as regards the deity, and that the same is consubstantial with us according to the humanity; that He is in all respects like us, excepting sin; that He was begotten before the world out of the Father according to the deity, but that the same person was in the last days born for us and for our salvation of Mary, the virgin and mother of God, according to the humanity; that one and the same Jesus Christ, the Son, the Lord, the Only-begotten, is known in two natures, without being commingled, without being changed, without being taken apart [or divided], without being segregated, the difference of the natures being in no wise abolished on account of the [personal] union, but the peculiarity of each nature being rather preserved, and running together into one person and subsistence; not as divided or torn into two persons, but one and the same only-begotten Son, God the Word and the Lord Jesus Christ [we acknowledge one single Christ our Lord, who is at once the only-begotten Son, or the Word of the Father, and also true man]; as the prophets of old and the Christ Himself have taught us concerning Him, and the symbol of the fathers has handed down to us."

Thus, too, the Tenth Synodical Epistle of Leo (to Flavianus, cap. 3, fol. 92) [which the Council of Chalcedon regarded as equal to an instruction] says: "[The personal union has taken place in this manner, that] The peculiarity of each nature being unimpaired [remaining unmingled and unchanged], and coming together into one person, there has been assumed by [divine] Majesty [human] lowliness, by [divine] Power [human] weakness, by Eternity [the eternal divine Being] mortality [the human, mortal nature] (abstract for the concrete), and for the purpose of paying the debt of our condition, the [immortal] nature that cannot suffer has been united to the [human] nature that can suffer, so that our one and the same Mediator could both die according to one, and could not die according to the other [in order that our single Mediator, since according to the one nature, namely, the divine, He could not die, might die for us according to the other, namely, the human]."

Likewise (cap. 4, fol. 93): "He who is true God, the same is true man, since both the humility of man and the loftiness of God are reciprocal [exist together in one person]. For just as God does not change by pity [when from pity for us He assumes the human nature], so man is not consumed by divine dignity [and glory]; for each form [nature] does what is peculiar to it, in communion with the other — namely, the Word working what belongs to the Word [the Son of God], and the flesh executing what belongs to the flesh.

Das ist: Die zehnte Epistel Leonis, so dem Concilio Chalcedonensi gleich als eine Instruktion gewesen, redet auch also: Die persönliche Vereinigung ist also geschehen, daß beider Naturen Eigenschaften unvermischt, unverändert geblieben und in einer Person zusammen[ge]kommen sind; und also ist angenommen von der göttlichen Majestät die menschliche Niedrigkeit, von der ewigen Kraft die menschliche Schwachheit, von dem ewigen göttlichen Wesen die menschliche sterbliche Natur, und ist die unsterbliche Natur, so nicht leiden kann, vereinbart [vereinigt] mit der menschlichen sterblichen Natur, so leiden kann, auf daß unser einiger Mittler, weil er nach einer Natur, nämlich der göttlichen, nicht sterben konnte, nach der andern, als der menschlichen, für uns sterben möchte.

Item: Der da ein wahrhaftiger Gott ist, der ist auch ein wahrhaftiger Mensch, weil in einer Person beisammen sind des Menschen Niedrigkeit und die Hoheit der Gottheit. Denn wie Gott nicht geändert wird, wenn er, nämlich aus Mitleiden gegen uns, menschliche Natur annimmt, also wird auch der Mensch Christus nicht verzehrt durch die göttliche Würde und Herrlichkeit. Denn beide Naturen in Christo wirken, eine jede mit der andern Gemeinschaft, was einer jeden Eigenschaft ist, nämlich daß das Wort wirkt, was des Sohnes Gottes ist, und das Fleisch verrichtet, was des Fleisches ist. Eines scheint und leuchtet in den Wunderwerken, das andere wird unterdrückt im Leiden, und ist nämlich gleichwohl ein einiger Mittler, Gott und Mensch; Gott ist er dadurch, darum und daher, weil das Wort war im Anfang, und Gott war das Wort, dadurch alles gemacht ist; Mensch ist er darum, dadurch und daher, weil das Wort ist Fleisch [ge]worden, und weil Gottes Sohn geboren ist vom Weibe. Item: Dieselbe Einigkeit der Person in beiden Naturen anzuzeigen, lesen wir in der Schrift, daß des Menschen Sohn vom Himmel [ge]kommen sei, da doch der Sohn Gottes sein Fleisch von der Jungfrau Maria angenommen. Und wiederum sagt die Schrift, daß der Sohn Gottes gekreuzigt sei und begraben, da er doch solches nicht in seiner Gottheit, da er eines Wesens ist mit dem Vater, sondern in seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur Schwachheit erlitten hat usw.

Bis daher die Worte der beiden Konzilien, Ephesini und Chalcedonensis, mit welchem [welchen] auch alle andern heiligen Väter übereinstimmen.

Und eben dies haben auch die Gelehrten bis daher in unsern Schulen mit den Worten abstractum und concretum anzeigen und erklären wollen, darauf sich auch das Buch der Konkordie diesfalls mit wenig Worten gezogen [bezogen], da gesetzt worden: „wie das alles die Gelehrten wohl wissen"; welche Worte im rechten Verstand notwendig in den Schulen erhalten werden müssen. (Im Buch der Konkordie, Fol. 309, lin. 16 [Concordia Triglotta, S. 1028].)

Denn concreta vocabula sind solche Worte, welche in Christo die ganze Person anzeigen, als „Gott", „Mensch". Aber abstracta vocabula sind Worte, dadurch die Naturen in der Person Christi verstanden und ausgesprochen werden, als „Gottheit", „Menschheit".

Nach welchem Unterschied recht gesagt wird in concreto: „Gott ist Mensch", „Mensch ist Gott". Dagegen ist unrecht geredet, wenn man sagt in abstracto: „Gottheit ist Menschheit", „Menschheit ist Gottheit".

Gleiche Gestalt [dieselbe Bewandtnis] hat es auch mit den wesentlichen Eigenschaften, daß einer Natur Eigenschaften von der andern Natur in abstracto, als ob sie auch derselben andern Natur Eigenschaften wären, nicht können gesagt werden. Darum auch diese Reden falsch und unrecht sind, wenn man sagen wollte: Die menschliche Natur ist die Allmächtigkeit, ist von Ewigkeit. Wie denn auch die Eigenschaften selbst voneinander nicht gesagt werden können, als wenn man sagen wollte: mortalitas est immortalitas et e contra, die Sterblichkeit ist die Unsterblichkeit, und die Unsterblichkeit ist die Sterblichkeit; denn durch solche Reden der Unterschied der Naturen und ihrer Eigenschaften aufgehoben, dieselben miteinander vermischt, eine in die andere verwandelt und also einander exäquiert und gleichgemacht werden.

Weil man aber nicht allein wissen und festiglich glauben soll, daß die angenommene menschliche Natur in der Person Christi ihr Wesen und desselben natürliche, wesentliche Eigenschaften in alle Ewigkeit habe und behalte, sondern vornehmlich daran gelegen und der höchste Trost der Christen

Et hoc ipsum hactenus eruditi in scholis nostris verbis *abstracti* et *concreti* indicare et declarare voluerunt, ad quae hic liber etiam paucis verbis respexit, quae verba, *quemadmodum haec omnia optime norunt eruditi*, in vero et genuino sensu necessario in scholis retineantur oportet. (In Lib. Concordiae [Conc. Trigl., p. 1028].)

Concreta enim eiusmodi vocabula sunt, quae integram Christi personam designant, ut *Deus, homo*. Abstracta vero sunt nomina, quibus naturae in persona Christi exprimuntur, ut *Divinitas, humanitas*.

Secundum quam distinctionem recte dicitur in concreto: *Deus est homo, homo est Deus*. Contra, perperam dicitur in abstracto: *Divinitas est humanitas, humanitas est Divinitas*.

Eadem est ratio essentialium idiomatum, ita ut unius naturae idiomata de altera natura in abstracto, quasi alterius naturae idiomata sint, praedicari nequeant. Quamobrem falsae et erroneae locutiones fuerint, si quis dixerit: Humana natura est omnipotentia, est ab aeterno. Sicut neque ipsa idiomata de se mutuo praedicari possunt, ut si quis dicere vellet: Mortalitas est immortalitas et contra; propterea quod his loquendi formulis discrimen naturarum et proprietatum tollatur, eaedem confundantur, una in alteram convertatur atque ita earum fiat exaequatio.

Quum autem non tantum scire et firmiter credere oporteat assumptam humanam naturam Christi, in persona eiusdem, et substantiam et naturales atque substantiales proprietates suas in omnem aeternitatem retinere, sed etiam plurimum momenti habeat, ac

One of these flashes forth in the miracles, the other sinks beneath injuries [and still there is one single Mediator, God and man]. He is God, because [through this, for this, and because of this, that] in the beginning was the Word, and God was the Word, by whom all things were made. He is man, because [through this, for this, and because of this, that] the Word was made flesh, and because He was made of a woman. Also, because of [to indicate] this unity of the person which is to be understood in both natures, we read that the Son of Man descended from heaven when the Son of God assumed flesh of the Virgin Mary."

And again (cap. 5, fol. 93): "The Son of God is said to have been crucified and buried, although He suffered these things not in His very divinity, by which He is consubstantial with the Father, but in the infirmity of [His assumed] human nature."

So far the words of the two councils, of Ephesus and of Chalcedon, with which also all the other holy fathers agree.

This is precisely what the learned men in our schools have thus far desired to indicate and declare by the words *abstract* and *concrete,* to which this book [of Concord in the present instance] also has reference in a few words (see above, p. 1029) [when it is stated]: *All of which the learned know well;* which words must necessarily be retained in their true sense in the schools.

For concrete terms are words of such a kind as designate the entire person in Christ, such as *God, man.* But abstract terms are words by which the natures in the person of Christ are understood and expressed, as *divinity, humanity.*

According to this distinction it is correctly said *in concreto: God is man, man is God.* On the other hand, it is speaking incorrectly when one says *in abstracto: Divinity is humanity, humanity is divinity.*

The same rule applies also to the essential attributes, so that the attributes of the one nature cannot be predicated of the other nature *in abstracto,* as though they were attributes also of the other nature. Therefore the following expressions are [would be] false and incorrect if one were to say: "The human nature is Omnipotence, is from eternity." Just as the attributes themselves cannot be predicated of one another, as if one would say: *Mortalitas est immortalitas, et e contra;* "Mortality is immortality," and immortality is mortality; for by such expressions the distinction of the natures and their attributes is abolished, they are confounded with one another, changed one into the other, and thus made equal and alike.

But since we must not only know and firmly believe that the assumed human nature in the person of Christ has and retains to all eternity its essence and the natural essential attributes of the same, but it is a matter of especial importance, and the greatest consolation for Christians is comprised therein, that we also know from the revelation of the Holy Scriptures, and without doubt believe

darin begriffen, daß wir auch aus Offenbarung der Heiligen Schrift wissen und ungezweifelt glauben, in was Majestät solche seine menschliche Natur in und durch die persönliche Vereinigung mit der Tat und Wahrheit eingesetzt, und also derselben persönlich teilhaftig worden, inmaßen solches im Buch der Konkordie ausführlich erklärt worden: demnach und daß gleichfalls jedermann sehen möge, daß auch in diesem Stück ermeldetes Buch nicht neue, fremde, selbsterdachte, unerhörte paradoxa und Reden in die Kirche Gottes eingeführt, wird das nachfolgende Verzeichnis zuvörderst der Heiligen Schrift und dann auch der alten reinen Kirchenlehrer Zeugnisse, besonders aber der Väter, so in den vier Hauptkonziliis die vornehmsten und Directores derselben gewesen sind, klärlich ausweisen, daraus zu vernehmen, wie dieselben hiervon geredet haben.

Und damit der christliche Leser sich darein desto leichter finden und richten möge, sind dieselben auf etliche unterschiedliche nachfolgende Punkte gesetzt worden:

summa consolatio Christianis in eo proposita sit, ut secundum revelationem Sacrae Scripturae agnoscamus et indubitata fide amplectamur summam maiestatem, ad quam natura illa humana in et per unionem hypostaticam vere et re ipsa evecta, et cuius personaliter particeps facta est, quae in Libro Concordiae copiose declaratur: ideo et ut similiter quisque videat, etiam hac in parte libri nominati non nova, peregrina, ab hominibus excogitata et inaudita dogmata et phrases in ecclesiam Dei invehi, sequens catalogus testimoniorum cum Scripturae tum veterum purioris ecclesiae doctorum, praecipue vero eorum, qui quatuor oecumenicorum conciliorum antesignani et directores fuerunt, quomodo illi hac de re locuti sint, dilucide ostendet.

Suntque testimonia illa, quo facilius ea invenire et rectius intelligere lector posset, in certa capita distributa, quae sequuntur:

I.

Erstlich, daß die Heilige Schrift wie auch die Väter, wenn sie von der Majestät reden, welche die menschliche Natur Christi durch die persönliche Vereinigung empfangen hat, sich der Worte communicationis, communionis, participationis, donationis, traditionis, subiectionis, exaltationis, dari etc., das ist, der Worte: „Mitteilung", „Gemeinschaft", „teilhaftig", „geschenkt und gegeben werden" usw. gebrauchen.

I.

Primum, sacras litteras perinde atque patres, loquentes de maiestate, quam humana natura Christi per unionem personalem accepit, uti verbis *communicationis, communionis, participationis, donationis, traditionis, subiectionis, exaltationis, dari* etc.

Dan. 7, 13. 14: Ecce in nubibus coeli quasi filius hominis veniebat etc., et *dedit* ei potestatem, honorem et regnum. Potestas eius potestas aeterna.

Dan. 7: Und siehe, es kam einer in des Himmels Wolken, wie eines Menschen Sohn, bis zu dem Alten und ward vor denselbigen gebracht; der **gab** ihm Gewalt, Ehre und Reich, daß ihm alle Völker, Leute und Zungen dienen sollten. Seine Gewalt ist ewig, die nicht vergehet, und sein Königreich hat kein Ende.

Ioh. 13, 3: Sciens, quia omnia *dedit* ei Pater in manus.

Joh. 13: JEsus wußte, daß ihm der Vater alles in seine Hände **gegeben** hatte.

Matth. 11, 27: Omnia mihi *tradita* sunt a Patre meo.

Matth. 11: Alle Dinge sind mir **übergeben** von meinem Vater.

Matth. 28, 18: *Data* est mihi omnis *potestas* in coelo et in terra.

Matth. 28: Mir ist **gegeben** alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden.

Phil. 2, 9. 10: *Donavit* ei nomen super *omne* nomen etc.

Phil. 2: Gott hat ihm einen Namen **gegeben,** der über alle Namen ist, daß in dem Namen JEsu sich beugen sollen alle derer Knie, die im Himmel und auf Erden und unter der Erde sind usw.

Eph. 1, 22: Omnia *subiecit* sub pedibus eius.

Eph. 1: Der Vater hat alle Dinge unter seine Füße **getan.** 1 Kor. 15, 27; Hebr. 2, 8.

Ps. 8, 7; 1 Cor. 15; Heb. 2. Phil. 2, 9: Propter quod Deus *exaltavit* ipsum.

EUSEBIUS, *Ἀποδειξ. βιβλ. δ. κεφ. ιγ.* [Demonstr. Evang., l. 4, c. 13, p. 169, ed. Paris. 1628]: *Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μεταδιδοὺς (ὁ Λόγος) τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τὰ δ' ἐκ τοῦ θνητοῦ μὴ ἀντιλαμβάνων. Καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐκ θεοῦ δυνάμεως τῷ θνητῷ χορηγῶν, τῆς δ' ἐκ τοῦ θνητοῦ μετουσίας οὐκ ἀντεπαγόμενος.*

Sed illa quidem a se ipso *communicans* (*ὁ Λόγος*) homini, haec vero a mortali ipse non recipiens. Item, mortali quidem potentiam divinam subministrans, a mortali vero ipse non contra in partem aut communitatem adductus.

[Das ist:] Das Wort des Vaters hat aus sich selbst das Seine dem angenommenen Menschen **mitgeteilt;** denn die göttliche Kraft hat er der angenommenen sterblichen Natur mitgeteilt, hat aber nicht wiederum aus der sterblichen Natur an und für sich etwas angenommen.

Idem *ιδ* [c. 14]: *Τοῦτον αὐτὸν (τὸν ἄνθρωπον) ἐκεῖ τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῷ ζωῆς ἀϊδίου καὶ τῆς ἐν Θεότητι καὶ μακαριότητι κοινωνίας ἀξιῶν.*

Hunc ipsum interim ad illius vitae aeternae, quam penes se habet, atque ad dignitatis in Divinitate ac beatitudine *communitatem* assumens.

Das ist: Das Wort hat den angenommenen Menschen (concretum pro abstracto) würdig gemacht **der Gemeinschaft** in der Gottheit, des ewigen Lebens und Seligkeit.

the majesty to which this His human nature has been elevated in deed and truth by the personal union, and of which it thus has become personally participant, as has been extensively explained in the Book of Concord; accordingly, and in order that likewise every one may see that also in this part the book mentioned has introduced no new, strange, self-devised, unheard-of *paradoxa* and expressions into the Church of God, the following Catalog of Testimonies — first of all from the Holy Scriptures, and then also of the ancient, pure teachers of the Church, especially, however, of those fathers who were most eminent and leaders in the first four Ecumenical Councils — will clearly show, from which it may be understood how they have spoken concerning this subject.

And in order that the Christian reader may the more readily find his way through them and get his bearing, they have been arranged under several distinct heads as follows:

I.

First, that the Holy Scriptures, as also the fathers, when they speak of the majesty which the human nature of Christ has received through the personal union, employ the words *communicatio, communio, participatio, donatio, traditio, subiectio, exaltatio, dari*, etc., that is, of the words "communication," "communion," "sharing," "bestowed and given," etc.

Dan. 7, 13: Behold, one like the Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought Him near before Him; and there was *given* Him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve Him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and His kingdom that which shall not be destroyed.

John 13, 3: Jesus knowing that the Father had *given* all things into His hands.

Matt. 11, 27: All things are *delivered* unto Me of My Father.

Matt. 28, 18: All power is *given* unto Me in heaven and in earth.

Phil. 2, 9: God hath *given* Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth.

[Phil. 2, 9: Wherefore God also hath highly *exalted* Him.]

Eph. 1, 22: And hath *put* all things *under* His feet [Ps. 8, 6]; 1 Cor. 15, 27; Heb. 2, 8.

EUSEBIUS (*Demonstr. Evang.*, l. 4, c. 13, p. 169, ed. Paris, 1628): The Word, however, communicates what is of His own to man, but does not receive, in turn, that which is from the mortal; and He imparts the divine power to the mortal, but is not led, in turn, into a participation of the mortal [the Word of the Father has of Himself *communicated* what was His to the assumed man; for He has communicated the divine power to the assumed mortal nature, but has not, in turn, assumed for Himself anything out of the mortal nature].

Again: He there makes this very One (man) worthy of the eternal life which is with Him, and of the communion in Deity and blessedness [that is, the Word has made the assumed man (concrete for the abstract) worthy of *communion* in the Deity, of eternal life and blessedness].

ATHANASIUS in Epistola ad Epictetum [Tom. I, op. p. 589, ed. Colon.] referente etiam Epiphanio contra Dimoeritas [Haeres. 77, contra Dimoeritas t. 2, op. p. 1005, ed. Col.]: *Οὐ διὰ προσθήκην Θεότητος γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ Λόγος, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ σὰρξ ἀναστῇ, οὐδ' ἵνα βελτιωθῇ ὁ Λόγος, προῆλθεν ἐκ Μαρίας, μᾶλλον γὰρ αὐτῷ [τῷ] ἀνθρωπίνῳ [σώματι] προσθήκη μεγάλη γέγονεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Λόγου πρὸς αὐτὸ κοινωνίας τε καὶ ἑνώσεως.* Non enim Verbum caro factum est, ut Deitati aliqua accessio fieret, neque ut Verbum in meliorem statum reduceretur, magis vero ipsi humanae naturae accessio magna facta est ex communione et unione Verbi ad humanam naturam.

Das iſt: Denn das Wort iſt nicht Fleiſch [ge]worden, daß dadurch der Gottheit etwas zuginge, noch auch, daß in einen beſſeren Stand das Wort gebracht würde, ſondern vielmehr iſt der menſchlichen Natur ein Größeres zugeſchlagen aus der Gemeinſchaft und Vereinigung des Wortes mit der menſchlichen Natur.

EPIPHANIUS, Haeres. 69 [contra Ariomanitas], p. 344 [p. 805, ed. Col.]: *Δῆλον ὅτι ἡ σὰρξ ἡ ἀπὸ Μαρίας οὖσα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους τυγχάνουσα καὶ μετεμορφοῦτο εἰς δόξαν, δόξαν ἐπικτωμένη τῆς Θεότητος, τὴν τιμήν τε καὶ τελειότητα καὶ δόξαν τὴν ἐπουράνιον, ἣν μὴ εἶχεν ἡ σὰρξ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ λαβοῦσα ἐν τῇ συνενώσει τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου.*

Caro, quae ex Maria et ex nostro genere erat, transformabatur in gloriam (in transfiguratione) insuper acquirens gloriam Deitatis, honorem, perfectionem et gloriam coelestem, quam caro ab initio non habebat, sed ibi eam in *counitione* scilicet Dei Verbi accepit.

Das iſt: Das Fleiſch, welches aus Maria und aus unſerm Geſchlecht war, iſt verklärt, und über das hat es auch erlangt die Glorie der Gottheit, Ehre, Vollkommenheit und himmliſche Herrlichkeit, welche es von Anfang nicht hatte, ſondern dieſelbe in der **Vereinigung** mit dem Wort empfangen hat.

CYRILLUS, lib. 5. Dialogo [t. 5, p. 562, ed. Paris. 1638]: Quomodo ergo vivificat caro Christi? Et respondet: Secundum unionem cum vivente Verbo, quod et suae naturae bona proprio corpori *communia* solet facere.

Das iſt: Wie macht denn das Fleiſch Chriſti lebendig? Darauf antwortet er: Von wegen der Vereinigung mit dem lebendigen Wort, welches Wort ſeiner Natur Güter ſeinem eigenen Leibe pflegt **gemein** zu machen.

THEODORETUS, Eph. 1 (t. 2, p. 114 [t. 3, p. 297, ed. Paris. 1642]): Quod vero assumpta ex nobis natura eiusdem honoris cum eo, qui assumpsit, *sit particeps*, ut nulla videatur adorationis differentia, sed per naturam, quae cernitur, adoretur, quae non cernitur, Divinitas, hoc vero omne miraculum superat.

Das iſt: Daß aber die Natur, ſo aus uns iſt genommen, **iſt teilhaftig** der Ehre mit dem, der ſie angenommen hat, alſo daß kein Unterſchied ſcheint in der Anrufung, ſondern daß durch die Natur, ſo geſehen wird, angebetet werden ſoll die Gottheit, die man nicht ſieht, das übertrifft zumal alle Wunder.

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, *περὶ ὀρθοδόξ. πιστ.*, cap. 7, et 15 [p. 194]: *Καὶ αὐτὴ μὲν (ἡ θεῖα φύσις) τῶν οἰκείων αὐχημάτων τῇ σαρκὶ μεταδίδωσι, μένουσα αὐτὴ ἀπαθὴς καὶ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν ἀμέτοχος.* Divina natura proprias suas excellentias seu glorificationes carni *communicat* seu *impertit*, ipsa vero in se passionum carnis manet expers.

[Das iſt:] Die göttliche Natur hat ihre eigene Hoheit und Herrlichkeit dem Fleiſch **gemein gemacht** und **mitgeteilt**; ſie aber bleibt an ihr [an ſich] ſelbſt des Leidens ſeines Fleiſches überhoben.

Idem cap. 19 [p. 256]: *Ἡ δὲ σὰρξ τῇ Θεότητι τοῦ Λόγου ἐνεργούσῃ (κοινωνεῖ) διά τε τὸ ὡς δι' ὀργάνου τοῦ σώματος τὰς θείας ἐκτελεῖσθαι ἐνεργείας, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἕνα εἶναι τὸν ἐνεργοῦντα θεϊκῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως. Εἰδέναι γὰρ χρή, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ νοῦς καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖ ἐνεργείας* etc., *κοινωνεῖ δὲ ἐνεργούσῃ τῇ τοῦ Λόγου Θεότητι καὶ διεπούσῃ καὶ κυβερνώσῃ τὸ πᾶν νοῶν καὶ γινώσκων, καὶ διέπων οὐχ ὡς ψιλὸς ἀνθρώπου νοῦς, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένος καὶ Θεοῦ νοῦς χρηματίσας.*

Caro operanti Deitati Verbi *communicat*, cum quod divinae operationes per corpus tamquam per organum perficiantur, tum quod unus et idem sit, qui divina et humana operetur. Nosse enim oportet, quod sicuti sancta eius mens etiam naturales suas operationes operatur etc. Et simul *communicat* etiam Deitati Verbi operanti et gubernanti, ipsa etiam intelligens, cognoscens et disponens totum universum, non ut nuda hominis mens, sed ut Deo secundum hypostasin *counita* et Dei mens constituta.

Das iſt: Das Fleiſch hat **Gemeinſchaft** mit der wirkenden Gottheit, darum daß die göttlichen Wirkungen durch das Werkzeug des Leibes vollbracht worden. Alſo wirkt auch ſein heiliges Gemüt ſeine natürlichen Wirkungen. Es iſt aber auch **teilhaftig** [ge]worden der Gottheit des Wortes, ſeiner Wirkung und Regierung, ſein vernünftig Gemüt, welches weiß und verordnet alles in der ganzen Welt, nicht als ein bloßes Gemüt eines Menſchen, ſondern das perſönlich mit dem Gemüt Gottes **vereinigt** und mit demſelben e i n e Perſon iſt.

II.

Daß Chriſtus ſolche Majeſtät in der Zeit auch nicht nach der Gottheit oder göttlichen Natur, ſondern nach ſeiner angenommenen menſchlichen Natur oder nach dem Fleiſch, als Menſch oder als des Menſchen Sohn, humanitus, ratione corporis seu humanitatis, propter carnem, quia homo aut filius hominis, empfangen habe:

II.

Christum maiestatem illam in tempore neque secundum Divinitatem seu divinam naturam, sed secundum assumptam naturam vel secundum carnem, ut hominem vel ut filium hominis, humanitus, ratione corporis seu humanitatis, propter carnem, quia homo aut filius hominis est, accepisse:

ATHANASIUS, in a letter to Epictetus (tom. 1, op. p. 589, ed. Colon.), quoted also by Epiphanius against the Dimoeritae (*Haeres.*, 77; *Contra Dimoeritas*, t. 2, op. p. 1005, ed. Colon.): "Not in order to add to divinity did the Word become flesh, but in order that the flesh might rise up; not that the Word might be made better, He came forth from Mary; for rather was there a great addition to the human (body) from the communion and union with it of the Word." [That is: For the Word did not become flesh in order that thereby something might be added to the divinity, nor that the Word should be brought into a better state, but from the communion and union of the Word with the human nature there has rather been added something greater to the human nature.]

EPIPHANIUS, in *Haeresi*, 69 (against the Ariomanites), p. 344 (p. 805, ed. Colon.): "It is manifest that the flesh which was of Mary and came of our race was also transformed into glory (in the transfiguration), having acquired, in addition, the glory of the Godhead, heavenly honor and perfection and glory, which the flesh did not have from the beginning, but received there in the *union* with God the Word."

CYRIL, in lib. 5, *Dialog.* (t. 5, p. 562, ed. Paris, 1638): "How, then, does the flesh of Christ quicken?" And he replies: "According to [On account of] the union with the living Word, which is accustomed to *communicate* the endowments of His nature to His own body."

THEODORET, Eph. 1 (t. 3, p. 297, ed. Paris, 1642): "However, that the nature assumed from us is *participant* of the same honor with Him who assumed it, so that no difference in worship appears, but the divinity which is not seen is worshiped through the nature which is seen,—this surpasses every miracle."

DAMASCENUS, in Book 3, *Of the Orthodox Faith*, chaps. 7, 15: "And this [the divine nature] [*communicates* or] *imparts* of its own excellences to the flesh, itself remaining impassible, and not sharing in the passions [sufferings] of the flesh.

Also, chap. 19: The flesh *has communion* with the operating divinity of the Word, because the divine operations are executed as through the organ of the body, and because He that works both in a divine and human fashion is one. For it is necessary to know that just as His holy mind performs also His natural operations, etc., it *participates* in the divinity of the Word, that works and arranges and governs, perceiving and knowing and determining everything [the entire universe], not as the mere mind of man, but as *being made one* in person with God, and as being constituted the mind of God.

II.

That Christ has received this majesty in time, moreover, not according to the divinity, or the divine nature, but according to His assumed human nature, or according to the flesh, as man, or as the Son of Man, *humanitus, ratione corporis seu humanitatis, propter carnem, quia homo aut filius hominis* [humanly, with respect to His body or humanity, on account of the flesh, because He is man or the Son of Man]:

Heb. 1, 3: Facta purgatione peccatorum *per se ipsum*, sedet ad dexteram maiestatis in excelsis.

Hebr. 1: Sintemal er hat gemacht die Reinigung unſerer Sünden **durch ſich ſelbſt, hat er ſich geſetzt zu der Rechten der Majeſtät in der Höhe.**

Heb. 2, 8. 9: Videmus *Iesum* propter *passionem* mortis gloria et honore coronatum et constitutum super omnia opera manuum Dei et omnia ei subiecta sub pedibus eius.

Hebr. 2: Jetzt aber ſehen wir noch nicht, daß ihm das alles untertan ſei. Den aber, der eine kleine Zeit der Engel gemangelt hat, ſehen wir, daß es JEſus iſt, **durch Leiden des Todes gekrönt mit Preis und Ehren.**

Luc. 22, 69: Ex hoc erit *filius hominis* sedens a dexteris virtutis *Dei*.

Luk. 22: Von nun an wird des **Menſchen Sohn** ſitzen zur rechten Hand der Kraft Gottes.

Luc. 1, 32: Et dabit *ei* Dominus Deus sedem David patris; et regnabit in aeternum, et regni eius non erit finis.

Luk. 1: Und Gott der HErr wird **ihm** den Stuhl ſeines Vaters David geben; und er wird ein König ſein über das Haus Jakob ewiglich, und ſeines Königreichs wird kein Ende ſein.

Ioh. 5, 26. 27: Dedit Filio habere vitam in se ipso et potestatem dedit ei etiam iudicium facere, *quia filius hominis est*. [In der deutſchen Concordia von 1580 ſowie auch in der lateiniſchen von 1584 folgt dieſe Stelle dem nächſten Zitat aus Athanaſius.]

Joh. 5: Wie der Vater das Leben hat in ihm ſelber, alſo hat er dem Sohne gegeben, das Leben zu haben in ihm ſelber, und hat ihm Macht gegeben, auch das Gericht zu halten, **darum daß er des Menſchen Sohn iſt.**

ATHANASIUS citante Theodoreto, Dialogo 2, p. 330: *Ὅσα οὖν λέγει ἡ γραφή, ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ Υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ λέγει, οὐ τὴν Θεότητα.* Quaecunque Scriptura dicit Christum in tempore accepisse, *propter humanitatem dicit*, non propter Divinitatem.

Athanaſius: Was die Heilige Schrift ſagt, daß Chriſtus in der Zeit empfangen habe, das ſagt ſie um der **menſchlichen** und nicht um der göttlichen Natur willen.

ATHANASIUS, Oratione contra Arianos 2 et 4 [f. 347 et 490 sq. 492, ed. Colon. 1686]: Scriptura non intelligit substantiam Verbi exaltatam, sed ad *humanitatem* eius hoc spectat et propter *carnem* exaltari dicitur. Quum enim ipsius sit corpus, merito ipse ut *homo, ratione corporis, humanitus* exaltari et accipere memoratur, eo quod *corpus* illa recipiat, quae Verbum semper possidebat, secundum suam ex Patre Deitatem et perfectionem. Dicit igitur se potestatem *accepisse ut hominem*, quam semper habet ut Deus. Dicitque: „Glorifica me“, qui alios glorificat, ut ostendat carnem se habere istarum rerum indigam. Ac proinde *carne suae humanitatis* hanc glorificationem accipiente, ita loquitur, quasi ipse eam accepisset.

Illud enim ubique animadvertendum, nihil eorum, quae dicit se accepisse, in tempore scilicet, ita se accepisse, quasi non habuisset; habebat enim illa utpote semper ut Deus et Verbum. Nunc autem dicit *humanitus* se accepisse, ut *carne eius in ipso accipiente* in posterum ea ex carne illius in nos firmiter possidenda traderentur. (p. 250.)

Das iſt: Die Heilige Schrift verſteht nicht, daß die Subſtanz des Wortes ſei erhöht, ſondern das geht auf ſeine **Menſchheit,** und um des **Fleiſches** willen wird geſagt, daß er erhöht ſei. Denn weil es ſein Leib iſt, darum wird billig geſagt, daß er **als ein Menſch um des Leibes und ſeiner Menſchheit willen** erhöht iſt, und daß er ſolches empfange darum, daß **ſein Leib** ſolche Dinge empfängt, die er als das Wort allezeit beſeſſen hat nach ſeiner Gottheit und Vollkommenheit, welche er von dem Vater hat. Darum ſagt er, daß er Gewalt empfangen habe als **Menſch,** die er allezeit hat als Gott, und ſpricht: „Verkläre mich“, ſo er doch andere verklärt; damit er aber anzeigt, daß er Fleiſch habe, das ſolcher Verklärung bedarf. Darum weil **das Fleiſch ſeiner menſchlichen Natur nach** ſolche Verklärung empfangen hat, ſo redet er alſo, gleich als wenn er ſie empfangen hätte.

Denn das ſoll man allenthalben (in der Heiligen Schrift) wohl merken, daß Chriſto derer Dinge keines gemangelt habe, die er [von denen er] ſagt, daß er ſie in der Zeit empfangen hat, als hätte er ſie nicht zuvor gehabt; denn er hat ſie allezeit als Gott und das Wort; jetzund aber ſagt er, daß er ſie **nach der Menſchheit** empfangen habe, auf daß, nachdem ſie **ſein Fleiſch in ihm empfangen hat,** dieſelben auch hinfür aus ſeinem Fleiſch uns zu beſitzen gegeben werden.

Idem: De Suscepta Humanitate, contra Apollinarium (p. 540 [p. 603 et 611, ed. Colon. 1686]): Quum Petrus dicit, Iesum factum Dominum et Christum a Deo, non de Divinitate eius loquitur, sed de *humanitate*. Verbum eius semper erat Dominus, neque post crucem primum factus est Dominus, sed *humanitatem* eius Divinitas *fecit Dominum et Christum*.

Und abermals: Wenn Petrus ſagt, daß JEſus von Gott zum HErrn und Chriſt gemacht ſei, redet er nicht von ſeiner Gottheit, ſondern von der **Menſchheit.** Denn ſein Wort allezeit ein HErr war. Und iſt nicht erſt nach ſeinem Leiden zum HErrn gemacht worden, ſondern ſeine **Menſchheit** hat die Gottheit [ſondern ſeine Gottheit hat die Menſchheit] **zum HErrn und Chriſt gemacht.**

Item (p. 534): Quaecunque Scriptura dicit Filium *accepisse, ratione corporis* accepta intelligit, corpusque illud esse primitias ecclesiae. Primum igitur Dominus *suum corpus* excitavit et exaltavit, posthac autem membra sui corporis. Quibus verbis Athanasius explicavit, quod paulo post ad universam ecclesiam etiam suo modo accommodavit.

Und abermals: Alles, das die Heilige Schrift ſagt, daß der Sohn **empfangen** habe, das verſteht ſie, daß er es **empfangen** habe **nach dem Leibe,** und daß ſolcher Leib ſei die Erſtlinge der Kirche. Darum hat der HErr erſtlich **ſeinen Leib** auferweckt und erhöht, danach aber die Glieder

Heb. 1, 3: When He had *by Himself* purged our sins, [He] *sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.*

Heb. 2, 8. 9: But now we see not yet all things put under Him. But we see *Jesus*, who was made a little lower than the angels, for the *suffering* of death crowned with glory and honor.

Luke 22, 69: Hereafter shall *the Son of Man* sit on the right hand of the power of God.

Luke 1, 32. 33: The Lord God shall give *unto Him* the throne of His father David; and He shall reign over the house of Jacob forever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end.

John 5, 26. 27: He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself, and hath given Him authority to execute judgment also, *because He is the Son of Man.*

ATHANASIUS, quoted by Theodoret, Dialog 2, p. 330: "Now, whatever Scripture says that the Word received [in time], and as to whatever He was glorified, it says on account of His *humanity*, and not on account of His divinity.

ATHANASIUS, in the *Oration against the Arians*, 2 and 4 (f. 347. 490 f. 492, ed. Colon., 1686): "Scripture does not mean that the substance of the Word has been exalted, but this refers to His *humanity*, and He is said to be exalted on account of the *flesh*. For since it is His body, He Himself is properly said as *man* to be exalted and to receive something *with respect to His body, according to humanity*, because *the body* receives those things which the Word always possessed according to His own deity and perfection from the Father. He says, therefore, that *as a man He received* the power, which as God He always has. And He who glorifies others says, 'Glorify Me,' in order to show that He had a flesh that lacked such things. And, therefore, when the *flesh of His humanity* receives this glorification, He so speaks as though He Himself had received it.

For we must bear in mind everywhere [in the Holy Scriptures] that none of those things which He says that He received, namely, in time, He received in such a way as though He had not had them; for, being God and the Word, naturally He had those things always. But now He says that He received them *according to humanity*, so that, *His flesh in Himself receiving them*, He might in future hand them over from out of His flesh to us to be firmly possessed."

The same, *On the Assumed Humanity*, against Apollinarius (pp. 603 and 611, ed. Colon., 1686): "When Peter says that Jesus was made of God Lord and Christ, He speaks not of His divinity, but *of His humanity.* His Word always was Lord, neither did He become Lord first after the cross, but His divinity made the *humanity Lord and Christ.*"

Also: "Whatever Scripture says that the Son has received, it understands as having been *received with respect to His body*, and that that body is the first-fruits of the Church. Accordingly, God raised up and exalted His own body first, but afterwards the

ſeines Leibes. Mit welchen Worten Athanaſius erklärt hat, daß er hernach mit ſeinem Maß auch auf die ganze Kirche zeucht [bezieht].

BASILIUS MAGNUS, Contra Eunomium, lib. 4 [p. 769, ed. Paris.]: Quod Dominus celebratur et accepit nomen super omne nomen; item: Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra; ego vivo propter Patrem; glorifica me ea gloria, quam ante mundum habui apud te etc., *εἰς τὴν ἐνανθρώπησιν καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὴν Θεότητα ταῦτα νοεῖν δεῖ;* hoc est: illa intelligere oportet de *incarnatione* et non de Deitate.

Das iſt: Daß der HErr gerühmt wird, daß er empfangen habe einen Namen über alle Namen; item, daß er ſagt: „Mir iſt gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und Erden; ich lebe um des Vaters willen; verkläre mich mit der Klarheit, die ich habe gehabt bei dir“ uſw.: das muß man verſtehen von der **Menſchwerdung** und nicht von der Gottheit.

AMBROSIUS, lib. 5 De Fide, cap. 6 (t. 2, p. 109): Didicisti, quod omnia sibi ipsi subiicere possit secundum operationem utique Deitatis: disce nunc, quod *secundum carnem* omnia subiecta accipiat, sicut scriptum est Eph. 1: *Secundum carnem igitur omnia ipsi subiecta traduntur.*

Das iſt: Du haſt gelernt, daß er ihm alles unterwerfen kann, und das nach der Wirkung der Gottheit. So lerne nun das, daß er auch **nach dem Fleiſch** alles unterworfen empfange, wie geſchrieben ſteht Eph. 1. Darum wird gelehret, daß **nach dem Fleiſch** ihm alles unterworfen ſei. [Dieſer letzte Satz: „Darum — ſei“ iſt, wie der verſchiedene Druck in der Ausgabe des Konkordienbuchs von 1580 andeutet, nicht ein Teil des Zitats aus Ambroſius, ſondern eine Folgerung aus demſelben. Dasſelbe gilt im folgenden Zitat von den Worten „nach ſeiner Menſchheit“.]

Idem lib. 5, cap. 2 (p. 99): Non enim Deus suae sedis apostolis dat consortium; Christo vero *secundum humanitatem* datur consortium divinae sedis.

Und abermals: Denn Gott gibt den Apoſteln nicht ſeines Stuhls Gemeinſchaft; Chriſtum aber hat er **nach ſeiner Menſchheit** neben ſich in ſeinen göttlichen Stuhl geſetzt.

Et cap. 6 (p. 108): In Christo communis *secundum carnem* natura praerogativam sedis coelestis meruit.

Und abermals: In Chriſto hat die gemeine (menſchliche) Natur **nach dem Fleiſch** den Vorzug des himmliſchen Stuhles erlangt.

CHRYSOSTOMUS, Ebr. 1, Serm. 3, p. 117 (t. 4, homilia 3, p. 1493): *Τὸ κατὰ σάρκα λέγων· Καὶ προσκυνάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι Θεοῦ. Secundum carnem dicens:* Et adorent ipsum omnes angeli Dei.

Das iſt: Der Vater hat geboten, daß alle Engel Chriſtum **nach dem Fleiſch** anbeten ſollen.

THEOPHYLACTUS, Ioh. 3 (p. 235 [ed. Paris. 1631, f. 605]): *Καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον,* Pater omnia dedit in manum Filii *iuxta humanitatem.*

Das iſt: Der Vater hat alles gegeben in die Hände des Sohnes **nach der menſchlichen Natur.**

OECUMENIUS ex Chrysost., Ebr. 1 [t. 2, op. p. 324, ed. 1631]: *Ὡς γὰρ Θεὸς ὁ Υἱὸς αἰώνιον ἔχει τὸν θρόνον. Ὁ θρόνος σοῦ, ὁ Θεὸς φησίν, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸ πάθος ταύτης ὡς Θεὸς τῆς τιμῆς ἠξιώθη, ἀλλ' ἔλαβεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ὅπερ εἶχεν ὡς Θεός.* Et paulo post: *Ὡς ἄνθρωπος τοίνυν ἀκούει· κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου. Ὡς γὰρ Θεὸς αἰώνιον ἔχει τὸ κράτος.* Quatenus Deus est Filius, aeternum habet thronum. Thronus tuus, inquit Deus, in saeculum saeculi. Non enim post crucem et passionem hoc honore ut Deus dignus habitus fuit, sed accepit *ut homo,* quod habebat ut Deus. Et paulo post: *Ut homo* igitur audit: Sede a dexteris meis. Ut enim Deus aeternum habet imperium.

Das iſt: Dieweil er Gott iſt, hat er einen ewigen Thron; aber was er als Gott hatte, das hat er empfangen **als Menſch.** Darum hört er **als ein Menſch,** das geſagt iſt: „Setze dich zu meiner Rechten.“ Denn als Gott hat er eine ewige Gewalt und Reich.

CYRILLUS, lib. 9, Thesauri, cap. 3 (t. 2, p. 110): In potestatem dominandi *ut homo* ascendit.

Das iſt: **Als Menſch** iſt er aufgeſtiegen zur Gewalt der Regierung.

Idem lib. 11, cap. 17: Gloriam suam, quam semper habuit ut Deus, *ut homo* petiit; nec quia gloriae propriae unquam expers fuit, haec ab eo dicuntur, sed quia in gloriam, quae sibi semper adest ut Deo, *proprium templum* subducere volebat.

Und abermals: Er hat **als ein Menſch** gebeten [um] die Glorie, welche er als Gott allezeit gehabt, und wird ſolches nicht von ihm geſagt, als ob er jemals ſeiner eigenen Glorie und Herrlichkeit gemangelt hätte, ſondern darum, daß er **ſeinen eigenen Tempel** in die Herrlichkeit führen wollte, die er als Gott allezeit gehabt hat.

Idem lib. 2, Ad Reginas: Accepisse gloriam, potestatem et regnum super omnia, referendum est ad conditiones *humanitatis.*

Und abermals: Daß er empfangen hat Glorie, Gewalt und Regiment über alles, das iſt auf die Eigenſchaften **menſchlicher Natur** zu ziehen [zu beziehen].

THEODORETUS in Ps. 2 (t. 1, p. 83): Christus quum natura Dominus sit ut Deus, etiam ut *homo* universum imperium accipit.

Das iſt: Dieweil Chriſtus als Gott ein HErr iſt, empfängt er als **Menſch** alle Gewalt.

In Ps. 110 (t. 1, p. 242): Sede a dexteris meis: *humanitus* hoc dictum est. Ut enim Deus sempiternum habet imperium, sic *ut homo* accepit, quod ut Deus habebat. Ut *homo* igitur audit: Sede a dexteris meis; nam ut Deus sempiternum habet imperium.

members of His body." By these words Athanasius explained what a little afterwards he applied in its way also to the entire Church.

BASIL THE GREAT, *Against Eunomius*, lib. 4 (p. 769, ed. Paris): "That the Lord is celebrated, and receives a name above every name; also [that He says]: 'All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth; I live for the sake of the Father; Glorify Thou Me with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was,' etc., — must be understood of *the incarnation*, and not of the Deity."

AMBROSE, lib. 5, *De Fide*, cap. 6 (tom. 2, p. 109): "You have learned that He can subject all things to Himself undoubtedly according to the operation of Deity. Learn now that He receives, according to His flesh, all things as subjected to Him, as it is written, Eph. 1: *According to the flesh, therefore, all things are delivered to Him as subject.*"

The same, lib. 5, cap. 2 (p. 99): "For God does not give to the apostles participation in His seat, but to Christ, *according to His humanity*, is given participation in the divine seat."

And cap. 6 (p. 108): "In Christ our common [human] nature, *according to the flesh*, has obtained the prerogative of the heavenly seat."

CHRYSOSTOM, Heb. 1, Serm. 3, p. 117 (tom. 4; *Homilies*, 3, p. 1493): "[The Father has commanded] Saying *with respect to the flesh*, And let all the angels of God worship Him."

THEOPHYLACT, on John 3 (p. 235; ed. Paris, 1631, f. 605): "And He gave all things into the hand of the Son, *according to humanity*."

OECUMENIUS, from Chrysostom, Heb. 1 (t. 2, op. p. 324, ed. 1631): "For as the Son is God, He has an eternal throne. 'Thy throne,' says God, 'is forever and ever.' For after the cross and passion He was deemed worthy of this honor not as God, but *as man* He received what He had as God." And a little after: "*As man* He therefore hears, 'Sit on My right hand.' For as God He has eternal power."

CYRIL, lib. 9, *Thesauri*, cap. 3 (tom. 2, p. 110): "*As man* He ascended to the power of ruling."

The same, lib. 2, cap. 17: "*As man* He sought His glory which He always had as God. Neither are these things said by Him as though He had ever been destitute of His own glory, but because He wished to bring His own temple into the glory which He always has as God."

The same, lib. 2, *Ad Reginas:* "That He received glory, power, and rule over all things must be referred to the conditions [properties] of *humanity*."

THEODORET, on Ps. 2 (t. 1, p. 242): "Though Christ as God is Lord by nature, He receives universal power also as *man*.

On Ps. 110 (t. 1, p. 242): "'Sit Thou at My right hand,' — this was said *according to the human nature*. For as God He has eter-

Und abermals: „Setze dich zu meiner Rechten“: das ist **nach seiner Menschheit** geredet. Denn wie er als Gott ein ewig Reich hat, also hat er solche Gewalt **als Mensch** empfangen, die er als Gott hatte. Darum hört er auch, daß zu ihm gesagt ist: „Setze dich zu meiner Rechten“; denn als Gott hat er ein ewig Reich.

Idem Heb. 1 (t. 2, p. 154): Christus semper accepit ab angelis cultum et adorationem; erat enim semper Deus. Iam autem adorant ipsum etiam ut *hominem*.

Hebr. 1: Christus ist allezeit von den Engeln geehrt und angebetet worden; denn er war allezeit Gott. Jetzund aber beten sie ihn auch an als einen **Menschen**.

LEO, Epist. 23 (fol. 99) [f. 261 et 317, ed. Lugd. 1700], tractans locum Eph. 1 inquit: Dicant adversarii veritatis [„Sacramentarii“, steht hier am Rand], quando omnipotens Pater, vel secundum quam *naturam Filium* suum super omnia evexerit, vel cui substantiae cuncta subiecerit. Deitati enim, ut Creatori, semper subiecta fuerunt. Huic si addita potestas, si exaltata sublimitas, minor erat provehente, nec habebat divitias eius naturae, cuius indiguit largitate; sed talia sentientem in societatem suam Arius rapit.

So sagen uns nun die Widersprecher der Wahrheit, wann der allmächtige Vater und nach welcher **Natur** er seinen Sohn über alles erhoben habe, oder welcher substantia (oder Natur) er alles unterworfen habe. Denn der Gottheit, als dem Schöpfer, ist allezeit alles unterworfen gewesen. Wenn diesem seine Gewalt gemehrt und größer gemacht, wenn seine Höhe noch mehr erhöht ist, so ist er kleiner gewesen, denn der ihn erhöht hat, und hat nicht gehabt die Reichtümer der Natur, deren Mildigkeit er bedurft hat; aber die also gesinnt sind, die nimmt Arius in seine Gesellschaft auf.

Idem, Epist. 83 (fol. 134): Licet Deitatis et humanitatis in Christo una prorsus eademque persona: exaltationem tamen et nomen super omne nomen ad eam intelligimus pertinere formam, quae ditanda erat tantae glorificationis augmento. Non enim per incarnationem aliquid decesserat Verbo, quod ei Patris munere redderetur. *Forma* autem *servi* humana est humilitas, quae in gloriam divinae potestatis *erecta* est, ut nec sine homine divina nec sine Deo agerentur humana.

Und abermals: Wiewohl die Gottheit und Menschheit in Christo e i n e Person ist, so verstehen wir doch, daß die Erhöhung und der Name über alle Namen gehört zu der Gestalt, welche mit Herrlichkeit sollte reich gemacht werden. Denn durch die Menschwerdung ist dem Wort nichts abgegangen, das ihm als des Vaters Gabe wiedergegeben wäre. Sondern die **Knechtsgestalt** ist menschliche Demut, welche zur göttlichen Herrlichkeit ist **erhoben**, daß ohne die menschliche Natur nichts Göttliches und ohne die göttliche Natur nichts Menschliches gehandelt würde.

Ibidem: Quidquid in tempore accepit Christus, *secundum hominem accepit*, cui, quae non habuit, conferuntur. Nam secundum potentiam Verbi indifferenter omnia, quae habet Pater, etiam Filius habet.

Und abermals: Alles, was Christus in der Zeit empfangen hat, das hat er **als Mensch** empfangen, dem gegeben ist, das er zuvor nicht hatte. Denn nach der Kraft des Wortes hat er ohne Unterschied alles, was der Vater hat, und was der Sohn hat.

VIGILIUS, lib. 5, Contra Eutychen [p. 66 sq., ed. Divion. 1664. 4]: Divina natura non indiget honoribus sublimari, dignitatis profectibus augeri, potestatem coeli et terrae obedientiae merito accipere. Secundum *carnis naturam* igitur illa *adeptus est*, qui secundum naturam Verbi horum nihil eguit aliquando. Num quid enim potestatem et dominium creaturae suae Conditor non habebat, ut novissimis temporibus muneris gratia his potiretur?

Das ist: Die göttliche Natur bedarf nicht, daß man sie mit Ehren erhebe, mit Zunehmen der Würde vermehre, oder daß sie die Gewalt im Himmel und [auf] Erden erst durch das Verdienst des Gehorsams erlange; darum hat er (Christus) solches **nach der Natur des Fleisches erlangt**, welcher nach der Natur des Wortes derer Dinge nichts jemals bedurft hat. Denn sollte der Schöpfer die Gewalt und Herrschaft über die Kreatur nicht gehabt haben, daß er in den letzten Zeiten solche erst aus Gnaden erlangte?

NICEPHORUS, lib. 1, cap. 36, fol. 86: Christus a discipulis in Galileae monte conspicitur, et ibi a Patre summam potestatem coeli et terrae sibi, *iuxta humanitatem* scilicet, traditam esse confirmat.

Das ist: Christus wird von seinen Jüngern auf dem Berge in Galiläa gesehen und bestätigt daselbst, daß ihm vom Vater die höchste Gewalt im Himmel und [auf] Erden, nämlich **nach der Menschheit**, gegeben sei.

III.

Daß die Heilige Schrift zuvörderst und dann auch die heiligen Väter der alten reinen Kirche von diesem Geheimnis auch reden per vocabula abstracta, das ist, mit solchen Worten, welche ausdrücklich die menschliche Natur in Christo bedeuten und sich auf dieselbe in der persönlichen Vereinigung [be]ziehen, als daß die menschliche Natur solche Majestät mit der Tat und Wahrheit empfangen habe und gebrauche:

III.

Cum Sacram Scripturam tum sanctos veteris et purioris ecclesiae patres de hoc mysterio etiam loqui per vocabula abstracta, hoc est, per eiusmodi nomina, quae expresse naturam humanam in Christo designant et ad illam in unione personali respiciunt, quod videlicet natura humana talem maiestatem realiter et revera acceperit eaque utatur:

Ioh. 6, 54. 55: *Caro mea* est cibus et *sanguis meus* vere est potus. Qui manducat *meam carnem* et bibit *meum sanguinem*, habet vitam aeternam.

Das ist: **Mein Fleisch** ist die rechte Speise, und **mein Blut** ist der rechte Trank. Wer **mein Fleisch** isset und trinket **mein Blut**, der hat das ewige Leben.

nal dominion, so *as man* He has received what He had as God. *As man*, therefore, He hears [what is said to Him], 'Sit at My right hand.' For as God He has eternal dominion."

The same, on Heb. 1 (t. 2, p. 154): "Christ always received from the angels worship and adoration, for He always was God. But now they are adoring Him also as *man*."

LEO, Epist. 23 (fol. 99; Ep. [23 and 83] 46 and 97, ff. 261 and 317, ed. Lugd., 1700), treating of Eph. 1, says: "Let the adversaries of the truth declare when or according to *what nature* the almighty Father raised His Son above all things, or to what substance [nature] He subjected all things. For to the Deity, as to the Creator, all things have always been subject. If power was added to Him, if Sublimity was exalted, it was inferior to Him who exalted, and did not have the riches of that nature of whose liberality it stood in need. But a person holding such views Arius receives into his fellowship."

The same, Epist. 83 (fol. 134): "Although in Christ there is absolutely one and the same person of the divinity and the humanity, nevertheless we understand that exaltation and the name above every name pertain to that form which was to be enriched by the increase of so great a glorification. For by incarnation nothing had been withdrawn from the Word which would be returned to it by the gift of the Father. But the *form of a servant* is human humility, which has been *exalted* to the glory of divine power, so that divine things were not to be done without the man, nor human things without God."

In the same place: "Whatever Christ has received in time *He has received as man*, upon whom are conferred those things which He did not have. For, according to the power of the Word, the Son also has all things that the Father has, without a difference."

VIGILIUS, lib. 5, *Against Eutyches* (Ep. 66 sq., ed. Divion., 1664. 4): "The divine nature does not need to be elevated to honors, to be increased by advancements of dignity, to receive the power of heaven and earth by the merit of obedience. Therefore, *according to the nature of the flesh* He acquired these things who according to the nature of the Word never lacked any of them. For had the Creator no power and dominion over His creature, that in the last times He should obtain them as a gift?"

NICEPHORUS, lib. 1, cap. 36 (fol. 86): "Christ is seen by His disciples on the mountain in Galilee, and there He affirms that the highest power of heaven and earth has been delivered Him, namely, *according to humanity*."

III.

That, first of all, the Holy Scriptures, and then also the holy fathers of the ancient pure Church, speak concerning this mystery also *per vocabula abstracta*, that is, in such words as expressly indicate the human nature in Christ, and refer to the same in the personal union, namely, that the human nature actually and truly has received and uses such majesty:

John 6, 54. 55: Whoso eateth *My flesh* and drinketh *My blood* hath eternal life. . . . For *My flesh* is meat indeed, and *My blood* is drink indeed.

1 Ioh. 1, 7: *Sanguis* Iesu Christi, Filii Dei, emundat nos ab omni peccato.

Das ist: Das **Blut** JEsu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes, macht uns rein von aller Sünde.

Heb. 9, 14: *Sanguis* Christi, qui per Spiritum Sanctum se ipsum obtulit immaculatum Deo, emundat conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortis [mortuis] ad serviendum Deo viventi.

Das ist: Das **Blut** Christi, der sich selbst ohne Wandel durch den Heiligen Geist Gott geopfert hat, reinigt unser Gewissen von den toten Werken, zu dienen dem lebendigen Gott.

Matth. 26, 26: Accipite, manducate; hoc est *corpus meum*. Bibite ex hoc omnes; hic est *sanguis meus* novi testamenti.

Das ist: Nehmet, esset; das ist **mein Leib**. Trinket alle daraus; das ist **mein Blut** des neuen Testaments.

EUSTACHIUS [Eustathius] citante Theodoreto, Dialogo 2 (p. 40): *Ἐντεῦθεν τοίνυν ἐπὶ θρόνου προέγραφεν αὐτὸν ἁγίου καθέζεσθαι, δηλῶν, ὅτι σύνθρονος ἀποδέδεικται τῷ θειοτάτῳ Πνεύματι, διὰ τὸν οἰκοῦντα Θεὸν ἐν αὐτῷ διηνεκῶς.*

Huic igitur praedixit fore, ut sederet (Christus *homo*) in throno sancto, significans sessurum eum in eodem throno cum divinissimo Spiritu, propter Deum inhabitantem in ipso inseparabiliter.

Das ist: Die **menschliche** Natur in Christo sitzt auf einem Thron oder Stuhl mit seiner Gottheit, darum daß Gott unzertrennlich in derselben menschlichen Natur wohnt.

Idem apud Gelasium: *Homo* Christus, qui profecit sapientia, aetate et gratia, rerum universarum imperium accepit.

Das ist: Der **Mensch** Christus, der an Weisheit, Alter und Gnade zugenommen, hat das Regiment oder Herrschaft über alle Dinge empfangen.

Idem ibidem: Christus ipso corpore ad proprios venit apostolos dicens: Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra; quam potestatem accepit *extrinsecus templum* et non Deus, qui templum illud praecipua pulchritudine aedificavit.

Das ist: Christus ist nach seiner Auferstehung mit seinem eigenen Leibe zu seinen erwählten Aposteln [ge]kommen und hat gesagt: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden"; welche Gewalt der **äußerliche Tempel** des ewigen Wortes empfangen hat und nicht Gott (nämlich nach seiner Gottheit), der denselbigen Tempel (seines Leibes) mit solchem vornehmen Schmuck erbaut und geziert hat.

ATHANASIUS de Ariana et Catholica Confessione [tom. 2, op. p. 579, ed. Colon.]: Deus non est mutatus in humanam carnem vel substantiam, sed in se ipso, quam assumpsit, glorificabat naturam, ut humana, infirma et mortalis caro atque natura *divinam* profecerit in *gloriam*, ita ut omnem potestatem in coelo et in terra habeat, quam, antequam a Verbo assumeretur, non habebat.

Das ist: Gott ist nicht verwandelt in das menschliche Fleisch oder Substanz, sondern hat in ihm [sich] selber die Natur verklärt, die er an sich genommen hat, daß das menschliche, schwache, sterbliche Fleisch und Natur **göttliche Herrlichkeit** erlangte, also daß es alle Gewalt im Himmel und Erden hat, welche es nicht hatte, ehe es von dem Wort angenommen worden.

Idem [l. c., p. 597 et 603]: De Suscepta Humanitate contra Apollinarium, p. 530: Paulus Phil. 2 de *templo* loquitur, quod est corpus suum. Non enim qui altissimus est, sed *caro* exaltatur, et *carni* suae dedit nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut scilicet in nomine Iesu flectatur omne genu, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quod Iesus Christus sit Dominus in gloria Patris. Et addit regulam generalem: Quando Scriptura loquitur de glorificatione Christi, de *carne* loquitur, quae percepit gloriam. Et quaecunque Scriptura dicit accepisse Filium, *ratione humanitatis* illius, non Divinitatis loquitur; ut quum dicit apostolus, quod in Christo habitet omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter, plenitudinem illam *in carne* Christi habitare intelligendum est.

Das ist: St. Paulus an die Philipper am 2. Kapitel redet von **seinem Tempel**, welcher ist sein Leib. Denn nicht der Allerhöchste, sondern **das Fleisch** wird erhöht. Und **seinem Fleisch** hat er einen Namen gegeben über alle Namen, daß in dem Namen JEsu sich beugen sollen alle Knie, und alle Zungen bekennen, daß JEsus Christus sei der HErr in der Glorie Gottes des Vaters. Und hängt eine gemeine Regel daran: Wenn die Heilige Schrift redet von der Verklärung Christi, so redet sie von dem **Fleisch** Christi, das solche Herrlichkeit empfangen hat. Und was die Schrift sagt, daß der Sohn empfangen habe, das redet sie **von wegen der Menschheit** und nicht der Gottheit. Als, wenn der Apostel sagt: „In Christo wohnt alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig", das ist zu verstehen, daß sie **im Fleisch** Christi wohne.

Idem citante Theodoreto, Dialogo 2 (tom. 3, p. 286): *Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, εἰς τὸ κυριακὸν σῶμα λέλεκται.* Item: *Τὸ σῶμα τοίνυν ἔστιν, ᾧ λέγει, κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου.* Corpus est, cui dicit Dominus: Sede a dexteris meis.

Das ist: Der Leib ist es, zu dem der HErr sagt: „Setze dich zu meiner Rechten."

ATHANASIUS, De Incarnatione, sicut citatur apud Cyrillum in defensione anathematismi 8 et in libro De Recta Fide ad Reginas: Si quis dicat, inadorabilem Domini nostri carnem, ut hominis, et non adorandam ut *Domini et Dei carnem*, hunc anathematisat sancta et catholica ecclesia.

Das ist: So jemand sagte, das Fleisch Christi, so nicht anzubeten als eines Menschen Fleisch, daß es auch als **des HErrn und Gottes Fleisch** nicht angebetet werden solle, den verflucht die heilige und katholische Kirche.

1 John 1, 7: The *blood* of Jesus Christ, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin.

Heb. 9, 14: The *blood* of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered Himself without spot to God, purges your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

Matt. 26, 26—28: Take, eat; this is *My body*. . . . Drink ye all of it; for this is *My blood* of the new testament.

EUSTACHIUS, quoted by Theodoret, Dialog 2 (p. 40): "Therefore he prophesied that He [Christ the *man*, the *human* nature of Christ] would sit upon a holy throne, signifying that He has made Himself known as sharing the throne with the most Divine Spirit, on account of God's dwelling inseparably in Him."

The same, quoted in Gelasius: "The *man* Christ, who increased in wisdom, age, and favor, received the dominion of all things."

The same, in the same place: "Christ, in His very body, came to His apostles, saying: 'All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth'; which power *the external temple* received, and not God [namely, according to His divinity], who built that temple [of His body] of extraordinary beauty."

ATHANASIUS, *On the Arian and the Catholic Confession* (t. 2, op. p. 579, ed. Colon.): "God was not changed into human flesh or substance, but in Himself glorified the nature which He assumed, so that the human, weak, and mortal flesh and nature advanced to [obtained] *divine glory*, so as to have all power in heaven and in earth, which it did not have before it was assumed by the Word."

The same (*l. c.*, pp. 597 and 603), *On the Assumed Humanity*, against Apollinarius (p. 530): "Paul, Phil. 2, speaks of a [*His*] *temple* which is His body. For not He who is the Highest, but the *flesh*, is exalted; and to his *flesh* He gave a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of the Father. And he adds a general rule: When Scripture speaks of the glorification of Christ, it speaks of the *flesh*, which has received glory. And whatever Scripture says that the Son has received, it declares with respect to His *humanity*, and not to His divinity; as, when the apostle says that in Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, we must understand that this fulness dwells *in the flesh* of Christ."

The same, quoted by Theodoret, Dialog 2 (t. 3, p. 286): "'Sit on My right hand,' has been said to the Lord's body." Also: "It is therefore the body to which He says, 'Sit on My right hand.'"

ATHANASIUS, *On the Incarnation*, as quoted in Cyril in his *Defense of the 8th Anathema*, and in his book, *On the True Faith to the Queens:* "If any one says that the flesh of our Lord as that of a man is inadorable, and is not to be worshiped as the *flesh of the Lord and God*, him the Holy Catholic Church anathematizes."

Idem [De Susc. Human., p. 603, ed. Colon.]: Quaecunque Scriptura dicit Filium accepisse, *ratione corporis* accepta intelligit, corpusque illud esse primitias ecclesiae. Primum igitur Dominus *suum corpus* excitavit et exaltavit, posthac autem et membra sui corporis.

Das iſt: Alles, was die Schrift ſagt, daß der Sohn empfangen habe, das verſteht ſie, daß es nach dem Leibe empfangen ſei, und derſelbe Leib ſei die Erſtlinge der Kirche. Darum hat der HErr erſtlich ſeinen Leib erweckt und erhöht, danach aber auch die Glieder ſeines Leibes.

HILARIUS, lib. 9 (p. 130 [129. 137]): Ut ita homo Iesus maneret in gloria Dei Patris, si in Verbi gloriam *caro esset unita*, et gloriam Verbi caro assumpta teneret. (Concretum pro abstracto.)

Das iſt: Daß alſo der Menſch JEſus bliebe in der Herrlichkeit Gottes des Vaters, wenn **das Fleiſch vereinigt wäre** in die Glorie des Vaters, und das Fleiſch die Herrlichkeit des Worts hätte.

EUSEBIUS EMISSENUS, in Homilia Feria Sexta post Pascha (Feria 6. paschatos in homiliis 5. patrum, p. 297): Qui secundum divinitatem semper, simul cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, omnium rerum potestatem habuit, nunc etiam secundum humanitatem omnium rerum *potestatem* accepit, ut *homo* ille, qui nuper passus est, coelo et terrae dominetur, quin hic et ibi facit, quidquid vult.

Das iſt: Der nach der Gottheit allzeit, zugleich mit dem Vater und Heiligem Geiſt, alle Gewalt über alles hatte, derſelbe hat jetzund auch nach der Menſchheit alle **Gewalt** über alles empfangen, auf daß eben der **Menſch,** welcher neulich gelitten hat, über Himmel und Erde regiere und hier und dort tue, was er will.

GREGORIUS NYSSENUS citante Gelasio et Theodoreto, Dialogo 2: *Τῇ δεξιᾷ οὖν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑψωθείς· τίς οὖν ὑψώθη; ὁ ταπεινὸς ἢ ὁ ὕψιστος; τί δὲ τὸ ταπεινὸν, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον; τί δὲ ἄλλο παρὰ τὸ Θεῖόν ἐστιν ὁ ὕψιστος; ἀλλὰ μὲν ὁ Θεὸς ὑψωθῆναι οὐ δεῖται ὕψιστος ὤν, τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἄρα ὁ ἀπόστολος ὑψωθῆναι λέγει. Ὑψωθῆναι δὲ διὰ τοῦ Κύριος καὶ Χριστὸς γενέσθαι, οὐκοῦν οὐ τὴν προαιώνιον ὕπαρξιν τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ ἐποίησε ῥήματος παρίστησιν ὁ ἀπόστολος, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ ταπεινοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὑψηλὸν μεταποίησιν τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ γεγεννημένην.* Et paulo post: *Ὅτι ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ποιητικὴ τῶν ὄντων τῶν πάντων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ Κύριος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο καὶ οὗ χωρὶς ὑπέστη τῶν γεγονότων οὐδὲν, αὕτη τὸν ἑνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως.*

Hoc est (Apud Theodoretum, t. 2, p. 333): Dextera igitur Dei exaltatus (Act. 2, 33). Quis igitur exaltatus est, humilisne an altissimus? Quid autem est humile nisi humanum? Quid vero aliud praeter Divinitatem appellatione altissimi significatur? At Deus exaltatione non indiget, quum sit altissimus. Humanam igitur naturam exaltatam esse dicit apostolus, exaltatam vero, quia Dominus et Christus factus est (homo). Non igitur aeternam essentiam Domini verbo *fecit* exprimit apostolus, sed humilis naturae evectionem ad summam celsitudinem, videlicet ad dexteram Dei. Et paulo post: Quia dextera Dei, fabricatrix omnium rerum, quae est ille Dominus, per quem omnia facta sunt, et sine quo nihil eorum, quae facta sunt, subsistit, *haec ipsa unitum sibi hominem* ad propriam extulit celsitudinem per unionem.

Das iſt: Gott bedarf's nicht, daß er erhöht werde, dieweil er der Allerhöchſte iſt. Darum verſteht St. Petrus, daß die Menſchheit Chriſti erhöht ſei. Sie iſt aber alſo erhöht, daß er ſie zum HErrn und Chriſt **gemacht** hat. Mit welchen Worten der Apoſtel nicht die Gottheit hat anzeigen wollen, ſondern daß die menſchliche Natur erhoben ſei in die Höhe, welche iſt zur Rechten Gottes. Denn die Rechte Gottes, welche alles erſchaffen hat, und die der HErr ſelbſt iſt, dieſelbe Rechte Gottes hat **den mit ihr vereinigten Menſchen** in ſeine eigene Hoheit durch die Vereinigung geſetzt.

BASILIUS MAGNUS, Contra Eunomium, lib. 2, p. 661: *Κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταυρώσατε, τῇ δεικτικῇ φωνῇ μονονουχὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁρώμενον πᾶσι προδήλως ἐπερειδόμενος.* Et paulo post: *Ὥστε ὁ εἰπὼν· Κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε, τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀρχὴν καὶ δεσποτείαν λέγει τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐπιτραπεῖσαν αὐτῷ* etc.

Petrus Act. 2 inquit: Dominum et Christum fecit Deus hunc Iesum, quem vos crucifixistis, demonstrativa voce *humanae* et omnibus visibili ipsius naturae palam propemodum incumbens seu innitens. Et paulo post: Quamobrem inquiens, quod Deus Dominum et Christum ipsum fecerit, principatum et dominium super omnia a Patre ipsi commissum dicit.

Das iſt: Wenn Petrus in der Apoſtelgeſchichte ſagt: „Dieſen JEſum, den ihr gekreuzigt habt, hat Gott zum HErrn gemacht", hat er mit dem Wort „dieſen" ſeine **Menſchheit** anzeigen wollen und ſagt, daß **ihr** (**der Menſchheit**) die Herrſchaft und Regierung befohlen ſei.

EPIPHANIUS, Contra Ariomanitas (p. 327 [tom. 1, f. 728, ed. Paris. 1638]): *Τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἐσταυρώσατε, ἵνα μὴ παραλειφθῇ ἡ ἁγία ἔνσαρκος οἰκονομία ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ ἀκτίστου Λόγου, ἀλλὰ συνενωθῇ ἄνω τῷ ἀκτίστῳ Λόγῳ. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Κύριον καὶ Χριστὸν ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε τὸ ἐκ Μαρίας συλληφθὲν, τὸ ἐν Θεότητι συνενωθέν.*

Hoc est: Hunc igitur Iesum, quem crucifixistis, ut ne relinqueretur sancta in *carne* dispensatio a passionis experte et increato Verbo, sed couniretur superne increato Verbo. Quapropter et Dominum et Christum Deus fecit, id quod ex Maria conceptum et Deitati unitum est.

Das iſt: Daß Petrus hinzuſetzt: „Dieſen JEſum, den ihr gekreuzigt habt" uſw., zeigt er damit an die **Menſchwerdung** des HErrn, und iſt offenbar, daß er von dem **Fleiſch** redet. Darum hat Gott zum HErrn und Chriſt gemacht, das von Maria empfangen und mit der Gottheit vereinigt iſt.

AMBROSIUS, l. 3, cap. 12, De Spiritu Sancto (t. 2, p. 157 [f. 765, ed. Colon.]): Angeli adorant non solum divinitatem Christi, sed et *scabellum pedum* eius. Et postea: Illam ter-

The same, *On Humanity Assumed* (p. 603, ed. Colon.): "Whatever Scripture says that the Son has received, it understands as having been received *with respect to His body*, and that this body is the first-fruits of the Church. The Lord therefore first raised and exalted *His body*, but afterward also the members of His body."

HILARY, lib. 9 (p. 136): "That thus the man Jesus remained in the glory of God the Father, if *the flesh had been united* to the glory of the Word, and the assumed flesh possessed the glory of the Word." (Concrete for abstract.)

EUSEBIUS OF EMISSA, in his homily on the Sixth Holiday after Easter (*Feria 6, paschatos in homiliis 5, patrum*, p. 297): "He who, according to His divinity, had always, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, power over all things, now also according to His humanity has received *power* over all things, so that this *man* who suffered not long ago rules over heaven and earth, yea, does here and there whatever He wishes."

GREGORY OF NYSSA, quoted by Gelasius and Theodoret, Dialog 2 (t. 2., p. 333): "'Therefore, being exalted to the right hand of God' [Acts 2, 33]. Who, then, was exalted? The lowly one or the Highest? But what is lowly if not the human? What else besides the divine is the Highest? But God, being the Highest, does not need to be exalted. Therefore, the apostle says that the human [nature] was exalted, and that it was exalted by becoming Lord and Christ. Therefore, by the words *He has made* the apostle does not express the premundane [eternal] subsistence of the Lord, but the advancement of that which is low to the Highest, namely, to the right hand of God."

And shortly afterwards: "Because the right hand of God, the Creator of all things that exist, which is the Lord, by whom all things were made, and without whom nothing of those things that were made subsist, has itself, through the union, raised up to its own height the man who has been united with it."

BASIL THE GREAT, *Against Eunomius*, lib. 2, p. 661: "[When Peter, Acts 2, says:] 'God hath evidently made that same Jesus whom ye have crucified both Lord and Christ,' by the demonstrative word [that same] he applies himself almost entirely to His *human* nature, seen by all." Shortly afterwards: "So that in saying, 'God hath made Him both Lord and Christ,' he says that power and dominion over all things were entrusted to Him [to the humanity] by the Father."

EPIPHANIUS, *Against the Ariomanites* (p. 327, t. 1; fol. 728, ed. Paris, 1638): "[Peter, by adding:] 'This same Jesus whom ye crucified' [indicates the *incarnation* of the Lord, and it is manifest that he is speaking of the *flesh*], in order that the holy *incarnate* dispensation might not be left by the impassible and uncreated Word, but might be united above to the uncreated Word. On this account God made that which was conceived of Mary and united to Deity both Lord and Christ."

AMBROSE, lib. 3, cap. 12, *Of the Holy Ghost* (t. 2, p. 157 [fol. 765, ed. Colon.]): "The angels adore not only the divinity of

ram propheta dicit adorandam, quam Dominus Iesus in carnis assumptione suscepit. Itaque per scabellum terra intelligitur, per *terram* autem *caro* Christi, quam hodie quoque in mysteriis adoramus, et quam apostoli in Domino Iesu, ut supra diximus, adorarunt. [Bei Ambrosius folgt noch: Neque enim divisus Christus, sed unus.]

Das ist: Die Engel beten nicht allein die Gottheit Christi an, sondern auch seiner **Füße Schemel.** Und hernach: Der Prophet sagt, daß die Erde soll angebetet werden, welche der HErr JEsus an sich genommen hat, da er das Fleisch angenommen hat. Darum durch den Fußschemel wird verstanden die Erde, durch die Erde aber das **Fleisch** Christi, welches wir noch heutigestages im Geheimnis anbeten, das auch die Apostel im HErrn JEsu angebetet haben.

AUGUSTINUS, De Verbis Domini, sermone 58 (t. 10, p. 217): Si Christus non est natura Deus, sed creatura, nec colendus est nec ut Deus adorandus. Sed illi ad haec replicabunt ac dicent: Quid igitur est, quod *carnem* eius, quam creaturam esse non negas, simul cum divinitate adoras et ei non minus quam Deitati deservis?

Das ist: Wenn Christus nicht von Natur Gott ist, sondern eine Kreatur, so ist er auch nicht als Gott zu ehren und anzubeten. Aber dawider werden diese vorgeben und sagen: Was ist's denn, daß du sein **Fleisch,** welches du nicht leugnest, daß es eine Kreatur sei, zugleich mit der Gottheit anbetest und demselben nicht weniger als der Gottheit dienst?

Idem in Ps. 98, 5 (t. 8, p. 1103): Adorate scabellum pedum eius. Scabellum est terra, et Christus suscepit terram de terra, quia caro de terra est et de carne Mariae carnem accepit. Et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit et ipsam carnem manducandam nobis ad salutem dedit, nemo autem *carnem* illam manducat, nisi prius *adoraverit*. Inventum ergo est, quomodo adoretur tale scabellum pedum Domini, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando.

Das ist: Der Fußschemel ist die Erde, und Christus hat Erde von der Erde genommen, denn das Fleisch ist von der Erde, und von dem Fleisch Mariä hat er Fleisch an sich genommen. Und weil er im Fleisch gewandelt hat, hat er uns auch sein Fleisch zu essen und zu unserm Heil gegeben; niemand aber ißt dasselbe **Fleisch,** er habe es denn zuvor **angebetet.** Darum ist eine Weise [ge]funden worden, wie solcher Fußschemel des HErrn angebetet werde, daß wir nicht allein nicht sündigen, wenn wir denselben anbeten, sondern daß wir sündigen, so wir ihn nicht anbeten.

CHRYSOSTOMUS, ad Heb. 2 [p. 125]: *Καὶ γάρ ὄντως μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ ἐκπλήξεως γέμον, τὴν ἐξ ἡμῶν σάρκα ἄνω καθῆσθαι καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀγγέλων καὶ ἀρχαγγέλων καὶ τῶν Σεραφὶμ καὶ τῶν Χερουβίμ. Τοῦτο πολλάκις εἰς νοῦν ἐγὼ λαβὼν ἐξίσταμαι.* Magnum, admirabile et stupore plenum est, carnem nostram sursum sedere et adorari ab angelis et archangelis. Hoc saepe mente versans ecstasin patior etc. Idem 1 Cor. 10 [p. 174; tom. 6, f. 740, et tom. 5, f. 261, ed. Francof.]: *Τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνης κείμενον, ἠδέσθησαν μάγοι* etc., *καὶ ὁδὸν ἐστείλαντο μακράν, καὶ ἐλθόντες μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου πολλοῦ προσεκύνησαν.* Hoc corpus Christi in praesepi iacens Magi venerati sunt etc., et a longe venientes cum timore et tremore multo adoraverunt. Idem apud Leonem, epist. 95: Cognoscamus, quae natura sit, cui Pater dixit: Esto meae particeps sedis. Illa natura est, cui dictum est: Terra es et in terram ibis.

Das ist: Es ist ein großes Wunder, darüber man sich billig entsetzt, daß unser Fleisch droben sitzt und von den Engeln und Erzengeln angebetet wird. Wenn ich oftmals solches bei mir selber bedenke, ist mir nicht anders, als wenn ich außer mir selbst wäre. 1 Kor. 10: Eben der Leib, der in der Krippe liegt, den die Weisen aus [dem] Morgenland verehrt und, als sie von ferne [ge]kommen, in großer Furcht und Zittern angebetet haben. Und abermals: Laßt uns wohl merken, welche Natur es sei, zu der der Vater gesagt hat: „Setze dich in meinen Stuhl." Es ist die Natur, zu welcher gesagt ist: Du bist Erde, und zur Erde sollst du wieder werden.

THEOPHYLACTUS ex Chrysostomo in caput Matth. 28 [p. 311; ed. Lutet. 8, 1631, f. 184 et 605]: *Ἐπεὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις ἡ πρώην κατάκριτος, συνημμένη τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ καθ' ὑπόστασιν, ἐν οὐρανῷ κάθηται ὑπ' ἀγγέλων προσκυνουμένη, εἰκότως φησίν, ὅτι ἐδόθη ἐμοὶ πᾶσα ἐξουσία ἐν οὐρανῷ. Καὶ γὰρ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη ἡ πρώην δουλεύουσα νῦν ἐν Χριστῷ ἄρχει πάντων.* Quia *humana natura* prius condemnata, nunc vero iuncta Deo Verbo personaliter sedet in coelo et ab angelis adoratur, merito dicit: Data est mihi omnis potestas in coelo et in terra. Etenim humana natura prius serviebat, nunc in Christo omnibus imperat.

Das ist: **Die menschliche Natur,** welche zuvor verdammt war, jetzund aber mit dem Wort persönlich vereinigt und sitzt im Himmel und wird von den Engeln angebetet, die sagt billig: „Mir ist gegeben alle Gewalt im Himmel und Erden"; denn die menschliche Natur, die zuvor diente, herrscht jetzund in Christo über alles.

Idem in 3. cap. Ioh.: *Καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ, κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.*
Pater omnia dedit in manum Filii *iuxta humanitatem.*

Das ist: Der Vater hat dem Sohne alles in seine Hände gegeben **nach der Menschheit.**

CYRILLUS, De Incarnatione, cap. 11 (t. 4, p. 241 [t. 5, f. 695]): Verbum in id, quod non erat, se immisit, ut et *hominis natura* id, quod non erat, fieret, divinae maiestatis dignitatibus per adunitionem fulgens, quae sublevata magis est ultra naturam, quam deiecit infra naturam invertibilem Deum.

Das ist: Das Wort hat sich in das eingelassen, das es nicht war, auf daß **des Menschen Natur** würde, das es [sie] nicht war, nämlich daß es [sie] durch die Vereinigung leuchten sollte in der Herrlichkeit der göttlichen Majestät, welche vielmehr erhoben ist über die Natur, denn daß sie den unwandelbaren Gott unter ihre Natur sollte geworfen haben.

Christ, but also His *footstool*." And afterwards: "The prophet says that the earth which the Lord Jesus took upon Himself in the assumption of flesh is to be adored. Therefore by *footstool* the earth is understood, but by *earth* the *flesh of Christ*, which we to-day also adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles adored in the Lord Jesus, as we have said above."

AUGUSTINE, *Of the Words of the Lord*, Discourse 58 (t. 10, p. 217): "If Christ is not God by nature, but a creature, He is neither to be worshiped nor adored as God. But to these things they will reply and say: Why, then, is it that you adore with His divinity His *flesh*, which you do not deny to be a creature, and are no less devoted to it than to Deity?"

The same, on Ps. 99, 5 (t. 8, p. 1103): "'Worship His footstool.' His footstool is the earth, and Christ took upon Him earth of earth, because flesh is of earth; and He received flesh of the flesh of Mary. And because He walked here in this very flesh, He also gave this very flesh to be eaten by us for salvation. But no one eats that *flesh* unless He has first *worshiped it*. Therefore the way has been found how such footstool of the Lord may be worshiped, so that we not only do not sin by worshiping, but sin by not worshiping."

CHRYSOSTOM, on Heb. 2 (p. 125): "For it is really great and wonderful and full of awe that our flesh should be seated above, and be worshiped by angels and archangels and by the seraphim and cherubim. Reflecting upon this, I am often entranced [seem to be beside myself]."

The same, on 1 Cor. 10 (p. 174, t. 6, p. 740, and t. 5, p. 261, ed. Frankf.): "This body, even when lying in the manger, the Magi worshiped, etc.; and they took a long journey; and having come, they worshiped with much fear and trembling."

The same, in Epist. 65 to Leo: "Let us learn to know which nature it is to which the Father said, Share My seat. It is that nature to which it has been said, 'Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'"

THEOPHYLACT, from Chrysostom, on chap. 28 of Matt. (p. 311 [ed. Lutet., 8, 1631, fols. 184. 605]): "Since the *human nature*, but recently condemned, united in person with God the Word, is seated in heaven, worshiped by angels, He says properly: 'All power is given unto Me in heaven.' For also the human nature, which but recently served, now in Christ rules over all things."

The same, on chap. 3 of John: "He has also given all things into the hand of the Son, *according to His humanity*."

CYRIL, *On the Incarnation*, cap. 11 (t. 4, p. 241; t. 5, p. 695): "The Word introduced Himself into that which He was not, in order that the *nature of man* also might become what it was not, resplendent, by its union, with the grandeur of divine majesty, which has been raised beyond nature rather than that it has cast the unchangeable God beneath [its] nature."

Ephesinum Concilium, can. 11, Cyrill., t. 4, p. 140 [Apologet. adv. Orient., t. 6, f. 196]: Si quis non confitetur, *carnem* Domini esse vivificam, propterea quod propria facta est Verbi, quod omnia vivificat, anathema sit.

Das iſt: Welcher nicht bekennt, daß das **Fleiſch** Chriſti ein lebendigmachend Fleiſch ſei, darum, daß es des Worts eigen worden iſt, welches alles lebendig macht, der ſei verflucht.

Et Cyrillus, ibidem, p. 140 [t. 4, f. 85] in explicatione illius anathematismi dicit: Nestorium noluisse vivificationem tribuere *carni* Christi, sed sententias Ioh. 6 exposuisse de sola Divinitate.

Das iſt: Cyrillus in Erklärung des gemeldeten Anathematismi ſpricht, daß Neſtorius dem **Fleiſch** Chriſti nicht habe zugeben wollen, daß es lebendig mache, ſondern habe die Sprüche Joh. 6 allein von der Gottheit ausgelegt.

THEODORETUS dialogo 2 [tom. 2, p. 330]: *Καὶ τῆς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἠξιώθη καθέδρας (τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου) καὶ παρὰ πάσης προσκυνεῖται τῆς κτίσεως, ἅτε δὴ σῶμα χρηματίζον τοῦ Δεσπότου τῆς φύσεως.*

Hoc est: *Illud corpus* et sessione ad dexteram Dei dignum habitum est et ab omni creatura adoratur, quia corpus appellatur naturae Domini.

Das iſt: **Dieſer Leib** iſt durch das Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes zu ſolcher Ehre gekommen und wird von aller Kreatur angebetet, als daß er Gottes Leib genannt wird.

Idem Psal. 8: Huiusmodi honorem a Deo, universitatis scilicet imperium, *humana* in Christo natura accepit.

Das iſt: Die **menſchliche** Natur hat dieſe Ehre, nämlich die Herrſchaft und Regierung über alles, in Chriſto empfangen.

LEO, epistola 11, fol. 94 [ep. 25, f. 246]: Assumpti, non assumentis provectio est, quod Deus illum exaltavit et donavit illi nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, et omnis lingua confiteatur, quod Dominus sit Iesus Christus in gloria Dei Patris.

Das iſt: Es gehört dem angenommenen (Menſchen) und nicht (Gott), der ihn angenommen hat, zu, daß Gott ihn hat erhöht und ihm einen Namen gegeben, der über alle Namen iſt, daß im Namen JEſu alle Knie gebogen werden und alle Zungen bekennen, daß JEſus ſei der HErr in der Ehre des Vaters.

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 18 [p. 251]: *Ἡ θεῖα αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) θέλησις ἄναρχός τε καὶ παντουργὸς ἦν* etc., *ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη αὐτοῦ θέλησις ἀπὸ χρόνου τε ἤρξατο καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη ὑπέμεινε, καὶ φυσικῶς μὲν οὐ παντοδύναμος ἦν, ὡς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου, ἀληθῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γενομένη, καὶ παντοδύναμος.*

Divina Christi voluntas erat aeterna et omnipotens etc., *humana* vero eius voluntas a tempore coepit et naturales ac innoxias affectiones sustinuit, et naturaliter quidem non erat omnipotens; ut autem vere et secundum naturam Dei Verbi voluntas est facta, et omnipotens est, hoc est, sicut commentator explicat: divina voluntas suapte natura habet potentiam omnia efficiendi, quae velit, humana vero Christi voluntas non sua natura habet omniefficacem virtutem, sed ut Deo Verbo unita.

Das iſt: Des HErrn Chriſti göttlicher Wille iſt ein ewiger und allmächtiger Wille. Aber ſein **menſchlicher** Wille hat in der Zeit angefangen und ſeine natürlichen, unſchädlichen Wirkungen gehabt; und zwar natürlich war er nicht ein allmächtiger Wille, aber nachdem er wahrhaftig und natürlich Gottes Wille worden, iſt er auch allmächtig, das iſt, wie der Ausleger daſelbſt dieſe Worte erklärt: der göttliche Wille hat von ſeiner Natur die Gewalt, daß er tun kann, was er will, aber der menſchliche Wille Chriſti hat nicht von ſeiner Natur die Kraft, daß er alles tun kann, ſondern daher, daß er mit Gott vereinigt iſt.

Idem cap. 19: *Ἡ δὲ σὰρξ τῇ Θεότητι τοῦ Λόγου ἐνεργούσῃ (κοινωνεῖ) διά τε τὸ ὡς δι' ὀργάνου τοῦ σώματος τὰς θείας ἐκτελεῖσθαι ἐνεργείας καὶ διὰ τὸ ἕνα εἶναι τὸν ἐνεργοῦντα θεϊκῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως. Εἰδέναι γὰρ χρή, ὡς ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ νοῦς καὶ τὰς φυσικὰς αὐτοῦ ἐνεργεῖ ἐνεργείας* etc., *κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐνεργούσῃ τῇ Λόγου Θεότητι καὶ διεπούσῃ καὶ κυβερνώσῃ τὸ πᾶν νοῶν καὶ γινώσκων καὶ διέπων, οὐχ ὡς ψιλὸς ἀνθρώπου νοῦς, ἀλλ' ὡς Θεῷ καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἡνωμένος καὶ Θεοῦ νοῦς χρηματίσας.*

Caro operanti Deitati Verbi communicat, ideo quod divinae operationes per organum corporis perficiebantur. Ita *sancta eius mens* etiam naturales suas operationes operatur. Communicat autem et Deitati Verbi operanti ac gubernanti, *ipsa etiam intelligens, cognoscens et disponens totum universum*, non ut *nuda* hominis mens, sed ut Deo secundum hypostasin counita et Dei mens constituta.

Das iſt: Das **Fleiſch** iſt teilhaftig oder hat Gemeinſchaft mit dem Wort, das da wirket, darum daß die göttliche Wirkung durch das Werkzeug des Leibes vollbracht worden. Alſo hat auch ſein heiliges Gemüt ſeine natürlichen Wirkungen gehabt, aber nachdem es der Gottheit des Worts teilhaftig geworden, die da wirkt und regiert, **verſteht, weiß und ordnet es alles, was da iſt,** nicht als eines **bloßen** Menſchen Gemüt, ſondern daß es mit Gott perſönlich vereinigt und Gottes Gemüt geworden iſt.

Idem libro eodem, cap. 21 (p. 260): *Ἡ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις οὐσιωδῶς οὐ κέκτηται τῶν μελλόντων τὴν γνῶσιν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχή, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Λόγον ἕνωσιν καὶ τὴν ὑποστατικὴν ταυτότητα, κατεπλούτησε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεοσημειῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν.* Et in fine capitis:

Ἡμεῖς δὲ Δεσπότην αὐτὸν φαμὲν καὶ Κύριον πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τὸν ἕνα Χριστὸν, τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ πάντα εἰδέναι. Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἰσὶ πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως οἱ ἀπόκρυφοι.

Council of Ephesus (Cyril, t. 4, p. 140 [*Apologet, adv. Orient.*, t. 6, fol. 196]), in Canon 11: "If any one does not confess that the *flesh* of the Lord is quickening, because it was made the Word's own, who quickens all things, let him be anathema."

Cyril also (*ibid.*, p. 140; t. 4, p. 85), in his explanation of this anathematization, says that Nestorius was unwilling to ascribe quickening to the *flesh* of Christ, but explained the passages in John 6 as referring to the divinity alone."

THEODORET, Dialog 2: "And it (*the body* of the Lord) was deemed worthy of the seat on the right hand, and is worshiped by every creature, as it is called the body of the Lord of Nature [the body of God]."

The same, on Ps. 8: "Such honor, namely, dominion over the universe, the *human* nature in Christ has received of God."

LEO (fol. 94 [Ep. 25, fol. 246]), Epist. 11: "It is a promotion of that which is assumed [man], and not of Him who assumes [God], that God has exalted Him, and given Him a name which is above every name, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, and every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father."

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 18 (p. 251): "Therefore His [Christ's] divine will was both eternal and omnipotent, etc. But His *human* will not only began in time, but also endured natural and unblamable affections, and indeed was not omnipotent by nature; but as it has truly and by nature become the will of God the Word, it is also omnipotent." This means, as explained by a commentator: "The divine will has, by its own nature, the power to do all things which it wishes; but Christ's human will does not have power to do everything by its nature, but as united to God the Word."

The same, cap. 19: "*The flesh has communion with the operating divinity of the Word*, because the divine operations are accomplished as through the organ of the body, and because He that works both in a divine and human fashion is one. For it is necessary to know that *His holy mind* works also its natural operations, etc., shares in the working and managing and guiding divinity of the Word, *understanding and knowing and managing* everything [the entire universe], not as the mere mind of a man, but as personally united with God and being constituted the mind of God."

The same, in the same book, cap. 21: "The human nature does not essentially possess knowledge of the future; but the *soul of the*

Humana natura in Christo essentialiter non possidet seu obtinet futurorum cognitionem, sed ut *Domini anima*, propter unionem ad ipsum Deum Verbum, locupletata est cum reliquis divinis praedictionibus etiam futurorum cognitione. Et in fine capitis: Nos ergo dicimus, *unum Christum* eundemque *simul Deum* et *hominem* omnia scire, in ipso enim omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi sunt.

Das ist: Die menschliche Natur in Christo besitzt oder hat nicht wesentlich die Erkenntnis zukünftiger Dinge, sondern als die Seele des HErrn ist sie unter und neben andern göttlichen Gaben durch die Vereinigung mit Gott dem Wort auch mit der Erkenntnis zukünftiger Dinge begabt worden. Darum sagen wir, daß **der einige Christus, zugleich Gott und Mensch,** alles wisse. Denn in ihm sind alle Schätze der Weisheit und Erkenntnis verborgen.

NICEPHORUS, lib. 18 [1], cap. 36. Christus a discipulis in Galilaeae monte conspicitur, et ibi a Patre summam potestatem coeli et terrae, *iuxta humanam naturam* scilicet, traditam esse confirmat.

Das ist: Christus wird von den Jüngern auf dem Berge in Galiläa gesehen, und daselbst hat er bezeugt, daß ihm die höchste Gewalt im Himmel und Erden **nach der menschlichen Natur** gegeben sei.

IV.

Daß die Heilige Schrift und die Väter solche Majestät, so Christus in der Zeit empfangen hat, nicht allein von erschaffenen Gaben, de finitis qualitatibus, verstanden haben, sondern von der Herrlichkeit und Majestät der Gottheit, die Gottes eigen sei, zu welcher seine menschliche Natur in der Person des Sohnes Gottes erhöht, und also die Kraft und Wirkung der göttlichen Natur, so der Gottheit eigen ist, empfangen habe.

IV.

Scripturam et sanctos patres maiestatem illam, quam Christus in tempore accepit, non tantum de donis creatis et qualitatibus finitis intellexisse, sed de ea gloria et maiestate Divinitatis, quae Dei propria est, ad quam assumpta illius natura humana in persona Filii Dei exaltata est, ita ut efficaciam et operationem divinae naturae, quae Dei propria est, acceperit.

Ioh. 17, 5: Et nunc glorifica me, tu Pater, apud temet ipsum ea gloria, quam habui apud te, priusquam mundus fieret.

Das ist: Und nun verkläre mich, du Vater, bei dir selbst mit der Klarheit, die ich bei dir hatte, ehe die Welt war.

Col. 2, 9: In ipso habitat omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter.

Das ist: In ihm wohnet alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig usw.

HILARIUS, De Trinitate, lib. 3 (p. 28): Verbum caro factum orabat, ut *id, quod de tempore erat*, gloriam eius claritatis, quae sine tempore est, acciperet.

Das ist: Das Wort, das Fleisch geworden ist, betet, damit **dasjenige, so in der Zeit seinen Anfang hat,** die Glorie der Herrlichkeit empfinge, die außerhalb der Zeit (von Ewigkeit) ist.

GREGORIUS NYSSENUS citante Gelasio et Theodoreto, Dialogo 2, de dicto illo Petri Act. 2: Dextera Dei exaltatus etc. (t. 2, p. 330 [333]): *Αὐτὴ (ἡ δεξιὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ) τὸν ἑνωθέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὕψος διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως.* Ipsa dextera *unitum sibi hominem* in propriam suam evexit celsitudinem seu sublimitatem per unionem.

Das ist: Die Rechte selbst hat den **Menschen,** so mit ihr vereinigt ist, durch die Vereinigung in seine [in ihre] eigene Höhe erhoben.

Idem, De Anima: *Deus Verbum* a communione illa, quae sibi est ad *corpus et animam*, nunquam alteratur, neque particeps est imperfectionis illarum, sed *tradens eis suae Divinitatis virtutem* manet idem, quod erat et ante unionem.

Das ist: Gott das Wort wird durch die Gemeinschaft, so es hat mit **dem Leib und der Seele,** nimmer verwandelt, ist auch derselben Schwachheit nicht teilhaftig, sondern hat **seiner Gottheit Kraft ihnen gegeben,** und bleibt das Wort eben das, so es vor der Vereinigung war.

BASILIUS [Magnus in Nativ. Christi] *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ γένεσιν* (p. 231): *Τίνα τρόπον ἐν σαρκὶ ἡ Θεότης; ὡς τὸ πῦρ ἐν σιδήρῳ οὐ μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ μεταδοτικῶς. Οὐ γὰρ ἐκτρέχει τὸ πῦρ πρὸς τὸ σίδηρον, μένον δὲ κατὰ χώραν μεταδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τῆς οἰκείας δυνάμεως, ὅπερ οὔτε ἐλαττοῦται τῇ μεταδόσει, καὶ ὅλον πληροῖ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ μετέσχον.*

Quomodo Deitas est in *carne?* Sicut ignis in ferro, non transitive, sed communicative. Non enim excurrit ignis ad ferrum, sed manens in suo loco communicat seu impertit ferro ignito propriam suam facultatem (vim seu potentiam), nec communicatione illa minor fit, sed se ipso totum ferrum replet, quod (illa scilicet unione) particeps est ignis.

Das ist: Das **menschliche Fleisch** Gottes ist teilhaftig der Gottheit, wie das Feuer einem feurigen oder glühenden Eisen seine eigene Kraft und Vermögen mitteilt, und wird doch durch diese Gemeinschaft nicht kleiner, sondern erfüllt das ganze Eisen mit Feuer, welches (durch diese Vereinigung) ist des Feuers teilhaftig [ge]worden.

EPIPHANIUS in Ancorato [fol. 504 (f. 86, ed. Colon.)]: *Συνδυναμώσας σῶμα γήϊνον τῇ Θεότητι, εἰς μίαν δύναμιν ἤγωσεν, εἰς μίαν Θεότητα συνήγαγεν, εἷς ὢν Κύριος, εἷς Χριστὸς, οὐ δύο Χριστοί, οὐδὲ δύο Θεοί* etc.

(Idem Deus, idem homo) *corpus terrenum* una cum Deitate potens efficiens, *in unam potentiam univit*, in unitatem reduxit unus existens Dominus, unus Christus, non duo etc.

Das ist: Eben der Gott, der Mensch ist, hat den **irdischen Leib** mit der Gottheit in e i n e Gewalt vereinigt und in e i n e Gottheit geführt.

Lord, on account of the union with the Word Himself and the personal identity, was, apart from the other divine criteria, rich also in knowledge of the future."

At the end of the chapter: "We say that this Master and Lord of all creation, the one Christ, who is *at the same time God and man,* knows also all things. For in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

NICEPHORUS, lib. 18, cap. 36: "Christ is seen by His disciples on the mountain in Galilee, and there asserts that the highest power in heaven and in earth has, by the Father, been delivered Him, namely, *according to His human nature.*"

IV.

That the Holy Scriptures and the fathers have understood this majesty which Christ has received in time not only of created gifts *de finitis qualitatibus,* but of the glory and majesty of divinity belonging to God, to which His human nature, in the person of the Son of God, has been exalted, and thus has received the power and efficacy of the divine nature which are peculiar to the Deity.

John 17, 5: And now, O Father, glorify Thou Me with Thine Own Self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.

Col. 2, 9: In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.

HILARY, *On the Trinity,* lib. 3 (p. 28): "The Word made flesh prayed that *that which was from time* [had a beginning in time] might receive the glory of that brightness which is without time."

GREGORY OF NYSSA, quoted by Gelasius and Theodoret, Dialog 2, concerning the saying of Peter, Acts 2: "Being exalted by the right hand of God," etc. (t. 2, p. 333 [al. 330]): "This (right hand of God), through the union, raised to its own height *the Man* united to it."

The same, *Concerning the Soul: "God the Word* is never altered by the communion which He has *with body and soul,* neither is He partaker of their imperfection, but, *transmitting to them the power of His divinity,* He remains the same that He was even before the union."

BASIL THE GREAT, *On the Holy Nativity of Christ* (p. 231): "In what manner is the Deity *in the flesh?* Just as fire in iron, not by transition, but by impartation. For fire does not run out to the iron, but, remaining in its place, imparts to it its own peculiar power, which is not diminished by the impartation, and fills the entire mass that becomes partaker of it."

EPIPHANIUS, in Ancoratus (fol. 504 [fol. 86, ed. Colon.]): "Strengthening *an earthly body* with divinity, He *united it into one power,* brought it into one divinity, being one Lord, one Christ — not two Christs, nor two Gods," etc.

CYRILLUS in Iohannem, lib. 4, cap. 23: Non imperite omnino vivificam carnem esse negatis. Nam si sola intelligatur, nihil prorsus vivificare potest, quippe quae vivificante indigeat. Quum vero incarnationis mysterium laudabili cura scrutati fueritis et vitam habitantem in carne cognoveritis, quamvis *nihil penitus caro per se ipsam possit, vivificam tamen factam esse credetis.* Nam quoniam cum vivificante Verbo coniuncta est, tota effecta est vivifica. Non enim ad corruptibilem suam naturam iunctam Dei Verbum detraxit, sed ipsa ad melioris virtutem elevata est. Quamvis ergo natura carnis, ut caro est, vivificare nequeat, facit tamen hoc, quia *totam Verbi operationem suscepit.* Non enim Pauli aut Petri aut ceterorum, sed ipsius vitae corpus, in quo Deitatis plenitudo corporaliter habitat, facere hoc potest. Quas ob res caro ceterorum omnium nihil prodest, *Christi* autem *caro*, quia in ipsa unigenitus Dei Filius habitat, sola vivificare potest.

Das iſt: Daß ihr leugnet, daß das Fleiſch nicht ein lebendigmachendes Fleiſch ſei, daran tut ihr nicht allerdinge unweislich; denn ſo das Fleiſch allein verſtanden wird, kann es ganz und gar nicht lebendig machen, welches wohl bedarf des, der es lebendig mache. Wenn wir aber das Geheimnis der Menſchwerdung mit Fleiß erforſchen und erkennen, daß das Leben im Fleiſch wohnt, wiewohl **das Fleiſch ganz und gar nichts für ſich ſelbſt vermag, ſo werdet ihr doch glauben, daß es ein lebendigmachend Fleiſch [ge]worden ſei;** denn weil es mit dem lebendigmachenden Wort vereinigt iſt, iſt es ganz und gar ein lebendigmachend Fleiſch [ge]worden. Denn es hat (das Fleiſch Chriſti) das Wort Gottes, mit dem es vereinigt, nicht herunter zu der vergänglichen Natur gezogen, ſondern (das Fleiſch Chriſti) iſt zu einer beſſeren Kraft erhöht worden. Denn obwohl die Natur des Fleiſches, darum daß es ein Fleiſch iſt, nicht kann lebendig machen, ſo tut es doch ſolches, und daher, daß **es die ganze Wirkung des Wortes empfangen hat.** Denn weder St. Pauli noch St. Peters noch eines andern (Menſchen), ſondern der Leib des Lebens, in dem die Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig wohnt, vermag ſolches zu tun. Darum auch das Fleiſch aller andern Menſchen iſt nichts nütze, aber **das Fleiſch Chriſti,** weil in demſelben der eingeborne Sohn Gottes wohnt, allein kann lebendig machen.

AUGUSTINUS contra Felicianum Arianum, cap. 11: Iniuria sui corporis affectam non fateor Deitatem, sicut maiestate Deitatis glorificatam novimus *carnem*.

Das iſt: Ich ſage nicht, daß der Gottheit die Schmach vergeſtalt widerfahren ſei, die über den Leib gegangen iſt, wie wir wiſſen, daß **ſein Fleiſch** mit der göttlichen Majeſtät verklärt iſt.

THEODORETUS, cap. de Antichristo (t. 2, p. 411): Verbum *homo* factum non particularem gratiam contulit assumptae naturae, sed totam plenitudinem Deitatis complacuit in ipsa habitare.

Das iſt: Das Wort, ſo ein **Menſch** [ge]worden iſt, hat nicht ſtückweiſe der angenommenen Natur Gnade erzeigt, ſondern es hat (Gott) gefallen, daß die ganze Fülle der Gottheit in ihr wohne.

Idem in Ps. 21 (t. 1, p. 110): Si *natura assumpta* cum Divinitate assumente est copulata, etiam eiusdem gloriae et honoris particeps et consors facta est.

Das iſt: Wenn die **angenommene Natur** mit der Gottheit, ſo ſie angenommen hat, iſt vereinigt, ſo iſt ſie auch teilhaftig [ge]worden der Glorie und Ehre der Gottheit.

Idem Ebr. 1 [t. 2, p. 154]: Ipsa *humanitas* post resurrectionem divinam gloriam est consecuta.

Das iſt: **Die menſchliche Natur** ſelbſt hat nach der Auferſtehung die göttliche Herrlichkeit erlangt.

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 7 et 15 (p. 194): *Καὶ αὕτη μὲν (ἡ θεία φύσις) τῶν οἰκείων αὐχημάτων τῇ σαρκὶ μεταδίδωσι, μένουσα αὐτὴ ἀπαθὴς καὶ τῶν τῆς σαρκὸς παθῶν ἀμέτοχος.*

Divina natura proprias suas excellentias seu glorificationes *carni* communicat seu impertit, ipsa vero in se passionum carnis manet expers.

Das iſt: Die göttliche Natur hat mit dem **Fleiſch** ſeine eigene [ihre eigene] Herrlichkeit, damit ſie alles übertrifft, gemein; ſie aber nach ihrer Natur iſt des Leidens des Fleiſches überhoben worden.

V.

Daß Chriſtus als Gott dieſelbe göttliche Majeſtät auf eine andere Weiſe habe, nämlich weſentlich und als ihre weſentliche Eigenſchaft an und für ſich ſelbſt, aber als Menſch habe er dieſelbe anderer Geſtalt, nämlich nicht weſentlich an und für ſich ſelbſt, ſondern von wegen und nach Art der perſönlichen Vereinigung.

V.

Christum unam eandemque maiestatem divinam aliter ut Deum, nimirum essentialiter et ut essentialem proprietatem, aliter ut hominem, videlicet non essentialiter neque in et secundum sese, sed pro ratione et modo unionis personalis habere.

Ioh. 14, 6: Ego sum vita. Ich bin das Leben.

Ioh. 5, 26: Dedit ei vitam habere in se ipso, *quia filius hominis est.*

Das iſt: Er hat dem Sohn gegeben, das Leben zu haben in ihm ſelber, **darum daß er des Menſchen Sohn iſt.**

CYRILLUS, lib. 12. Thesauri, cap. 15 [t. 2, p. 167; t. 5, ed. Paris. 1638]: Conditio et proprietas alia creaturae, alia Creatori inest, sed *natura nostra* a Filio Dei assumpta mensuram suam excessit et in conditionem assumentis eam per gratiam translata est.

Das iſt: Es iſt ein anderer Stand und Eigenſchaft der Kreatur und ein anderer Stand und Eigenſchaft des Schöpfers; aber **unſere Natur,** nachdem ſie von dem Sohn Gottes angenommen iſt, hat ſie die Maß [das Maß] unſerer Natur überſchritten und iſt in den Stand der Natur aus Gnaden verſetzt, von der ſie angenommen worden iſt.

CYRIL, on John, lib. 4, cap. 23: "You are not altogether unwise in denying that the flesh is quickening. For if it alone be understood, it can quicken nothing whatever, being itself in need of a quickener. But when you have examined the mystery of the incarnation with commendable care, and have learned to know the life dwelling in the flesh, *you will believe that,* although *the flesh is not able to do anything by itself, it has nevertheless become quickening.* For since it has been united to the quickening Word, it has entirely been rendered quickening. For it [the flesh of Christ] has not dragged down to its corruptible nature the Word of God which has been joined to it, but has itself been elevated to the power of the better nature. Although, therefore, the nature of the flesh, inasmuch as it is flesh, cannot quicken, nevertheless it does this because it has received *the entire operation of the Word.* For the body not of Paul or of Peter or of others, but that of Life itself in which the fulness of the Godhead dwells bodily, can do this. Therefore, the flesh of all the others can do nothing, but only *the flesh of Christ* can quicken, because in it dwells the only-begotten Son of God."

AUGUSTINE, *Against Felicianus the Arian,* cap. 11: "I do not acknowledge that Deity experienced the violence done His body in the same manner as we know that *the flesh* was glorified by the majesty of Deity."

THEODORET, cap. *Of Antichrist* (t. 2, p. 411): "The Word that became *man* did not confer a partial grace upon the assumed nature, but it pleased [God] that the whole fulness of Deity dwell in it."

The same, on Ps. 21, t. 1, p. 110: "If the assumed nature has been joined with the divinity which assumed it, it has also become participant and associate of the same glory and honor."

The same, on Heb. 1: "The *human nature* itself, after the resurrection, attained divine glory."

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, capp. 7. 15: "And this (the divine nature) imparts to the flesh its own excellences, itself [according to its nature] remaining impassible and not participating in the passions [sufferings] of the flesh."

V.

That Christ as God has the same divine majesty in one way, namely, essentially and as His essential property, in and of Himself; but as man He has it in another mode, namely, not essentially in and of Himself, but because of, and according to, the mode of the personal union.

John 14, 6: I am the Life.

John 5, 26: He hath given to the Son to have life in Himself, . . . *because He is the Son of Man.*

CYRIL, lib. 12, *Thesauri,* cap. 15 (t. 2, p. 167 [t. 5, ed. Paris, 1638]): "There is one condition and property appertaining to the creature and another to the Creator, but *our nature,* assumed by the Son of God, has exceeded its measure, and by grace has been transferred into the condition of the One assuming it."

Idem in Iohannem, lib. 2, cap. 144 (t. 1, p. 134 [t. 4, ed. Paris. 1638]): Christus causam subiecit, quare vitam et potestatem iudicii sibi a Patre data dixerit, dicens: *quia filius hominis est*, ut intelligamus omnia sibi data esse ut *homini*. Unigenitus vero Filius non vitae particeps, sed vita naturaliter est.

Das ist: Christus hängt gleich die Ursache daran, warum er gesprochen habe, daß ihm vom Vater das Leben und die Gewalt, das Gericht zu halten, gegeben sei, und sagt: **denn er ist des Menschen Sohn,** auf daß wir verstehen, daß alles ihm gegeben sei als einem **Menschen.** Denn der eingeborne Sohn ist nicht teilhaftig des Lebens, sondern ist natürlich das Leben selbst.

Idem, lib. 3, cap. 37 (t. 1, p. 181): Vivificat *corpus Christi*, quia ipsius vitae corpus est, virtutem Verbi incarnati retinens, et plenum potestate illius, quo universa sunt et vivunt.

Das ist: Der Leib Christi macht lebendig; denn es ist des Lebens Leib und behält die Kraft des Wortes, das **Fleisch** ist [ge]worden, und ist erfüllt oder voller Gewalt dessen, von welchem alle Dinge sind und leben.

Idem, lib. 4, cap. 14 (p. 201): Quoniam Salvatoris *caro* coniuncta est Verbo Dei, quod naturaliter vita est, effecta est vivifica.

Das ist: Dieweil das **Fleisch** unsers Heilandes vereinigt ist mit dem Wort Gottes, welches natürlich das Leben ist, ist es auch lebendigmachend [ge]worden.

Et cap. 18 (p. 204): *Corpus meum* vita replevi, mortalem carnem assumpsi; sed quia naturaliter vita existens habito in ipsa, *totam ad vitam meam reformavi.*

Das ist: **Meinen Leib** habe ich mit dem Leben erfüllt und das sterbliche Fleisch an mich genommen. Aber weil ich natürlich das Leben bin, so wohne ich in demselben (Fleisch) und habe es ganz und gar zu meinem Leben reformiert.

Cap. 24 (p. 210): *Natura carnis* ipsa per se vivificare non potest, nec sola esse in Christo intelligitur, sed habet Filium Dei sibi coniunctum, qui substantialiter vita est. Quando igitur vivificam Christus carnem suam appellat, non ita illi, ut sibi sive proprio Spiritui, vim vivificandi attribuit. Nam per se ipsum Spiritus vivificat, ad cuius virtutem caro per coniunctionem conscendit. Quomodo autem id fiat, nec mente intelligere nec lingua dicere possumus, sed silentio ac firma fide id suscipimus.

Das ist: **Die Natur des Fleisches** für sich selbst kann nicht lebendig machen, wie sie auch nicht allein in Christo verstanden wird, sondern sie hat den Sohn Gottes mit ihr [mit sich] vereinigt, welcher wesentlich das Leben ist. Darum, wenn Christus sein Fleisch ein lebendigmachend Fleisch nennt, schreibt er demselben nicht also die Kraft, lebendig zu machen, zu wie ihm selbst oder seinem eigenen Geist. Denn der Geist macht für sich selbst lebendig, zu welches [zu dessen] Kraft das Fleisch durch die Vereinigung ist aufgestiegen. Wie aber das zugehe, das kann ich in meinem Verstand nicht begreifen noch mit meiner Zunge aussprechen, sondern wir nehmen das in der Stille mit Glauben an.

Idem, lib. 10, cap. 13 (p. 501): Caro vitae, facta Unigeniti caro, *ad virtutem vitae reducta est.*

Das ist: Das Fleisch des Lebens ist des Eingebornen Fleisch und **zu der Kraft des Lebens gebracht worden.**

Idem, lib. 11, cap. 21 (p. 552): Ipsa *caro Christi* non a se sancta fuit, sed coniunctione Verbi ad Verbi virtutem quodammodo reformata, salutis atque sanctificationis causa est participantibus; non ergo carni, ut caro est, operationis divinae virtutem, sed naturae Verbi attribuimus.

Das ist: **Das Fleisch Christi** ist nicht von sich selbst heilig, sondern durch die Vereinigung mit dem Wort ist es auf seine Weise zur Kraft des Wortes gebracht, daß es ist eine Ursache des Heils und der Heiligung denen, so desselben teilhaftig werden. Denn wir nicht dem Fleisch, wie es an sich selbst Fleisch ist, die Wirkung der göttlichen Kraft, sondern dem Wort zuschreiben.

Lib. 6, Dialog. [t. 5, op. ed. cit.]: Glorificatur a Patre, non quia Deus, sed quoniam erat *homo*, quasi propriae naturae fructum non habens potentiam operandi efficaciter divine; accepit quodammodo illam per unionem et ineffabilem concursum, qui intelligitur Dei esse Verbi cum humanitate.

Das ist: Er wird vom Vater verklärt, nicht als Gott, sondern daß [sondern weil] er ein **Mensch** war, gleich als der seiner eigenen Natur Frucht nicht hatte die Kraft, göttlich zu wirken; die hat er auf seine Weise empfangen durch die Vereinigung und wunderbarliche Zusammenfügung des Wortes Gottes mit der Menschheit.

Idem, De Recta Fide, ad Theodosium (p. 278): Immisit assumpto corpori suam vitam ipsa per unionem dispensatione.

Das ist: Er hat das Leben in den angenommenen Leib [ein]gelassen durch die Vereinigung beider Naturen.

Ibidem (p. 279): Vivificat Verbum propter ineffabilem nativitatem ex vivente Patre. Attamen est videre, ubi tribuatur etiam *propriae carni divinae efficacia gloriae.* Item: Otiosam confitebimur terrenam carnem ad hoc, ut possit vivificare, quatenus pertinet ad propriam eius naturam.

Das ist: Das Wort macht lebendig von wegen der unaussprechlichen Geburt aus dem lebendigen Vater. Doch soll man sehen, wo auch **seinem eigenen Fleisch die Kraft der göttlichen Herrlichkeit zugeschrieben werde.** Item: Wir werden vergeblich bekennen ein irdisch Fleisch zu dem, daß es könne lebendig machen, nämlich soviel belangt seine eigene Natur.

The same, on John, lib. 2, cap. 144 (t. 1, p. 134 [t. 4, ed. Paris, 1638]): "Christ added the reason why He said that life and the power of judgment had been given Him by the Father, saying, *Because He is the Son of Man*, in order that we may understand that all things were given Him as *man*. However, the only-begotten Son is not partaker of life, but is life by nature."

The same, lib. 3, cap. 37 (t. 1, p. 181): "*The body* of Christ quickens, because it is the body of Life itself, retaining the power of the incarnate Word, and full of the power of Him by whom all things are and live."

The same, lib. 4, cap. 14 (p. 201): "Since the *flesh* of the Savior was joined to the Word of God, who is Life by nature, it was rendered quickening."

And cap. 18 (p. 204): "*My body* I have filled with life, I have assumed mortal flesh; but since, being naturally the Life, I dwell in it [the flesh], *I have transformed it altogether according to My life*."

Cap. 24 (p. 210): "*The nature itself of the flesh* cannot of itself quicken, neither is it understood to be alone in Christ, but it has united with it the Son of God, who is substantially the Life. Therefore, when Christ calls His flesh quickening, He does not ascribe the power of quickening to it in the same manner as to Himself or His own Spirit. For the Spirit quickens of Himself, to Whose power the flesh rises by the union. But how this occurs we can neither understand with the mind nor express with the tongue, but we receive it in silence and firm faith."

The same, lib. 10, cap. 13 (p. 501): "The flesh of life, having been made the flesh of the Only-begotten, *has been brought to the power of life*."

The same, lib. 11, cap. 21 (p. 552): "*The flesh itself* of Christ was not of itself holy, but, transformed in a certain manner by union with the Word to the power of the Word, it is the cause of salvation and sanctification to those who partake thereof. Therefore, we ascribe the efficacy of the divine working not to the flesh as flesh, but to the power of the Word."

Lib. 6, *Dialog.* (t. 5, op. ed. cit.): "He is glorified by the Father, not because He is God, but since He was *man;* for, not having as the fruit of His own nature the power of working with divine efficacy, He received it in a certain manner by the union and ineffable concurrence which God the Word is understood to have with humanity."

The same, *On the True Faith, to Theodosius* (p. 278): "He has introduced His life into the assumed body by the very dispensation of the union."

In the same place (p. 279): "The Word quickens on account of the ineffable birth from the living Father. Yet we should see where *the efficacy of divine glory is ascribed also to His own flesh*." Also: "We will confess that, with respect to the ability to quicken, earthly flesh is inoperative, so far as its own nature is concerned."

EPIPHANIUS, Contra Ariomanitas, p. 337 [Haeres. 69, f. 789, ed. Colon.]: *Ἡ γαρ αὐτοῦ ἐνανθρώπησις οὐ κατ' ἰδίαν τις οὖσα, οὐ γὰρ ἀποκεχωρισμένης τῆς Θεότητος, καὶ χωρὶς οὔσης τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως ἔλεγεν ὡς ἄλλου καὶ ἄλλου, ἀλλὰ συνωμένης τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως τῇ Θεότητι, μιᾶς οὔσης ἁγιαστίας [ἀγιστίας], καὶ ἤδη ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ τελειότητα ἐπισταμένης. Οἷα δὴ ἐν Θεῷ συνηνωμένη καὶ εἰς μίαν Θεότητα συνημμένη.*

Humanitas enim illius non seorsim per se subsistit, non enim separata Deitate et seorsim existente natura humana dicebat, velut alius et alius, sed counita humanitate cum Deitate, una existente sanctificatione, et iam in ipsa, quae perfectissima sunt, sciente, nimirum in Deo et in unam Deitatem coaptata.

Das iſt: Die Menſchheit Chriſti beſteht nicht abgeſondert für ſich ſelbſt, ſondern ſie iſt mit der Gottheit vereinigt, und alſo jetzund in derſelben Gottheit weiß ſie, das ganz vollkommen, als die mit Gott vereinigt iſt.

AUGUSTINUS de verbis Domini sermone 58 (t. 10, p. 217): Ego vero *dominicam carnem*, imo perfectam in Christo humanitatem ideo adoro, quod a Divinitate suscepta et Deitati unita est, et non alium et alium, sed unum eundemque Deum et hominem Filium Dei esse confiteor. Denique si hominem separaveris a Deo, illi nunquam credo nec servio.

Das iſt: Ich bete an **des HErrn Fleiſch**, ja die ganze vollkommene Menſchheit in Chriſto, darum daß ſie von der Gottheit iſt angenommen und mit der Gottheit vereinigt, und ſage nicht, daß ein anderer ſei Gott, ein anderer der Menſch, ſondern ich bekenne, daß der Sohn Gottes ſei zugleich Gott und Menſch. So du aber den Menſchen von Gott abſonderſt, ſo glaube ich ihm nicht und diene ihm auch nicht.

Item: Humanitatem *non nudam* vel *solam*, sed Divinitati unitam, scilicet unum Dei Filium, Deum verum et hominem verum, si quis adorare contempserit, aeternaliter morietur.

Und abermals: So jemand die Menſchheit, doch **nicht bloß** oder **allein**, ſondern mit Gott vereinigt, und alſo den einigen Sohn Gottes, wahren Gott und wahren Menſchen, verachtet und nicht anruft, der wird des ewigen Todes ſterben.

Augustinus de Civitate, lib. 10, cap. 24: Non ergo caro Christi *per se ipsam* mundat credentes, sed per Verbum, a quo suscepta est.

Das iſt: Darum reinigt das Fleiſch Chriſti nicht **für ſich ſelbſt** die Gläubigen, ſondern durch das Wort, von dem es angenommen iſt.

EPHESINUM CONCILIUM, can. 11 [ap. Cyrillum, t. 6, f. 196]: Si quis non confitetur, carnem Domini esse vivificam propterea, quod propria facta est Verbi, quod omnia vivificat, anathema sit.

Das iſt: Wenn jemand nicht bekennt, daß das Fleiſch Chriſti ein lebendigmachend Fleiſch ſei, darum daß es des Wortes eigen [ge]worden iſt, das alles lebendig macht, der ſei verflucht.

THEOPHYLACTUS, in Ioh., cap. 3 [f. 605 et 184, ed. cit.]: *Καὶ πάντα δέδωκεν ἐν τῇ χειρὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ τὸ Θεϊκόν, τί τοῦτο; δέδωκεν ὁ Πατὴρ τὰ πάντα τῷ Υἱῷ λόγῳ φύσεως, ἀλλ' οὐ χάριτος.*

Omnia dedit in manum Filii *iuxta humanitatem;* si autem et secundum Divinitatem intelligatur, dedit Pater omnia Filio ratione naturae, non gratiae.

Das iſt: Er hat alles in die Hände des Sohnes gegeben **nach der Menſchheit.** Da es aber auch nach der Gottheit verſtanden würde, ſo hat der Vater dem Sohne alles gegeben nach der Natur und nicht nach der Gnade.

Idem, Matth. 28: *Εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου λεγόμενον ἐκλάβοις, ὅτι ἐδόθη μοι ἡ πᾶσα ἐξουσία, καθὸ καὶ ἄκοντες καὶ ἑκόντες νῦν ἐπιγινώσκουσί με Θεόν, οἱ πρώην κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀκουσίου ὑποταγῆς τρόπον δουλεύοντές μοι. Εἰ δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως λεγόμενον, οὕτω νόει, ὅτι ἐγώ, ἡ πρώην κατάκριτος φύσις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀσύγχυτον ἕνωσιν Θεὸς οὖσα, ἔλαβον τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πάντων.*

Si de Divinitate, Deo Verbo, intelligas: *Data est mihi omnis potestas*, sensus erit, et nolentes et volentes nunc me Deum agnoscunt, qui prius mihi serviebant involuntariae obedientiae modo. Si autem de *humana* natura dicitur, sic intellige: *Ego, prius condemnata natura*, existens autem *Deus, secundum unionem ad Filium Dei*, absque naturarum confusione accepi potestatem omnem.

Das iſt: Wenn du von der Gottheit verſtehſt: „Mir iſt gegeben alle Gewalt", ſo iſt das die Meinung: Nachdem mir zuvor alles wider ſeinen Willen gedient hat, ſo habe ich es jetzund in einem willigen Gehorſam. Wenn es aber von der menſchlichen Natur verſtanden wird, ſo ſollſt du es alſo verſtehen: Ich, die ich zuvor **eine verdammte Natur,** nun aber **Gott, nach der Vereinigung mit dem Sohne Gottes,** habe ohne Vermiſchung der Naturen alle Gewalt empfangen.

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 17: *Οὐ γὰρ κατ' οἰκείαν ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν ἡνωμένον αὐτῇ Λόγον τὰ θεῖα ἐνήργει, τοῦ Λόγου δι' αὐτῆς τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνδεικνυμένου ἐνέργειαν. Καίει μὲν γὰρ ὁ πεπυρακτωμένος σίδηρος, οὐ φυσικῷ λόγῳ τὴν καυστικὴν κεκτημένος ἐνέργειαν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἑνώσεως τοῦτο κεκτημένος. Ἡ αὐτὴ τοιγαροῦν θνητή τε ἦν δι' ἑαυτήν, καὶ ζωοποιὸς διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λόγον καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν.*

Non secundum propriam operationem, sed propter unitum sibi Verbum divina operabatur (caro Domini), Verbo per eam propriam suam operationem manifestante. Nam et ferrum ignitum urit non naturali ratione possidens ustricem operationem, sed obtinens eam ex unione ignis et ferri. Ipsa igitur *caro Domini* mortalis erat propter se ipsam *et vivifica* propter hypostaticam ad Verbum unionem.

EPIPHANIUS, *Against the Ariomanites,* p. 337 (*Haeres.,* 69; p. 789, ed. Colon.): "For His human nature was not something subsisting apart by itself, neither did He speak with the divinity separated and the human nature existing apart, as though they were different persons, but with the human nature united with the divine (there being one consecration), and in the same even now knowing the most perfect things, it being now united in God and joined to the one Deity."

AUGUSTINE, *Of the Words of the Lord,* Discourse 58 (t. 10, pp. 217. 218): "I indeed adore the *Lord's flesh,* yea, the perfect humanity in Christ, for the reason that it has been assumed by the divinity and united to Deity, and I confess not that there are two different persons, but that the one and the same Son of God is God and man. In a word, if you separate man from God, I never believe nor serve Him."

Also: "If any one disdain worshiping *humanity,* not *naked or alone,* but united to divinity, namely, the one Son of God, true God and true man, he will die eternally."

The same, *De Civitate,* lib. 10, cap. 24: "The flesh of Christ, therefore, does not *of itself* cleanse believers, but through the Word, by which it has been assumed."

COUNCIL OF EPHESUS, Canon 11 (in Cyril, t. 6, p. 196): "If any one does not confess that the Lord's flesh is quickening, for the reason that it was appropriated to the Word that quickens all things, let him be anathema."

THEOPHYLACT, on John 3 (pp. 605. 184, ed. cit.): "And He has given all things into the hand of the Son, *according to humanity.* But if [also] according to divinity, what is meant? The Father has given all things to the Son by reason of nature, not of grace."

The same, on Matt. 28: "If you would understand the declaration: 'All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth,' as spoken of God the Word, the meaning will be that both the unwilling and willing now acknowledge Me as God, who before served Me after the manner of involuntary obedience. But as spoken of the *human* nature, understand it thus: I, previously the condemned nature, but being *God according to the* unconfused *union with the Son of God,* have received power over all things."

DAMASCENUS (lib. 3, cap. 17): "For not according to its [the flesh's] own operation, but by the Word united to it, He wrought divine things, the Word displaying through it His own operation. For glowing iron burns

Das iſt: Das Fleiſch des HErrn wirkt göttliche Werke nicht nach ſeiner eigenen Wirkung, ſondern daher, daß es mit dem Wort vereinigt war, welches durch das Fleiſch ſeine eigene Wirkung offenbart. Denn auch das glühende Eiſen hat nicht aus ſeiner Natur die Kraft und Wirkung zu brennen, ſondern hat es erlangt, beſitzt's und behält's aus der Vereinigung des Eiſens und des Feuers. Darum iſt **das Fleiſch des HErrn** ſterblich für ſich ſelbſt und **ein lebendigmachend Fleiſch** von wegen der perſönlichen Vereinigung mit dem Wort.

Idem, cap. 18: *Ἡ θεία αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) θέλησις ἄναρχός τε καὶ παντουργὸς ἦν* etc. *Ἡ δὲ ἀνθρωπίνη αὐτοῦ θέλησις ἀπὸ χρόνου τε ἤρξατο, καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ φυσικὰ καὶ ἀδιάβλητα πάθη ὑπέμεινε, καὶ φυσικῶς μὲν οὐ παντοδύναμος ἦν, ὡς δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου ἀληθῶς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γενομένη καὶ παντοδύναμος.*

Divina Christi voluntas erat aeterna et omnipotens, *humana* vero eius voluntas a tempore coepit et naturales ac innoxias affectiones sustinuit. Et naturaliter quidem non erat omnipotens, *ut autem vere et secundum naturam Dei Verbi voluntas est facta et omnipotens est.* Hoc est, sicut commentator explicat: divina voluntas suapte natura habet potentiam omnia efficiendi, quae velit; humana vero Christi voluntas non sua natura habet omniefficacem virtutem, sed ut Deo Verbo unita.

Das iſt: Des HErrn Chriſti göttlicher Wille iſt ein ewiger und allmächtiger Wille, aber ſein **menſchlicher** Wille hat in der Zeit angefangen und ſeine natürlichen unſchädlichen Wirkungen gehabt. Und zwar natürlich war er nicht ein allmächtiger Wille, **aber nachdem er wahrhaftig und natürlich Gottes des Worts Wille** [ge]**worden, iſt er auch allmächtig.** Das iſt, wie der Ausleger daſelbſt dieſe Worte Damaſceni erklärt: der göttliche Wille hat von ſeiner eigenen Natur die Gewalt, daß er tun kann, was er will; aber der menſchliche Wille Chriſti hat nicht von ſeiner Natur dieſe Kraft, daß er alles tun kann, ſondern daher, daß er mit Gott vereinigt iſt.

Idem, libro eodem, cap. 21: *Ἡ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνη φύσις οὐσιωδῶς οὐ κέκτηται τῶν μελλόντων τὴν γνῶσιν, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχή, διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Λόγον ἕνωσιν καὶ τὴν ὑποστατικὴν ταυτότητα, κατεπλούτησε μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν θεοσημειῶν καὶ τὴν τῶν μελλόντων γνῶσιν.* Et in fine capitis: *Ἡμεῖς δὲ Δεσπότην αὐτὸν φαμὲν καὶ Κύριον πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τὸν ἕνα Χριστόν, τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ Θεόν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπον, καὶ πάντα εἰδέναι. Ἐν αὐτῷ γάρ εἰσι πάντες οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς γνώσεως οἱ ἀπόκρυφοι.*

Humana natura in Christo essentialiter non possidet seu obtinet futurorum cognitionem, sed ut Domini anima, propter unionem ad ipsum Deum Verbum, locupletata est cum reliquis divinis praedictionibus etiam futurorum cognitione. Et in fine capitis: Nos ergo dicimus unum Christum, eundemque simul Deum et hominem, omnia scire. In ipso enim omnes thesauri sapientiae et scientiae absconditi sunt.

Das iſt: Die menſchliche Natur in Chriſto beſitzt oder hat nicht weſentlich die Erkenntnis zukünftiger Dinge, ſondern als die Seele des HErrn iſt ſie unter oder beneben [neben] andern göttlichen Gaben durch die Vereinigung mit Gott dem Wort auch mit der Erkenntnis zukünftiger Dinge begabt worden. Darum ſagen wir, daß der einige Chriſtus, zugleich Gott und Menſch, alles wiſſe. Denn in ihm ſind alle Schätze der Weisheit und Erkenntnis verborgen.

Idem, lib. 2, cap. 22: *Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀγνοούσης τὰ μέλλοντα φύσεως ἦν (ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχὴ), ἀλλ' ὅμως καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωθεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, πάντων τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχεν, οὐ χάριτι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν.* Et paulo post: *Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ μὲν διάφοροι αἱ φύσεις, διάφοροι καὶ αἱ θελήσεις φυσικαί, ἦγουν θελητικαὶ δυνάμεις.*

Domini anima, etsi secundum se erat naturae futura ignorantis, attamen secundum hypostasin unita Deo Verbo *omnium cognitionem habebat*, non ex gratia seu participative, sed propter hypostaticam unionem. Et paulo post: Et quia in Domino nostro Iesu Christo naturae differunt, etiam naturales scientiae et voluntates divinitatis et humanitatis etc.

Das iſt: **Die Seele des HErrn,** wiewohl ſie für ſich ſelbſt eine unwiſſende Natur war, jedoch nachdem ſie mit Gott dem Wort perſönlich vereinigt, **hat ſie alles gewußt,** nicht aus Gnaden, ſondern von wegen der perſönlichen Vereinigung. Gleichwohl, weil zwiſchen den Naturen ein Unterſchied iſt, ſo iſt auch uſw. [ein Unterſchied zwiſchen dem natürlichen Verſtand und Willen der Gottheit und Menſchheit].

VI.

Daß nun die Gottheit ihre Majeſtät, Kraft und Wirkung (welche der göttlichen Natur eigen iſt und bleibt) kräftiglich beweiſe, wirklich erzeige, in, mit und durch dieſelbe perſönlich vereinigte Menſchheit, welche ſolche Majeſtät alſo und daher hat, daß die ganze Fülle der Gottheit in dem angenommenen Fleiſch und Blut Chriſti perſönlich wohnt.

VI.

Deitatem nunc maiestatem, potentiam et efficaciam suam (quae Deitatis propria est et manet) efficaciter exserere, in, cum et per humanitatem personaliter sibi unitam, quae maiestatem illam inde consecuta est, quod tota plenitudo Deitatis in assumpta carne et sanguine Christi habitet personaliter.

Rom. 3, 25: Proposuit Christum propitiatorium per fidem in *sanguine* eius.

Das iſt: Gott hat uns Chriſtum vorgeſtellt zu einem Gnadenſtuhl durch den Glauben in ſeinem **Blut.**

Rom. 5, 9: Iustificamur in *sanguine* eius.

Das iſt: Wir werden gerecht durch ſein **Blut.**

Col. 1, 20: In ipso pacificantur omnia per *sanguinem* crucis eius etc.

Das iſt: Durch ihn wird alles verſöhnt, es ſei auf Erden oder im Himmel, damit daß er Frieden machte durch das **Blut** an ſeinem Kreuze durch ſich ſelbſt.

not by possessing in a natural manner the power to burn, but by possessing this from its union with the fire. Therefore in itself it was mortal, and on account of its personal union to the Word, *quickening*."

The same (cap. 18): "His [Christ's] divine will was both eternal and omnipotent, etc. But His human will not only began in time, but also endured natural and unblamable affections, and naturally was not indeed omnipotent; but as truly and by nature it has become the will also of God the Word, it is also omnipotent." This is, as explained by a commentator: "The divine will has, by its own nature, the power to do all things which it wishes; but Christ's human will does not have power to do everything by its nature, but as united to God the Word."

The same, in the same book, cap. 21: "The human nature does not possess essentially the knowledge of the future; but the soul of the Lord, on account of the union with the Word and the personal identity with the same, was, apart from other divine criteria, rich also in the knowledge of the future."

And at the end of the chapter: "We say that the one Christ, Master, and Lord of all creation, at the same time God and man, knows also all things. For in Him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge."

The same (lib. 2, cap. 22): "For although it (*the soul of the Lord*) was of a nature that was ignorant of the future, nevertheless, being personally united to the Word, it had *the knowledge of all things*, not by grace, but on account of the personal union."

Shortly afterwards: "And since in our Lord Jesus Christ the natures are distinct, the natural wills, that is, the powers of will, are also distinct."

VI.

That now the divine nature powerfully manifests and actually exerts its majesty, power, and efficacy (which is and remains peculiar to the divine nature) in, with, and through the human nature personally united to it; which has such majesty because the entire fulness of the Godhead dwells personally in the assumed flesh and blood of Christ.

Rom. 3, 25: Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His *blood*.

Rom. 5, 9: Being now justified by His blood.

Col. 1, 20: Having made peace by the blood of His cross, by Him to reconcile all things to Himself.

ATHANASIUS oratione 5 [4] contra Arianos [Epist. ad Adelph. c. Arian, t. 1, f. 161, ed. Colon.]: Quomodo *corpus Domini* non esset adorabile? Quum Verbum manum suam corporalem extendens sanarit febricitantem, vocem humanam edens suscitaverit Lazarum, manibus suis in cruce protensis principem aëris prostraverit.

Das ist: Warum sollte man **den Leib des HErrn** nicht anbeten? So doch das Wort, als er seine leibliche Hand ausgestreckt, den Fieberischen gesund gemacht und mit der menschlichen Stimme den Lazarum von Toten erweckt und, als er am Kreuz seine Hände ausgestreckt, den Fürsten in der Luft daniedergeschlagen hat.

Idem, Dialogo 5, De Trinitate [t. 2, op., f. 257]: *Ὁ Θεὸς Λόγος ἑνωθεὶς ἀνθρώπῳ τελεῖ τὰ τεράστια οὐ κεχωρισμένος τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος, δι' αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς εὐδοκήσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θείαν δύναμιν ἐνεργεῖν.* Et paulo post: *Καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποτελεῖ τὸ ζῶον εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ζῶον εἶναι λογικὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν.*

Deus *Λόγος*, unitus homini (concretum pro abstracto), edit miracula et operatur non seorsim aut separatim a natura humana assumpta, sed pro sua bonitate placuit ipsi per assumptam humanitatem, in ea et cum ea propriam divinam suam potentiam operando exercere. Et paulo post: Et humanitatem illam suam ultra et supra propriam ipsius naturam pro suo beneplacito perfectam reddidit, non tamen prohibet, quominus sit animal rationale seu vera humana natura.

Das ist: Gott das Wort, mit dem Menschen (concretum pro abstracto) vereinigt, tut die Wunderwerke und wirkt, aber nicht von der menschlichen Natur abgesondert, sondern nach seiner Güte hat es ihm gefallen durch die angenommene Menschheit, in derselben und mit derselben seine eigene göttliche Kraft in seinen Werken zu beweisen und zu üben, und hat also diese seine Menschheit weiter und über ihre Natur nach seinem Wohlgefallen vollkommen gemacht, und hindert doch daran nichts, daß es nichtsdestoweniger eine vernünftige Kreatur und eine wahrhaftige menschliche Natur sei.

CYRILLUS de Recta Fide ad Theodosium [t. 5 op.]: Anima, unionem sortita ad Verbum descendit in infernum, divina autem virtute et efficacia utens dixit compeditis: Egredimini.

Das ist: Die Seele Christi, welche mit dem Wort vereinigt ist, die ist hinab zur Hölle gestiegen, aber sie hat göttliche Kraft und Wirkung gebraucht, da sie sagt zu den Gefangenen: Gehet heraus!

Idem, lib. 1, Ad Reginas: Christus ut Deus vivificat per propriam carnem.

Das ist: Christus als Gott macht lebendig durch sein eigen Fleisch.

VII.

Und daß solche Mitteilung der göttlichen Majestät ohne Vermischung, Vertilgung oder Verleugnung der menschlichen Natur auch in der Herrlichkeit geschehe.

VII.

Et hanc communicationem maiestatis divinae sine permixtione, abolitione vel abnegatione humanae naturae etiam in gloria fieri.

Matth. 16, 27: Filius hominis venturus est *in gloria Patris sui.*

Das ist: Des Menschen Sohn wird kommen **in der Herrlichkeit seines Vaters.**

Et Act. 1, 11: Sic veniet, quemadmodum vidistis *euntem in coelum.*

Das ist: Er wird kommen, wie ihr ihn gesehen habt **gen Himmel fahren.**

ATHANASIUS, Dialog. 5, De Trinitate [t. 2, f. 257, ed. Colon.]: *Καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποτελεῖ τὸ ζῶον εὐδοκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸ ζῶον εἶναι λογικὸν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν.*

Humanitatem illam suam supra et ultra propriam ipsius naturam pro suo beneplacito perfectam reddidit, non tamen prohibet, quominus *sit* animal rationale seu vera humana natura.

Das ist: Er hat diese seine Menschheit weiter und über ihre eigene Natur nach seinem Wohlgefallen vollkommen gemacht, und hindert derwegen nicht, daß sie zugleich **bleibe** eine vernünftige Kreatur und eine wahrhaftige menschliche Natur.

THEOPHYLACTUS ex Chrysostomo in caput Matth. 28 [f. 184]: *Ἐγώ, ἡ πρώην κατάκριτος φύσις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀσύγχυτον ἕνωσιν Θεὸς οὖσα, ἔλαβον τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ πάντων.*

Ego, prius damnata natura, *nunc* Deus existens secundum unionem ad Filium Dei absque naturarum confusione, accepi potestatem omnium.

Das ist: Ich, die Natur, so zuvor verdammt war, habe **jetzund** ohne Vermischung der Naturen alle Gewalt empfangen.

CYRILLUS, lib. 4, cap. 24 [t. 4, f. 337, et 3, f. 783]: Totum corpus suum vivifica Spiritus virtute plenum esse ostendit, *non quod naturam carnis amiserit et in Spiritum mutata sit,* sed quia cum Spiritu coniuncta totam vivificandi vim hausit.

Das ist: Er hat bewiesen, daß sein ganzer Leib mit der lebendigmachenden Kraft des Geistes erfüllt sei, **nicht daß er die Natur des Fleisches von sich gelegt hätte, und daß sie in Geist verwandelt sei,** sondern weil sie mit dem Geist vereinigt ist, hat sie die Kraft, lebendig zu machen, empfangen.

Idem, De Incarnatione, cap. 8: In carbone tamquam in imagine licet conspicere, adunatum [adunitum] quidem humanitati Deum Verbum transformasse assumptam naturam in suam gloriam et operationem. Sicut ignis ligno affixus, ita adunatus [adunitus] est inaestimabiliter humanitati Deus, conferens ei etiam naturae suae operationem.

Das ist: In einer Kohle als in einem Gleichnis kann man sehen, wie die Menschheit mit dem Wort vereinigt sei, daß das Wort die angenommene Natur verwandelt in seine Herrlichkeit und Wirkung. Gleichwie das Feuer, so an dem Holz ist, also ist Gott unermeßlicherweise mit der Menschheit vereinigt und hat ihr seine Wirkung mitgeteilt.

ATHANASIUS, Oration 4, *Against the Arians* (*Epist. ad Adelph. c. Arian*, t. 1, p. 161, ed. Colon.): "Why should the *body of the Lord* not be worshiped when the Word, by stretching out His bodily hand, healed the one sick of a fever, and by uttering a human voice raised Lazarus, and by extending His hands upon the cross overthrew the prince of the air?"

The same, Dialog 5, *Of the Trinity* (t. 2, op. f. 257): "God the Word, having been united to man, performs miracles, not apart from the human nature, but it has pleased Him to work His divine power through it and in it and with it."

And shortly afterwards: "And according to His good pleasure He renders the humanity perfect above its own nature, and did not prevent its being a rational living being [creature, and a true human nature]."

CYRIL, *De Recta Fide ad Theodosium* (t. 5, op.): "The soul, having obtained union with the Word, descended into hell; but, using its divine power and efficacy, it said to the fettered ones, Go forth."

The same, lib. 1, *Ad Reginas:* "Christ as God quickens through His own flesh."

VII.

And that this communication of the divine majesty occurs also in glory, without mingling, annihilation, or denial of the human nature.

Matt. 16, 27: The Son of Man shall come in the glory of His Father.

And Acts 1, 11: He shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into heaven.

ATHANASIUS, Dialog 5, *Of the Trinity* (t. 2, f. 257, ed. Colon.): "And according to His good pleasure He renders the humanity perfect above its own nature, and did not prevent its being a rational living being [creature, and a true human nature]."

THEOPHYLACT, from Chrysostom, on Matt. 28 (p. 184): "I, previously the condemned nature, being God according to the unconfused union with the Son of God, have received power over all things."

CYRIL, lib. 4, cap. 24 (t. 4, p. 377, and 3, f. 783): "He has shown that His entire body is full of the quickening energy of the Spirit, *not because it has lost the nature of flesh and been changed into the Spirit*, but because, being united with the Spirit, it has acquired the entire power to quicken."

The same, *Of the Incarnation*, cap. 8: "In a coal, as an illustration, we can see how God the Word, united indeed to humanity, has transformed the assumed nature into its glory and efficacy. As fire adheres to wood, so has God been united to humanity in a manner that cannot be grasped, conferring upon it also the operation of His nature."

THEODORETUS, Dialog. 2 [t. 4, f. 82 et 112]: *Καὶ τὸ δεσποτικὸν τοιγαροῦν σῶμα ἄφθαρτον μὲν ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀθάνατον, καὶ τῇ θείᾳ δόξῃ δεδοξασμένον καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων προσκυνεῖται δυνάμεων. Σῶμα δὲ ὅμως ἔστι, τὴν προτέραν ἔχον περιγραφήν.*

Corpus dominicum surrexit quidem a mortuis incorruptibile, impassibile, immortale, divina glorificatum gloria et a coelestibus adoratur potestatibus; corpus tamen est et habet, quam prius habuit, circumscriptionem.

Das iſt: Der Leib des HErrn iſt von den Toten erſtanden und verklärt worden mit göttlicher Herrlichkeit und wird angebetet von den himmliſchen gewaltigen Geiſtern; und iſt gleichwohl ein Leib und iſt umſchrieben wie zuvor.

Idem Dialogo 3. probat hanc Apollinarii sententiam: Si mixtio ignis cum ferro, quae ferrum ostendit igneum, ita ut etiam ea faciat, quae sunt ignis, non mutat naturam ferri: neque igitur Dei cum corpore unio est mutatio corporis, licet corpori divinas operationes praebeat.

Das iſt: Wenn die Vermiſchung des Feuers mit dem Eiſen nicht ändert die Natur des Eiſens, welche anzeigt, daß das Eiſen Feuer ſei, alſo daß es auch tut und ausrichtet, was des Feuers Eigenſchaft iſt, ſo iſt auch die Vereinigung Gottes mit dem Leibe keine Veränderung des Leibes (nach ſeinem Weſen), wiewohl ſie dem Leibe göttliche Wirkungen mitteilt.

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 17: *Ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σὰρξ τὰς θείας ἐνεργείας ἐπλούτησε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Λόγον ἀκραιφνεστάτην ἕνωσιν ἤτοι τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν, οὐδαμῶς τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἰδίων ὑποστᾶσα ἔκπτωσιν.*

Caro Domini locupletata est divinis operationibus propter hypostaticam eius ad Verbum unionem, non passa excidentiam eorum, quae secundum naturam ipsi propria sunt.

Das iſt: Das Fleiſch des HErrn iſt reich gemacht worden mit göttlichen Wirkungen von wegen der Vereinigung mit dem Wort und hat doch nicht verloren, was ſie nach ihrer [was es nach ſeiner] Natur eigen hat.

Idem lib. 2, cap. 22: *Εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἀγνοούσης τὰ μέλλοντα φύσεως ἦν (ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου ψυχὴ) ἀλλ' ὅμως καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἑνωθεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ Λόγῳ, πάντων τὴν γνῶσιν εἶχεν οὐ χάριτι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν.* Et paulo post: *Ἐπὶ τε τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδὴ μὲν διάφοροι αἱ φύσεις, διάφοροι καὶ αἱ θελήσεις φυσικαί, ἦγουν θελητικαὶ δυνάμεις.*

Domini anima, etsi secundum se erat naturae ignorantis futura, attamen secundum hypostasin unita Deo Verbo omnium cognitionem habuit, non ex gratia seu participative, sed propter hypostaticam unionem. Et paulo post: In Domino nostro Iesu Christo, quia naturae differunt, differunt etiam naturales scientiae et voluntates Dominitatis et humanitatis.

Das iſt: Die Seele des HErrn, ob ſie wohl für ſich ſelbſt eine ſolche Natur iſt, die etwas nicht [nicht hat] wiſſen können, jedoch, weil ſie mit dem Wort perſönlich vereinigt iſt, hat ſie aller Dinge Erkenntnis gehabt, und das nicht aus Gnaden, ſondern von wegen der perſönlichen Vereinigung; und nachdem die Naturen unterſchieden bleiben in Chriſto, ſo bleibt auch der Unterſchied zwiſchen dem natürlichen Verſtand und Willen der Gottheit und der Menſchheit.

VIII.

Item, daß die menſchliche Natur der göttlichen Majeſtät, ſo Gottes eigen iſt, teilhaftig und fähig ſei nach Art und von wegen der perſönlichen Vereinigung.

VIII.

Humanam naturam divinae maiestatis, quae Dei propria est, participem et capacem esse propter unionem et pro modo unionis hypostaticae.

Col. 2, 9. 3: In ipso inhabitat omnis plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter. In ipso absconditi sunt omnes thesauri sapientiae et cognitionis.

Das iſt: In ihm wohnet alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig, und liegen in ihm verborgen alle Schätze der Weisheit und Erkenntnis.

IUSTINUS in Expositione Fidei, p. 182 [f. 389, ed. Colon., 1686]: *Καὶ οὐχ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Πατρὶ λέγομεν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς λοιποῖς, οὐ διὰ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνομένην συστέλλεσθαι, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τῶν δεχομένων μέτρον ἀτονούντων τὴν εἰσδοχὴν τὴν θείαν.* Nec ita ipsum in Patre, ut in reliquis, esse dicimus, non eo quidem, quod substantia in aliis existens contrahatur, sed propter eorum, qui illam capiunt, modulum, per imbecillitatem suam divinam praesentiam non admittentium. Item: *Οὐ γὰρ δέχεται σῶμα ῥύποῦν ἀκτῖνας Θεότητος.* Nam corpus pollutum radios Divinitatis non capit. Et paulo post: *Οὕτω μοι νόει τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιον πᾶσι μὲν ἐπίσης κατ' οὐσίαν, ἅτε δὴ Θεὸν ὄντα, παρεῖναι, ἡμᾶς δὲ πάντας οἷον ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λημῶντας τῷ ῥύπῳ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τὴν εἰσδοχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς ἀτονοῦντας, τὸν δὲ οἰκεῖον ναόν, ὀφθαλμὸν καθαρώτατον καὶ χωροῦντα τοῦ φωτὸς ὅλου τὴν αἴγλην, ἅτε πλασθέντα μὲν ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου, ἁμαρτίας δὲ καθάπαξ κεχωρισμένον.* Eodem modo mihi considera, iustitiae solem, universis quidem ex aequo substantia, ut qui Deus sit, praesentem esse, nos vero omnes utpote infirmos et peccatorum sordibus lippientes oculis nostris, propter languorem, lucis praesentiam sustinere non posse, proprium vero illius templum oculum purissimum et splendoris universae lucis capacem esse, utpote a Spiritu Sancto formatum et a peccato ex parte segregatum. [Das deutſche Konkordienbuch von 1580 faßt die Stelle aus Juſtin alſo zuſammen: Omnium creaturarum captus in accipienda divina essentia deficit. Nam corpus pollutum radios Divinitatis non omnes capit, *proprium vero Christi templum assumptae naturae,* quia tota plenitudo Deitatis in ipsa habitat, *totius lucis divinae splendorem capit.*]

THEODORET, Dialog 2 (t. 4, f. 82 and 112): "And accordingly the body of the Lord arose incorruptible and impassible and immortal, and glorified with divine glory, and is worshiped by the heavenly powers. Nevertheless, it is a body, having the former circumscription."

The same, in Dialog 3, approves this sentence of Apollinarius: "If the mingling of fire with iron, which shows that iron is fire, so that it does also those things that belong to fire, does not change the nature of the iron, neither, therefore, is the union of God with the body a change of the body, although it furnishes the body with divine operations."

DAMASCENUS, lib. 3, cap. 17: "The flesh of the Lord was enriched with divine operations on account of its complete personal union with the Word, in no way having suffered loss with respect to those things that are by nature its own."

The same, lib. 2, cap. 22: "For although it (the soul of the Lord) was of a nature that was ignorant of the future, nevertheless, being personally united to God the Word, it had the knowledge of all things, not by grace, but on account of the personal union." And shortly afterwards: "And since in our Lord Jesus Christ the natures are distinct, the natural wills, that is, the powers of will, are also distinct."

VIII.

Also, that, according to the nature and because of the personal union, the human nature is participant and capable of the divine majesty which belongs to God.

Col. 2, 9. 3: In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily. In whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

JUSTIN, in *Expositio Fidei*, p. 182 [f. 389, ed. Colon., 1686]: "We do not say that He is in the Father as in the others; not because the essence that is in others is contracted, but because of the limited capacity of those who receive it not being sufficient for the admission of God."

Also: "For a defiled body does not receive rays of divinity."

And shortly afterwards: "Thus consider the Sun of Righteousness in substance equally present to all things, inasmuch as He is God; but that we all, being weak and having eyes dimmed by the filth of sins, are incapable of receiving the light, yet that His own temple,

Das ist: Alle Kreaturen sind viel zu gering, daß sie das göttliche Wesen begreifen sollten; denn ein unreiner Leib begreift nicht allen Glanz der Gottheit. Aber der eigene Tempel Christi, seine angenommene Natur, weil die ganze Fülle der Gottheit in ihr wohnt, begreift sie den Glanz des ganzen göttlichen Lichts.

ORIGENES, De Principiis, lib. 2, cap. 6 [t. 1. op., f. 698 et 749, ed. Basil.]: Anima Christi tota totum *Λόγον* recipit atque in eius lucem splendoremque cedit.

Das ist: Die ganze Seele Christi empfängt das ganze Wort und wird in sein Licht und Glanz aufgenommen.

Et lib. 4: Anima Christi, cum Verbo Dei coniuncta, Filii Dei plene capax fuit.

Das ist: Die Seele Christi, so mit dem Wort Gottes vereinigt, ist gänzlich und völlig des Sohnes Gottes fähig.

AUGUSTINUS, Epist. 57: Deus licet omnibus creaturis totus sit praesens ac praecipue in credentibus habitet, non tamen ex toto illum capiunt, sed pro suae capacitatis diversitate alii amplius, alii minus ipsum habent et capiunt. De capite vero nostro Christo apostolus ait: In ipso inhabitat tota plenitudo Deitatis corporaliter.

Das ist: Wiewohl Gott in allen Kreaturen ganz gegenwärtig ist und sonderlich in den Gläubigen wohnt, jedoch begreifen sie ihn nicht gänzlich, sondern nach dem Unterschied, daß eine mehr denn die andere seiner fähig ist. Denn etliche haben und empfangen viel, etliche wenig. Aber von unserm Haupt Christo spricht der Apostel: „In ihm wohnet alle Fülle der Gottheit leibhaftig."

IX.

Wiewohl bekannt und unleugbar, daß die Gottheit samt ihrer göttlichen Majestät nicht räumlich mit dem Fleisch umschrieben, als wenn sie in einem Gefäß eingeschlossen wäre, inmaßen [wie] Athanasius, Origenes, [Gregorius] Nyssenus und andere recht geschrieben, desgleichen auch im Buch der Konkordie (im Buch der Konkordie, fol. 305, p. 2 [Concordia Triglotta, S. 1018]) ausdrücklich als ein Irrtum verworfen wird, wenn gelehrt werden sollte, daß die Menschheit Christi an alle Orte räumlich ausgespannt sei, oder daß die menschliche Natur in Christo durch die persönliche Vereinigung in ein unendlich Wesen verwandelt sei: jedoch, weil die göttliche und menschliche Natur persönlich und unzertrennlich in Christo vereinigt sind, bezeugen die Heilige Schrift und die heiligen Väter, daß Christus, wo er ist, da sei nicht seine halbe Person oder allein die Hälfte oder nur ein Teil seiner Person, als die Gottheit allein, besonders und bloß, ohne und außer seiner angenommenen und persönlich vereinigten Menschheit, oder von derselben abgesondert und außer der persönlichen Vereinigung mit der Menschheit, sondern seine ganze Person, nämlich als Gott und Mensch, nach Art der persönlichen Vereinigung mit der Menschheit, welche ein unerforschlich Geheimnis ist, allenthalben gegenwärtig sei auf Weise und Maß, die Gott bekannt ist.

IX.

Etsi in confesso est, neque negari potest, Divinitatem una cum sua maiestate divina nequaquam carnis circumscriptione tamquam vase aliquo contineri, quemadmodum Athanasius, Origenes, Nyssenus et alii recte scripserunt, et in Libro Concordiae tamquam erroneum reiicitur dogma de humanitate Christi in omnibus locis expansa, sive de humana natura in Christo per unionem personalem in infinitam essentiam conversa: quia tamen divina et humana natura personaliter et indissolubiliter in Christo unitae sunt, ideo cum Sacra Scriptura tum sancti patres testantur, ubicunque Christus est, ibi non dimidiatum aut dimidiam illius personam aut partem tantum personae illius, ut Divinitatem solam, seorsim et nude, citra et extra assumptam et personaliter sibi unitam humanitatem vel ab ea separatam et extra personalem cum humanitate unionem, sed totam illius personam, nempe ut Deum et hominem, pro modo personalis cum humanitate unionis, quae imperscrutabile mysterium est, ubique praesentem, ea ratione et modo, qui soli Deo notus est.

Eph. 4, 10: Ascendit super omnes coelos, ut impleret omnia. Quod Oecumenius ita interpretatur: *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ Θεότητι πάλαι τὰ πάντα ἐπλήρου. Καὶ σαρκωθείς, ἵνα τὰ πάντα μετὰ σαρκὸς πληρώσῃ, κατέβη καὶ ἀνέβη.* Etenim nuda quoque Divinitate olim omnia implebat. Et incarnatus, ut omnia cum carne impleret, descendit et ascendit.

Das ist: Er ist aufgefahren über alle Himmel, auf daß er alles erfüllte. Welches Oecumenius also erklärt: Denn mit seiner bloßen Gottheit hat er vorlängst alles erfüllt; jetzt aber, nachdem er ist Fleisch [ge]worden, ist er hernieder- und aufgestiegen, auf daß er alles mit dem Fleisch erfüllte.

Et THEOPHYLACTUS ibidem [Comment. in Eph., f. 535, ed. Lond. 1636]: Ut omnia impleat dominatione operationeque, idque in carne, quandoquidem Divinitate iam antea cuncta compleret. Haec autem adversus Paulum Samosatenum et Nestorium sunt.

Das ist: Auf daß er alles erfülle mit seiner Herrschung und Wirkung, und das im Fleisch, dieweil er schon zuvor mit der Gottheit alles erfüllt hat. Dies aber dient wider die Ketzer Paulum Samosatenum und Nestorium.

LEO, Epist. 10 [Ep. 24, cap. 5, f. 245, et in Serm., f. 121, ed. cit.]: Catholica ecclesia hac fide vivit ac proficit, ut in Christo Iesu nec sine vera Divinitate humanitas, nec sine vera credatur humanitate Divinitas.

His most pure eye, is capable of the splendor of all the light, as it has been formed by the Holy Ghost and is altogether separated from sin."

ORIGEN, *De Principiis*, lib. 2, cap. 6 (t. 1, op. f. 698 and 749, ed. Basil): "The entire soul of Christ receives the entire Word, and passes [is received] into His light and splendor."

Lib. 4: "The soul of Christ, united to the Word of God, has been fully capable of receiving the Son of God."

AUGUSTINE, Ep. 57: "Although God is present entire to all creatures, and dwells especially in believers, nevertheless they do not entirely receive Him, but, according to the difference in their capacity, some possess and receive Him more, and others less. But of our Head, Christ, the apostle says: *In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.*"

IX.

Although it is known and undeniable that the Godhead, together with its divine majesty, is not to be locally circumscribed by the flesh, as though it were enclosed in a vessel, as Athanasius, Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and others correctly wrote, and as also the Book of Concord [p. 1019] expressly rejects as an error the teaching that the humanity of Christ has been locally expanded into all places, or that, by the personal union, the human nature in Christ has been transformed into an infinite essence, — nevertheless, since the divine and human natures are personally and inseparably united in Christ, the Holy Scriptures and the holy fathers testify that wherever Christ is, there is not half His person, or only one half, or only a part of His person, for instance, the divinity alone, separate and bare, minus and without His assumed humanity personally united thereto or separated from it, and outside of the personal union with the humanity; but that His entire person, namely, as God and man, according to the mode of the personal union with the humanity, which is an inscrutable mystery, is everywhere present in a way and measure which is known to God.

Eph. 4, 10: He ascended up far above all heavens, that He might fill all things. This Oecumenius explains thus: "For, indeed, He long ago filled all things with His bare divinity; and having become incarnate, that He might fill all things with His flesh, He descended and ascended."

And THEOPHYLACT, on the same passage (*Comment. in Eph.*, p. 535, ed. Lond., 1636): "In order that He might fill all things with His dominion and working, and that, in the flesh, since even before He filled all things with His divinity. These things, however, are against Paul of Samosata and Nestorius."

LEO, Epist. 10 (Ep. 24, cap. 5, p. 245, and in Serm., f. 121, ed. cit.): "The Church Catholic lives and advances in this faith, that in

Das iſt: Die katholiſche Kirche lebt in dem Glauben und nimmt darin zu, daß in Chriſto JEſu weder die Menſchheit ohne die wahre Gottheit noch die Gottheit ohne die wahre Menſchheit geglaubt werde.

Idem, Serm. 3, De Passione: Hoc catholica fides tradit, hoc exigit, ut in Redemptore nostro duas noverimus convenisse naturas, et manentibus proprietatibus suis tantam factam unitatem utriusque substantiae, ut ab illo tempore, quo in beatae virginis utero Verbum caro factum est, nec Deum illum sine hoc, quod est homo, nec hominem sine hoc liceat cogitare, quod est *Deus*.

Das iſt: Das lehrt der katholiſche Glaube, und das erfordert er, daß wir wiſſen ſollen, daß in unſerm Erlöſer zwei Naturen zuſammen[ge]kommen ſeien; und obwohl beider Naturen Eigenſchaften bleiben, ſo ſeien doch beide Naturen alſo miteinander vereinigt, daß von der Zeit an, als im Leibe der Jungfrau Maria das Wort iſt Fleiſch [ge]worden, wir von dieſem Gott ohne den Menſchen, daß er iſt, und von dieſem Menſchen ohne Gott, daß er iſt, nicht gedenken dürfen.

Ibidem: Exprimit quidem sub distinctis operationibus veritatem suam utraque natura, sed neutra se ab alterius connexione disiungit, nihil ibi ab invicem vacat, sed suscepit totum hominem Deus et ita se illi atque illum sibi conseruit, ut utraque alteri naturae inesset et neutra in alteram a sua proprietate transiret.

Das iſt: Obwohl eine jegliche Natur durch die unterſchiedlichen Wirkungen wahrhaftig erwieſen wird, ſo wird doch keine von der andern abgeſondert; denn hier iſt keine ohne die andere, ſondern Gott hat angenommen den ganzen Menſchen und hat ſich alſo ihm und denſelben mit ſich alſo vereinigt, daß je eine Natur in der andern ſei, und gleichwohl keine ihre Eigenſchaft verliere.

X.

Weil aber in dieſem Artikel ſolche Lehre vornehmlich dahin gerichtet iſt, wo wir die ganze Perſon des Mittlers, Gott und Menſchen, ſuchen ſollen und ergreifen mögen, ſo weiſt uns das Konkordienbuch (im Buch der Konkordie, fol. 313. 314 [Conc. Trigl., S. 1042. 1044]) wie auch alle andern reinen Väter nicht auf Holz oder Stein oder anderes, ſondern dahin uns Chriſtus in und mit ſeinem Wort gewieſen und beſchieden hat.

X.

Quum autem huius articuli doctrina eo ut, ubi tota persona Mediatoris *τοῦ Θεανθρώπου* quaeri debeat et apprehendi possit, sciatur, praecipue directa sit, ideo Liber Concordiae, perinde atque omnes alii sancti patres, nos non ad ligna aut lapides aut aliud quid, sed eo, quo nos Christus in et cum Verbo suo, remittit et deducit.

CYRILLUS, lib. 12, in Iohannem, cap. 32 [t. 3, f. 1063, ed. cit.]: In quatuor partes vestimenta Christi divisa sunt, et tunica sola indivisa mansit, quod mysticae cuiusdam rei signum esse dixerim. Nam quatuor orbis partes ad salutem reductae indumentum Verbi, id est, carnem eius impartibiliter inter se partitae sunt. In singulis enim partibiliter transiens Unigenitus, et animam et corpus eorum per carnem suam sanctificans, impartibiliter atque integre in omnibus est, quum unus ubique sit nullo modo divisus.

Das iſt: Die Kleider Chriſti ſind in vier Teile geteilt; allein ſein Rock iſt ungeteilt geblieben, welches ich ſagen mag, daß es ein Geheimnis bedeute. Denn nachdem die vier Örter der Welt zur Erkenntnis des Heils gebracht worden ſind, haben ſie das Kleid des Wortes, das iſt, ſein Fleiſch, alſo unter ſich geteilt, daß es gleichwohl ungeteilt geblieben iſt. Denn der eingeborne Sohn Gottes iſt unteilbar durch einen jeden inſonderheit gegangen und hat ihren Leib und Seele durch ſein Fleiſch geheiligt und iſt alſo unzerteilt und ganz in allen, dieweil er einig allenthalben und keineswegs geteilt iſt.

THEOPHYLACTUS in caput 19 Iohannis [f. 825, ed. cit.]: *Τὸ τοίνυν ἅγιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀμέριστον ἔστι τοῖς τέσσαρσι τοῦ κόσμου μέρεσι μεριζόμενον καὶ διαδιδόμενον, κατακερματιζόμενος γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἕνα καὶ τὴν ἑκάστου ψυχὴν ἁγιάζων μετὰ τοῦ σώματος, Ὁμογενὴς διὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ὁλοκλήρως καὶ ἀμερίστως ἐν ὅλοις ἐστίν, ὑπάρχων πανταχοῦ, οὐδαμῶς γὰρ μεμέρισται, κατὰ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος βοᾷ.*

Igitur sanctum Christi corpus *indivisibile* est et dividitur et communicatur in quatuor partes orbis; distributus enim singulis, et uniuscuiusque animam sanctificans cum corpore *per carnem suam*, Unigenitus et integer et indivisus in omnibus est, *existens ubique*, nunquam enim divisus est, sicut et Paulus clamat.

Das iſt: Darum, obwohl der heilige Leib Chriſti **unteilbar** iſt, ſo wird er doch geteilt und ausgeteilt in die vier Örter der Welt; denn es wird der eingeborne, ganze und unzerteilte Chriſtus einem jeden inſonderheit ausgeteilt und heiligt eines jeden Seele mit dem Leibe **durch ſein Fleiſch und iſt allenthalben**; denn er iſt nimmer geteilt, wie auch der Apoſtel ſagt.

CHRYSOSTOMUS [t. 4, f. 1773, ed. Basil., et t. 6, f. 846, ed. Francof.] Homil. 17 ad Ebr., p. 16 (et Ambrosius, cap. 10 ad Hebraeos): *Ἐπειδὴ πολλαχοῦ προσφέρεται, πολλοὶ Χριστοί; μηδαμῶς. Ἀλλ' εἷς πανταχοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλήρης ὢν καὶ ἐκεῖ πλήρης, ἓν σῶμα. Ὥσπερ οὖν πολλαχοῦ προσφερόμενος, ἓν σῶμα ἐστί, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ σώματα, οὕτω καὶ μία θυσία. Ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἐστίν, ὁ τὴν θυσίαν τὴν καθαίρουσαν ἡμᾶς προσενεγκών. Ἐκείνην προσφέρομεν καὶ νῦν, τὴν τότε προσενεχθεῖσαν, τὴν ἀνάλωτον: τοῦτο εἰς ἀνάμνησιν γίνεται τοῦ τότε γενομένου. Τοῦτο γὰρ ποιεῖτε, φησίν, εἰς ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. Οὐκ ἄλλην θυσίαν, καθάπερ ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεὶ ποιοῦμεν. Μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνάμνησιν ἐργαζόμεθα θυσίας.*

Numquid, quia in multis locis offertur, ideo multi Christi sunt? Nequaquam; sed unus ubique est Christus et hic plenus existens et illic plenus, unum corpus. Quemadmodum enim,

Christ Jesus there is believed neither the humanity without the true divinity nor the divinity without the true humanity."

The same, in Discourse 3, *On the Passion:* "This the catholic faith teaches, this it requires, that we know that in our Redeemer two natures have united, and that, while their properties remained, such a union of both substances has occurred that, from the time in which the Word became flesh in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, we are not to think of God without this, that He is man; nor of man without this, that He is *God.*"

In the same place: "Each nature, by distinct operations, declares its genuineness, but neither separates itself from connection with the other; here nothing belonging to the one is lacking to the other; but God assumed the entire man, and so united Himself to man and man to Himself, that each nature is in the other, and neither passed into the other with the loss of its own attributes."

X.

But since in this article such teaching is especially directed to the end that we may know where we should seek and may apprehend the entire person of the Mediator, God and man, the Book of Concord, as also all other holy fathers, directs us, not to wood or stone or anything else, but to that to which Christ has pointed and directed us in and with His Word.

CYRIL, lib. 2, on John, cap. 32 (t. 3, p. 1063, ed. cit.): "The garments of Christ were divided into four parts, and His mantle alone remained undivided, which, I may say, was a sign of a mystery. For the four quarters of the world, brought to salvation, have shared the garment of the Word, that is, His flesh, among themselves in such a way that it has not been divided. For the Only-begotten, passing into each so as to be shared by each, and sanctifying their soul and body by His flesh, is in all indivisibly and entirely, since, being one, He is everywhere in no manner divided."

THEOPHYLACT, on John, cap. 19 (f. 825, ed. cit.): "Therefore the holy body of Christ *is indivisible,* being divided and distributed among the four quarters of the earth; for both being distributed among them individually, and sanctifying the soul of each one with the body, the Only-begotten is *by His own flesh* entirely and indivisibly in all, *being everywhere;* for He has been in no wise divided, as Paul also exclaims."

CHRYSOSTOM (t. 4, p. 1773, ed. Basil. and t. 6, f. 846, ed. Frankf.), Homil. 17, *Ad Ebr.,* p. 16 (and Ambrose, cap. 10, *Ad Hebraicos*): "Since He is offered up in many places, are there many Christs? Not at all. But the one Christ is everywhere, being completely here and completely there, one body. For as He who is offered in many places is one body, and not many bodies, so is He also one sacrifice.

qui in multis locis offertur, unum corpus est et non multa corpora, ita etiam et unum sacrificium. Pontifex autem noster ille est, qui hostiam mundantem nos obtulit; ipsam offerimus et nunc, quae tunc oblata quidem consumi non potest. Hoc in memoriam eius fit, quod tunc factum est. Hoc enim facite, inquit, in mei recordationem. Non igitur aliud sacrificium, quemadmodum summus sacerdos, sed idem semper facimus. Magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur. (Nota: Contra pontificium sacrificium propitiatorium missae.)

Das ist: Meinst du, weil dies Opfer an viel Orten geopfert wird, daß darum auch viel Christusse sein sollten? Das folgt gar nicht. Denn es ist ein Christus, und derselbe ist allenthalben, hier ganz und dort auch ganz, und ein Leib. Denn wie der ein Leib ist, der allenthalben geopfert wird, und sind nicht viel Leibe, also ist auch nur ein Opfer, welches ein Vorbild und Gedächtnis ist des Opfers, das am Kreuz geopfert worden ist. (Nota: Wider das papistische Versöhnopfer der Opfermesse.)

Schluß.

Diese Zeugnisse der alten Kirchenlehrer, christlicher Leser, sind nicht der Meinung hierher gesetzt worden, daß unser christlicher Glaube auf Ansehen der Menschen gegründet sei. Denn der wahrhaftige seligmachende Glaube auf keines alten oder neuen Kirchenlehrers, sondern einzig und allein auf Gottes Wort gegründet sein soll, so in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten und Apostel, als ungezweifelter Zeugen der göttlichen Wahrheit, begriffen ist. Sondern weil die Irrgeister, durch besondere und geschwinde [unheimliche] List des Satans, die Leute aus der Heiligen Schrift, die, Gott Lob, jetzund auch ein gemeiner Laie nützlich lesen kann, gerne wiederum in der Väter und alten Kirchenlehrer Schriften, als in das weite Meer, führen wollten, auf daß, wer dieselben nicht gelesen hat, demnach auch nicht eigentlich wissen könne, ob sich's mit ihnen und ihren Schriften also halte, wie diese neuen Lehrer derselben Worte anziehen, und also in einem beschwerlichen Zweifel gelassen werden möchten [möchte]: hat man Not halben mit diesem Verzeichnis anzeigen und zum Augenschein allermänniglich [jedermann] weisen müssen, daß diese neue falsche Lehre so wenig in der alten reinen Kirchenlehrer Schriften als in Heiliger Schrift gegründet, sondern derselben stracks zuwider sei. Deren Zeugnisse sie in falschem Verstande, wider der Väter Willen, anziehen, gleichwie sie die dürren, hellen, klaren Worte des Testaments Christi und die lauteren Zeugnisse Heiliger Schrift vorsätzlich und mutwillig verkehren. Derwegen denn das Buch der Konkordie männiglich in die Heilige Schrift und in den einfältigen Katechismum weist. Denn wer sich zu derselben Einfalt mit rechtem einfältigen Glauben hält, der verwahrt seine Seele und Gewissen zum besten, als das auf einem festen und unbeweglichen Felsen gebaut ist. Matth. 7 und 17; Gal. 1; Ps. 119. [* Dresden. Gedruckt durch Matthes Stöckel und Gimel Bergen. 1580.]

Epilogus.

Haec testimonia priscorum ecclesiae doctorum, lector Christianae religionis amans, non eo consilio huc apposita sunt, quod fides nostra auctoritate hominum velut fundamento nitatur (quum veram et salvificam fidem nullius neque veteris neque recentioris ecclesiae doctoris testimonio, sed solius et unius Dei Verbo in scriptis prophetarum et apostolorum, testium veritatis coelestis maxime *ἀξιοπίστων*, comprehenso, velut fundamento immoto, inniti oporteat), sed quod fanatici spiritus astu diabolico hoc agant, ut homines a scripto Verbo, quod Dei beneficio etiam ab idiotis utiliter nunc legi potest, abductos ad sanctorum patrum et antiquorum ecclesiae doctorum scripta, velut in amplissimum pelagus, deducant, ut, qui ista non legerit, sitne ea piae vetustatis et monumentorum eiusdem sententia, in quam novi illi doctores verba eorum allegant, certo scire nequeat atque hoc pacto in gravi et periculosa dubitatione relinquatur. Quare necessitas nobis imposita fuit hoc catalogo planum faciendi et oculis quasi omnium spectandum exhibendi, quod haec nova falsa doctrina non minus Sacrae Scripturae fundamento quam purioris antiquitatis testimonio destituatur, imo utrique ex diametro repugnet, antiquitatis scilicet dictis in alienam sententiam, pugnantem cum eiusdem mente et intentione, detortis, perinde atque plana et dilucida verba testamenti Christi et perspicua testimonia Scripturae ab iisdem data opera nefaria quadam petulantia depravantur. Qua porro de causa Liber Concordiae unumquemque ad Sacram Scripturam et ad simplicitatem catecheticam deducit, quod qui illam simplici fidei assensione amplectatur, animae et conscientiae suae quam optime consulat, ut quae super firma et immota petra exstructa sit, ut dicitur Matth. 7 et 17; Gal. 1; Ps. 119.

He is that High Priest of ours who has offered the sacrifice that cleanses us. We also now offer that which, having been then offered, was not consumed. This is done in remembrance of that which was then done. 'This do,' says He, 'in remembrance of Me.' For we do not make another sacrifice, as the high priest, but always the same. We rather bring about a remembrance of the sacrifice." (*Note:* Against the propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass of the Papists.)

Conclusion.

Christian reader, these testimonies of the ancient teachers of the Church have been here set forth, not with this meaning that our Christian faith is founded upon the authority of men. For the true saving faith is to be founded upon no church-teachers, old or new, but only and alone upon God's Word, which is comprised in the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, as unquestionable witnesses of divine truth. But because fanatical spirits, by the special and uncanny craft of Satan, wish to lead men from the Holy Scriptures — which, thank God! even a common layman can now profitably read — to the writings of the fathers and the ancient church-teachers as into a broad sea, so that he who has not read them cannot therefore precisely know whether they and their writings are as these new teachers quote their words, and thus is left in grievous doubt, — we have been compelled by means of this Catalogue to declare, and to exhibit to the view of all, that this new false doctrine has as little foundation in the ancient pure church-teachers as in the Holy Scriptures, but that it is diametrically opposed to it. Their testimonies they quote in a false meaning, contrary to the will of the fathers, just as they designedly and wantonly pervert the simple, plain, and clear words of Christ's testament and the pure testimonies of the Holy Scriptures. On this account the Book of Concord directs every one to the Holy Scriptures and the simple Catechism; for he who clings to this simple form with true, simple faith provides best for his soul and conscience, since it is built upon a firm and immovable Rock, Matt. 7 and 17; Gal. 1; Ps. 119.

Christliche Visitationsartikel.

Anno 1592.

Der erste Artikel.

Von dem heiligen Nachtmahl.

Die reine und wahrhaftige Lehre unserer Kirchen vom heiligen Nachtmahl:

I. Daß die Worte Christi: „Nehmet und esset, das ist mein Leib; trinket, das ist mein Blut", einfältig und nach dem Buchstaben, wie sie lauten, zu verstehen sind.

II. Daß im Sakrament zwei Dinge sind, gegeben und miteinander empfangen werden: ein irdisches, das ist, Brot und Wein; und ein himmlisches, das ist, der Leib und [das] Blut Christi.

III. Daß solches hienieden auf Erden geschieht und nicht droben im Himmel.

IV. Daß es der rechte natürliche Leib Christi sei, der am Kreuz gehangen, und das rechte, natürliche Blut, das aus Christi Seite geflossen.

V. Daß der Leib und [das] Blut Christi nicht nur mit dem Glauben, geistlich, welches auch außerhalb des Abendmahls geschehen kann, sondern allda mit Brot und Wein mündlich, doch unerforschlicher- und übernatürlicherweise, empfangen werde zu einem Pfand und Versicherung der Auferstehung unserer Leiber von den Toten.

VI. Daß die mündliche Nießung des Leibes und Blutes Christi nicht allein von den Würdigen geschehe, sondern auch von den Unwürdigen, die ohne Buße und wahren Glauben hinzugehen; doch zu ungleichem Ende: von den Würdigen zur Seligkeit, von den Unwürdigen aber zum Gericht.

Der andere Artikel.

Von der Person Christi.

Die reine und wahrhaftige Lehre unserer Kirchen dieses Artikels von der Person Christi:

I. In Christo sind zwei unterschiedene Naturen, die göttliche und die menschliche; diese bleiben in Ewigkeit unvermengt und ungetrennt.

II. Diese beiden Naturen sind persönlich also miteinander vereinigt, daß nur ein Christus, [und nur] eine Person ist.

III. Um dieser persönlichen Vereinigung willen wird recht gesagt, ist auch in der Tat und Wahrheit also, daß Gott Mensch, und Mensch Gott ist, daß Maria den Sohn Gottes geboren, und Gott uns durch sein eigen Blut erlöst hat.

IV. Durch diese persönliche Vereinigung und darauf erfolgte Erhöhung ist Christus nach dem

Articulus I.

De Sacra Coena.

Pura et vera doctrina nostrarum ecclesiarum de Sacra Coena:

1] I. Quod verba Christi: *Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum; bibite, hic est sanguis meus*, simpliciter et secundum litteram, sicut sonant, intelligenda sint.

2] II. Quod in sacramento duae res sint, quae exhibentur et simul accipiuntur: una terrena, quae est panis et vinum; et una coelestis, quae est corpus et sanguis Christi.

3] III. Quod haec unio, exhibitio et sumptio fiat hic inferius in terris, non superius in coelis.

4] IV. Quod exhibeatur et accipiatur verum et naturale corpus Christi, quod in cruce pependit, et verus ac naturalis sanguis, qui ex Christi latere fluxit.

5] V. Quod corpus et sanguis Christi non fide tantum spiritualiter, quod etiam extra Coenam fieri potest, sed cum pane et vino oraliter, modo tamen imperscrutabili et supernaturali illic in Coena accipiantur, idque in pignus et certificationem resurrectionis nostrorum corporum ex mortuis.

6] VI. Quod oralis perceptio corporis et sanguinis Christi non solum fiat a dignis, verum etiam ab indignis, qui sine poenitentia et vera fide accedunt; eventu tamen diverso. A dignis enim percipitur ad salutem, ab indignis autem ad iudicium.

Articulus II.

De Persona Christi.

Pura et vera doctrina nostrarum ecclesiarum de hoc articulo de persona Christi.

7] I. In Christo sunt duae distinctae naturae, divina et humana. Hae manent in aeternum inconfusae et inseparabiles (seu indivisae).

8] II. Hae duae naturae personaliter ita sunt [* invicem] unitae, ut unus tantum sit Christus et una persona.

9] III. Propter hanc personalem unionem recte dicitur, atque in re et veritate ita se habet, quod Deus Homo et Homo Deus sit, quod Maria Filium Dei genuerit, et quod Deus nos per proprium suum sanguinem redemerit.

10] IV. Per hanc unionem personalem et, quae eam secuta est, exaltationem Christus

Visitation Articles.

Article I.

Of the Holy Supper.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning the Holy Supper:

I. That the words of Christ: *Take, eat, this is My body; drink, this is My blood,* are to be understood simply and according to the letter, as they read.

II. That in the Sacrament there are two things which are given [tendered] and received with one another: one earthly, which is bread and wine; and one heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ.

III. That this [union, tendering and taking] occurs here on earth, and not above in heaven.

IV. That it [what is tendered and received] is the true natural body of Christ which hung on the cross, and the true natural blood which flowed from the side of Christ.

V. That the body and blood of Christ are received not only by faith spiritually, which can also occur outside of the Supper, but here with the bread and wine orally, yet in an inscrutable and supernatural manner [and that] for a pledge and assurance of the resurrection of our bodies from the dead.

VI. That the oral partaking of the body and blood of Christ is done not only by the worthy, but also by the unworthy, who approach without repentance and true faith; nevertheless, with a different result: by the worthy for salvation, by the unworthy for judgment.

Article II.

Of the Person of Christ.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches on this article concerning the Person of Christ:

I. In Christ there are two distinct natures, the divine and the human. These remain to eternity unconfused and unseparated [inseparable (or undivided)].

II. These two natures are personally so united with one another that there is only *one* Christ, [and] *one* person.

III. Because of this personal union it is rightly said, and it is so also in deed and truth, that God is man, and man God, that Mary bore the Son of God, and God redeemed us with His own blood.

IV. Through this personal union and the exaltation that followed upon it, Christ, ac-

Fleisch zur Rechten Gottes gesetzt und hat empfangen allen [alle] Gewalt im Himmel und auf Erden, ist auch aller göttlichen Majestät, Ehre, Kraft und Herrlichkeit teilhaftig [ge]worden.

Der dritte Artikel.

Von der heiligen Taufe.

Die reine, wahrhaftige Lehre unserer Kirchen von diesem Artikel der heiligen Taufe:

I. Daß nur eine Taufe sei und eine Abwaschung, nicht welche die Unsauberkeit des Leibes pflegt hinwegzunehmen, sondern [welche] uns von Sünden wäscht.

II. Durch die Taufe als das Bad der Wiedergeburt und Erneurung des Heiligen Geistes macht uns Gott selig und wirkt in uns solche Gerechtigkeit und Reinigung von Sünden, daß, wer in solchem Bund und Vertrauen bis an das Ende beharrt, nicht verloren wird, sondern das ewige Leben hat.

III. Alle, die in Christum JEsum getauft sind, die sind in seinen Tod getauft und durch die Taufe mit ihm in seinen Tod begraben und haben Christum angezogen.

IV. Die Taufe ist das Bad der Wiedergeburt, darum daß in derselben wir von neuem geboren und mit dem Geist der Kindheit versiegelt und begnadet werden.

V. Es sei denn, daß jemand geboren werde aus dem Wasser und Geist, so kann er nicht in das Reich Gottes kommen. Doch ist der Notfall hiermit nicht gemeint.

VI. Was vom Fleisch geboren ist, das ist Fleisch, und von Natur sind wir alle Kinder des Zornes Gottes; denn aus sündlichem Samen sind wir gezeugt, und in Sünden werden wir alle empfangen.

Der vierte Artikel.

Von der Gnadenwahl und ewiger Vorsehung Gottes.

Die reine und wahrhaftige Lehre unserer Kirchen von diesem Artikel:

I. Daß Christus für alle Menschen gestorben [ist] und als das Lamm Gottes der ganzen Welt Sünde getragen hat.

II. Daß Gott niemand zur Verdammnis geschaffen, sondern will, daß allen Menschen geholfen werde und sie zur Erkenntnis der Wahrheit kommen. Befiehlt allen, daß sie seinen Sohn Christum in dem Evangelio hören sollen, und verheißt dadurch Kraft und Wirkung des Heiligen Geistes zur Bekehrung und Seligkeit.

III. Daß viele Menschen durch ihre eigene Schuld verdammt werden, die entweder das Evangelium von Christo nicht hören wollen oder aus der Gnade wieder [her]ausfallen, durch Irrtum wider das Fundament oder durch Sünde wider das Gewissen.

IV. Daß alle Sünder, so Buße tun, zu Gnaden angenommen, und keiner ausgeschlossen werde, wenn seine Sünden gleich blutrot wären, sintemal Gottes Barmherzigkeit viel größer ist denn aller Welt Sünde, und Gott sich aller seiner Werke erbarmt.

secundum carnem ad dexteram Dei collocatus est et accepit omnem potestatem in coelo et in terra, factusque est particeps omnis divinae maiestatis, honoris, potentiae et gloriae.

Articulus III.

De S. Baptismo.

Pura et vera doctrina nostrarum ecclesiarum de hoc articulo s. baptismatis:

11] I. Quod unum tantum baptisma sit et una ablutio, non quae sordes corporis tollere solet, sed quae nos a peccatis abluit.

12] II. Per baptismum tamquam lavacrum illud regenerationis et renovationis Spiritus Sancti salvos nos facit Deus et operatur in nobis talem iustitiam et purgationem a peccatis, ut, qui in eo foedere et fiducia usque ad finem perseverat, non pereat, sed habeat vitam aeternam.

13] III. Omnes, qui in Christum Iesum baptizati sunt, in mortem eius baptizati sunt et per baptismum cum ipso in mortem eius consepulti sunt et Christum induerunt.

14] IV. Baptismus est lavacrum illud regenerationis, propterea, quia in eo renascimur denuo et Spiritu adoptionis obsignamur ex gratia (sive gratis).

15] V. Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu, non potest introire in regnum coelorum. Casus tamen necessitatis hoc ipso non intenditur.

16] VI. Quidquid de carne nascitur, caro est, et natura sumus omnes filii irae divinae, quia ex semine peccaminoso sumus geniti et in peccatis concipimur omnes.

Articulus IV.

De Praedestinatione et Aeterna Providentia Dei.

Pura et vera doctrina nostrarum ecclesiarum de hoc articulo:

17] I. Quod Christus pro omnibus hominibus mortuus sit et ceu agnus Dei totius mundi peccata sustulerit.

18] II. Quod Deus neminem ad condemnationem condiderit, sed velit, ut omnes homines salvi fiant et ad agnitionem veritatis perveniant; propterea omnibus mandat, ut Filium suum Christum in evangelio audiant, et per hunc auditum promittit virtutem et operationem Spiritus Sancti ad conversionem et salutem.

19] III. Quod multi homines propria culpa pereant: alii, qui evangelium de Christo nolunt audire, alii, qui iterum excidunt gratia, sive per errores contra fundamentum sive per peccata contra conscientiam.

20] IV. Quod omnes peccatores, poenitentiam agentes, in gratiam recipiantur, et nemo excludatur, etsi peccata eius rubeant ut sanguis; quandoquidem Dei misericordia maior est quam peccata totius mundi, et Deus omnium suorum operum miseretur.

cording to His flesh, has been placed at God's right hand, and has received all power in heaven and on earth, and has become partaker of all divine majesty, honor, power, and glory.

Article III.

Of Holy Baptism.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning this article of Holy Baptism:

I. That there is but *one* Baptism and *one* washing [ablution] — not such as is wont to remove the filth of the body, but [such as] washes us from sins.

II. Through Baptism, as the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost, God saves us, and works in us such righteousness and cleansing from sins that he who perseveres in this covenant and confidence unto the end is not lost, but has eternal life.

III. All who are baptized into Christ Jesus are baptized into His death, and through Baptism are buried with Him into His death, and have put on Christ.

IV. Baptism is the washing of regeneration for the reason that in it we are born anew, and sealed with and graciously [by grace] given the Spirit of adoption.

V. Except a man is born of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. However, this does not refer to a case of necessity.

VI. That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and by nature we all are the children of God's wrath, for we are begotten of sinful seed and are all conceived in sins.

Article IV.

Of Predestination and the Eternal Providence of God.

The pure and true doctrine of our churches concerning this article:

I. That Christ has died for all men, and as the Lamb of God has borne the sins of the whole world.

II. That God created no one for condemnation, but will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth. [Therefore] He commands all to hear His Son Christ in the Gospel, and promises by it [through such hearing] the power and working of the Holy Ghost for conversion and salvation.

III. That many men are condemned [perish] by their own guilt, who are either unwilling to hear the Gospel of Christ, or again fall from grace, [whether] by error against the foundation or by sins against conscience.

IV. That all sinners who repent are received into grace, and no one is excluded, even though his sins were as scarlet, since God's mercy is much greater than the sins of all the world, and God has compassion on all His works.

Falsche und irrige Lehre der Calvinisten

Vom heiligen Nachtmahl:

I. Daß obgesetzte Worte Christi figürlicherweise zu verstehen seien und nicht, wie sie lauten.

II. Daß im Abendmahl nur bloße Zeichen seien, aber der Leib Christi sei so weit von dem Brot als der höchste Himmel von der Erde.

III. Daß Christus allda gegenwärtig sei nur mit seiner Kraft und Wirkung und nicht mit seinem Leibe; gleichwie die Sonne mit ihrem Scheine und Wirkung hienieden auf Erden gegenwärtig und kräftig ist, aber die Sonne selbst ist droben im Himmel.

IV. Daß es ein typicum corpus, ein figürlicher Leib, sei, der nur bedeutet und vorgebildet werde.

V. Daß er allein mit dem Glauben, welcher sich hinauf in den Himmel schwingt, und nicht mündlich empfangen werde.

VI. Daß ihn allein die Würdigen empfangen, die Unwürdigen aber, so solchen Glauben nicht haben, der hinauf in den Himmel steigen kann, nichts denn Brot und Wein empfangen.

Falsche und irrige Lehre der Calvinisten

Von der Person Christi,

so vornehmlich wider den dritten und vierten Artikel reiner Lehre streiten:

I. Erstlich, daß Gott Mensch ist und der Mensch Gott sei, das sei eine figürliche Rede.

II. Daß die Menschheit mit der Gottheit nicht in der Tat und Wahrheit, sondern allein nach dem Namen und Worten Gemeinschaft habe.

III. Daß [es] Gott unmöglich sei, mit aller seiner Allmacht zu verschaffen, daß Christi natürlicher Leib auf einmal [zu gleicher Zeit] mehr denn an einem Orte sei.

IV. Daß Christus nach seiner Menschheit durch seine Erhöhung allein erschaffene Gaben und gemessene Gewalt empfangen habe und nicht alles wisse und vermöge.

V. Daß Christus nach seiner Menschheit abwesend regiere, gleichwie der König in Hispanien über die neuen Inseln regiert.

VI. Daß [es] eine verdammliche Abgötterei sei, wenn man das Vertrauen und den Glauben des Herzens auf Christum nicht allein nach seiner Gottheit, sondern auch nach seiner Menschheit setzt und die Ehre der Anrufung darauf richtet.

Falsche und irrige Lehre der Calvinisten

Von der heiligen Taufe:

I. Die Taufe sei ein äußerlich Wasserbad, damit [mit welchem] eine innerliche Abwaschung von Sünden allein bedeutet werde.

II. Die Taufe wirke oder gebe nicht die Wiedergeburt, den Glauben, Gnade Gottes und Seligkeit, sondern bezeichne und versiegle allein dieselbe.

III. Nicht alle, die mit Wasser getauft werden, erlangen hiermit die Gnade Christi oder Gabe des Glaubens, sondern allein die Auserwählten.

Sequitur falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum

De Sacra Coena:

21] I. Quod supra posita verba Christi figurate intelligenda sint et non secundum litteram, sicut sonant.

22] II. Quod in Coena tantum nuda signa sint, corpus autem Christi tam procul a pane quam supremum coelum a terra.

23] III. Quod Christus illic praesens sit tantum virtute et operatione sua et non corpore suo; quemadmodum sol splendore et operatione sua in terris praesens et efficax est, corpus autem solare superius in coelo existit.

24] IV. Corpus Christi esse typicum corpus, quod pane et vino tantum significetur et praefiguretur.

25] V. Quod sola fide, quae in coelum se elevet, et non ore accipiatur.

26] VI. Quod soli digni illud accipiant, indigni autem, qui talem fidem evolantem sursum in coelos non habent, nihil praeter panem et vinum accipiant.

Falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum

De Persona Christi,

quae potissimum III. et IV. Articulo purioris doctrinae repugnat:

27] I. Quod Deus Homo et Homo Deus est, esse figuratam locutionem.

28] II. Quod humana natura cum divina non in re et veritate, sed tantum nomine et verbis communionem habeat.

29] III. Quod Deo impossibile sit ex tota omnipotentia sua praestare, ut corpus Christi naturale simul et instantanee in pluribus quam in unico loco sit.

30] IV. Quod Christus secundum humanam naturam per exaltationem suam tantum creata dona et finitam potentiam acceperit, non omnia sciat aut possit.

31] V. Quod Christus secundum humanitatem absens regnet, sicut rex Hispaniae novas insulas regit.

32] VI. Quod damnabilis idololatria sit, si fiducia et fides cordis in Christum non solum secundum divinam, sed etiam secundum humanam ipsius naturam collocetur, et honor adorationis ad utramque dirigatur.

Falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum

De Sacro Baptismo:

33] I. Baptismum esse externum lavacrum aquae, per quod interna quaedam ablutio a peccatis tantum significetur.

34] II. Baptismum non operari neque conferre regenerationem, fidem, gratiam Dei et salutem, sed tantum significare et obsignare ista.

35] III. Non omnes, qui aqua baptizantur, consequi eo ipso gratiam Christi aut donum fidei, sed tantum electos.

False and Erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists

Concerning the Holy Supper:

I. That the words of Christ cited above are to be understood in a figurative way, and not as they read.

II. That in the Supper there are only bare signs, the body of Christ, however, being as far from the bread as the highest heaven is from the earth.

III. That Christ is present there only by His power and working, and not with His body, just as the sun is present and efficacious here below on earth by its brilliancy and working, while the sun itself is above in the sky.

IV. That it is a *typicum corpus*, a figurative body, which is only signified and prefigured [by the bread and wine].

V. That it is received by faith alone, which soars [elevates itself] into heaven, and not orally.

VI. That only the worthy receive it; the unworthy, however, who have not such faith as can ascend into heaven receive nothing but bread and wine.

False and Erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists

Concerning the Person of Christ,

which conflicts especially with the Third and Fourth Articles of the pure doctrine:

I. In the first place, that the expression, "God is man," and, "Man is God," is figurative.

II. That the human nature has communion with the divine not in deed and truth, but only in name and words.

III. That it is impossible for God, with all His omnipotence, to cause the natural body of Christ to be at the same time [simultaneously and instantaneously] in more than one place.

IV. That by His exaltation Christ, according to His human nature, has received only created gifts and finite power, and neither knows nor can do all things.

V. That Christ, according to His human nature, rules absently, just as the King of Spain rules the new islands.

VI. That it is damnable idolatry if the confidence and faith of the heart is placed in Christ not only according to His divine, but also according to His human nature, and the honor of adoration is directed to it [to both natures].

False and Erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists

Concerning Holy Baptism:

I. That Baptism is an outward washing of water, whereby an inner washing [ablution] from sins is only signified.

II. That Baptism neither works nor confers regeneration, faith, the grace of God, and salvation, but only signifies and seals these.

III. That not all who are baptized with water, but only the elect, receive therewith the grace of Christ or the gift of faith.

IV. Die Wiedergeburt geschehe nicht in und bei der Taufe, sondern erst hernach bei erwachsenen Jahren, in etlichen auch wohl gar im Alter.

V. Die Seligkeit hange nicht an der Taufe, daher denn auch die Nottaufe in der Kirche nicht soll gestattet werden, sondern wenn man den Kirchendienst nicht haben mag [kann], soll das Kindlein immer[hin] ohne Taufe sterben.

VI. Der Christen Kinder sind heilig vor der Taufe und von Mutterleibe an, ja noch in ihrer Mutter Leib in dem Bunde des ewigen Lebens; sonst könnte ihnen die heilige Taufe nicht mitgeteilt werden.

Falsche und irrige Lehre der Calviniſten

Von der Gnadenwahl und Vorsehung Gottes:

I. Daß Christus nicht für alle Menschen, sondern allein für die Auserwählten gestorben sei.

II. Daß Gott den meisten Teil der Menschen zum [zur] ewigen Verdammnis geschaffen und wolle nicht haben, daß sie bekehrt und selig werden.

III. Daß die Auserwählten und Neugebornen nicht können den Glauben und Heiligen Geist verlieren und verdammt werden, wenn sie gleich allerlei große Sünden und Laster begehen.

IV. Die, so nicht erwählt sind, müssen verdammt werden und können nicht zur Seligkeit kommen, wenn sie gleich tausendmal getauft würden und täglich zum Abendmahl gingen, auch so heilig und unsträflich lebten, als es immer möglich.

36] IV. Regenerationem non fieri in vel cum baptismo, sed postea demum crescente aetate, imo et multis in senectute demum contingere.

37] V. Salutem non dependere a baptismo, atque ideo baptismum in casu necessitatis non permittendum esse in ecclesia, sed in defectu ordinarii ministri ecclesiae permittendum esse, ut infans sine baptismo moriatur.

38] VI. Christianorum infantes iam ante baptismum esse sanctos, ab utero matris, imo adhuc in utero materno constitutos esse in foedere vitae aeternae; ceteroqui sacrum baptisma ipsis conferri non posse.

Falsa et erronea doctrina Calvinistarum

De Praedestinatione et Providentia Dei:

39] I. Christum non pro omnibus hominibus, sed pro solis electis mortuum esse.

40] II. Deum potissimam partem hominum ad damnationem aeternam creasse et nolle, ut potissima pars convertatur et vivat.

41] III. Electos et regenitos non posse fidem et Spiritum Sanctum amittere aut damnari, quamvis omnis generis grandia peccata et flagitia committant.

42] IV. Eos vero, qui electi non sunt, necessario damnari, nec posse pervenire ad salutem, etiamsi millies baptizarentur et quotidie ad eucharistiam accederent, praeterea vitam tam sancte atque inculpate ducerent, quantum unquam fieri potest.

IV. That regeneration occurs not in and at [with] Baptism, but not till afterwards in adult years, and in some [many] not until old age.

V. That salvation depends not upon Baptism, and accordingly emergency baptism [baptism in case of necessity] should not be permitted in the Church, but if the service of the Church [of the ordinary ministry of the Church] cannot be obtained, the child should be allowed to die without Baptism.

VI. That children of Christians are holy before Baptism and from their mothers' wombs; yea, that while still in their mothers' wombs they are [established] in the covenant of eternal life; otherwise holy Baptism could not be administered to them.

False and Erroneous Doctrine of the Calvinists

Concerning Predestination and the Providence of God:

I. That Christ died, not for all men, but only for the elect.

II. That God created the greater part of men for eternal condemnation, and is unwilling that they be converted and saved.

III. That the elect and regenerate cannot lose faith and the Holy Ghost and be condemned, even though they commit great sins and crimes of every kind.

IV. That they who are not elect must be condemned, and cannot attain salvation, even though they be baptized a thousand times and daily go to the Lord's Supper, and also live in as holy and irreproachable a way as ever possible.

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Wo nicht gegenwärtig. Er ist nicht da, wo nicht Liebe und andere Früchte sind 178, 98; ohne sie wird er verloren 180, 99. 103; 340, 90; vor d. Schein d. Geistes Gottes gewarnt 968, 20; wird betrübt, wo nicht g. Werke geschehen 304, 77; 1076, 42; regiert d. Gottlosen nicht 230, 16; wird d. vorsätzl. u. beharrl. Widerstrebenden nicht gegeben 788, 15; 904, 60; diese werden verdammt 1076, 40; doch ist von s. Gegenwart usw. nicht ex sensu z. urteilen 902, 57. 68; er wäre nicht nöt., wenn wir selbst gerecht wären 106, 10; ohne ihn kann d. Mensch wohl äußerl. Werke tun 156, 9; aber nicht d. Gesetz erfüllen 140, 70; 156, 5. 9. 12. 14; 336, 73; ohne ihn nichts Gutes tun 50; 56; 122, 9; 336, 73; 880, 3. 18. 24; ohne ihn keine Bekehrg. 912, 83; k. Gottesfurcht, Vertrauen usw. 334, 72; Klostergelübde können seine Gebote nicht ändern 436, 51.

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